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# Empire of Memories: Anatolian material culture and the imagined past in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia

by

Felipe Andrés Rojas

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Classical Archaeology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

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#### Abstract

Empire of Memories: Anatolian material culture and the imagined past in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia

by
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This dissertation examines how people in the past imagined their own past. Specifically, I study the interplay between the physical remains of antiquity and narratives about the past in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia: from the notion, celebrated in second-century CE inscriptions, that the Lydian lakes bore the region's primeval inhabitants, to the redeployment of archaic *spolia* in the Late Roman synagogue at Sardis; from the claim that a mud-brick structure in Late Hellenistic Sardis was the palace of King Croesus, to the second-century BCE association of the vegetation on the slopes of the Lydian tumuli with a favorite courtesan in the Mermnad court. I treat landscapes, monuments, and objects in the city of Sardis and its neighboring territories as the material matrix within which stories about the past were embedded and variously manipulated.

I begin by discussing how certain natural landscapes were associated with ancestral local heroes. I go on to explore local re-interpretations of the most conspicuous man-made monuments in the region: the Lydian tumuli. I then turn from the countryside to the city of Sardis, analyzing interventions in the urban fabric including the recovery, reinterpretation, and re-use of archaic Lydian artifacts. Finally I turn away from Sardis and examine the neighboring towns of Philadelphia and Hypaepa, where alternative memory horizons—specifically Persian and Egyptian—were often conjured when imagining local antiquity. Thus I sketch out a general topography of memory in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, examining the interaction between the places in the region that were charged with ancient meaning and the narratives attached to them.

# TOAK

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At Berkeley, Leslie Kurke bettered my idiosyncratic English and pushed me to tackle ancient literary sources; if my engagement with Alexander Aetolus or Bianor of Bythinia amounts to mere thumb-wrestling, it is not because I lacked encouragement. Even when buried in seemingly colossal bureaucratic tasks, Christopher Hallett offered support and a ready solution to sundry academic problems. It is my loss that I did not look further back or further east to times and places Marian Feldman knows expertly well.

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My father probed with patience and interest my ideas about Anatolian peoples and places. My mother led me through the ruins of many ancient cities whose names start with K, including Lycian Κυάνεαι, Mayan Kabah, and the remote Chachapoyan Kuélap. Scattered as they are around the world, my siblings, Alejandra, Pablo, and Manuela, always seemed reassuringly close. John, Artemis, Kimon, and Mary Kirk made this country feel like home for the better part of the last decade.

Whatever merits this dissertation may have are owed to the kindness, intelligence, and learning of the varied people mentioned in these paragraphs. By far my greatest obligation—emotional as well as intellectual—is expressed in the dedication.

# Introduction

My dissertation is a contribution to the "archaeology of memory." Specifically, I study the interplay between the physical remains of antiquity and narratives about the local past in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia. Herodotus' Histories constitutes an exceptionally influential narrative. In the *Histories*, Herodotus occasionally treats local landmarks in and around Lydia such as the funerary tumulus of King Alyattes (1.93) and the rock-cut reliefs of the Pharaoh Sesostris (2.106), expounding memories variously associated with these places. However, in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, the Histories were only one account among many, and those who made sense of Lydian topography and history by reading Herodotus—or any other ancient author for that matter—were the exception, rather than the rule. Indeed, most narratives about the local past were fully independent of the *Histories*. Herodotus was highly selective when discussing Lydian landmarks, famously asserting, for example, that there was nothing in Lydia worthy of wonder except the tumulus of Alyattes and the gold-bearing Pactolus River (1.93). Yet in the imagination of local communities, many places and things never mentioned in ancient literature were thought to be charged—if not with wonder proper—then at least with a heightened potential to stimulate remembrance of things as old as those related by Herodotus, if not older. I am interested in examining the relationship between the landscapes, monuments, and artifacts of Lydia, and the various memories associated with them.

Although archaeologists—and among them especially classical archaeologists—only lately may have recognized memory as a viable object of academic investigation, the unexpressed realization that the past must have been meaningful in the past is almost inevitable in a discipline concerned primarily with the interpretation of what others have left behind; unsurprisingly, the archaeological study of the "the past in the past" has already produced a vast bibliography. In the wake of so much recent scholarship, it seems appropriate to begin by summarily placing my dissertation in relation to some of these studies and stating explicitly what I consider to be my main contributions to the "memory industry."

In a recent collection of essays entitled *Negotiating the Past in the Past* Norman Yoffee stated that "archaeologists have only recently recognized and begun to study how the past was used in the past itself, although it seems perfectly obvious to all archaeologists

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Landmark studies in the "archaeology of memory" include Alcock (2002), Assmann (1992 and 1995, 2006), Bradley (2000 and 2000), and Van Dyke and Alcock (2003). Although not directly concerned with archaeology, Connerton (1989), Lowenthal (1985), and Nora (1984-1992 and 1996) have been widely influential. The foundational work of Halbwachs (1925, 1941, and 1950) has informed many of these more recent reflections. Although the term "archaeology of memory" was initially used by Walter Benjamin to refer to an exploration of remembrance which implicitly figured the human mind as "excavatable" and human recollections as "restorable" and "collectible", when the term is used in this dissertation archaeology is not meant metaphorically.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:1-13) and Yoffee (2007:1-9) have produced brief surveys of the field; see also Alcock (2002:1-35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The pithy label "memory industry" was coined by Klein (2000:127); cited also by Alcock (2002:19).

that such must have been the case." This awareness of the "obvious" is virtually unavoidable for those archaeologists working in densely-layered landscapes where the remains of antiquity are often themselves composed of even more ancient remains—or at any rate, in open dialogue with them.

Asia Minor is made up of such densely layered landscapes and it is hardly surprising that earlier explorers of Anatolia realized that memories of the local past were embedded in a complex "material matrix." Perhaps unusually, my interest in investigating the "material matrix" of memory was initially provoked by the work of Anatolianists; in fact, only after reading the writings of Sir W. M. Ramsay (1851-1939), F. W. Hasluck (1878-1920), and Louis Robert (1904-1985) did I inquire into those of Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) and realize that Halbwachs had identified and explicitly defined the "material matrix," or *cadre matériel*, in his own studies on collective memory.<sup>5</sup>

Robert figures prominently on nearly every page of this dissertation, Ramsay only occasionally, and Hasluck virtually not at all, but all three have exerted influence on my research. If one were to reduce them to summary labels, one could say that Ramsay was a Biblical archaeologist, Hasluck a folklorist of the Mediterranean and Anatolia, and Robert a Greek epigraphist; however, all three were broadly inquisitive and versatile. Margaret Hasluck tallied her husband's interests thus: "the classical archaeology of Greece, the medieval and modern history of Smyrna, the rise and development of the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos, the records of medieval geography and travel in the ancient Near East, and the Genoese and Venetian coins and heraldry found in the area...the interplay of Christianity and Islam within the Turkish Empire." The list's sweep (more than its particulars) gives a good sense of the academic range of all three scholars.

Although intellectual history is not my concern, a few words about each of these three men may illuminate why their work incited my own investigations into "the past in the past": Ramsay was an early academic celebrity who, in his efforts to probe the historicity of the New Testament, travelled throughout Anatolia becoming intimately

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Yoffee (2007:1). For the recognition of the meaningfulness of "the past in the past", see Schnapp (1996), who is now preparing a multi-authored volume on the comparative history of antiquarianism. In our eagerness to distinguish ourselves from pre-scientific antiquarians, modern archaeologists have sometimes been wary to recognize similarities between what we do and what our archaeological subjects did with the material traces of their own past. Sometimes no similarities are recognized at all; this tends to happen especially when dealing with non-western societies. Fagan (1989:448), for example, sustained that "[a]rchaeology was born out of an intense Western curiosity about human origins," and that "backwardlooking curiosity" is a peculiarly Western concern." Similarly, even in the second edition of his celebrated History of Archaeological Thought, Trigger (2006:77) asserted that antiquarianism totally failed to develop in the pre-modern Arab world. However, the notion that for over a thousand years religious and cultural strictures would somehow prevent realia from inciting people—Muslims or not—to think about the local past seems surprising; in fact, El Daly (2005) has attempted to show that interest in ancient Egypt thrived among some Muslim scholars during the "long period of ignorance" between the fall of classical antiquity and Jean-François Champollion's decipherment of the Rosetta Stone. Further research into the attitudes towards the past of pre-modern, non-Western societies is needed before we can conclude that "backwardlooking curiosity" is an exclusively Western concern. While I do not think that the cases of interest in the past discussed in this dissertation are instances of archaeology, I do believe that such cases should be discussed in a history of archaeological thought.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Halbwachs (1925, 1941, and 1950).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hasluck (1929:v).

familiar with its topography and monuments; although he showed little interest in, or understanding of contemporary Turkish customs, he believed, often uncritically, in pervasive long term cultural continuity. By contrast, the lesser-known Hasluck (who did not hold an academic position and died of tuberculosis in a Swiss sanatorium) was a much more subtle student of religion, attune not only to the heterogeneity of contemporary Greek and Turkish beliefs, but also to the impact of even minor political changes on the religious attitudes of a people. Robert "the greatest scholar of Greek epigraphy and a major figure in twentieth-century Classics" is a case apart: no other single person has so affected the study of Greek and Roman Anatolia; he is celebrated both for his unparalleled mastery over evidence that would belong today to entirely separate academic fiefdoms, as well as for his capacity to make use of whatever insight he could find to explain the ancient world so as to make, for example, "an article in a Turkish mining journal illuminate Apollonius of Rhodes."

My dissertation consists of eleven chapters, each treating an individual landscape, monument, or artifact—in fact usually a collection of artifacts—as a site of memory; lieu de mémoire is what Pierre Nora called "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."8

The study of the "memorial heritage" of Lydia is not new; other scholars primarily epigraphists and numismatists, but also archaeologists—have carried out pioneering analyses of this legacy.9 I incorporate their findings into my dissertation, but I do not attempt a synthesis, much less an exhaustive compilation. 10 Rather, my primary aim is to sketch out, as it were, a general topography of memory in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, focusing on what I consider to be critical sites of memory. To do so I reconstruct various narratives about the past available to local communities during the period in question, and probe why these specific narratives converged where they did rather than elsewhere. Throughout I examine primarily the "memorial heritage" of Lydia (as defined further below), paying particular attention to communities in Sardis; in the last two chapters I turn away from Sardis, exploring instead the alternative "memorial heritage" of Hypaepa and Philadelphia, two neighboring towns whose people chose not to commemorate Lydia. The main questions I attempt to tackle include the following: What elements of material culture prompted local communities in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia to imagine the local past? What sorts of things in the local past (i.e. what creatures, people, or events) did these communities choose to remember? What were some of the alternative or competing narratives about the local past available to these communities?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Both quotes on Robert from Ma (2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Nora (1996:xvii) thought of *lieux de mémoire* as a distinctly modern phenomenon evolved partly from a recent severing of memory and history; however, partly inspired by Nora, others have sustained that sites of memory not only existed in the pre-modern past, but that they can be explored archaeologically. For pre-modern, indeed pre-historic sites of memory, see Bradley (2000 and 2002); for a brief discussion of Nora's *lieux de mémoire* by a prominent classical archaeologist, see Alcock (2002:20-1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See, for example, the various items in my bibliography under P. Gauthier, P. Herrmann, H. Malay, G. Petzl, L. Robert, and P. Weiß.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Spawforth (2001) made an effort to contextualize some of the relevant material, "most of it tucked away in specialist work on Lydian epigraphy and numismatics," (quotation from p. 375).

This dissertation then belongs, on the one hand, to the tradition of Anatolianists who believed in the elucidation of cultural life in antiquity through the simultaneous use of varied primary documents—especially literary, archaeological, and topographical—as well as in the reconstruction of narratives about the past using fine details, even if these come from alarmingly distant time periods such as the Bronze Age and Late Antiquity. On the other hand, this dissertation belongs to a growing body of scholarship devoted to the examination of cultural memory as embedded in a "material matrix." While it is arguably the case that archaeologists' attitudes to all the elements that compose this "material matrix" have changed in the wake of more-and-more sophisticated theoretical approaches to hard archaeological evidence, by far the most significant transformation has occurred in the discipline's attitudes towards landscapes. 11 This is especially true for classical archaeologists, who over the last few decades have come to realize that systematic field survey can expand the data available to them for the study of the past, furnishing evidence about whole classes of people and phenomena that are virtually absent from the literary and epigraphic record. 12 Although I do not make use of survey data for reasons I explain further below, I hope that the topography of memory sketched out in this dissertation will contribute to the increasingly refined picture of the settlement and archaeology of Lydia produced partly by the ongoing Central Lydian Archaeological Survey of Christopher Roosevelt and Christina Luke. 13 Conversely, I fully expect that further excavation and survey, especially outside of Sardis, will add significant nuances to this topography of memory in Lydia.

My dissertation has the modest novelty of being the first extended discussion of its kind dealing with Hellenistic and Roman Lydia. My findings should be of interest to many students of the ancient world, primarily to those concerned with the "material matrix" of memory, as well as to those dealing with issues of identity in Late Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia. It should also benefit those studying issues of identity in the Greek and Roman world at large because Lydia occupied a prominent position in the ancient imagination; in fact, the Greeks imagined themselves to be Greeks in contradistinction not only to the Persians, but also to the much more proximate peoples of Western Asia Minor—chief among them the Lydians. Finally my dissertation should also be of service to those concerned with ancient Anatolian folklore.

My title requires some elucidation. The term EMPIRE is doubly charged. On the one hand, I use the word literally to mean the Lydian Empire that ruled over the better part of Western Anatolia, from the Aegean Coast to the Halys River, from about the middle of the eighth century BCE to the year 546 BCE. In fact, much of the material culture I examine—including the funerary tumuli of the Mermnad kings as well as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> On the hermeneutic potential of landscapes in archaeology, see Bender (1993), Ucko (1997: xiii-xxiiii), Ashmore and Knapp (1999:1-30), and Yoffee (2007:2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For pivotal book-length studies arguing for the relevance of landscapes in classical archaeology, see Snodgrass (1987) and Alcock (1993 and 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See the various items in my bibliography under Roosevelt, and Roosevelt and Luke.

archaic Lydian sculptures and inscriptions re-used in the Late Antique synagogue at Sardis—was produced during this time period or shortly thereafter. On the other hand, I use the term EMPIRE metaphorically: after 546 BCE, when the Lydian King Croesus lost his capital to the Persian King Cyrus, indigenous rulers would never again govern the territories that had been until then under Lydian control; and yet, the memory of a golden Lydia of old exerted a profound influence on local narratives about the past at least until the end of antiquity; in fact it constituted a critical cultural horizon in relation to which local communities in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia defined themselves for many centuries.

This latter EMPIRE OF MEMORIES is quite different from the former historical one. For example, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, local communities often remembered that Lydia was a land of kings among whom were counted the historical Mermnads, such as Gyges and Croesus (who had respectively consolidated and lost the historical Lydian Empire), as well as the Tantalids and Heraclids. The descendants of the heroes Tantalus and Heracles were thought to belong to older local dynasties receding back into a vivid, mythical past. This EMPIRE OF MEMORIES did not begin to exist with the fall of Sardis, for the Mermnads themselves had inherited and invented their own narratives about what had happened in those territories before their rise; nor did it fall with Croesus either: on the contrary, new personages—imagined in response to changing cultural circumstances—were themselves incorporated into the mythical and historical dynasties, and their exploits were associated with landmarks that became eventually sites of memory. This EMPIRE OF MEMORIES is made up then of complex cultural constructs of the Lydian past, some of which coexisted with, some of which postdated the historical entities they served to envision.

I realize that precisely because "[m]emory possesses a robust hold on the scholarly imagination," 14 it runs the risk of being both under-specified and all-encompassing. A simple, but candid definition of what I mean will have to do for now: the MEMORIES of my title are narratives about the local past shared by people who derived a sense of belonging to a specific community from them. Although throughout my dissertation I have avoided speaking about identity in the abstract, I also realize that, in archaeology as in many other disciplines, identity is virtually inseparable from memory. Ultimately, these MEMORIES informed what local communities and individuals thought about themselves, but I do not think it worthwhile to explore exactly how much a citizen of Roman Sardis felt Lydian or Roman or Persian or Hellene or Jewish or Christian. Rather, the plural MEMORIES in my title is an acknowledgment that multiple narratives about the local past always co-existed in Lydia and elsewhere, even if we cannot always reconstruct them; the plural should serve as a reminder that discrete communities and even individuals articulated their own pasts by simultaneously activating several—often fictional, and even historically contradictory—MEMORIES. 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Similarly, although we tend to speak of Greeks and Romans—not to mention Lydians, Carians, and Phrygians—as if they were homogenous peoples, several identities were always simultaneously operative within each of these ethnic groupings. The problem of treating Anatolian communities as homogenous peoples is compounded by the fact that ancient historians themselves spoke of Lydians, Carians, and Phrygians until the end of antiquity, despite the fact that major political changes transformed their cultural composition. On the thorny issue of ethnicity and acculturation in Roman Asia Minor, see Mitchell (2000).

It should thus be kept in mind then that my dissertation is less about what "really" happened in the remote past in Lydia than about what local communities during the Hellenistic and Roman periods imagined to have taken place. <sup>16</sup> For example, I am not primarily concerned with the historicity of the Tyrrhenian migration, but rather with the fact that the Sardians, when asking the Emperor Tiberius for the privilege of erecting a temple, read an Etruscan decree verifying their consanguinity. <sup>17</sup> Thus, my dissertation is concerned primarily with what Jan Assmann termed "cultural memory." <sup>18</sup> Assmann, whose writings have instigated much current work on "the past in the past," argued succinctly for the relevance of such "fictions" as the Tyrrhenian migration:

[M]emory history, unlike historiography [...] must not treat memories as fictions, dismissing them with a condescending smile and confronting them critically with the facts that emerge from research into the past. For from the standpoint of the history of memory, these fictions are themselves facts, to the extent that they have defined a memory horizon of a society as it was, and have thus put their stamp on its particular historical character.<sup>19</sup>

I understand MATERIAL CULTURE broadly to include artifacts, monuments, and landscapes. I assume that all three—rather than being the passive props or stage for activities retold in myth and history—were dynamically involved in the articulation of narratives about the past. The vital role of artifacts and monuments in the production of ancient (or contemporary) pasts needs little explanation. For better or worse, artifacts, and monuments have been the focus of most classical archaeology since its inception as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

Independent of disciplinary strictures, it is easy to see how an artifact may incite reflection about the past, especially a work of art. This quality of artworks has been explored recently by Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood; although the focus of their investigations is the Renaissance, their analysis applies also to our own material:

No device more effectively generates the effect of a doubling or bending of time than the work of art, a strange kind of event whose relation to time is plural. The artwork is made or designed by an individual or by a group of individuals at some moment, but it also points away from that moment, backward to a remote ancestral

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  In a different sense, this dissertation *is* about what "really" happened, for people *really* reactivated the latent potential in objects and places.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 4.55=Pedley (1972: no. 221); for a selection of other relevant ancient literary sources, see Pedley (1972: nos. 20-25); for a detailed modern treatment of the myth of the Tyrrhenian migration, see Briquel (1991).

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  As defined by Assmann (2006), building on the foundation laid by Halbwachs (1925); see also Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:2)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Assmann (2006:179); cf. Livy's *praefatium* (especially 6-9) for the ancient recognition that similar "fictions" were useful for the study of history.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For a succinct overview of the development of classical archaeology, see Trigger (2006:61-67); for a more detailed analysis, see Morris (1994); for a lively book-length account of the same issue, see Shanks (1996).

origin, perhaps, or to a prior artifact, or to an origin outside of time, in divinity. At the same time it points forward to all its future recipients who will activate and reactivate it as a meaningful event.<sup>21</sup>

But the capacity of effecting a doubling or bending of time is not exclusive to works of art—even if it is heightened in their case. In fact, many other things are involved in this process and not only one those whose materiality reveals their antiquity; even an heirloom that has been tended so well that it is not patently old can make those using it look both backward and forward.

Monuments too have seemed to many to exist primarily in order to provoke reflection about the past: a compact formulation of this notion is attributed to Cicero who argued that the Latin word *monumentum* shows that monuments are built in the hope of exciting the memory of future generations rather than for the sake of the present.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, an empty landscape may prompt an observer to reflect and seek an explanation for its very emptiness; if others have already asked similar questions when confronting that same space, the un-built environment itself may become as much a cultural landscape as that distinguished by monuments.<sup>23</sup>

The IMAGINED PAST of my title is not to be distinguished from a "real" past, but rather from a past that was simply not thought about—neither remembered, nor forgotten.

My dissertation is divided into thirteen chapters:

Chapters one to four treat NATURAL LANDSCAPES. In chapter one I examine a volcanic territory in eastern Lydia known as κατακεκαυμένη or "Scorched Land"; its peculiar topography serves as a foil to examine conflicting narratives about the local past. One of these narratives involves an old Lydian myth that was treated in antiquity in a variety of media; this allows me to introduce the various types of material evidence to be examined throughout. Chapters two to four deal with Lydian lakes: I examine the Gygaean Lake on the Hermus River plain, the Torrhebian Lake on Mt Tmolus, and two smaller bodies of water on Mt Sipylus. The lakes allow me to draw a picture of the variety of heroic ancestors that communities in Late Hellenistic and Roman Sardis associated with local topographical features.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Nagel and Wood (2010:9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cicero apud Nonnius Marcellus p. 32.15=Maltby (1991: s. v. monumentum): "sed ego, quae monumenti ratio sit, nomine ipse admoneor. ad memoriam magis spectare debet posteritatis quam ad praesentis temporis gratiam." In spite of Cicero's explanation, I believe—as I think many contemporary readers would—that a monument's impact on the present is as significant as its intended impact on the future. See also Bradley (2002:82-111) for a pre-historian's discussion of prehistoric "monuments and the formation of memory."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> On the archaeological exploration of landscape and memory see, among many others, Alcock (2002:28-32), Ashmore and Knapp (1999:13-14), Bradley (2002:12-14), and Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:5-6).

Chapters five to eight are concerned exclusively with Lydian TUMULI. These funerary monuments are without doubt the most conspicuous ancient monuments in all of Lydia, and it is not surprising that they repeatedly incited reflection about the past in the past. In contrast to my procedure with natural landscapes, ancient literary descriptions—rather than specific monuments—motivate my discussion. I explore here the imagined afterlife of the tumuli, attempting to reconstruct the various local narratives associated with them. After analyzing the literary accounts concerning the tombs of the historical Mermnad kings in chapter five, I treat those of imagined personages including the tomb of the courtesan, the tomb of the mythical king Tmolus, and the tomb of the fantastic giant Hyllus. These chapters allow me to discuss the diversity of individuals and groups interested in the local past.

In chapters nine to eleven I turn from the countryside to the city of Sardis. Chapter nine is again devoted to a MONUMENT: the mud-brick palace of Croesus at Sardis. A discussion concerning its re-use in the Late Hellenistic period allows me to speculate about the possibility that even intrinsically worthless objects, such as mud-brick, may have served as critical elements in the reflection about the local past. In chapters ten and eleven I examine the recovery, re-interpretation, and re-use of ARTIFACTS: specifically I study the redeployment of archaic Lydian artworks in two different religious contexts in Late Antique Sardis: the sanctuary of Artemis and the local synagogue. Archaeologically, these are by far the most sophisticated cases of manipulation of the "material matrix" of memory at Sardis.

Finally, in chapters twelve and thirteen I turn away from Sardis and explore the neighboring towns of Philadelphia and Hypaepa, where alternative memory horizons—specifically Persian and Egyptian—were conjured when imagining local antiquity. These towns serve as a control group to examine different possibilities that would have been available to local communities and individuals in Late Hellenistic and Roman Sardis.

Many of the chapters of my dissertation include reflections about the origin of Lydian toponyms. The etymology of proper names is a notoriously tricky enterprise. I have dared to include these speculations because I am convinced that toponyms provide a window into ancient folklore, often shedding light on local imaginary landscapes.<sup>24</sup>

Geographically, the individual chapters of my dissertation range widely within Lydia, but I concentrate on the region of the middle Hermus River, paying special attention to the Gygaean Lake, the plateau of Bin Tepe, and the city of Sardis; this area was the political and cultural center of the territory throughout antiquity, and it is the region of Lydia that has been studied most intensively. I also discuss other landscapes including the city of Philadelphia and the volcanic territory known as the "Scorched Land" in eastern Lydian, and the lakes on Mt Sipylus in west. In southern Lydia, I examine the town of Hypaepa as well as its rural hinterlands, both on Mt Tmolus and on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Several distinguished Indo-Europeanists have variously assisted me in my attempts to formulate etymological conjectures; they shall remain nameless, but I want to register my gratitude to those scholars who unselfishly agreed to accompany me through onomastic quicksand.

the Cayster River plain. I do not treat northern Lydia, but the type of investigation I propose could be pursued also in that region.

Chronologically, I am concerned primarily with Lydia under the Roman Empire, especially between the second and the fourth centuries CE; modern scholars have long recognized this as a period of heightened interest in the local past. Although in most of my case studies the communities or individuals who were doing the remembering lived at this time, I also consider Late Hellenistic and Late Antique cases. The memory horizons of the communities and individuals involved are much harder to define, but for the most part they belong to a vague moment before the fall of Sardis when Lydia was still an empire.

As I have said above, although my dissertation's aims are *au courant*, my methodology—especially with respect to landscape—is rather old-fashioned, for I rely heavily on literary sources, and although my findings are informed by topographical autopsy, I do not incorporate the evidence of systematic survey. While with Van Dyke and Alcock I too am committed to the notion that "archaeology, and in some cases *only* archaeology, can do much to illuminate how people in the past conceived their past, and perceived their present and future," <sup>25</sup> I embrace the peculiar challenges posed by literate—or at least partially literate—ancient societies, such as those that lived in Lydia during the periods in question. As classical archaeologists become less capable of dealing with untranslated ancient texts and classical philologists become less interested in material culture, it seems salutary to me to read Hipponax with an archaeologist's eye and excavate Lydian ruins with a philologist's trowel.

In the end, my methodology is the result of purely practical and personal considerations: when I began writing this dissertation little systematic survey of Lydia had yet been conducted; undertaking such efforts was quite beyond my possibilities, not least because archaeological field-work often involves equal parts bureaucracy and disciplinary inertia; more than anything, my methodology responds to the fact that I was trained as an architect, a philologist, and an archaeologist: "a lion in front, a snake in back, and a shegoat in the middle"—a true Chimera if there ever was one. <sup>26</sup> As someone who has attempted to combine the methodological practices of these different disciplines, I know that I run the risk of satisfying no one and—what is far more alarming—of having to confront my own Lydian Bellerophon. May Athena not furnish winged-horses to the would-be dragon-slayer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Homer Iliad 6.181: πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα.

# 1 The "Scorched Land"

#### Introduction

I was much struck, I might say almost horror-struck, at seeing about six or seven hundred yards of a large volcanic mountain, of which the character was so distinctly marked that it seems but latterly to have ceased to burn. The colour was very dark, almost approaching to black, and the numerous lighter streaks, running down the top all round, marked the course of the lava. On one side its course was more boldly marked: a high ridge from the crater down in a zigzag direction towards the town of Koolah was the principal current, and it formed in its course a most extraordinary looking ridge of considerable breadth and height, all the way to the town. The light coloured houses, white and shining minarets, and the green trees of Koolah, were strongly contrasted with this awful and terrible looking volcanic mountain and ridge.

William Arundell, A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia (1828:260-261)<sup>27</sup>

The region of Lydia known in antiquity as κατακεκαυμένη or "Scorched Land" is a volcanic territory near the modern city of Kula (spelled Koolah above), which was as unsettling in antiquity as it was when the British explorer William Arundell visited. In this chapter I examine ancient narratives set in the κατακεκαυμένη that try to account for the region's remarkable appearance. After a geographical description, I turn to the mythology of landscape of the "Scorched Land". I focus on tales relating the combat between a firespitting dragon and its divine or semi-divine antagonist. After discussing what we know about the origins and transformation of this Anatolian dragon-slaying myth, I concentrate on the local relevance of these narratives in the second and third centuries CE. To do so I use literary and archaeological sources spanning several millennia, from the Bronze Age through Late Antiquity.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The "Scorched Land" is a volcanic territory in eastern Lydia (see map): <sup>28</sup> cratered mounds, ashy soils, pitch-black rocks, and tracts of basalt lava create a bizarre natural landscape. <sup>29</sup> The territory lies on a high plateau defined on the north and west by the upper Hermus and Hyllus rivers, and on the south by the Cogamus. To the east no natural limit separates the κατακεκαυμένη from the Mocadene and Phrygia except for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Arundell's lyrical description of the "Scorched Land" is quoted at greater length in Robert (1962:304-305); see also Lane Fox (2008:289-290).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The main modern treatments concerningthe history and archaeology of the "Scorched Land" include Buresch (1898), Philippson (1913:237-241), and Robert (1962:287-313).

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  For references on the geological processes that led to the formation of the "Scorched Land", see Roosevelt (2009: s. v. Catacecaumene in the index) who notes on p. 47, n. 42, that the region's "volcanism began around 25,000  $\pm$  6,000 or 30,000  $\pm$  5,000 years ago, and appears to have ended some time before 10,000 years ago." See also Roosevelt in Cahill (2010a: 42-43).

conspicuous fact that suddenly the landscape no longer bears witness to a primordial conflagration (see figure 1.1).

THE "SCORCHED LAND" AS AN IMAGINARY LANDSCAPE

Throughout antiquity the κατακεκαυμένη was repeatedly associated with Maeonia. "Maeonian" was the ethnonym used by Homer to describe natural landmarks and people that in later Greek and Latin poetry—as well as in almost all Classical prose—would be characterized as "Lydian". According to Greek and Roman sources, the Maeonians were the early inhabitants of the lands washed by the Hermus and Hyllus rivers, the shores of the Gygaean Lake, and the territory under Mt Tmolus.

Independent of its association with Maeonia, the "Scorched Land" was renowned also as the lair of the "terrible, haughty, and lawless" dragon Typhon.<sup>31</sup> This monstrous adversary of Zeus was thought to have lived "among the Arimoi" (είν Ἀρίμοις). Although in antiquity there was uncertainty as to whether the Arimoi were a topographical feature or a people, as well as to whether they were to be found in the east or in the west, at least since the fifth century BCE some ancient authorities placed the Arimoi in the κατακεκαυμένη.<sup>32</sup> Strabo, for example, records that the Lydo-Greek prose-writer Xanthus spoke of a king Arimous who ruled over the "Scorched Land". Strabo also suggests that even in antiquity there were conflicting opinions about the causes of the appearance of the κατακεκαυμένη. The issue was being debated in Xanthus' lifetime and it had not been resolved by the reign of Augustus, for Strabo appears critical of those who "do not hesitate to tell stories (μυθολογεῖν) about Typhon's doings [in the κατακεκαυμένη]."<sup>33</sup>

Local tales of fire-breathing dragons abounded in Lydia; in fact, Typhon was just one incarnation of the monster that was imagined to have lurked in the "Scorched Land"; a lesser-known, but related creature was the anonymous adversary of the Lydian heroes Tylon and Masnes, whose less familiar exploits include, unsurprisingly, the vanquishing of a dragon.<sup>34</sup> Even as late as the second and third centuries CE, the κατακεκαυμένη was still inciting gripping visions of the combat between man and mythical serpent; those who thought of themselves as descendants of the Lydian dragon-slayers celebrated their remote ancestors by pointing to the haunting landscape of the "Scorched Land".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> On Maeonia and the Maeonians, see chapter 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Hesiod *Theogony* 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See Strabo 12.8.9 and 13.4.11 (which jointly correspond to Xanthus *FGrHist* 765F13a-b); cf. Homer *Iliad* 2.783 with scholia; for further ancient references and discussion of ancient opinions about the mysterious Arimoi, see West (1966:250-251 commenting on Hesiod *Theogony* 304). See also, Lane Fox (2008: s. v. "Arima-Arimoi" in the index) who believes, as others have before him, that he has cracked the mystery of the Arimoi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Strabo 13.4.11=*FGrHist* 765F13b. Theoretical speculation about landscape change at a continental scale is at least as early as the sixth-century BCE Ionian thinker Xenophanes of Colophon (see *DK* 21 A 37); cf. Xanthus *FGrHist* 765F12 containing observations about sea-shells in inland Armenia (which corresponds to a place in what is today eastern Turkey).

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  I treat the myth of Tylon and Masnes at length further below.

## THE MYTH OF TYLON AND $Masnes^{35}$

# Literary evidence

The myth of Tylon and Masnes is known to us from three coins (discussed below), and from three ancient literary sources: Pliny the Elder, the fifth-century CE Greco-Egyptian "wandering poet" Nonnus of Panopolis, 36 and the fifth/sixth-century CE Neo-Platonic philosopher Aeneas of Gaza; other literary and epigraphic texts seem to make allusions to it. 37 Ancient commentators often associate and sometimes even identify Tylon and Masnes with Heracles and both Tylon and Masnes are said to be sons of earth. Also, the heroes share their names with members of the Lydian Royal family, including the first Lydian king who, according to some ancient sources, was called Masnes. 38

The least informative of the three ancient literary sources is Aeneas of Gaza, who merely mentions the resuscitation by Heracles of a character called Tymon (*sic*).<sup>39</sup> Also compact, but much more illuminating is Pliny's account, both because it is the earliest extant ancient testimony, and because Pliny cites Xanthus as an authority, suggesting that the myth of Tylon and Masnes was known already in fifth-century CE Lydia.<sup>40</sup> I quote Pliny's report in full:

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.<sup>41</sup>

Xanthus, author of histories, reports in the first [book] of these that the slain offspring of the dragon was called back to life by his parent through the use of an herb, which he calls "balis," and with the same herb, Tylon, whom the dragon had slain, was restored to health.

In comparison to Aeneas and Pliny, Nonnus is expansive, devoting over a hundred lines to the myth and recording many otherwise unattested details.<sup>42</sup> The narrative in the *Dionysiaca* can be summarized as follows: when walking along the steep banks of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The main modern discussions of this Lydian myth include Robert (1937), Gusmani (1960), Hanfmann (1958), Herter (1965), and Chuvin (1991); see also *LIMC* (s. n. Manes), which includes a full bibliography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> On "wandering poets" in Late Antiquity, see Cameron (1965); more generally on wandering poets in ancient Greece, see Hunter and Rutherford (2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> For indirect ancient references, see Chuvin (1991:107 n. 42).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> On these associations, see Vian (1990:36-42) and also Hanfmann (1958)...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The eccentric spelling in the manuscripts may be due simply to scribal confusion between the Greek majuscule letters M and  $\Lambda$ . For the text of Aeneas of Gaza, see Colonna (1958:63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Below I discuss a depiction of two gigantic water-serpents on a sixth-century BCE Lydian *lebes* that may conceivably be representing mythical snakes related to the adversaries of Tylon and Masnes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Pliny the Elder Naturalis Historia 25.5.14=FGrHist 765F3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 25.451-552.

Hermus River, Tylon is bitten by a snake and dies (25.451-469). Tylon's sister, Moria, secures the help of the giant called Damasen to avenge her dead brother (25.470-494). <sup>43</sup> A great "earth-shaking" (25.513) struggle ensues between Damasen, whom Nonnus has previously called "the dragon-slayer" (δρακοντοφόνος 25.453), and the snake, which has by now assumed fantastic proportions. Damasen kills the dragon (25.495-521). Moria then watches as a female snake, "like a woman longing for her spouse", resuscitates the slain animal with an herb called the "flower of Zeus" (25.521-538). Upon seeing this, Moria takes the life-giving herb and resuscitates her brother Tylon (25.539-552).

Of the three surviving ancient accounts, the *Dionysiaca* alone specifies a setting for the myth. The poet is sparing in topographical details, but the few that he gives are enough to propose a location. The very first word of the relevant passage is critical: Maeonia (25.451; mentioned again at 25.455), which Nonnus further specifies as the "the nanny of Bacchus." As I mentioned above, Strabo records that some ancient authorities placed the  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\kappa\kappa\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  in Maeonia; while central Lydia in general and Mt Tmolus in particular were regularly imagined to have been the birthplace of Dionysus,<sup>44</sup> Strabo also records that "some wittily assert that Dionysus is likely called "fire-born", using evidence from places such as [the "Scorched Land"]."<sup>45</sup> A minor topographical hint lends further support to the notion that the setting of the myth is the  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\kappa\kappa\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ : Nonnus says that Tylon was bitten by the snake as he walked on the "steep banks" (ὀφρύσι) of the neighboring Hermus (25.456); as far as I know, nowhere, except where the Hermus borders the "Scorched Land," are its banks steep.<sup>46</sup>

Nonnus is also the only ancient author who describes in detail Tylon and Damasen's antagonist. The beast in the *Dionysiaca* seems initially to be a normal snake: a potentially life-threatening, but otherwise unremarkable creature; however, the formidable adversary of the giant Damasen is a supernatural monster:<sup>47</sup> this terrifying dragon can pull up trees by the root, gulp them down, then suddenly spit them out with a grim blow

 $<sup>^{43}</sup>$  Moria is a character associated by Nonnus at 2.86 with the olive tree. The name Damasen, instead of the more common Masnes, may be due to a word-game involving the verb  $\delta\alpha\mu\dot{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  meaning "tame, break in, subdue", which often is a component of the name of mythical giants; on this etymology, see Vian (1990:38).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Various ancient sources associate Dionysus with Lydia; within Lydia, his birthplace is frequently said to be Mt Tmolus, see chapter 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Strabo 13.4.11=FGrHist 765F13b: ἀστεϊζόμενοι δέ τινες εἰκότως πυριγενῆ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγεσθαί φασιν, ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων χωρίων τεκμαιρόμενοι. The notion that Dionysus was born in the "Scorched Land" may itself be due to a word game whereby "Dionysus" refers both to the god and to wine by metonymy. Like many other parts of Lydia, the "Scorched Land" was renowned for its vineyards, see Strabo 14.1.15=Pedley (1972: no. 266), Pliny Naturalis Historia 14.75, and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. κατακεκαυμένη) who mention wines from the κατακεκαυμένη.

 $<sup>^{46}</sup>$  Alternatively, the poet may be using the expression to mean the unexplored parts of the river near its hilly source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The dragon-slaying motif is deeply embedded in Indo-European poetry, on which see Watkins (1995). Persian traditions—whose remote source may be common to the narrative of Tylon and Masnes—also speak of such alarming transformations in the size of the mythical dragon; on this issue see Russell (1990:5) who noted: "Hamdallah Mustaufi Kazvini [a Persian historian, geographer, and epic poet, whose dates are 1281–1349 CE] in his *Nuzhatu'l-Kulub* wrote that the dragon at first was only a serpent. But then it changed shape; and when a serpent came to be more than thirty yards longs and over a hundred years old, it was called a dragon."

(βλόσυρον φύσημα); more disturbingly, it can even swallow men whole, not to mention the fact that it has poison-shooting teeth (ioβόλων... οδόντων) which shine from afar because this snake is fully fifty furlongs in length (πεντεκονταπέλεθρος). The dragon's movements make the earth shake (25.472-484); in fact, the monster is so big that Damasen needs to use a fully-grown tree as a spear to kill it (25.520).<sup>48</sup>

Although Nonnus never explicitly mentions the "Scorched Land" in relating this episode, it is very likely that Tylon and Damasen's adversary, like Typhon, is a reflex of the primordial monster that was imagined to have caused havoc in the "Scorched Land" even before Maeonia became Lydia.

#### Numismatic evidence

Among those who wished to commemorate the old confrontation between the local ancestral heroes and the dragon were some prominent Sardians. In the second quarter of the third century CE, the city of Sardis issued three coins variously illustrating the myth of Tylon and Masnes. A single specimen of each coin-type survives today:

The reverse of the earliest of these coins (see figure 1.2), minted under the emperor Alexander Severus (222-235 CE), shows two naked, club-bearing heroes, whose names—inscribed in tiny lettering between them—are Tylon and Masnes; Masnes, on the right, hands a plant to Tylon; at the heroes' feet lies a dead snake.<sup>49</sup> On the reverse of the second coin (see figure 1.3), minted under the emperor Gordian III (238-244 CE), a lone naked hero labeled Masdnes (*sic*) is forcefully raising a club against a defiant coiling snake that holds a plant in its jaws.<sup>50</sup> The third of the coins in question celebrates Otacilia Severa, wife of Philip the Arab (244-249 CE); its reverse depicts a man riding a chariot driven by snakes; here too an inscription identifies the triumphant charioteer as Tylon; the name Ge inscribed below records his ancestry, for as I mentioned above, Tylon was thought to be a son of the personified Earth.<sup>51</sup>

## THE HITTITE ILLUYANKAS AND ITS LYDIAN REFLEXES

There are compelling reasons to believe that the narratives of the confrontation between Typhon and Zeus,<sup>52</sup> as well as that between Tylon and Masnes (or Damasen) and the nameless snake/dragon are different retellings of a myth that was told in Bronze Age Anatolia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Although the "Scorched Land" is now partly forested with pines, it was not so in antiquity; Strabo 14.1.15=Pedley (1972: no. 266) calls it "treeless"; Damasen's weapon seems to be a magical tree, for after the giant uses it to crush the snake's head, the weapon-tree takes root again.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> BMC Lydia Sardis no. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, no. 1309=anc. Coll. Waddington no. 5274, pl. 9.19; enlarged in Robert (1937 pl. 1.9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, no. 1313A=Mionnet 4 no.780.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Retold, most famously, by Hesiod in *Theogony* 823-835.

It has long been known that there are striking parallels between the Greek myth of Typhon and the Hittite myth of *illuyankas*.<sup>53</sup> The Hittite narrative concerns a contest between the Storm God and the monster *illuyankas*.<sup>54</sup> Summarized succinctly, the main action is as follows: after the initial defeat of the Storm God by the *illuyankas*, a helper intervenes tricking the dragon and securing the triumph of the Storm God.

There are two surviving narratives of the Hittite myth: versions 1 and 2—labeled so after Gary Beckman (1982); the two variants differ significantly from each other.<sup>55</sup> The characters and places in version 1 have proper names, 56 but not in version 2. Furthermore, the toponyms in version 1 indicate that the action takes place north of the Hittite capital Hattusa, in Kiskilussa (§3), some 50kms inland from the southern coast of the Black Sea.<sup>57</sup> while in version 2 the action takes place at an indeterminate sea.<sup>58</sup> The different settings in versions 1 and 2 have repercussion on the nature of the monstrous adversary of the Storm God: while in version 2 the *illuvankas* is a sea-monster, in version 1 the *illuvankas* is a land creature that creeps out of a hole.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, in version 1 the goddess Inara persuades the mortal Hupasiya to trick and "bind" the serpent. 60 Hupasiya agrees provided that Inara sleep with him, which she does. Hupasiva then "binds" the dragon. By contrast, version 2 does not involve female intercession: instead, the son-of-the-Storm-God, acting on his own, reclaims the heart and eyes of his father, which the Storm God had lost to the illuvankas. However, a female presence is latent, for the son of the Storm God is enmeshed in a conflict of interests that ultimately costs him his life. 61 The son of the Storm God needs to betray his own wife and his in-law family in order to succeed, for he happens to be also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> These parallels were first systematically studied by Porzig (1930); since then, the bibliography on the topic has grown steadily, notable contributions include: Vian (1960), Walcot (1966), West (1966), Burkert (1979), Bernabé (1986 and 1988), Watkins (1995:448-459), and Katz (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Beckman (1982) argued that the collocation MUS illuyankas is not a proper name, but merely the Hittite word for serpent; Katz (1998) then showed that the word means literally "eel-snake". Although the monster was originally a water-creature, the beast sometimes roamed on land as I explain below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> The myth of *illuyankas* may date back to the early the second millennium BCE, but the surviving copies of the narrative were written down in the second half of the second millennium BCE. For an introduction to the myth, as well as a brief discussion and English translations of the two versions, see Hoffner (1990:9-14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Hoffner (1990:11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Bryce (2002:217): "Indeed the place-names mentioned in the story, Ziggaratta and Nerik, place it firmly in the once predominantly Hattic regions of central Anatolia, lying north of Hattusa and extending toward the Pontic coast."

 $<sup>^{58}</sup>$  Perhaps specifically in the Black Sea, which in the Greek and Roman imagination was famous for its dangers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> The fluctuating habitat of the monster may also be responsible for variations in the gender of the monster in subsequent retellings: so, while the masculine Typhon is associated with the "Scorched Land", his "spouse", the female Echidna, is associated with the Gygaean Lake; see chapter 2, below. Again, Persian traditions know of the dragon's relocation from land to sea and back again, on which see Russell (1990:5), who noted that according to the same Hamdallah Mustafa Kazvini quoted above: "[The dragon] terrorized the beings on land, so God cast it into the sea. The dragon grew fins and kept growing. It caused damage there. So it was killed and cast upon shore, and the inhabitants of the land of Gog and Magog ate it." It should be noted that Lydia has been identified sometimes as the land of Gog and Magog by Biblical scholars who speculatively equate Gog with Gyges, on which see, for example, Hemer (1986:131).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The significance of binding is explained below.

<sup>61</sup> Hoffner (1990:13).

the husband of the daughter of the serpent. In version 2 the Storm God's triumph involves the obliteration of the entire family of the serpent, including the Storm God's own son.

Perhaps unsurprisingly for an erudite poet obsessed with monsters and steeped in ancient local traditions Nonnus seems to have known variants of both Hittite versions. While version 2 corresponds to the story of how Cadmus recovered the sinews of Zeus from Typhon,  $^{62}$  some aspects of version 1 seems to underlie the narrative that we have been considering above. There is also a "misplaced" poetic detail that adds support to the notion that Nonnus' account is a retelling—after indeterminate intermediate stages—of the Hittite myth. At *Dionysiaca* 25.506, Nonnus describes the dragon as "cording the body of Damasen with winding coils" ( $\sigma$ ko $\lambda$ la $\tilde{\alpha}$ s  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda$ lke $\sigma$ ol  $\delta$ e $\mu$ as  $\Delta$ a $\mu$ a $\sigma$  $\tilde{\eta}$ vos  $\dot{\mu}\dot{\alpha}\sigma$ o $\omega$ v). Calvert Watkins has demonstrated that "cording, binding" is the critical shared motifeme of the various attestations of the myth of *illuyankas*/Typhon. In addition, Watkins has shown that the words  $\dot{\mu}\dot{\alpha}$ s, meaning "thong, cord", and the denominative  $\dot{\mu}\dot{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ , meaning "to lash" are reflexes of the inherited poetic term describing the hero's action against the dragon. Thus, in version 1 of the Hittite myth, Hupasiya binds the *illuyankas* "with a cord" (§11 *išhimanta*, cf.  $\dot{\mu}\dot{\alpha}$ s), as will later Greek dragon-slayers; curiously, in Nonnus' retelling of the myth it is the dragon that "binds" the hero.

Ultimately this fatal "binding" may also be effected with words alone. Verbal binding happens for example at *Dionysiaca* 13.474-497 where, facing yet a third version of the dragon of the "Scorched Land", a priest of Lydian Zeus from Statala (*sic* for the more common Satala) uses a magical *figura etymologica* with "his word as a sword, and his voice as a shield" to freeze the wretched monster in its tracks by shouting: " $\sigma\tau\tilde{\eta}\theta$ I,  $\tau\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu$ " (*stéthi tálan*, cf. Statala) meaning literally "Stop, wretch!" 64

#### The female seductress

Although the Lydian myth of Tylon and Masnes (or Damasen) has been associated alsso with the epic of Gilgamesh,<sup>65</sup> it is directly indebted to Anatolian mythology. The most intriguing parallel between Nonnus' re-telling and version 1 of the Hittite myth of *illuyankas* is the crucial role of a divine or semi-divine female seductress in securing the aid of the hero's helper. This feminine character is related by blood to the temporarily defeated and soon-to-be-resuscitated protagonist: in the Hittite myth, Inara is the daughter of the Storm God, while in the Lydian one Moria is the sister of Tylon. It is likely that just as Tylon and Damasen's snake/dragon adversary is a reflex of the Hittite *illuyankas*, Tylon's sister, Moria, is herself a reflex of the goddess Inara: the alluring female character who intercedes to secure the eventual slaying of the dragon and the resuscitation of the hero.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 1.137-2.712, with Robert (1977); the setting is Cilicia. Nonnus also sings specifically of Typhon in the "Scorched Land" at *Dionysiaca* 13.474-497.

<sup>63</sup> Watkins (1995:448-459).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See Robert (1962:297-298) who further explains the passage by noting that Adala (i.e. Satala or Statala) is located "juste au bord de la region montagneuse brûlé et volcanique, exactement à l'extremité du flot de lave le plus long." As Robert notes (*ibidem* p. 297 with n. 2), already in 1735, "l'illustre et admirablement judicieux [Peter] Wesseling" had recognized the relevance of the passage to Lydian Satala.

<sup>65</sup> Hanfmann (1958).

The importance of a female character in the Lydian retelling of the Anatolian dragon-slaying myth may be explored further. Queen Omphale, arguably the most famous woman in Lydian myth, was involved with Heracles in a complicated relationship, involving transvestism and bondage: Heracles was both Omphale's husband and her slave. As mentioned above, Heracles was the Greek avatar of Tylon and Masnes. Curiously, Omphale herself was sometimes associated with dragons, and specifically with the watermonster Echidna, with whom Heracles had intercourse. I would suggest that Lydian Omphale is also a Lydian reflex of the Hittite daughter-of-the serpent.<sup>66</sup>

#### A SIXTH-CENTURY BCE DEPICTION OF THE LYDIAN ILLUYANKAS?

Apart from the three third century CE coins discussed above, there may be one other indigenous visual depiction of the Lydian dragons: a sixth-century BCE *lebes* of East Greek style found at Sardis depicts two confronted giant water-serpents (see figure 1.4 and figure 1.5).<sup>67</sup> The decoration of the *lebes* surprised archaeologists because, as Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. noted, water-serpents are "rare in Greek vase painting, they are relatively uncommon in Greek art as a whole, and usually appear to test a hero or harass a heroine." However, as Greenewalt himself explained, the Sardian bowl with water-serpents is a cultural hybrid, indebted to Anatolian, as much as to Greek traditions in both shape and decoration. 69

Although there is no way of proving conclusively what these creatures are meant to represent, it is possible that they are depictions of monsters imagined to lurk in the Gygaean Lake, some 12kms north of Sardis. As discussed above, we know about various Lydian versions of the dragon-slaying myth from Greek and Roman authors. Pliny even invokes Xanthus in his summary of the tale. So there should be little doubt that when this vessel was produced sometime in the sixth century BCE, the Lydian reflex of the Bronze Age Anatolian dragon known in Hittite as *illuyankas* was still the fearsome protagonist of tales told in Sardis.<sup>70</sup>

The most familiar avatar of *illuyankas* is Typhon, but as I have explained above the grim Lydian dragon was also the paradigmatic adversary of Tylon and Mas(d)nes (or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> On the association of Pmphale with Echidna and the Gygaean Lake, see chapter 2 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Cahill (2010a: cat. no. 71); the vessel in question (Manisa Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum, no. 8055=Sardis Expedition inventory number P93.25:10069) was broken and repaired in antiquity, perhaps suggesting emotional attachment to it. On mended pots in Sardis, see Ramage (2008).

<sup>68</sup> Greenewalt (1994:1, 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Greenewalt (1994:1): "The Sardis provenience alone confirms a hint that the vase is not entirely of the Greek world; the four small semi-cylindrical lugs on the rim are an Anatolian design feature, the kind of non-Greek supplement that appears in places like Sardis, where Greek and Anatolian cultures merged."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> We do not know much about Lydian banquets (on what we do know, Greenewalt (1976) is essential), but if mythological narratives were part of the entertainment, tales of the formidable snake and its recurring struggles against god and men would have been sung. In one of the Hittite narratives (Hoffner (1990) version 1, §3-5), the goddess Inara prepares a grand feast with abundant alcoholic beverages after the initial defeat of the Storm God. I wonder whether the Lydians too enjoyed drinking as they heard the retelling of the death and resuscitation of the dragon and its slayer. If so, they could be drinking from a vessel depicting the monster(s).

Damasen), who, according to Nonnus, fought the monster somewhere along the banks of the upper Hermus River in Maeonia.<sup>71</sup> In the *Dionysiaca*, the snake has a consort that resuscitates it (as Damasen resuscitates Tylon) and the action is already set close to the water. Independent of Nonnus, other ancient literary sources place a giant mythical serpent specifically in the Gygaean Lake.<sup>72</sup> A watery lair for the monster is in keeping with the etymology of *illuyankas*, which Joshua Katz has shown to mean specifically "eelsnake".<sup>73</sup>

Long before the Greeks colonized the coasts of Asia Minor—and arguably even before the center of political and cultural power had moved from the shores of the Gygaean Lake to Sardis—the dragon had already been traveling far and wide throughout Anatolia. The *illuyankas* is usually thought to be of Hattic origin, originally loitering in the vicinity of the Black Sea;<sup>74</sup> but as the tale of its combat with the storm-god and his human helper spread, the *illuyankas* found new lairs in Asia Minor and beyond. A ninth-century BCE neo-Hittite representation of *illuyankas* (figure 1.6), comparable to the water-serpents on our Lydian vessel, adorns one of the orthostates from the so-called Lion's Gate at Arslantepe (Malatya).<sup>75</sup> The dragon eventually wreaked havoc in Cilicia to the south,<sup>76</sup> as well as in the Taurus Mountains and in Lake Van to the east.<sup>77</sup> It also haunted the west, roaming the "Scorched Land", lurking on the banks of the Hermus and in the waters of the Gygaean Lake.

The creatures on the Sardian *lebes*—confidently drawn and more charming than menacing—are perhaps our only surviving indigenous depiction of the Lydian *illuyankas*. To be sure, the creatures on the Sardian *lebes* seem relatively unthreatening, even benign, swimming placidly as they are among unfazed fish (with ducks looking on from the lake shores), but perhaps this is only because their human adversary is not illustrated.

#### TYLON AND MASNES IN ROMAN LYDIA

During the second and third century CE, there was keen interest in the local past throughout Roman Anatolia. This enthusiasm for epichoric antiquity was often expressed in civic displays such as coins as well as on statuary and monumental architectural reliefs.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 25.450-553.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Lycophron *Alexandra* 1351-1354 with my discussion and further bibliography in chapter 2. The snake in the *Alexandra* is not Typhon, but Typhon's spouse: Echidna. How exactly the male/female and land/water versions of the monster are related is not exactly clear, but the variations in gender and habitat are as old as the earliest Hittite version of the myth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Katz (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Beckman (1982:20) and Hoffner (1990:9-11).

<sup>75</sup> This object is now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 1.137-2.712.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bernabé (1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Russell (1990).

 $<sup>^{79}</sup>$  On the celebration of local mythologies during the high Roman Empire, see Price (2004) and Jones (2004).

At the same time, the local past was also a matter of private pride and it was commemorated more modestly. In addition to the Sardian coins of Tylon and Masnes, interest in the dragon-slayer and the resuscitated hero is evidenced also epigraphically. Louis Robert pointed out that the names of at least two Sardian tribes seem to make allusions to the myth: the Masdnians and the Alibalians; the first appellation recalls the eccentric spelling of the hero's name on the coin of Gordian; <sup>80</sup> the second may be conceivably related to that of the life-restoring herb which, according to Pliny, the snake's "spouse" and Moria used to resuscitate their respective "husband" and brother. Even beyond Lydia proper, in Miletus, there may have been a phratry called  $\text{Tu}\lambda[\omega]\nu(\delta[\alpha]]$  or "descendants of Tylon." Moreover, in Roman Phrygia (that is to say, immediately to the east of the "Scorched Land") Tylon and Masnes are attested as proper names in inscriptions. <sup>82</sup> While such onomastic details may simply be proof of conservative naming habits, it is possible that certain communities and individuals in Western Anatolia still felt some connection with these ancestral heroes in the second and third centuries CE.

In Roman Sardis those who imagined themselves as the descendants of Tylon and Masnes could effectively reach back to a chronologically undefined, but mythologically vivid past—perhaps deliberately setting their imagined ancestry in a mythical horizon, prior to the arrival of Romans, Persians, and even Greeks. At any rate, by commemorating Tylon and Masnes they could extend their cultural reach spatially, over territory that had once been controlled from Sardis, but that at the time of the minting of the coins, no longer belonged to the former Lydian capital; as I have explained above, the exploits of Tylon and Masnes took place not in the city of Sardis nor even in the Hermus River plain immediately before the city, but rather in eastern Lydia. Thus, the commemoration of these ancestral heroes through coins, inscriptions, and personal nomenclature, could have been a means to remember, or at least imagine, an alternative cultural geography.

### THE PRESBYTER PIONIUS ON THE "SCORCHED LAND"

Despite the persistence of inherited traditions, as well as the incontrovertible traces of a cataclysmic inferno, not everyone was ready to use the κατακεκαυμένη to look back into the past. At about the time that the "Scorched Land" brought Tylon and Masnes to the minds of some, other communities in Roman Anatolia were determined to use that very landscape to look forward instead, understanding it as an ominous sign of what was in store for humanity: a total, sudden, and fiery end. If the imaginary aetiology of landscape that attributed the evidence of widespread combustion to a dragon served some to remember, it inspired others to prophesy instead, by invoking that same landscape to substantiate an apocalyptic eschatology. Such was the case of the presbyter Pionius who along with some fellow Christians was arrested in Smyrna "on the second day of the sixth month [of the Smyrnean calendar], on the anniversary of the day of the martyrdom of the blessed Polycarp, while the persecution of Decius was still going on." The martyrdom's

 $<sup>^{80}</sup>$  Robert (1937:155-158), with the cautrionary remarks of Gusmani (1960:326-335); see also Hanfmann (1958:68-72).

<sup>81</sup> Didyma II (1958: no. 342).

<sup>82</sup> Zgusta (1964, for the name Masnes: 287-292 §858, and for the name Tylon: 527 §1614).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> On the martyrdom of Pionius, see Robert, Bowersock, and Jones (1994). Note that the first date in the quote is given according to the local calendar of Smyrna, while the second uses a frame of reference

double chronology—appealing as it does both to a Christian and a civic time reckoning system—is revealing of Pionius' keen awareness that among his contemporaries there were significantly different memory communities.

On the day of his arrest, before the altar at the Temple of Nemesis, Pionius announced that an "imminent trial by fire was to be effected by God, through his Word: Jesus Christ." In assurance of the fulfillment of his prophecy, he offered the evidence of landscape: he first mentioned a land in Judea, on the far side of the river Jordan, "blackened by fire and still smoking" because of impiety and he also brought up the Dead Sea, "incapable of sustaining life", but then he spoke directly to the personal experience of his audience saying: "...these things I speak of are distant from you, and yet you yourselves see and travel through the land in Lydia burnt by fire [...] and if even that is too distant, think of the thermal water [near Smyrna]."

For Pionius, the κατακεκαυμένη was primarily an omen. In asking his audience to use this natural landscape to look forward, he was also hoping to achieve, as it were, an erasure, for many in the crowd would have believed that the "Scorched Land" was a sign of how things had been. Pionius does not explicitly mention the dragon that gave "the land of Lydia burned by fire" its peculiar appearance; nor does he speak of Typhon or Damasen, much less of Tylon's resuscitation through the use of a magic herb; however, the presbyter's omission only highlights what would have been the most ready association for his audience. In fact, the received text of the martyrdom shows that dragons would have been foremost in the mind of those listening or reading. Immediately after Pionius' mention of the "Scorched Land", a copyist inserted references to "the gurgling fire of Aetna and Sicily, and Lycia besides, and the islands" (Αἴτνης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ προσέτι Λυκίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ῥοιγδούμενον πῦρ);<sup>85</sup> all of these were locations where Typhon was imagined to lurk.

The Presbyter Pionius did not want to remember Lydian dragons and their slayers; like other Christians in Western Anatolia (notably the Montanists<sup>86</sup>) he preferred to think of the peculiar landscape of the "Scorched Land" as proof of an imminent apocalypse. While the Masdnians and the Alibalians in contemporary Roman Sardis may have conceived the κατακεκαυμένη as a landscape of memory which was triumphant proof of their ancestors' exploits, Pionius of Smyrna and the prophets of heretic cults in Philadelphia were intent on using that same landscape to look forward in order to verify the imminence of the Christian day of judgement.

that is meaningful only to a Christian. The date in question is February 23, 250 CE, see Robert (1994:50 commenting on II.1).

<sup>84</sup> Martyrium Pionii presbyteri et sodalium 4.21-23: Καὶ ταῦτα μακρὰν ὑμῶν ὄντα λέγω. ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε καὶ διηγεῖσθε Λυδίας γῆν Δεκαπόλεως κεκαυμένην πυρὶ καὶ προκειμένην εἰς δεῦρο ὑπόδειγμα ἀσεβῶν, [Αἴτνης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ προσέτι Λυκίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ῥοιγδούμενον πῦρ]. εἰ καὶ ταῦτα πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀφὶ ὑμῶν, κατανοήσατε τοῦ θερμοῦ ὕδατος τὴν χρῆσιν, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ἀναβλύζοντος ἐκ γῆς, καὶ νοήσατε πόθεν ἀνάπτεται ἢ πόθεν πυροῦται εἰ μὴ ἐκβαῖνον ἐν ὑπογαίω πυρί.

 $<sup>^{85}</sup>$  Robert (1986:60-61) had already excised καὶ τῶν νήσων; I believe the entire sentence is an interpolation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> On the Montanists, see chapter 12 below.

#### THE CHRISTIAN RE-INTERPRETATION OF THE ANATOLIAN LANDSCAPE

Christians began to reimagine the Anatolian landscape long before Pionius. By the late first century CE, their heroes were already turning natural and artificial landmarks into mementos of a recent, but irreproachably pious antiquity. The ecclesiastical historian Eusebius preserves a document that sheds light on the extent of the early Christian "conquest" of the imaginary topography of Asia Minor. In the last decade of the second century CE, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, wrote a letter to Victor, bishop of Rome concerning the legitimacy of Asiatic Quartodecimans, Christians who observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan, rather than keeping it on a Sunday as was done in the west. Polycrates, who considers himself a traditionalist, sketches out a re-imagined landscape that legitimizes the Quartodeciman practice:

We observe [Easter] rigorously (ἀραδιούργητον<sup>87</sup>), neither adding nor subtracting... for in Asia, great stars (στοιχεῖα<sup>88</sup>) are sleeping, which will rise on the day of the coming of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and seek his saints, Philip of the twelve Apostles who sleeps in Hierapolis and his two daughters... and a third daughter... who rests in Ephesus, where John too lies... as well as Polycarp in Smyrna... and Thraseas...; Sagari in Laodicea ...and Papirius too... as well as Melito the Eunuch... in Sardis... all awaiting [the moment] when he will rise from the dead; all these kept the fourtheenth day of Easter according to the gospel.<sup>89</sup>

The apostle Philip, the first of the "stars" of Polycrates' Christian topography, was himself a celebrated dragon-slayer; Philip defeated "a great dragon, whose back was pitch black, whose belly was [made of] brazen coals in sparkles of fire, and whose body extended over a hundred cubits". The combat between Philip and his serpentine adversary took place in Southwest Phrygia near Hierapolis, a town renowned in Roman antiquity for its Plutonium and thermal spa. Hierapolis lies to the south-east of the κατακεκαυμένη, no more than 50kms away as the crow flies; although not charred, the city's landscape was just as bizarre as that that of the "Scorched Land": its natural gleaming white platforms of water-lain travertine can be seen from a great distance. In the fifth century CE, Philip's co-religionaries eventually celebrated the Christian "conquest" of the pagan landscape by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (s. v. ἀραδιούργητος), defines the adjective as "not tampered with, inviolate"; LSJ glosses sine fraude.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> στοιχεῖον means literally "element" and figuratively "heavenly body", metaphorically applied to men of distinction it comes to mean something like "luminary, star"; for this last sense see Lampe *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (s. v. στοιχεῖον B2).

<sup>89</sup> Eusebius Historia Ecclesiastica 5.24.4-6.

 $<sup>^{90}</sup>$  Acta Philippi 102-106: δράκων μέγιστος, τὸν νῶτον ἔχων μεμελανωμένον, ἡ δὲ κοιλία αὐτοῦ ἄνθρακες χαλκοῦ ὄντες ἐν σπινθηρισμοῖς πυρός, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐκτεταμένον ὑπὲρ πήχοις ρ΄.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Debord (1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> These white terraces constantly washed by mineral-rich waters are the reason for the modern town's Turkish name, Pamukkale, meaning literally "Cotton Castle".

erecting a great church to their apostle over a Roman necropolis. <sup>93</sup> The migration of dragons and dragon-slayers throughout Anatolia is well beyond the scope of this study, but it will suffice here to note that in subsequent centuries many Christians and Muslims purposely re-imagined the Anatolian landscapes and the tales of monsters associated with it in order to make them their own. <sup>94</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> On the *Martyrium Philippi* see Arthur (2006:154-158) who says on p. 158: "One might suggest that, in Christian times, the cult of St. Philip substituted the cult of Apollo Pythion at Hierapolis."

<sup>94</sup> Pancaroğlu (2004) has studied the "itinerant dragon-slayer" in Medieval Anatolia. A remarkable example of re-imagined dragon tales occurred at the opposite end of modern Turkey. On the island of Akdamar (Armenian Aghtamar) in Lake Van, Armenian Christians built a church with intricate reliefs depicting, among other things, scenes from the book of Jonah. In the church of the Holy Cross the Biblical "whale" (κῆτος in the Septuagint) is represented not as a big fish, but rather as a dog-headed monster with a fish's tail and body (somewhat like the sea-monsters on the Sardian lebes described above), see Russell (1990). This Armenian Jonah was spat out by a water-serpent whose ancestor was a local version of the Hittite *illuyankas*.

# 2 The Gygaean Lake

### INTRODUCTION

Long before the rise to power of Sardis in the mid-eighth century BCE, the southern shores of the Gygaean Lake were part of a landscape already charged with meaning and memories stretching back to prehistory. Largely without the benefit of archaeology, Santo Mazzarino recognized that the great tumulus necropolis of Bin Tepe was a landscape "che veramente dai sepolcri traeva alimento alle memorie (e chiare e vive memorie, se addirittura rimontavano, per lunga tradizione di toponimi, all'epoca hittita)." The efforts of several generations of archaeologists have confirmed Mazzarino's insight.

The present chapter is an attempt to explore the Gygaean Lake as a landscape of memory. To this end I rely heavily on the publications of the *Central Lydian Archaeological Survey*, directed by Christopher Roosevelt and Christina Luke. Luke and Roosevelt have led the way in analyzing the Gygaean Lake and specifically Bin Tepe as a site "invested with ancestral and sacred qualities deriving from its natural, constructed, and conceived landscapes, all of which served as centerpieces for celebrating divinity and royalty in the Iron Age". While Roosevelt has concentrated primarily on pre-Hellenistic evidence, and Luke has dealt mostly with present-day issues of heritage-management, I focus rather on the transformations of the lake's folklore in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, expanding on Louis Robert's groundbreaking studies. Hellenistic and Roman periods, expanding on Louis Robert's groundbreaking studies.

I begin with a geographical description and an overview of the local archaeological remains. I then provide a detailed treatment of the etymology of the lake's ancient names followed by an examination of the ancient notion that the lake was the mother of the primeval inhabitants of Lydia. Finally, I analyze the reinterpretations of this ancestral landscape in the Hellenistic and Roman period briefly discussing the increasingly fantastic tales associated with the lake.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The Gygaean Lake ( $\Gamma u \gamma \alpha i \eta \lambda i \mu \nu \eta$ , modern Marmara Gölü) is the largest perennial lake in Lydia; it was known in antiquity also as lake Coloe ( $Ko\lambda i \eta \lambda i \mu \nu \eta$ ) and perhaps also by other less common names discussed below. The lake lies in the heart of central Lydia some 12kms north of Sardis (see map). On its southern shore, spread over a low but distinctive limestone ridge, lie the funerary tumuli of the last Mermnad kings, known in Turkish as Bin Tepe, or "a thousand mounds" (see figure 2.1 and figure 2.2). Between Sardis and Bin Tepe runs the Hermus River washing a broad fertile plain. North of the Gygaean Lake rise the foothills of the Temnus mountain range (modern Simav Dağı).

<sup>95</sup> Mazzarino (1947:177).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Roosevelt and Luke have transformed our understanding of the history of settlement around the lake; see the various articles cited in the bibliography under Roosevelt, Roosevelt and Luke, and Luke and Roosevelt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Luke and Roosevelt (forthcoming).

<sup>98</sup> Robert (1982).

The Gygaean Lake is conspicuous from Mt Tmolus and its foothills. Natural masses of reeds grow in the lake's waters; looking north from the acropolis of Sardis one can make out in the lake's waters the "dancing islands" of reeds that excited the imagination of ancient authors (see figure 2.2). 99 These reeds may be behind several of the lake's names (certainly Calaminae—if the lake was ever called thus—and perhaps also Coloe); independent of onomastics, the inhabitants of Lydia used the Gygaean Lake's abundant reeds in various ways, including as construction material.

According to the Roman geographer Strabo, the Gygaean Lake was a man-made reservoir built (presumably by the Lydians) to control the flooding from the many streams on the plain. However, archaeological evidence militates against Strabo's assertion. This body of water seems instead to have been formed through natural processes between 6,000 and 3,000 BCE. Ha antiquity, the lake was most likely fed by underwater springs, and perhaps also by a stream to the northeast, but not directly by the Hermus River, which is by far the largest river in the plain. While Herodotus may be right in saying that the Gygaean Lake had year-round waters, Pliny's mention of it as *Gygaeum stagnum* attests to the fact that fluctuations in water level could turn the lake into a swamp, as still happens today. Ancient authors record events related to radical climactic fluctuations in Lydia, including several devastating droughts some of which may have triggered widespread migrations. Had migrations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> See the sub-section titled "Floating islands" further below.

<sup>100</sup> Strabo 13.4.7=Pedley (1972:no. 279). In a letter to Professor Charles Eliot Norton, dated September 18, 1882 (which itself forms part of a letter dated September 29, 1882, pp. 15-17), Francis Bacon, then stationed at Assos, said he had "carefully examined the lake of Gyges, and had found the ancient stone sluiceway thro' which the water was distributed over the plain, during the dry season." It is not clear what type of structure Bacon inspected. Crawford H. Greenewalt jr provided me with his transcription of this document. For other potentially Lydian water-works in and around Sardis, see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:70).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Hakyemez, Erkal, and Göktaş (1999).

 $<sup>^{102}</sup>$  Roosevelt (2009:44); a series of modern dams built between 1944 and 1977 has completely altered the hydrology of the region, see Luke and Roosevelt (2009:201).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Herodotus 1.93.5=Pedley (1972: no. 278); Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 5.110=Pedley (1972: no. 233). Although the word *stagnum* is used poetically of many different bodies of water, it refers primarily to standing water, as in a swamp, and should be translated accordingly in this passage. Within recent memory, the Gygaean Lake has been occasionally desiccated after long periods of drought. Water levels undergo drastic fluctuations in many other lakes in Asia Minor, notably so in Lake Trogitis (modern Suğla Gölü) in Lycaonia, on which see Calder (1922). Such fluctuations have given rise to a vivid lake mythology throughout Anatolia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> For a collection of the relevant ancient literary sources, see Roosevelt (2009:49 n. 57).

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS<sup>105</sup>

### Early pre-historic occupation

Roosevelt and Luke have demonstrated that the Gygaean Lake was "a magnet for cultural activity long before the rise of Sardis in the Iron Age". <sup>106</sup> In fact, the Gygaean Lake's fertile shores, as well as its once abundant fish and fowl, <sup>107</sup> have attracted human habitation since early pre-historic times as is evidenced by scattered Middle Paleolithic (ca. 100,000-40,000 years ago), Mesolithic (ca. 12,000-9,000), and Neolithic (ca. 9,000-5,000) finds. Although there is yet no evidence of sedentary occupation at such early dates, it is conceivable that Neolithic villages lie submerged under the lake's waters. <sup>108</sup>

Roosevelt and Luke have plausibly associated a rise in population with the formation of the lake and the changed environmental conditions that this would have brought about. Substantial remains indicating increased agricultural production and sedentary occupation date from the Early Bronze Age; archaeological finds point to more numerous but still small and scattered settlements located primarily around the lakeshores; these include complexes of adjacent rooms, but no evidence of monumental architecture, whether public buildings or fortifications.<sup>109</sup>

By far the most intriguing discovery of the *Central Lydian Archaeological Survey* is an impressive network of Middle to Late Bronze Age fortified citadels ringing the Gygaean Lake. Roosevelt and Luke have tentatively suggested that the largest of these citadels, known today as Kaymakçı, could be the capital of the Seha River Land, mentioned in Hittite sources, perhaps specifically the town of Maddunassa. <sup>110</sup> With a fortified area of 8.6 hectares, the citadel in Kaymakçı is as big as any other contemporary settlements in Western Anatolia, including Troy, although considerably smaller than Hattuşa, capital of the Hittite Empire, in central Anatolia. It is still unclear who lived in the settlements ringing the Gygaean Lake, how that population was related to the Lydians,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> The brief summary presented here is based primarily on the findings of the *Central Lydian Archaeological Survey*; see especially Roosevelt (2006a and b, 2007, and 2009), Roosevelt and Luke (2006, 2008, 2009) and Luke and Roosevelt (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Roosevelt (2009:35, and further on pp. 123-125).

 $<sup>^{107}</sup>$  On the fish and fowl of the Gygaean Lake, see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:6) and Roosevelt (2009:53).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> On submerged buildings and towns in Lydian lakes, see chapter 4 below.

<sup>109</sup> Two such settlements, Ahlath Tepecik and Eski Balikhane, were excavated in the late 1960's revealing, among other things, pithos burials, cist graves, and rock-covered burials which contained assorted stone tools, handmade pottery in Anatolian shapes and fabrics, and also copper, silver and gold objects; see Hanfmann (1965:2-37), Hanfmann, Swift, and Greenewalt (1967:40-42), Hanfmann, Mitten, and Ramage (1968:10), Mitten and Yüğrüm (1968, 1971, and 1974); on the remains from Ahlath Tepecik and Eski Balikhane, see also Roosevelt (2003:631 cat. no. A4.6 and 2009:93-99 and cat. nos. 1.4 and 1.6); the finds suggest that by the Early Bronze Age these settlements were already part of a trade network that included most of Anatolia, on which see Luke and Roosevelt (2009:206-207).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Roosevelt (2009:21, see also 16 and 18); for the possibility that the name Maeonia may be related to Maddunassa, see van den Hout (2003).

and why in the beginning of the first millennium BCE the lakeshore sites were abandoned in favor of Sardis on the foothills of Mt Tmolus.<sup>111</sup>

## Lydian occupation: Bin Tepe

Even after the mid-eighth century BCE, when Sardis had become the main political and cultural center of the region, occupation on the shores of the Gygaean Lake did not cease. Rather, the lake continued to supply the local inhabitants with fish and fowl, as well as with reeds for construction, as it had done already for millennia. Toward the mid-sixth century BCE, the last Lydian Kings set in motion a radical landscape intervention that would eventually affect all of Lydia: the descendants of Gyges began to erect their monumental tumuli on the limestone ridge on the lake's southern shores. Tumuli would continue to be the most prestigious form of interment in the region until the Hellenistic period, and not in Bin Tepe alone: in fact, several hundreds of them, often arranged in clusters, were built throughout greater Lydia. 112

Roosevelt and Luke have argued that the Mermnads chose to bury themselves in Bin Tepe in a deliberate attempt to shape cultural memory by monumentalizing connections with the earlier inhabitants of the region.<sup>113</sup> If they are right, the lake likely provided not only food and building material for the local inhabitants, but also the imagined setting for the exploits of remote heroic ancestors.

## Occupation under Achaemenid rule

Literary and epigraphic sources tell us of other lakeshore sites of heightened cultural relevance. Strabo, for example, mentions a sanctuary of Artemis of Coloe and inscriptions demonstrate that this sanctuary dates to at least the fourth century BCE. 114 Architectural remains at Kuştepe, including Doric columns and a sculpted frieze, suggested to mid- and late-nineteenth century explorers that this site could have been the location of the sanctuary of Artemis Coloensis, but the objects they reported have never been found again and the location of the sanctuary remains unknown. 115

<sup>111</sup> Roosevelt (2009:20-22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Although the earthen mounds were first built by and for the last Mermnad kings, later Lydian and Achaemenid aristocrats continued the tumulus burial tradition in Bin Tepe and throughout greater Lydia. On the re-interpretation of these tumuli in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, see chapters 5-8.

<sup>113</sup> Roosevelt first presented this thesis publicly at the 2005 American Institute of Archaeology meetings in Boston, and published it in Roosevelt (2006b); he has then continued to elaborate these ideas, both in a book, Roosevelt (2009: see especially p. 147), and in a series of articles (often co-authored with Christina Luke) including Luke and Roosevelt (2009:211) and Luke and Roosevelt (forthcoming).

<sup>114</sup> Strabo 13.4.5=Pedley (1972: no. 234). Archaeological and epigraphic evidence have confirmed the existence of the sanctuary; sadly, quarrying in the shores of the lake may have destroyed whatever traces of it remained, see Roosevelt (2009:132-133). Lydian inscriptions mentioning Artemis of Coloe can be found in Gusmani (1964 and 1982: s. v. *kulumsi-*), according to whom the sequence *-msi* in Lydian *kulumsi-* "of Coloe" (cf. *ibśimsi-*, meaning "of Ephesus, Ephesian") may be an "Ehnikonsuffix". Dusinberre (2003:115) described the collocation "Artemis of Ephesus and Artemis of Koloe" as "a common phrase on Lydian grave inscriptions", but this seems to be an overstatement, for, as far as I can tell, only two inscriptions preserve this wording.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Sayce (1880:87); for further references, see Cook (1914:990) and Roosevelt (2009:129-130 and cat. no. 1.3A).

In addition to the sanctuary proper, there was also a town called Coloe in the vicinity of the lake. On the evidence of an inscription found in Çolekçi, Hasan Malay has placed one of these settlements to the north of the lake, but exact topographical identification of the town has proved difficult because there were at least three places in Lydia bearing this name. 116

## Occupation through Late Antiquity

Gyges and his descendants managed to erect conspicuous reminders of their might—and inaugurated thereby a funerary tradition that transformed the Lydian landscape. However, in the long term the Mermnad co-option of the lakeshores was only partially successful; although even after Late Antiquity tumuli throughout Lydia continued to be associated with primeval local inhabitants, their imagined memorands—discussed in detail further below—eventually included mythical kings and even fantastic creatures. <sup>117</sup>

Throughout antiquity the Gygaean Lake and its shores served as the final resting place for many peoples; in addition to the pre-historic, Lydian, and Achaemenid remains, graves dating to the Hellenistic, Roman, Late Antique and subsequent periods have also been found there. 118 Lakeshore settlements were never comparable in size to Sardis or Philadelphia, but precisely for this reason, demographic shifts—even after prolonged periods of drought—may have been less severe than those that affected the cities in the seventh century CE when, among other things, the breakdown of water distribution systems made urban life untenable for large portions of the population.

To this day, the Gygaean Lake's natural resources continue to be exploited. As mentioned above, there are late-nineteenth century accounts of ruins of lacustrine dwellings; while these remains may be pre-modern, the date of the structures was not clear

<sup>116</sup> Malay (1994: no. 51). Magie (1950:738) and Lane (1975) mention all three places called Coloe. Apart from the town or sanctuary by the lake, there was a "colony of Coloans" (κατοικία Κολοηνῶν) in northeastern Lydia, which some identified with modern Kula, but see the objections in Ramsay (1887:519). There was also a town, now called Kiraz, on the upper Cayster where inscriptions mention a "gymnasium of Coloans" (γυμνάσιον Κολοηνῶν), on which see Robert (1980:334). This last town was apparently called Kaloe in the Byzantine period; a passage of one of its native sons, Leo Diaconus (*Historia* (ed. Weber) p. 5, l. 5), is worth quoting because it preserves topographical detail which secures the identification: πατρίς δέ μοι Καλόη, χωρίον τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ κάλλιστον, παρὰ τὰς κλιτῦς τοῦ Τμώλου ἀνωκισμένον, ἀμφὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Καϋστρίου ποταμοῦ, ὂς δὴ, τὸ Κελβιανὸν παραρῥέων καὶ ἥδιστον θαῦμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι προκείμενος, ἐς τὸν τῆς κλεινῆς καὶ περιπύστου Ἐφέσου κόλπον πελαγίζων ἐσβάλλει. "My fatherland is Kaloe, the most beautiful little place in Asia, built near the slopes of Tmolus, by the springs of the Cayster River, which as it flows by the Cilbian plain is a sweet wonder among the mountains and reaches the sea in the gulf of the famous and renowned Ephesus."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> See chapters 5-8.

<sup>118</sup> Robert (1987:304-305) also discusses more recent occupants of the Gygaean Lake and its shores, including a community of fishermen from the Crimea that lived by the lake from the eighteenth century to the mid 1960s when they moved to Canada; on these "fair-skinned Slavs from Southern Russia, settled here in the time of Catherine, who still preserve their features, complexion, and language," see also Sayce (1880:87).

even to those travelers who saw them.<sup>119</sup> Ancient reports of habitation in the lake's waters are difficult to interpret, but it is certain that the lakeshores never ceased entirely to be inhabited.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT NAMES OF MARMARA GÖLÜ<sup>120</sup>

### Etymology of Γυγαίη

The lake called today Marmara Gölü was known by at least two different names in classical antiquity. The earliest attested of these is Gygaean Lake (Γυγαίη λίμνη), mentioned twice in the *Iliad*. <sup>121</sup> Γυγαίη is incontrovertibly derived from an Anatolian language; cognates in Hittite (*huhha-*), Luwian (*huha-*), Lycian and Milyan (χuga-) mean "grandfather". <sup>122</sup> Thus the largest body of water in Lydia, the place where indigenous people had lived and been buried since time immemorial, and the place that Mermnad Kings (including very probably a king by the name of Gyges) had chosen for their own monumental tombs, was called in an indigenous language something like "Grandfather Lake". <sup>123</sup>

Recent advances in our understanding of several Anatolian languages have made it possible to attempt to specify the origins of the name "Gyges". Ignacio Adiego has pointed out that in Lydian there are no traces of initial laryngeals; if the Indo-European laryngeals (including  $/h_2$ -/) disappear in Lydian, at least in initial position, then the initial sound of the name "Gyges" probably reflects its pronunciation in an Anatolian language other than Lydian. Adiego has therefore suggested that the name derives specifically from Carian, for in Carian the initial laryngeal sound  $/h_2$ -/ of the underlying proto-Indo-European

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Sayce (1880:87 and 1923:169); in the letter quoted above Francis Bacon also noted: "[Spiegelthal] may have seen the remains of a house or so, built there for some unknown purpose, but I should doubt that they were real lake dwellings until further evidence was offered."

 $<sup>^{120}</sup>$  In this and subsequent chapters, I sometimes attempt to approach these landscape traditions through an analysis of the etymology of local toponyms. Although, as I noted in the introduction, I am fully aware of the difficulties that are involved in studying the origins of proper names, this exploration seems warranted, for even if at times the exact linguistic details are murky, the associations proposed often serve as a window into ancient folklore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Homer *Iliad* 2.864-866 and 20.389-392=Pedley (1972:nos. 238-239); Pedley's tentative equation (in his notes on no. 239) of Lake Torrhebia with the Gygaean Lake is incorrect, see chapter 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> From Indo-European \*h2éuh2o-, first suggested by Sturtevant (1925:163); Gyges is ultimately cognate with Latin *avus*; further Indo-European cognates in Mallory and Adams (2006:209-218). Note also that the name Kouyas is attested in Lycian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> See also Mazzarino (1947:177), Heubeck (1959:62-63), Neumann (1961:69-71), and Carruba (2003:151, 154); as mentioned above, Christopher Roosevelt has argued that the first tumuli in Lydia were built in Bin Tepe by the last Mermnad kings primarily as memorials to themselves, but also as part of an effort to monumentalize imagined connections between themselves and ancestral local gods, heroes, and kings.

<sup>124</sup> Since there may be no traces in Lydian of PIE word-internal laryngeals either after consonant or intervocalically, the two voiced consonants in the name Gyges could be "non-Lydian"; the details concerning the outcome of PIE laryngeals in Lydian are summarized in Gérard (2005:71, section 3.3.2.2.3, see also p. 65, section 3.3.2.1.3.2); cf. Melchert (1994:361, section 14.1.3.2). Note also that Browne (2000) concludes that the Lydian spelling of the name Gyges is Kykas arguing from the evidence of several coins inscribed *kykal(l)im*, which he translates: "I am of Gyges."

word \* $h_2$ éu $h_2$ o- (attested as h- and  $\chi$ - in the cognates listed above) seems to be manifest as a q-. <sup>125</sup> The implications of the non-Lydian origin of the name Gyges for the political history of early Mermnad Lydia are not clear, but it is rather intriguing that the founder of the Mermnad dynasty had a Carian name. <sup>126</sup>

Surprisingly, Hesychius records glosses that suggest that even in later antiquity there may have been continued awareness of the meaning of the name Gyges or related words. The entry †γυγαί· πάμποι† is almost certainly corrupt, but it has plausibly been emended to read: γυγαί· πάπποι, literally "γυγαί: grandfathers". <sup>127</sup>

## Etymology of Κολόη

Strabo records that the name of the lake originally called Gygaean was changed to Coloe. 128 Modern authorities sometimes repeat this information without mentioning that, at least in literature, the Homeric name was always prevalent; in addition, they do not specify a chronological timeframe for the name change. And yet, we know that the word *kulumsi*-, meaning "Coloan, of Coloe", 129 is attested in fourth-century BCE Lydian inscriptions, so either the lake or a sanctuary on its shores and perhaps also a settlement around it would have been known by this name since at least the late Achaemenid period—and most likely even before then.

The etymology of Κολόη is opaque. The occurrence of the word *kulumsi*- in Lydian inscriptions as well as the occurrence of the root Κολο- in scattered toponyms from Western Asia Minor (including Κολοφών and Κολοσσαί) suggests an Anatolian origin. <sup>130</sup> However, the Greek word κολοιός may hold some clues about the meaning of the lake's name. The most common referent of κολοιός is the jackdaw (*corvus monedula*), but Aristotle distinguishes at least three birds, including a Western Anatolian webbed-footed species of this name. <sup>131</sup> I quote the relevant passage in full:

<sup>125</sup> Adiego (2007a:334-335): "I now have little doubt that the name of the Lydian king Γύγης must have the same origin [as the Carian name quq-]. The problem posed by the phonetics (Lydian does not conserve PIE laryngeal \*h2, unlike the other Anatolian dialects) can be overcome if we imagine the name to have a Carian origin." Adiego's notion that the name Gyges is specifically Carian is based on several facts: 1) /h2-/ is indeed preserved in Carian, 2) the name quq=Γυγος and the compound dquq=lδαγυγος exist in Carian, and 3) the geographic proximity of Caria and Lydia. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Adiego for his elucidation of this onomastic problem. On the origin of the name Gyges see also Neumann (1961:70).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> On Lydian-Carian interaction in the archaic period, see chapter 3 below.

<sup>127</sup> The emendation is owed to Perger according to West (1966:210 commenting on *Theogony* 149); see also *DELG* (s. v. γυγαί); for other entries of Hesychius with adequate glosses of Lydian words, see Adiego (2007b:769). In addition, the Hesychian entries κοκύαι· οἱ πάπποι καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι, literally "κοκύαι· the grandfathers and the ancestors" and κουκᾶνα· †πάππον† seem relevant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Strabo 13.4.5=Pedley (1972: no. 234).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> See Gusmani (1964: s. v. kulumsi-, which appears only in the collocation artimuś kulumsis).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> See *DELG* (1999: s. v. κολοιός); Tischler (1977: s. v. Koloe).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Aristotle *Historia Animalium* 617b16-18. The κολοιός is also included in a list of water-birds in Aristophanes *Acharnenses* 875, with Olson (2002: 292-3 *ad* 875-7), who notes that the jackdaw is not commonly associated with water, but this κολοιός is obviously not a jackdaw.

Κολοιῶν δ' ἐστὶν εἴδη τρία, εν μεν ὁ κορακίας· οὖτος ὅσον κορώνη, φοινικόρυγχος· ἄλλος δ' ὁ λύκος καλούμενος·<sup>132</sup> ἔτι δ' ὁ μικρός, ὁ βωμολόχος. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο γένος κολοιῶν περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν, ὃ στεγανόπουν ἐστίν.

There are three kinds of κολοιός:

- (1) One is the chough [Pyrrhocorax alpinus], which is, like the shearwater [Puffinus kuhli], red-billed;
- (2) another is called "the wolf" and also "the little one, the-one-that-waits-by-the-altars" [presumably, expecting food];
- (3) and there is yet a third species of κολοιός around Lydia and Phrygia, which is webbed-footed. 133

D'Arcy Thompson suggested that the Lydo-Phrygian webbed-footed animal was a sea-bird, possibly a shearwater or a pigmy cormorant (*Phalacrocorax pygmaeus*).<sup>134</sup> A sea κολοιός would be surprising, considering that it is found in Lydia and Phrygia, both inland regions. However, there are modern reports of migratory sea-birds including pelicans and flamingos making their way occasionally to Lake Coloe, so it could conceivably be some such animal.<sup>135</sup>

Assuming that a bird called κολοιός actually frequented the lake—regardless of whether it was a migratory sea-bird or an inland avian—it is still impossible to ascertain whether the lake was named after the animal or the animal after the lake, <sup>136</sup> but I would argue the latter is probably the case. A gloss in Hesychius suggests that the word κολοιός was also used to mean a voice or a sound; <sup>137</sup> if this is so, there are reasons to believe that this could have been the sound of the reeds and brushes that grew in the lake where the bird lived rather than the sound the bird made. In fact, I would even suggest that κολόη may ultimately be derived from an Indo-European root meaning "hole, hollow", for example \*keu- (cf. Greek κόλεον, "sheath, scabbard" or Hittite *gullant(i)-* "hollowed,

<sup>132</sup> Some manuscripts read λευκός and Hesychius glosses λύκιος· κολοιοῦ εἶδου. See Thompson (1936: s. v. λευκός).

 $<sup>^{133}</sup>$  I have taken the English and scientific names for the birds mentioned in this passage of Aristotle from LSI and Thompson (1936).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Thompson (1936: s. v. κολοιός).

<sup>135</sup> On the presence in western Turkey of the dalmatian pelican and the greater flamingo, see Porter, Christensen, and Schiermacker-Hansen (1996:238, no. 43, pl. 7 and 245, no. 74, pl. 11) and Kirwan, Boyla, Castell, Demirci, Özen, Welch and Marlow (2008:102-103 and 118-120); Crawford H. Greenewalt jr called my attention to these birds and references. On pelicans in the Gygaean Lake see also Choisy *L'Asie Mineure et les Turcs en 1875* (1876:302) cited by Robert (1987:303). On "Numidian cranes, and ducks of a beautiful red and brown colour," see Hamilton (1842: vol. I p. 145). The lake remains a major bird habitat and it has been designated an Important Bird Are (IBA) by BirdLifeInternational; more information is available at their website: http://www.birdlife.org/action/science/sites/european\_ibas/index.html, accessed on April 13, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Coincidentally, the place where nineteenth-century explorers thought to have found the sanctuary of Artemis of Coloe is now known in Turkish as Kustepe, or "bird-hill".

<sup>137</sup> Hesychius wrote κολοιή· φωνή, literally "κολοιή: voice". I do not know whether this gloss is related to Colophon. In classical Greek the word κολοφών came to mean "summit", but its etymology is unknown. See *DELG* (s. v. κολοφών) concludes: "Le fait que ce terme soit un toponyme en Asie Mineure a conduit à supposer que le mot n'est pas grec."

hole").<sup>138</sup> A word such as κολοιός would have been used to describe the (hollow) reeds that characterized lake Coloe and which were of critical importance in the daily life of the Lydians who lived around the lake, and even those in Sardis. The name of the lake would then mean something like "reedy" (cf. Calaminae, which is purportedly another of the Gygaean Lake's ancient names). Reeds also grew and still grow in the vicinity of Colophon on the banks of its rivers (both the ancient Ales and the more proximate stream known today as Dereboğaz deresi) and presumably in other places whose toponyms seem to be related to Coloe.<sup>139</sup>

## The bird called Gyges and Lydian royal onomastics

A gloss in an out-of-the-way source may lend support to the notion that the name of the lake is related to that of a bird. A Byzantine prose paraphrase by Dionysius Periegetes or Dionysius of Philadelphia (summarizing an ornithological didactic poem attributed to Oppian) says the following:

Καὶ γύγης ὄρνις ἐστίν, ἀναβοᾶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἄδειν τούτῳ δοκῶν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχων ἐντεῦθεν, ὅς τοὺς ὄρνεις ἐν νυκτὶ κατεσθίει τοὺς ἀμφιβίους. τὴν ἐκείνου γλῶσσαν εἴ τις ἀποτέμοι χαλκῷ καὶ φαγεῖν δοίη τῷ μήπω λαλοῦντι παιδίῳ πάντως αὐτοῦ ταχέως λύσει τὴν σιωπήν. 140

And "gyges" is a bird, which appeared to him always to be crying aloud and singing and to get its appellation from this; at night it devours birds that live on both water and land. (?) If someone cuts its tongue with a knife and gives it to eat to a child who does not yet speak he will completely and immediately cease to be silent.

Thompson may be right in thinking that the name of the bird "gyges" (which he identified as the bittern) is ultimately based on the animal's "nocturnal cry". If so, the coincidence  $Ko\lambda \acute{o}\eta$  (lake)~ $\kappa o\lambda oi\acute{o}\varsigma$  (bird)<sup>141</sup> /  $\Gamma u\gamma \alpha \acute{i}\eta$  (lake) ~ $\gamma \acute{v}\gamma \eta \varsigma$  (bird) is nothing more than that. However, the names of several members of the Lydian royal family as well as the name of the very dynasty inaugurated by Gyges seem to be based on those of birds. <sup>142</sup> In addition, at least one Lydian prince famously had trouble speaking. Could the

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 $<sup>^{138}</sup>$  On Hittite gullant(i)- and other Indo-European words meaning "hole, hollow" see Melchert (1983:138-139)

 $<sup>^{139}</sup>$  If the proposed etymology is correct, the Pisidian river Κολοβάτος (modern Istanos Çayı) could then be taken to mean something like "advancing among (hollow) reeds"; for a different etymology of the name of this river, see Tischler (1977: s. v. Kolobatos).

<sup>140</sup> Dionysius Periegetes *Dionysii ixeuticon seu de aucupio libri tres in epitomen metro solutam redacti* (Garzya ed.) 2.17; see also Thompson (1936: s. v. γύγης).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> The original form of the Greek words would have been \*kolowya and \*kolowyos.

<sup>142</sup> See Neumann (1961:69-71) who noted (on p. 70): "μέρμνος oder μέρμνης bezeichnet eine Falkenart. Und ein weiterer Königsname der Dynastie, Ardys, stellt sich zu dem in KUB XXXIV 65 I 15 aufgetauchten heth. Vogelnamen ardu- (oder arda-)." Neumann goes on to point out that the name of the Lydian Queen Tουδώ (Toudo) may also be itself related to that of a bird if one takes into account the gloss Tυτώ· $\gamma$ λαῦξ "Tyto:owl".

deaf-dumb son of Croesus have been given the tongue of a "gyges" in order to compel him to speak?<sup>143</sup>

Other ancient names for Marmara Gölü

Although there is no secure evidence of other alternative ancient names, a corrupt passage of an ancient paradoxographer may mask yet another toponym. The relevant text reads thus:

Έν Λυδία ἔστι λίμνη †Τάλα† μὲν καλουμένη, ἱερὰ δὲ οὖσα νυμφῶν, ἣ φέρει καλάμων πλῆθος καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἕνα, ὃν βασιλέα προσαγο-ρεύουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. 144

In Lydia there is a lake called  $\dagger T \acute{\alpha} \lambda \alpha \dagger \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ , sacred to the nymphs, which bears an abundance of reeds, and in the middle of them there is one whom the natives call "king".

Karl and Theodore Müller suggested  $K\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\nu\eta$  for the manuscripts' senseless  ${}^{\dagger}T\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\dagger$   $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  ${}^{145}$  invoking a passage of Pliny, who calls the islands of reeds in Lake Coloe "Calaminae", meaning literally "reedy".  ${}^{146}$  Coloe and Calaminae are not etymologically related, nor should one think with Heinrich Oehler that Calaminae is a corruption of Coloe.  ${}^{147}$  Rather, if the etymology of Coloe proposed above is correct, Calaminae may be a calque or loan translation. Whatever the details of the proposed etymology, it is very likely that the abundance of reeds in the lake's waters (like the variety of birds the lake attracted) informed local toponymy and folklore. Finally, A. B. Cook proposed an alternative emendation to the corrupt text of the paradoxographer quoted above. Citing a passage of Homer that mentions the Gygaean lake,  ${}^{148}$  Cook suggested that the name Talaimenes lied behind the corrupt  ${}^{\dagger}T\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\dagger$   $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ . Paleographically this seems possible. If people did ever call the lake by this name, the usage would evince the influence of the Homeric poems on local toponymy, for the appellation is almost certainly not indigenous.  ${}^{149}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Herodotus 1.34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Müller and Müller (1841: vol. IV p. 436); cf. Cook (1940:989) and Robert (1982:346).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 2.96, quoted and discussed briefly below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Cook (1940:988) commenting on Oehler (*Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus*, 1913:118); cf. Robert (1982:340). Robert may have been unaware of Cook (1940: Appendix P section 12), since he seems to repeat some of Cook's conclusions without attribution.

<sup>148</sup> Homer Iliad 2.864-866=Pedley (1972:no. 238): Μήσσιν αὖ Μέσθλης τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην/ υἶε Ταλαιμένεος τὼ Γυγαίη τέκε λίμνη,/ οἳ καὶ Μήσνας ἦγον ὑπὸ Τμώλω γεγαῶτας. "The Maeonians Mesthles and Antiphus, sons of Talaimenes whom the Gygaean Lake bore, were leaders, they led the Maeonians born under Tmolus." This passage is again discussed below, cf. Strabo 13.4.6.

 $<sup>^{149}</sup>$  Cook (1940:989) called it a "Greek adaptation of the Lydian name." Cf. Robert (1982:347-348).

## HOMER ON "LYDIAN" TOPOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY

Although Homer never referred to the region of Lydia by this name, <sup>150</sup> he knew more about its topography and mythology than he did about any other inland territory in Asia Minor. <sup>151</sup> Homer mentions the Gygaean Lake, Mt Tmolus and Mt Sipylus, the rivers Hermus, Hyllus, Cayster, and Achelous, as well as Tarne and Hyde, two Maeonian toponyms which later traditions gratuitously equated with Sardis. <sup>152</sup> As discussed in chapter 1 above, Homer also places the monstrous Typhon "among the Arimoi," which ancient authorities often took to mean the "Scorched Land". <sup>153</sup> To be sure, many of the epithets attached to these various landmarks are fairly commonplace; however, on occasion the poet also mentions specific details such as "cranes and geese and long-necked swans" from the Cayster River (*Iliad* 2.459-465). <sup>154</sup> In addition, Homer is familiar with myths associated with these places such as the petrification of Niobe on Mt Sipylus and the tale that the Gygaean Lake bore two Maeonian heroes.

The Maeonians were imagined to be the early inhabitants of the land that would eventually be known as Lydia, but their exact relation with the Lydians remains unclear. At Homer *Iliad* 10.431, Maeonian horsemen are listed in a catalogue of Trojan allies that

<sup>150</sup> Lydia was consolidated as a political entity by the Mermnad kings beginning in the eighth century BCE; it is likely that the name Lydia was used for the entire territory only as a result of this consolidation, and thus after the composition of the Homeric poems; see Bryce (2002:142) and Popko (2008:110). Beekes (2003) is a speculative account concerning the early history of the Etruscans that touches on the difficult issue of the Lydian "Urheimat", but is marred by inaccuracies. There is, for example, no evidence to support Beekes' notion that "Homer knew the term Lydians, so he must have consciously ignored it" (p. 23); moreover, Homer never mentions "Tmolus as located in Lydia" (p. 17); also, there are now over 100 Lydian inscriptions, "not some fifty" specimens (p. 8; Beekes was clearly estimating from Gusmani (1964), but ignoring Gusmani (1975, 1980, 1982, and 1986), as well as more recent finds); the nearest modern settlement to ancient Sardis is Sart, not Salihli (p. 8).

<sup>151</sup> The Homeric passages concerning what would eventually be known as Lydia reveal the poet's familiarity with the region's varied landscapes as well as with its rich folklore. See Leaf (1912:306-7) and Kirk (1985:260 commenting on Homer *Iliad* 2.864-6) who asked: "Was this why some people named Homer's father as Maion at least as early as Hellanicus in the fifth century BC, according to *Certamen* 20(=1.3 in M. L. West's Loeb edition of the *Lives of Homer*)" The poet's familiarity with Lydian lore is evidence of the travels of Ionian Greeks through the territory; cf. also Herodotus 1.7=Pedley (1972: no. 26).

<sup>152</sup> Lane Fox (2008:332) has described the Gygaean Lake as "the furthest point east in Asia to which Homer refers", but both the Hermus and Hyllus rivers rise to the east of the lake. The Lydian Achelous River (*Iliad* 24.616) was one of the streams running down the slopes of Mt Sipylus, not, of course, its more famous homonym dividing Aetolia from Acharnania in mainland Greece (*Iliad* 21.194); on the Lydian Achelous see chapter 4 below. On Hyde, see Homer *Iliad* 20.383=Pedley (1972: no. 8), Strabo 13.4.6=Pedley (1972: no. 17) and Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 366.15-20=Pedley (1972: no. 15), who further specifies that it was only the acropolis of Sardis that was called Hyde. On Tarne, see Homer *Iliad* 5.44=Pedley (1972: no. 7) and the scholia thereof; Strabo 9.2.9 records that there was a city called Tarne in Boeotia. Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 5.110=Pedley (1972: no. 233) mentions a fountain Tarne in Sardis; a scholiast to Homer *Iliad* 5.44 equates Tarne with Sardis.

 $<sup>^{153}</sup>$  See Homer *Iliad* 2.783 with scholia; Hesiod *Theogony* 304 with West (1996:250-251 ad loc.); Strabo 12.8.19 and 13.4.11 = Xanthus *FGrHist* 765F13a-b and my discussion in chapter 1 above.

<sup>154</sup> Mt Tmolus, for example, is said to be "snowy" (νιφόεντι), Hyde is "bounteous" (Ύδης ἐν πίονι δήμω), the Hermus River is "eddying" (δινήεντι) and the Hyllus River is "rich-in-fish" (ἰχθυόεντι); but even this last epithet may reveal actual knowledge of Lydian topography, for it is not used by Homer to describe any other river as noted by Lane Fox (2008:332).

<sup>155</sup> See Herodotus 1.7=Pedley (1972:no. 26); cf. Herodotus 7.74.

includes the even more mysterious, but phonologically almost identical, Paeonian bowmen (*Iliad* 10.428). <sup>156</sup> Whether the adjective "Maeonian" is related to the names Masnes or Manes is unclear. Several ancient literary sources, including Herodotus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus say that a certain Manes was a forefather of the Lydians, <sup>157</sup> and the name *manes* is attested in Lydian inscriptions. <sup>158</sup>

Homer does not name the Lydians in his catalogue of Trojan allies arguably because the poems were composed before the establishment of the Mermnad dynasty, at a time when the different peoples of what had been the Seha River Land mentioned in Hittite sources were not yet united under a single king who ruled at Sardis. <sup>159</sup> Late Hittite texts mention people from the lands of Masa and Karkisa, and these have sometimes been thought to be the lands of the Maeonians and Carians. <sup>160</sup> More recently, Theo van den Hout has argued that Maddunassa, the name of the capital of the land known as Seha River Land in Hittite sources, lies behind the name Maeonian. <sup>161</sup>

### MAEONIAN PRIDE

### The lake as mother in Homer

In the catalogue of Trojan allies, the Gygaean Lake is literally said to have given birth to Mesthles and Antiphus, sons of Talaimenes. This affirmation has long been considered puzzling, for although in Greek epic tradition certain bodies of water give birth to people, it is usually nymphs or personified rivers and springs that do this—not lakes. The only other passage of the *Iliad* that mentions the Gygaean Lake adheres to Homeric conventions and tells of a naiad who gives birth to the Maeonian Otrynteus. So Bothered by the notion of a hero-bearing lake, G. S. Kirk argued that the naiad's story may have been the source of "the rather stark and surprising" idea that the Gygaean Lake mothered Mesthles and Antiphus. However, there is no need to suppose that there has been any

 $<sup>^{156}</sup>$  No one knows who the Paeonians were, but the exact alternation of initial [p] and [m] is attested in another purportedly Lydian doublet. The grammarian Hephaestion, citing Xanthus (=FGrHist 765F24), records the names of the Lydian rivers Masnes and Pasnes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Herodotus 4.45=Pedley (1972: no.11) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.27.1-2=Pedley (1972: no. 20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> See Gusmani (1964 and 1982: s.v. mane-).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> See Bryce (2002:142).

 $<sup>^{160}</sup>$  See Košak (1981) with earlier references, Bryce (2003:33) and (2006:143), and Adiego (2007a:1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> According to van den Hout (2003), this involves the sound change [d] > [i]; note that Widmer (2004) has said that this change occurs exactly in the opposite direction in the case of the names of the people and languages Luwian and Lydian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Homer *Iliad* 2.864-866=Pedley (1972: no. 238).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Homer *Iliad* 20.389-392=Pedley (1972: no. 239); Quintus of Smyrna *Posthomerica* 11.67-69=Pedley (1972: no. 241) also makes the Gygaean Lake the birthplace of an ancestral (Maeonian) hero called Hellos, but he does not have the lake itself bear the man. Quintus of Smyrna's treatment of Lydian topography is insubstantial and entirely dependent on Homer, see Vian (1959:134).

 $<sup>^{164}</sup>$  Kirk (1985:260 ad 864-866). Eustathius had already tried to rationalize the Homeric account along these very lines.

contamination. The notion of the lake as mother may be a reflex of Anatolian traditions. Although both Greek and Anatolian religion associated natural features—including mountains, rivers, springs, and lakes—with deities, they differed starkly in the manner of doing so. 165 While the Greeks usually imagined a separate personified entity ruling over a specific natural feature, for the Anatolians the natural features themselves were deities. This difference is patent not only in the idea of a lake as opposed to a nymph giving birth to a human being, but also in the extent of personification of divine mountains in Anatolia and Greece. 166 The Homeric passages concerning the lacustrine birth of Maeonian heroes predate the erection of the tumuli. It is arguably to ancestral heroes such as these that the late Mermnad Kings attempted to connect themselves with the erection of their tumuli on the southern shores of the Gygaean Lake.

## The lake as mother in Roman Lydia

Epigraphic evidence shows that communities around the Gygaean Lake during the Roman period continued to celebrate their imagined Maeonian ancestry as well as the notion that they were somehow descended from the lake—or at least related by blood to the lake goddess.

An inscription from Gökçeören (a town formerly known as Menye<sup>167</sup>) dating from 280/1 CE boastfully describes what must have been a modest settlement as the "blessed city of the Maeonians"; the poetic resonance of the ancient ethnonym would have been unmistakable.<sup>168</sup> As in "countless imperial settings" here too there were "locals eager to impress […] both the antiquity of their land and its impeccable Homeric credentials."<sup>169</sup> Similarly, a different inscription found also in the vicinity of the lake and dating from the second century CE refers to Artemis Coloensis literally (in Fritz Graf's translation) as "born from my family… ancestral leader of the entire town from its origin, midwife and augmenter of mortals, giver of harvest."<sup>170</sup>

Robert described the sentiment behind such documents as "caractéristique d'un 'nationalisme lydienne', ayant son centre à Sardis." While it is true that such pride is most patently attested at Sardis, especially during the second and third centuries CE, one should note that other places in Roman Lydia were just as ready as the former Lydian capital to celebrate their own history. The famous Mermnad dynasty may have been associated almost exclusively with Sardis, but Lydian nationalism was not founded solely on Mermnad accomplishments; it could also involve traditions that were arguably older or independent of the line of Gyges. In fact—surely by the Roman period, but probably long before then—epichoric pride in ancient Lydia had distinct local variants, so that while a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Bryce (2003:147).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> See my comments on the personified Mt Tmolus in chapter 7 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> This name is the Turkish reflex of that of a Hellenistic foundation called Maeonia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Malay (1999: no. 156).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Williamson (2005:219) commenting on Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 13.88 where Pliny discusses whether or not the first-century CE traveler Gaius Licinius Mucianus could have read a letter of Sarpedon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Merkelbach (1991); Graf (1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Robert (1982:359-361; quotation from p. 361).

council of elders in late Hellenistic Sardis could boast of gathering in the palace of the Mermnad King Croesus (see chapter 9 below), the inhabitants of the Cayster valley believed that a local tumulus was the tomb of the pre-Mermnad King Tmolus (see chapter 7 below), and, in the last quarter of the third century CE, those living close to the shores of the Gygaean Lake publicly celebrated their Maeonian forefathers—that is, specifically pre-Mermnad ancestors of irrreproachable Homeric pedigree.

### WONDERS OF THE GYGAEAN LAKE

### The hundred-hander Gyges

A scholion to a passage of Nicander's *Theriaca* preserves a piece of folklore associating the Gygaean Lake—or perhaps one of the tumuli on its shores—with a monster called Gyges.<sup>172</sup> According to the scholiast, the tomb of Gyges, mentioned by Nicander (and by Hipponax before him) belonged either to the famous Lydian king *or*, alternatively, to one of the hundred-handers (Ἑκατόγχειρες or *centimani*) described by Hesiod.<sup>173</sup> The monster's name is a homograph, but not a homophone, of that of the founder of the Mermnad dynasty: the quantity of their first syllables is different.<sup>174</sup>

The etymology of the word "Gyges" discussed above may help explain why the hundred-hander and the king shared this name: monsters—especially giants—were often imagined by the Greeks to be proverbially old and therefore could be associated readily with a name meaning "grandfather" in an Anatolian tongue. Independently, a usurper of the Lydian throne may have tried to legitimate his authority by using precisely this name. At any rate, as the Homeric passages on Maeonia suggest, even before the Mermnad kings built their monumental tumuli, the lake and its shores had been associated with the primeval inhabitants. Regardless of whether anyone in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia actually remembered what the Anatolian name "Gyges" and its cognates meant, there were local traditions that associated the lake not just with Mermnad kings, but also with inveterate creatures, including monsters and giants. <sup>175</sup>

These traditions are independent of Herodotus' account of Lydia, but they are arguably even older than the fifth century BCE. In fact, some of the monsters may be the reflexes of fantastic creatures whose exploits were celebrated in Bronze Age myths. The natural landscapes of Lydia, notably the "Scorched Land" and the Gygaean Lake, but also various Lydian rivers including the Hyllus and the Lydian Achelous, were the setting

<sup>172</sup> Scholia to Nicander Theriaca 633c: παραὶ Γύγαό τε· ἤτοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Λυδίας σῆμα, ὥς φησιν Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν <Λυδίας> ἰάμβων· ἢ τὴν Γυγαίαν λίμνην λέγει, ἀπὸ Γύγου τοῦ ἑκατογχείρου. Γυγαία γὰρ λίμνη Λυδίας. "...and by [the tomb] of Gyges: surely [Nicander means] the monument of this king of Lydia, as Hipponax says in the first [book] of iambs; or rather the Gygaean Lake, from Gyges the hundred-hander; for the Gygaean lake is in Lydia."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Hesiod *Theogony* 149 with West (1966:209-210 ad loc.).

<sup>174</sup> The first syallble of the King's name was purported to be long. This prosodic distinction, not always observed in antiquity, was elucidated by Herodian; see Gow and Page (1965: vol. 2 p. 28, commenting on *Anthologia Palatina* 7.709.6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> While the giant Hyllus may have been associated with a tumulus, the mythical personified mountain and pre-Mermnad King Tmolus was certainly associated with one (as discussed below in chapters 7 and 8, respectively).

for local tales involving fantastic creatures—often dragons—and their slayers; such tales may have been part of the "memories" the Mermnad kings attempted to appropriate by building their great monuments on the shores of the Gygaean Lake.

The association of the lake with a monster called Gyges may be no more than the etymological wordplay of a scholiast, but it is possible that eventually locals chose to associate the tumuli with the monsters that had lurked in Lydian landscapes long before the usurpation of Gyges. As I show in detail in my treatment of the Lydian tumuli, the cooption of lacustrine memories was only partially successful in the long run, for not everybody that interacted with the tumuli in the Hellenistic and Roman period understood them to be the memorials of Mermnad kings.

## Lydian Echidna

Echidna too, the terrible dragoness and consort of Typhon, was herself associated with the Gygaean Lake. Robert called attention to a passage of Lycophron's obscure poem *Alexandra* that involves the lair of Typhon's spouse. <sup>176</sup> Although the riddling Lycophron does not mention the lake or Echidna by name, <sup>177</sup> the poet's references are unmistakable. While Typhon lurked inland, in the "Scorched Land", his spouse had a predilection for watery abodes. <sup>178</sup> The relevant lines concern the migration of the Lydian prince Tyrrhenus, imaginary ancestor of the Etruscans, to Italy:

Αὖθις δὲ κίρκοι, Τμῶλον ἐκλελοιπότες Κίμψον τε καὶ χρυσεργὰ Πακτωλοῦ ποτὰ καὶ νᾶμα λίμνης, ἔνθα Τυφῶνος δάμαρ κευθμῶνος αἰνόλεκτρον ἐνδαύει μυχόν, Ἄγυλλαν Αὐσονῖτιν εἰσεκώμασαν...<sup>179</sup>

So the hawks, <sup>180</sup> having left Tmolus and Cimpsus, and the gold-work draughts of Pactolus, and the water of the lake where Typhon's spouse sleeps in the dire-bedded recess of her lair, went over to Ausonian Agylla...

As discussed in chapter 1 above, Typhon and Echidna, as well as the snaky adversary of the Lydian heroes Tylon and Masnes (or Damasen), can be shown to be reflexes of the Hittite dragon *illuyankas*. While Tylon and Masnes were both equated with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> See Robert (1962:314 and 1982:334-352); see also Vian (1960:20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> On Lycophron's avoidance of explicit references, see Hutchinson (1988:257-258).

<sup>178</sup> Homer and Hesiod say that Typhon lived among the Arimoi and some ancient authorities placed the Arimoi in the "Scorched Land" in eastern Lydia; see Homer *Iliad* 2.783 with scholia; Hesiod *Theogony* 304 with West (1966:250-251*ad loc.*); Strabo 12.8.19 and 13.4.11=Xanthus *FGrHist* 765F13a-b; variations in the dragon's Anatolian habitat and gender date back to the two Hittite variants of the *illuyankas* myth, see Hoffner (1990) and my discussion in chapter 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Lycophron *Alexandra* 1351-1355=Pedley (1972: no. 258 quoting only up to 1353).

<sup>180</sup> The scholiast takes the hawks (κίρκοι) to be Lydus and Tyrrhenus, sons of Atys; Lydus was usually thought to have stayed in Lydia. I briefly discuss both Atys and the Tyrrhenian migration in chapter 3 below.

Heracles by ancient mythographers, the monstrous woman-snake that haunted the Gygaean Lake was herself diversely entangled with the hero: thus, Echidna was sometimes imagined to be Heracles' victim, and sometimes to be his consort. Ambiguity, not to say outright contradiction, seems to characterize the loyalties of Heracles' kith and kin, who are as often on the hero's side as they are against him. Even Heracles' doting wife Deianeira is ultimately responsible for his death. At any rate, according to various ancient accounts, Echidna bore to Heracles not only the ancestors of the Scythians, but also many of his foes, including Geryon, Cerberus, the Hydra, the Chimera, and even the Nemean lion. While in Lydia, Heracles had had a renowned affair with Queen Omphale. Although most narratives of Heracles' Lydian stay have nothing to do with Echidna, there is an intriguing reference in Propertius that associates the queen with the Gygaean Lake. How exactly Omphale and Echidna fit together is hard to say, but it is hardly a coincidence that Heracles' Lydian paramour as well as his paradigmatic antagonist—the stunning queen and the slimy snake—are sprung from the same lake, one to seduce and feminize the hero, the other to be seduced and in turn destroyed by him.

## Floating islands

Although the multiple literary references to "floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish" in the Gygaean Lake preserve valuable information about local folklore, they will detain us only briefly, for Alfred Philippson, A. B. Cook and Louis Robert have already compiled and analyzed these texts. <sup>183</sup> None of the surviving accounts of such wonders was written by a local inhabitant; rather, these narratives seem to be more or less fantastic tales constructed from the reports of Greek and Roman travelers who had visited the lake.

The earliest mention of floating islands in the region islands may go back to Theophrastus, to whom Seneca attributes the report that in Lydia there are "swimming islands" made of light pumice stone. <sup>184</sup> Theophrastus does not specify where these islands do their swimming, but presumably it is in the Gygaean Lake. <sup>185</sup> His description is exceptional, for usually the swimming, floating, and dancing islands of the Gygaean Lake are made of reeds, rather than being made of stone. In ancient literary sources, these

<sup>181</sup> Propertius 3.11.17-20=Pedley (1972: no. 240): Omphale in tantum formae processit honorem/Lydia Gygaeo tincta puella lacu/ut qui pacato statuisset in orbe columnas/tam dura traheret mollia pensa manu. "Omphale—the Lydian girl washed in the Gygaean Lake—reached such illustrious beauty that he who had erected pillars in a world he had pacified worked his apportioned soft wool with hardened hands." In his recent OCT edition of Propertius, Heyworth adopts Heinsius' quin etiam for Omphale, thereby omitting the name of the queen, but the reference is still unequivocal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Fontenrose (1959:108) ventured the following: "Omphale appears to be another form of the seductive demoness whom we have encountered in the forms of Echidna, Kelto, and Pyrene: at a time when Herakles was dealing with dragons and brigands he lived with a woman who was both alluring and dangerous."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Philippson (1911); Cook (1914-1940: Appendix P section 12, quote from p. 988); and Robert (1982:340 and 344-345) who was seemingly unaware of Cook's study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Seneca Naturales Quaestiones 3.25.7: sunt enim multi pumicosi et leues, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natant: Theophrastus est auctor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> I know of no pumice sources in the Hermus River plain. Although the volcanic rocks from the "Scorched land" are often lighter than they appear, they are still far too heavy to float, and in any case, the "Scorched land" is quite removed from the Gygaean Lake.

vegetal islands are hardly less remarkable than the stone ones. Pliny speaks of islands that are constantly drifting "which in Lydia are called Calaminae;<sup>186</sup> propelled not only by winds, but also by long poles in whatever direction one wishes, which were the salvation of many citizens during the Mithridatic war."<sup>187</sup> It is unclear how these "islands of reeds" were used as a refuge. Presumably the refugees had to do more than simply propel themselves out to the middle of the lake; perhaps they used the reeds to hide and not simply for flotation. However this may have happened, many questions remain: How much time did those in flight spend on the islands? Did they actually sojourn there? Are these tales evidence of primitive lacustrine habitation?

The text of a paradoxographer also mentions inhabited islands in the lake:

Ή κατὰ Σάρδεις λίμνη, καλουμένη δὲ Κολόη, πλῆθος μὲν ὄψου πάμπολυ τρέφει ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ νήσους οἰκουμένας πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐπινήχονται γὰρ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων πνοῷ συμμετοικοῦσι πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνύδρων τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος, ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι. 188

The lake by Sardis called Coloe nurtures an abundance of fish.

—It too has islands inhabited in trickery: for they drift in the water and even with the blow of the winds they change place.

It sustains such an abundance of waterfowl that they are even pickled [smoked, salted or otherwise artificially conserved].

The received text is undeniably odd, but I believe that it should not be emended. πρὸς ἀπάτην, means "in trickery, or as a ploy," suggesting that inhabiting the islands is not a normal activity; judging from Pliny's account, people do this in order to avoid revealing their presence. Robert pointed out that the paradoxographer's report of artificially conserved birds was "un cas tout à fait particulier." Was this too done only in exceptional circumstances or was there a market in antiquity for Lydian pickled birds? We do not know whether the Lydian liked smoked pelican or flamingo, but they did eat "pheasant, partridge, quail, and francolin." This last animal (*Francolinus francolinus*) was a marsh bird and form as early as the time of Hipponax it is counted among Lydian specialties. As Martial makes clear the taste for francolin spread throughout the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Cook (1914-1940:998) commenting on Oehler (*Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus*, 1913:118) pointed out that Calaminae should be taken literally and associated with reeds, as opposed to being understood with Oehler as a deformation of Coloe, see also Robert (1987:340).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia 2.209: quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur ... in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat inpulsae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus. See also Robert (1982:340).

<sup>188</sup> Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus (ed. Giannini, sec. 39).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Robert (1982:344-345) would rather adopt Bergk's emendation and read ὀχουμένας for οἰκουμένας allegedly meaning "floating".

<sup>190</sup> Robert (1982:344).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Greenewalt (2010, the birds mentioned on p. 127).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Hipponax (ed. Degani 37.1).

Mediterranean: "of the taste for winged creatures, the first flavor to be brought was that of the Ionian francolin." 193

By far the most intriguing islands of reeds in the Gygaean Lake are neither the swimming ones, nor the floating ones, but rather those "civilized" islands that dance to the sound of flutes. As the following passage of Strabo shows, even ancient authors expressed doubts on the matter: "They say that there [i.e. in lake Coloe] the reeds dance during the feasts; I do not know whether they are registering wonders rather than speaking the truth." But Varro, who himself had visited the lake, seems to have been less sceptical, for he told of sacred fish who would come at the sound of flutes as well as of islands of nymphs that would dance in the middle of the lake and then return to shore. Sacred ponds and fishponds can be found from the Aegean coast to Syria and beyond. Many of these sites seem to have had Bronze Age antecedents, and this may have been the case in the Gygaean Lake too. Behind these stories of cultured islands and refined fish may be mangled accounts of indigenous ritual embellished by paradoxographers; but, however fantastic, these narratives do suggest that during the Hellenistic and Roman period the Gygaean Lake kept occupying a prominent position in the local imagination as a site charged with religious significance and wonder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Martial 13.61.1-2: *inter sapores fertur alitum primum/Ionicarum gustus attagenarum.* Ancient references to the francolin as a culinary item abound, see Greenewalt (2010:130, 132 n. 2), Dalby (2003: s. v. Francolin), and Degani's apparatus at Hipponax 37.1.

<sup>194</sup> Strabo 13.4.5: φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάθους κατὰ τὰς ἑορτάς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ποτὲ παραδοξολογοῦντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες. Cf. Pliny 31.19.25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Varro De Agricultura 3.17.4 and Martianus Capella 9.298, with Robert (1982:351-352).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Lightfoot (2003:490 with further references).

## 3 The Torrhebian Lake

### INTRODUCTION

A lush crowd of Lydians rushed in: those ruling shingly Cimpsus and lofty Itone, and those from wide Torrhebus, and from fecund Sardis, nurse of wealth, age-mate of dawn; and those who ruled the grape-growing land of Bacchus, where vine-clad Dionysus with his brimming cup first mixed wine for Rhea, who had borne him, and named the city Cerassai (or "the Mixings"); and those from the outlook of Oanos, as well as those who held the stream of Hermus and watery Metallum, where flowing golden wealth sparkles sputtering Pactolian mud; and a great army was outfitted from Statala, where Typhon spurted out the hot breath of the fire-blazing thunderbolt and scorched the neighboring land...

## Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 13.464-473<sup>197</sup>

So begins the catalogue of Lydian allies in the thirteenth book of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*: a humbling reminder—if one were needed—that a fifth-century CE learned poet from Egypt was familiar with Anatolian mythological traditions that are now almost entirely beyond our reach.<sup>198</sup> The list shows, among other things, that just like Sardis could claim to be "nurse of wealth" and "age-mate of dawn",<sup>199</sup> so too much smaller settlements in Lydia, including the barely known towns of Cimpsus, Itone, Cerassai, Oanos, and Metallum<sup>200</sup> could have an exalted sense of their own remote past. If a town by the name of Torrhebus once existed—as Nonnus seems to suggest in this passage—, its remains have not yet been found; but fortunately, the town's eponymous hero was also the namesake of a Lydian lake.

This chapter is an attempt to explore lake Torrhebia as a landscape of memory. I begin by providing a geographical description of the lake and an overview of the archaeological remains found in its vicinity; this is followed by a brief discussion of the etymology of the lake's ancient name. I then examine the mythical lake-born hero Torrhebus, as well as a related personage called Carius: while Torrhebus was imagined to have been the ancestral forefather of the Torrhebians (a local community that was related, but linguistically distinct from the Lydians), Carius seems to have been the name of an

<sup>197</sup> This passage corresponds partly to Foss (1976: no. 8): "Λυδῶν δ' άβρὸς ὅμιλος ἐπέρρεεν, οἵ τ' ἔχον ἄμφω, / Κῖμψον ἐυψήφιδα καὶ ὀφρυόεσσαν Ἰτώνην, / οἵ τε Τορήβιον εὐρύ, καὶ οἳ Πλούτοιο τιθήνας / Σάρδιας εὐώδινας, ὁμήλικας Ἡριγενείης, / καὶ χθόνα Βακχείην σταφυληκόμον, ἤχι τεκούση / ἀμπελόεις Διόνυσος ἔχων δέπας ἔμπλεον οἴνου/ Ῥείη πρῶτα κέρασσε, πόλιν δ' ὀνόμηνε Κεράσσας, / καὶ σκοπιὰς Ὀάνοιο, καὶ οἳ ῥόον ἔλλαχον Ἔρμου/ ὑδατόεν τε Μέταλλον, ὅπη Πακτώλιον ἰλὺν/ ξανθὸς ἀποπτύων ἀμαρύσσεται ὅλβος ἐέρσης/ καὶ Στατάλων κεκόρυστο πολὺς στρατός, ἦχι Τυφωεὺς /θερμὸν ἀναβλύζων πυριθαλπέος ἄσθμα κεραυνοῦ / ἔφλεγε γείτονα χῶρον..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> On Nonnus' knowledge of local ancient traditions, see Chuvin (1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> On local pride in Sardian antiquity, see Robert (1962:314-316) with discussion of the passage of Nonnus quoted above; more generally, see also Herrmann (1995), Weiß (1995), and Spawforth (2001).

 $<sup>^{200}</sup>$  On the Lydian town called Metallum, literally "Mine," see Foss (1979:37-39) and further references therein.

Anatolian god who was eventually associated or identified with the Greek god Apollo. I attempt here to build on the pioneering archaeological explorations of Lake Torrhebia carried out by Rose Bengisu using textual and material evidence dating from the archaic period to the high Roman Empire.<sup>201</sup>

### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The Torrhebian Lake (Τορρηβία λίμνη) can be tentatively identified with modern Gölcük. <sup>202</sup> This spring-fed body of water lies at approximately 1,050 m.a.s.l. on a plateau on the southern slopes of the Tmolus mountain range (see map). <sup>203</sup> The lake lies between the ancient town of Hypaepa (modern Günlüce, located to the south-west) and the city of Sardis (which is almost due north, on the northern foothills of the range). <sup>204</sup> East of the Torrhebian Lake rises the highest peak in Boz Dağ, Mt Tmolus proper, which reaches a height of 2,152 m.a.s.l.. South of Gölcük stretch the plains of the upper Cayster River (modern Küçük Menderes Çayı), which runs west along a winding course, eventually flowing into the Aegean Sea at Ephesus. <sup>205</sup> Beyond the Cayster River is the Messogis mountain range and over it is Caria.

In the summer, the cool lakeshores and surrounding *yayla*, or highland pastures, offer a pleasant retreat from the grueling Anatolian sun (see figure 3.1).<sup>206</sup> The lake and its mountain landscape attracted the attention of the Lydians and their ancestors from at least the early first millennium BCE, when there was simultaneous deforestation and intensification in the cultivation of agricultural products.<sup>207</sup> Although the upland pastures in the vicinity of the Torrhebian Lake were fertile in antiquity, they supported a significantly smaller population than the Hermus River plain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Bengisu (1994 and 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> We know the location and the ancient names of three of the four major perennial lakes that used to exist in central Lydia: the Gygaean Lake, examined in chapter 1 above, and two bodies of water on Mt Sipylus, known in antiquity as lake Tantalis and the Saloe Marsh, examined in chapter 4 below. Although it is conceivable that one one of these lakes was also known as Lake Torrhebia, it seems more probable that Gölcük, the only other perennial lake in Lydia, be lake Torrhebia. In addition to Bengisu (1994 and 1996), the main modern treatments of the Torrhebian Lake are found in Robert (1962:314 n. 5, 315 n. 6 and 1982:308-310). Already in the late nineteenth century, Kiepert and Kiepert (1893) proposed identifying Gölcük as lake Torrhebia, but this did not dispel skepticism: note, for example, Jacoby (commenting on *FGrHist* 90F15) and Pedley (1972: notes to no. 239); the latter tentatively and probably erroneously equated the Torrhebian Lake with the Gygaean Lake. Bengisu (1994 and 1996) has added evidence in support of Kiepert and Kiepert's identification, but even this has not fully resolved the issue; thus, although Gölcuk is marked as Torrhebia in the *Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World*, Beekes (2003:26-27 n. 26) summarily said that the Torrhebian Lake had not been identified at all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> On Mt Tmolus in general, see Foss (1979 and 1982).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Sardis is 17kms north of the Torrhebian Lake as the crow flies. Foss (1979:32) calculated the distance between Sardis and the town of Hypaepa along one of the ancient roads between them to be 35kms and the time a pedestrian with a light load would take to cover this distance to be ten hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Bengisu (1994:33).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Foss (1979:23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Pollen analysis has shown that in antiquity cereal as well as the famed Lydian fruits and nuts (including grapes, figs, olives, chestnuts and walnuts) were grown here, see Sullivan (1989).

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Archaeological remains include a possible tumulus tomb near Danacılar about 1.5kms northeast of Gölcük, as well as several other funerary structures nearby: a chamber tomb 3.5kms east of the lake in Tekke Yaylası, and two more chamber tombs 1.5kms south of the lake; there is also scattered Late Lydian pottery on the peaks of Mt Tmolus overlooking the lake. In Ovacık Yaylası, about 4kms west of the lake, Rose Bengisu found two large architectural frieze fragments of archaic date decorated with egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel moldings; she argued that these imply the existence of a temple and suggested that they belonged to a sanctuary of Apollo Carius that is mentioned in ancient literary sources. <sup>208</sup>

## ΕΤΥΜΟLOGY OF Τορρεβία

The name Torrhebia—like Maeonia—is probably a remnant of a Late Bronze Age Anatolian appellation. <sup>209</sup> Johann Tischler tentatively suggested that it could be related to the root Τρεβ- found in Lycian personal names, but he did not hazard a semantic elucidation. <sup>210</sup> The name could be conceivably associated with Hieroglyphic Luwian *tarpi* + CRUS (+ DATIVE) meaning "stand in enmity/opposition to", and with the Lycian verb **trbbe**- meaning "to oppose, resist". <sup>211</sup> If so, Torrhebus could mean something like "opposer". <sup>212</sup> As I explain in detail below, conflicts involving the lake and the surrounding mountain peaks seems to have been drawn along linguistic or ethnic lines and it is possible that the Torrhebians may have gotten their appellation from a people they opposed, for example, from those who imagined themselves to be Lydians.

### THE TORRHEBIAN LAKE IN THE LOCAL IMAGINATION

Nearly half a century ago, Louis Robert noted that the region where the Torrhebian Lake lies was "très importante pour les legends et traditions lydiennes". <sup>213</sup> It is unsurprising that Gölcük would become a sort of cultural node in southern Lydia where the summer heat can be debilitating and large bodies of water are scarce. The lake's cultural importance was owed partly to its fertile surroundings and pleasant climate, which attracted human activity from pre-historic times onwards, and partly to the fact that it lies near an important route from the Aegean Coast to the interior of Anatolia and on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> For descriptions of these remains, see Roosevelt (2009:44, cat. no 17.2 for the architectural frieze fragments; cat. no. 17.3 for the tumulus; cat. no. 17. 4 for the scattered pottery; and cat. no. 17.5 for the chamber tombs); Bengisu (1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> On Maeonia and the Maeonians, see chapter 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Tischler (1977: s. v. Torrhebia); on potentially related Lycian names, see Houwink ten Cate (1961: s. v. TARPA).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> The Luwian and Lycian glosses from Melchert (2004: s. v. trbbe-).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> An alternative possibility could be to associate Torrhebus to the Lydian verb *tarb-*; but note that Gusmani (1964 and 1982: s. v. *tarb-* and *tarbla-* meaning "Besitzer") did not support the notion that this root could be related to Luwian *tarp-*. Much more speculatively, Bengisu (1996) proposed relating the name Tharybis (mentioned by Aeschylus among the Lydian allies of the Persians in *Persae* 51, 323 and 971) to Torrhebus.

 $<sup>^{213}</sup>$  Robert (1962:314-315); the sentiment is echoed by Chuvin (1991, cited below), Foss (1993) and Bengisu (1996).

swiftest route from Sardis to Ephesus.<sup>214</sup> Precisely because of its virtues, ancient Gölcük was a contested space in archaic Lydia; as occurred in many other parts of the ancient world, struggles over the chronological precedence and cultural pre-eminence of vying communities were often articulated through the genealogies of personages variously connected to natural features, especially local rivers, lakes, and mountains. In the case of the Torrhebian Lake we can examine these conflicts primarily through the figure of Torrhebus.

Who was this Torrhebus? Pierre Chuvin drew attention to his stature in Lydian culture: "Héros civilisateur, patron d'oracle, ancêtre de clan, Torrhebios était une figure de premier plan du plus ancien patrimoine légendaire lydien." We know very little about him, except for the fact that locals remembered him as a forefather. One of the most informative ancient references concerning Torrhebus is embedded in a passage of Stephanus of Byzantium (who in turn cites the Augustan historian Nicolaus of Damascus):

Τόρρηβος, πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Τορρήβου τοῦ Ἄτυος. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Τορρήβιοι, καὶ θηλυκὸν Τορρηβίς. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Τορρηβίδι ἐστὶν ὄρος Κάριος καλεόμενον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου ἐκεῖ. Κάριος δὲ Διὸς παῖς καὶ Τορρηβίας, ὡς Νικόλαος τετάρτῳ· ὃς πλαζόμενος περί τινα λίμνην, ἥτις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τορρηβία ἐκλήθη, φθογγῆς Νυμφῶν ἀκούσας, ἃς καὶ Μούσας Λυδοὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μουσικὴν ἐδιδάχθη, καὶ αὐτὸς Λυδοὺς ἐδίδαξε, καὶ τὰ μέλη διὰ τοῦτο Τορρήβια ἐκαλεῖτο.<sup>217</sup>

Torrhebus is a city in Lydia; from Torrhebus, son of Atys. The ethnic name is Torrhebioi, and in the feminine: Torrhebis. In the land Torrhebis there is a mountain called Carius and there is a sanctuary of Carius there.<sup>218</sup> (Carius is the son of Zeus and Torrhebias,<sup>219</sup> as Nicolaus said in his fourth [book]): When he was wandering about a certain lake, which was called Torrhebia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Since the Bronze Age the main passes from the Hermus River plain to the Aegean Sea have been at Belkahve, which is the turning point of the modern Izmir-Ankara highway, and at Karabel, where Herodotus (2.106) identified a rock-cut relief in Hittite style as a stele of the pharaoh Sesostris; on this relief see Hawkins (1998). However, light travelers or those in a rush could venture across the Tmolus mountain range further east than Karabel, for example, along the various mountain roads leading from Sardis through Hypaepa to Ephesus; on these ancient roads, see Foss (1979:27-37). Epigraphic and archaeological finds, including scattered evidence of religious activity, suggest that on of the routes over Mt Tmolus may have been a sacred route, see Bengisu (1996:7, 10-11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Chuvin (1991:104).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> As explained below, Xanthus and other later ancient authorities know of an early Lydian prince called Torrhebus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90F15. This passage is sometimes said to derive from Xanthus, but caution is warranted regarding this attribution because the principal surviving account is several times removed from whatever was its original source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Note that Pseudo-Plutarch *De fluviis* 7.5 says that before being called Tmolus, Bozdağ was called Carmanorium (Καρμανόριον); could this name too have something to do with Car (forefather of the Carians)?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> See also Pseudo–Herodian *De prosodia catholica*: Τορρηβία Καρίου μήτηρ. "Torrhebia [is the] mother of Carius."

because of him, he heard the voice of nymphs, which the Lydians call muses, and he was instructed in music, and he himself taught the Lydians, and because of this, the songs too are called Torrhebian.

Like the Maeonians, the obscure Torrhebians (and perhaps also the Carians through the legendary figures of Carius or Car<sup>220</sup>) are genetically connected to a Lydian lake; but in contrast to what happened in the case of the Gygaean Lake, here it is not the lake itself that bears human progeny.<sup>221</sup> Rather, a local lake nymph is said to be the mother of the civilizing heroes, ancestors of indigenous communities that were linguistically, and perhaps also ethnically distinct from the Lydians.

This intriguing fragment is so compact as to be opaque; it presents various topographical and prosopographical difficulties. First, we know nothing of the Lydian city called Torrhebus apart from what is said here and at Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 13.466 (quoted at the beginning of this chapter). Although no traces of a Lydian settlement have been found in the town of Hypaepa, which stands relatively close to Gölcük, the absence of material remains may be due to the fact that Hypaepa was extensively pillaged in the nineteenth century. Alternatively and perhaps more probably, the pre-original settlement may have been closer to the lake and has yet to be discovered. If Gölcük is indeed lake Torrhebia, then Torrhebus could conceivably be the name of an archaic settlement associated with the archaeological remains in the lake's vicinity.

Secondly, It is not absolutely clear who is the namesake of the lake. Is it the son of Atys<sup>225</sup> or the son of Zeus?<sup>226</sup> I assume with Jacoby that it is Torrhebus, rather than Carius,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> As far as I know, Car is never explicitly associated with Torrhebus, but it is possible that Nicolaus and his sources imagined that Carius, son of Torrhebia, was—like Car—a forefather of the Carians, for Kάριος means literally Carian. By contrast, Car himself is relatively well known; according to Herodotus, Car was a brother of Lydus and Mysus (ancestors of the Lydians and Mysians respectively); see also Herodotus 1.171.6 and Strabo 14.659; according to Aelian *De Natura Animalium* 12.30, Car was a son of Zeus and Crete. The details of the different genealogies of Car have been collected elsewhere, see *LIMC* (s. n. Kar); see also Jones (2002:114-116) for an inscription which seems to be the only epigraphic attestation of Car.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Lake-born heroes are not common in Homeric epic; in fact, they are restricted to Lydia, see my comments on Homer *Iliad* 2.864-866 and 20.389-392=Pedley (1972: nos. 238-239) in chapter 2 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Chuvin (1991:104), commenting on Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 13.466=Foss (1976: no. 8) described "wide (εὐρύ) Torrhebus"; as "la Lydie au sud du Tmôlos, vers la vallé du Caystre et la chaîne de la Mesogis qui sépare Lydie et Carie."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> For further details and references on the Hypaepa's pillaging, see chapter 13 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Note, however, that the archaic frieze fragments mentioned above were found 4kms aways from the lake and that the idea, proposed by Bengisu (1994 and 1996), that they belongs to a temple of Carius is speculative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Atys was the founder of a pre-Mermnad Lydian dynasty, whose sons were Torrhebus and Lydus (forefather of the Lydians); see Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.27.1-2=Pedley (1972: no. 20) and 1.28.2=Pedley (1972: no. 21)=Xanthus *FGrHist* 765F16, quoted below.

 $<sup>^{226}</sup>$  As a son of Zeus, Torrhebus would have had strong claims over the peaks of Mt Tmolus, for according to John Lydus De mensibus 4.71=Pedley (1972: no. 14) Zeus had been born on Mt Tmolus in a place originally called Γοναί Δίος Ύετίοι or "Birthplace of rainy Zeus," but later known simply as  $\Delta$ εύσιον.

who wanders along the lakeshores and is instructed by local nymphs or muses.<sup>227</sup> But, in fact, Torrhebus and Carius share many characteristics: as explained further below, they are both gifted in prophecy and versed in music; not surprisingly, the Hellenized populations of Western Asia Minor associated them with the Greek Apollo.

### CONFLICTS BETWEEN TORRHEBIANS AND LYDIANS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BCE

The contests between those people who associated themselves with the local lakeborn hero and those who associated themselves with other legendary ancestors can be traced back to the classical period. In the fifth century BCE, the Torrhebians were involved in various cultural conflicts with the Lydians. Although we can only surmise what was at stake in these disputes, a possible matter of disagreement between the different peoples who thought of themselves as descendants of Torrhebus, Lydus, and Car (or Carius) were the peaks and sanctuaries of the Tmolus mountain range, for they belonged variously to the mythical Torrhebus, Zeus Lydius, Apollo Carius, Dionysus, and—at least after the Persian capture of Sardis in 546 BCE—to the "Tmolian goddess." The profusion of myths relating the birth of gods or heroes in the mountain range partly reflects the attempts by different communities at staking claims on these territories.

Apart from the possible debates over religious authority, the following passage of Dionysus of Halicarnassus offers a glimpse into the specific cultural disagreements between Torrhebians and Lydians:

[Ξάνθος] Ἄτυος δὲ παῖδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρηβον τούτους δὲ μερισαμένους τὴν πατρώιαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ᾿Ασίαι καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἦρξαν ἐπ᾽ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε· "'ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοί, ἀπὸ Τορήβου δὲ Τόρηβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι σιλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἰωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς.'"<sup>229</sup>

[Xanthus] says that the children of Atys were Lydus and Torrhebus, and that they divided their paternal kingdom and both remained in Asia, and that the peoples over which they ruled derived their appellations from them; he spoke thus: "From Lydus were born the Lydians, and from Torrhebus were born the Torrhebians. The language of these differs a little, and even now they mock each other over not few words, as do the Ionians and the Dorians".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> See Jacoby's note *ad loc*.: "...die Τορρήβια μέλη können nur nach Torrhebos, nicht nach Karios, obwohl er sohn der Torrhebia heißt, genannt sein." More on the Lydian nymphs' musical virtues in chapter 13 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> On Zeus Lydius, see John Lydus (citing Eumelus of Corinth) *De Mensibus* 4.71=Pedley (1972: no. 14); on Carius, see Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90F15; on Dionysus, see Euripides *Bacchae* 461-464=Pedley (1972: no. 257); on the "Tmolian Goddess", see Athenaeus (citing the Athenian tragedian Diogenes, also known as Oenomaus) *Deipnosophistae* 14.38.9=*Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Diogenes 1.7 (ed. Snell); on Artemis Anaitis in the vicinity of the Torrhebian Lake see my comments in chapter 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus Antiquitates Romanae 1.28.2=Xanthus FGrHist 765F16.

This passage suggests that Xanthus recognized dialectal variations between the mutually intelligible speech of the purported descendants of Lydus and Torrhebus. It is hardly surprising that among neighboring Anatolian communities in the fifth century BCE, speech habits could be a marker of identity. <sup>230</sup> In fact, precisely because Lydian and Torrhebian seem to have been closely related Anatolian languages—perhaps even dialects of the same language—their speakers may have been especially sensitive to minor linguistic differences and mocked each other over them. What exactly the Torrhebians—or for that matter the Maeonians—spoke is impossible to ascertain, <sup>231</sup> but fifth-century BCE western Anatolia was still rife with varied languages and dialects.

Xanthus himself was probably a speaker of both Greek and Lydian. As can be gleaned from Herodotus (1.142.3-4), Anatolian languages including Lydian affected the indigenous population's pronunciation of Greek. Even among Ionian Greeks there was awareness of the linguistic diversity of the indigenous population of Mermnad Lydia. Thus Hipponax flaunts his familiarity with the local languages of Lydia, <sup>232</sup> regardless of whether or not he actually knew these languages; I speak of the languages of Lydia in the plural, because, with Ignacio Adiego (2007b:770-771), I understand Hipponax's μηιονιστί meaning "in Maeonian" to imply in a dialect different from Lydian, for which Hipponax uses the verb  $\lambda \nu \delta i \zeta \omega$ . <sup>233</sup>

In time, the widespread polyglossy or code-switching in Hellenistic and Roman Sardis was the object of reproach by linguistic purists. Linguistic diversity was imagined to be so characteristic of the Lydian capital that the word  $\Sigma \alpha \rho \delta_{I} \sigma \mu \delta_{S}$  (literally "Sardism", built like solecism, from Soli in Cilicia) was coined specifically to describe an affectation of speech whereby a speaker indiscriminately combines diverse dialects. The word  $\Sigma \alpha \rho \delta_{I} \sigma \mu \delta_{S}$  is only transmitted by the Roman rhetorician Quintilian (8.3.59), but it was coined probably in the Hellenistic Age. Although the word as used by Quintilian refers specifically to the combination of diverse Greek dialects, I would think it was originally coined as a pejorative term for the simultaneous use of different languages.

### TORRHEBUS AND APOLLO CLARIUS, CARIUS, AND CAREIUS

Whatever Torrhebian filiations may have implied linguistically and territorially in the archaic and classical period, the situation had become altogether different when Torrhebus re-surfaces in second-century CE civic coinage; curiously, the hero appears not on a coin from Hypaepa by the Torrhebian Lake, nor in fact on one from any other Lydian city, but rather on a Hadrianic or Antonine issue from Phrygian Hierapolis.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> For a dialect as a marker of identity in Greek antiquity, see Hall (1997:143-181).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> There is an archaic inscription from the Sardis synagogue (see figure 11.6), written in a presumably indigenous language that is not Lydian, which includes a Lydian word (*sfenals*) and is written in a script that is clearly related to Lydian. Scholars have wondered whether the language in question could be Torrhebian or Maionian; on this inscription, see Gusmani (1975:115-132).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Hipponax (ed. Degani) 2.1 and 95.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Adiego (2007b:770-771).

 $<sup>^{234}</sup>$  For further comments on Σαρδισμός, see Spawforth (2001:381).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Imhoof-Blumer (1901: XI.5 (Phrygia) Tafel VII.29).

Robert first explained the relevant imagery (see figure 3.2):<sup>236</sup> the coin depicts Apollo on the obverse, because he was thought to have founded Hierapolis; on the reverse are shown Mopsus and Torrhebus, themselves mythical founders, musicians, and prophets. Torrhebus is holding an image of Artemis Anaitis on his left hand with a lyre resting nearby; the hero stands in civilizing attitude with the musical instrument that he introduced to the Lydians and, anachronistically, the Lydo-Persian goddess by which the region around the Torrhebian Lake, and especially Hypaepa, eventually became known. Robert further explained why Hierapolis would mint such a coin: "Je crois que sa présence à Hiérapolis s'explique para les fréquentes relations entre Sardes et Hierapolis qu'attestant les monnaies d'homonoia." While it is true that Hypaepa was often associated with Sardis and that the town and the city had intimate ties, it is also possible that Hypaepa had its own claims on the religious topography of the region; the town's claims may have been independent of those of Sardis and extended beyond central Lydia.

It is now increasingly clear that local versions of Apollo, labeled variously Clarius, Carius, or Careius, <sup>237</sup> are different reflexes of an Anatolian deity related to music and prophecy that was worshipped in the corridors leading from the Aegean coast to inner Anatolia, most famously at the oracle of Clarus near the coast, but also in Hypaeapa and Hierapolis. <sup>238</sup> Whatever the diverse origins of the original divnities, these characters seem to have been combined or confused, although not entirely merged together by the Roman period. <sup>239</sup> Those who minted the coins from Hierapolis could have wanted to connect Hypaepa (which exerted control over an important temple of Artemis Anaitis and presumably also over the sanctuary of Apollo Carius by the Torrhebian Lake) directly to Hierapolis in the east and to the great oracle of Apollo at Clarus in the west. Thus Apollo, Mopsus, and Torrhebus could conceivably mark three points in a religious route that was also a majoor trade conduit. The coin may thus be using old religious ideas to map an alternative cultural topography that entirely bypasses cities such as Ephesus and Sardis.

At any rate, we know from the many inscriptions in the oracle at Clarus that pilgrims from inner Anatolia came frequently to the sanctuary near the coast.<sup>240</sup> These pilgrims were often groups of boys led by a choirmaster walking along mountainous roads on trips that lasted many days.<sup>241</sup> Although we barely know anything about the practices

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Robert (1962:314-315) and (1987:308-310); Robert and Robert (1983:59-61),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Remarkably, it is only in Ionia, Lydia, and Phrygia (along an East-West axis) rather than in Caria (in the south), that the epithet Careius (*sic*) is attested epigraphically.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> In Hierapolis Apollo Careius is associated with a first- or second-century CE alphabetic oracle where a consultant would draw a letter of the Greek alphabet corresponding to a divine response in a sequence of twenty-four alphabetically arranged pronouncements. The text of the Hierapolitan oracles can be found in Pugliese-Carratelli (1963:351-370) and Ritti (1985:130). Ceylan and Ritti (1997:59) called attention to the fact that alphabetic oracles were "actually peculiar to a rather narrow area of western Anatolia, and it is significant that in the Hierapolis oracle-center it involved, instead of the Pythian Apollo, whose oracular faculties were well known, a native god, assimilated with Apollo and evidently with prophetic traditions."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Rutherford (2007) has recently analyzed an oracle from Hierapolis that seems to shed light on the superimposition of the Greek god over the indigenous Anatolian prophetic deity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Lane-Fox (1986:177-179).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Rutherford (2007:455).

of the pre-Greek sanctuary by lake Torrhebia, it is no coincidence that Torrhebus and Carius were both music teachers and that music played a critical role in the pilgrimages to Clarus. When Apollo, the chief deity at Clarus incorporated ancient Anatolian divinities into his godhead, he naturally attracted to himself those who had the gift of prophecy and song. Torrhebus was probably a minor figure in the spread of the Clarian oracle's power over western Asia Minor, but by tapping into this archaic religious tradition, those officials in Hierapolis who minted the coins of Torrhebus could celebrate their religious bonds with the Hypaepans. Despite the fact that Torrhebus now seems obscure to us, in the Roman period his *numen* traversed the length of the Cayster valley from the Ionian Coast to Phrygia, articulating an imaginary topography rooted in pre-Greek Anatolian traditions.

### TORRHEBIANS OR TYRRHENIANS?

By far the most controversial people relevant to a discussion of Torrhebian genealogy are the Anatolian Tyrrhenians, purported ancestors of the Etruscans. Whether or not the Tyrrhenians migrated from Lydia to Italy was a debated issue in antiquity. Since the ancient literary sources have been collected and studied elsewhere,<sup>242</sup> it will suffice here simply to recall that Herodotus was the principal ancient authority supporting the historicity of the migration,<sup>243</sup> while Dionysius of Halicarnassus presented the most cogent arguments against it—in fact, some of his arguments are still valid today, when the issue is still far from being resolved satisfactorily.<sup>244</sup> The following text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus immediately precedes the passage quoted above concerning Lydus and Torrhebus:

Ζάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰ καί τις ἄλλος ἔμπειρος ἄν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτὴς ἄν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθείς, οὔτε Τυρρηνὸν ἀνόμακεν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς δυνάστην Λυδῶν οὔτε ἀποικίαν Μηόνων εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατασχοῦσαν ἐπίσταται Τυρρηνίας τε Μνήμην ὡς Λυδῶν ἀποκτίσεως ταπεινοτέρων ἄλλων μεμνημένος οὐδεμίαν πεποίηται."<sup>245</sup>

But Xanthus the Lydian—who is as versed in ancient history as anyone, and could be considered an authority second to none regarding his homeland—nowhere in his text mentioned Tyrrhenus as a ruler of the Lydians, nor did he know that a colony of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Briquel (1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Herodotus 1.94; and see also 1.171 and 4.45 for passages discussing the relevant genealogies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.27.1-3, 1.28.2, and 1.30.1. Most of these and other relevant ancient literary sources are included in Pedley (1972: nos. 20-25 + 221 and 261). Treatment of this thorny topic has suffered both from modern nationalism and from the compartmentalization of the disciplines of archaeology and linguistics. In a review of Beekes (2003), Wallace (2005) stated the problem precisely: "When it comes to issues such as the origins of the Etruscans, there are not enough solid facts to hang a theory on. Speculation, however enlightened, is a matter of personal taste. That's why some Etruscologists do not subscribe to the idea that the Etruscan Urheimat was located in the eastern Aegean."

 $<sup>^{245}</sup>$  Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.28.2=Xanthus *FGrHist* 765F16= Pedley (1972: no. 21).

Maeonians landed in Italy; in fact, he did not allude to Tyrrhenia as a foundation of the Lydians, although he did call to mind other trivial matters.

The text seems to suggest that Torrhebus and Tyrrhenus appear as mutually exclusive alternatives in parallel genealogies: if there is Tyrrhenus, there is no Torrhebus. Quite apart from the ancient academic debate about historical veracity of the Tyrrhenian migration, there were practical reasons for local communities in Lydia to have an opinion about the issue. We know from Tacitus, for example, that the Sardians invoked their connection to the Etruscans when seeking imperial privileges from the Emperor Tiberius. On that very same occasion the people of Hypaepa also sent ambassadors; although Tacitus does not record what they said to the emperor, the historian does say explicitly that the claims of the different cities were all very similar. The Hypaepans too may have invoked the Tyrrhenians in making their claim. Regardless of what the Hypaepans may have said to Tiberius, they were dismissed summarily.

If the citizens of Roman Hypaepa remembered the Tyrrhenian connection, it is not clear how they would have explained the fact that the lake next to their town was called Torrhebian—perhaps the name had to be changed for the occasion. However, an ad hoc toponym is not the only conceivable recourse. In fact, the passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus quoted above is polemical in tone: there were probably other ancient genealogies in which the Torrhebians coexisted alongside the Tyrrhenians. If so, the Hypaepans could have claimed to be from Tyrrhenian stock from Mt Tmolus. Although the Tyrrhenians were normally imagined to have come to Italy specifically from the lands washed by the Hermus and Hyllus rivers in Maeonia, in the following passage of Silius Italicus, Tyrrhenus, forefather of the Etruscans, is explicitly connected with Mt Tmolus:

Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus, aequore longo Maeoniam quondam in Latias deduxerat oras Tyrrhenus pubem, dederatque vocabula terris; isque insueta tubae monstravit murmura primus gentibus et bellis ignava silentia rupit.<sup>247</sup>

Lydius was his father, the pride of Tmolus, across the great ocean he once led Maeonian youth to the shores of Latium, And gave his name to those lands—this was Tyrrhenus. He also first showed the sound of the-never-before-heard trumpet To the people and broke the useless silence with war.

Like Torrhebus and Carius, this Tmolian Tyrrhenus, was himself a musical inventor. It does not seem far-fetched to think that in the first century CE those who lived by the Torrhebian Lake would associate themselves with the Tyrrhenians in an effort to emphasize their connections with Italy. Whatever was originally at stake in the contest over the namesake of lake Torrhebia hardly mattered because figures such as Torrhebus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 2.47, 4.55=Pedley (1972: nos. 220-221); notably, the Sardians are said to have read an Etruscan decree verifying their claim to kinship (4.55 *Sardiani decretum Etruriar recitavere ut consanguinei*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Silius Italicus *Punica* 5.9-13.

Lydus, Car (or Carius or Careius), and Tyrrhenus still served to substantiate claims about cultural authority retrojecting a community's origins into a remote past. Similar accounts involving other legendary figures from elsewhere in Anatolia seem to preserve evidence of Late Bronze Age ethnic diversity and conflict, but rather than attempting to reconcile such inconsistent genealogies and myths of ethnic origins as if they were the passive neutral traces of Late Bronze Age realities, one can read the different narratives as the deliberate reworking of genealogical material which may contain historical evidence, but ultimately responds to political and social pressures at the time of their retelling.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> On this issue, see Hall (1997:34-66). For a balanced assessment of some of these legendary traditions that may or may not preserve information about Bronze Age Anatolia, see Bryce (2003:110-114).

# 4 The Lakes of Mt Sipylus

### INTRODUCTION

In addition to the Gygaean and the Torrhebian lakes (discussed in chapters 2 and 3 above), there are two other perennial lakes in central Lydia: lake Tantalis and the Saloe Marsh, both located on Mt Sipylus. The northeastern portion of the Sipylus mountain range has served as a node of cultural activity since at least the Bronze Age; as a result, the archaeological landscape there is as dense and varied as that of any other part of Lydia. Traces of prior human habitation have been visible on Mt Sipylus since pre-historic antiquity; because of their exposure, these cultural remains have incited successive generations of locals and foreigners to imagine them as the setting for varied myths. In addition to mythological narratives explaining local ruins, there are also physical traces of attempts to reclaim and reinterpret these remains.

In what follows, I explore the ancient topography of the northeastern slopes of Mt Sipylus paying particular attention to the imaginary and material co-option of natural and artificial landmarks. After a geographical description and an overview of the archaeological remains in the area, I discuss ancient narratives concerning sunken cities under the Sipylean lakes. I then suggest that local toponyms may reflect the notion that these lakes were formed through cataclysmic geological activity. Finally, I conclude with a reflection on the Lydian Achelous River, a stream on the northeastern slopes of Mt Sipylus that exemplifies changes in the Sipylean mythology of landscape from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period. Throughout, I use a combination of archaeological and literary evidence. I rely heavily on the Roman travel-writer Pausanias, who as a native of Magnesia ad Sipylum (modern Manisa), was intimately familiar with the landscape of the surrounding mountains.<sup>249</sup>

### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Mt Sipylus (modern Spil or Manisa Dağı) rises to 1,513 m.a.s.l. in western Lydia. While the lower Hermus River valley bounds Mt Sipylus to the north, the southern limit of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> On Pausanias' birthplace, see Habicht (1985:13-15 and n. 66) who includes a catalogue of the passages where Pausanias reports on the region around Mt Sipylus. See also Ramsay (1913:xix), for although he was not certain about Pausanias' birthplace, he had already compiled a similar catalogue. I quote Ramsay's catalogue here because it mentions many of the monuments discussed below: "[Pausanias] had seen the white eagles wheeling above the lonely tarn of Tantalus in the heart of the hills; he had beheld the stately tomb of the same hero on Mount Sipylus, the ruined city at the bottom of the clear lake, the rock-hewn throne of Pelops crowning the dizzy peak that overhangs the canon, and the dripping rock which popular fancy took for the bereaved Niobe weeping for her children. He speaks of the clouds of locusts which he had thrice seen vanish from Mount Sipylus, of the wild dance of the peasantry, and of the shrine of Mother Plastene, whose rude image, carved out of the native rock, may still be seen in its niche at the foot of the mountain. From all this it is fair to surmise that Pausanias was born and bred not far from the mountains which he seems to have known and loved so well. Their inmost recesses he may have explored on foot in boyhood and have drunk in their old romantic legends from the lips of woodmen and hunters. Whether, as some conjecture, he was born at Magnesia, the city at the northern foot of Mount Sipylus, we cannot say, but the vicinity of the city to the mountain speaks in favour of the conjecture."

the range is defined by the plains of the Cryus River (modern Nif Çayı) on the southeast, and, on the southwest, by those of the Meles River (see map). What is to this day the main road from the Aegean Coast to the interior of Anatolia connects these last two river valleys at the pass known in Turkish as Belkahve through which runs the modern Izmir-Ankara highway. The Yamanlar Dağları, directly to the west of Spil Dağı, may have been imagined as part of Mt Sipylus in antiquity, but today it is understood to be a distinct geological formation.

There used to be several small lakes on or near Mt Sipylus,<sup>250</sup> including two on the northeastern foothills of the range which were very close to Magnesia ad Sipylum: one is the modern Sülüklü Göl or "leechy lake", a few kilometers to the east of Magnesia.<sup>251</sup> A second body of water used to lie in the vicinity of the village of Akpınar, or "White Spring", even closer to Magnesia than Sülüklü Göl, but its water was drained in the midnineteenth century; this seems to have been more of a pool than a proper lake.<sup>252</sup> Yet another mountain lake is a small, but deep lagoon—in fact a water-filled crater—surrounded by pines, known today as Karagöl or "Black Lake" in the Yamanlar dağları.<sup>253</sup> All three bodies of water serve as the setting of extant mythological narratives. In addition to these lakes, there was at least one seasonal stream of mythological relevance on the slopes of Mt Sipylus. Homer mentions the Lydian Achelous River, which has been tentatively identified as a stream that springs near Karagöl and flows west into modern Izmir, or alternatively with a smaller stream that rises in the northeastern slopes of the range and feeds the Cryus River on the plain north of Mt Sipylus.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Archaeological remains on the northeastern slopes of Mt Sipylus are abundant and varied in date.<sup>254</sup>

The most famous object in the region is the rock-cut monument in Hittite style known today as Taş Suret, or "Stone figure" (see figure 4.1).<sup>255</sup> This fourteenth- or thirteenth-century BCE monument consists of a massive anthropomorphic effigy, about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> For a brief description of the lakes in central Lydia, see Roosevelt (2009:44-45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Roosevelt (2009:44-45) characterized this body of water and its animal occupants as uninviting, but a homonymous lake on Kerkenes Dağı in central Anatolia has become a regional attraction precisely because of its leeches and their purported medicinal qualities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Sayce (1880:89) provides a charming description of this lake: "At the foot of the cliff is a stream, fed by several springs, some of which are warm and aperient, and just below the figure is a small pool, filled with tortoises, and called by the Greeks "the Tears of Niobe". This pool is all that is left of an extensive lake, drained some thirty years ago."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Bean (1966:59); this lake is not discussed by Roosevelt (2009:44-45) because it lies outside the limits of his study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Previous accounts of these remains include Weber (1880), Ramsay (1882:33-68), Humann (1888), Bean (1966:31-32), and Roosevelt (2009: cat. no. 4.4 with further references); see also Jones (1994:210-211).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> This monument has fascinated travelers and scholars since the mid-eighteenth century when Edmund Chishull first paid it a visit. For an extensive bibliography, see Salvini and Salvini (2003); for a succinct analysis, and color pictures of the monument, as well as pictures of the two hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions mentioned below, see Ehringhaus (2005:84-87, abb.153-159).

7.50m tall and 4.60m wide, carved into a niche some 150m above a small pool near the hamlet of Akpınar on the Hermus River plain. Scholars have thought that the statue may be marking the site of a Hittite spring or mountain sanctuary. The anthropomorphic figure may have been intended to represent a bearded mountain god, rather than a goddess as was previously believed, but controversy over its gender may never cease. Its rough surface is almost certainly not due to weathering, as has been proposed sometimes, but rather to the fact that the statue was left unfinished for some indeterminate reason. The monument is very likely the object that Pausanias described as "a most ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods". <sup>256</sup>

There is no incontrovertible proof of religious activity near the statue during the archaic period, but it is almost certain that the monument was the focus of interest throughout antiquity.<sup>257</sup> In fact, there is evidence that even in the Bronze Age there were conspicuous interventions in the rock-face near the Taş Suret: in the immediate vicinity of the statue are two Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, one of which is now very badly weathered. The texts appear to record merely proper names. Although the dating of these inscriptions is uncertain, it is very probable that they postdate the effigy and that they are not contemporaneous with each other.<sup>258</sup> If so, they are conceivably an attempt by a local potentate to claim connections with the statue or directly with the god ruling over the mountain or spring sanctuary of Akpınar.<sup>259</sup> East of the Taş Suret there are several ruins that are probably related to other places or monuments mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>260</sup> On the plain there is a Sanctuary of "Mother Plastene" two inscriptions found there confirmed that in the Roman period this was in fact the proper name of the local female goddess.<sup>261</sup>

Several other natural and artificial landmarks on Mt Sipylus were associated with different members of the Tantalid clan, including Niobe, Pelops, Broteas, and Tantalus.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Pausanias 3.22.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> There are reports of archaic rock-cut tombs on the nearby slopes and a group of tumuli in the vicinity of Akpınar, on which see Roosevelt (2009: cat. no. 4.4 c and d).

 $<sup>^{258}</sup>$  Note that while one of the inscriptions is incised, the other is a high-relief perhappss suggesting that they were carved at different moments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> For color pictures of the inscriptions and a brief discussion, see Ehringhaus (2005:84-87, abb.153-159); for a detailed discussion of the inscriptions and their relationship with the monument, see Kohlemeyer (1983:28-34).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Pausanias 5.13.7.

 $<sup>^{261}</sup>$  On the site of the sanctuary see Wolters (1877); on the inscriptions see TAMV.2 no. 578.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Pausanias 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 Σιπύλω μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῆ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἔρμον ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνω πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμη, προϊλασκόμενόν τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον. "Το this day there are signs that Pelops and Tantalus once inhabited our land: the lake of Tantalus is named after him and there is a renowned grave; and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops past the sanctuary of Mother Plastene. Crossing the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnus made of a strong myrtle-tree; we say that Pelops dedicated it when he was beseeching the goddess and asking to marry Hippodameia." On the continued association of the weeping Niobe and her daughters with local landmarks, including an Ottoman mausoleum in Manisa, see Van Hamel (1961). On Tantalus as king of Sipylus, see Euripides *Orestes* 5 and Pausanias 2.22.3; cf. scholia to Euripides *Orestes* 4

To the east of the sanctuary is an enormous fissure in the bedrock known today as Yarıkkaya or "Cracked Stone" (see figure 4.2). At the top of the rock, some 300mts above the plain is a simple platform cut into the bedrock that has been tentatively identified as the "Throne of Pelops" mentioned by Pausanias (see figure 4.3). The purpose and date of this rock-cut feature are impossible to determine, but it is part of a peak site with many traces of habitation including cisterns and basements (see figure 4.4). Ceramic evidence at the site ranges from the protogeometric to the Byzantine period.<sup>263</sup>

About 1.5kms east of the "Taş Suret" there is a monumental rock-cut tomb sometimes referred to as the "Tomb of St Charalambos" that has been conceivably identified as the monument described by Pausanias as the "Tomb of Tantalus" (see figure 4.5). This rock-cut complex consists of a flight of five steps ending in a platform where there is a door leading to two chamber tombs. According to Christopher Roosevelt, "[c]law-chisel tooling on the eastern door jamb suggests a Late-Lydian date (mid-sixth to late-fourth) century BCE."<sup>264</sup>

Another object that is relevant to this discussion, although it is not man-made is the natural rock-formation that has been identified with the petrified Niobe (see figure 4.6) celebrated by many ancient authors, most famously Homer, Ovid, and Pausanias.<sup>265</sup>

### SUNKEN CITIES ON MT SIPYLUS

In addition to individual monuments, several ancient authors make reference to cities submerged under the waters of the Sipylean lakes.<sup>266</sup> Peter Herrmann has collected and analyzed the relevant ancient texts, so it will suffice here to review only the principal evidence before discussing how the lacustrine mythology of Mt Sipylus differs from that of the Gygaean Lake and lake Torrhebia.<sup>267</sup>

Pausanias mention the simultaneous destruction of a city and appearance of a lake on Mt Sipylus:

Σίπυλον πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἡ ἰδέα κατεάγη τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐρρύη, καὶ λίμνη τε ὀνομαζομένη Σαλόη τὸ χάσμα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρείπια πόλεως

where Tantalus is said to be king of Tmolus. On the lake of Tantalus, see also Pausanias 8.17.3. The "most ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods" was purported to be the work of Broteas according to Pausanias 3.22.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Roosevelt (2009: see under cat. no. 4.4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Roosevelt (2009:220).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Homer *Iliad* 24.614-617, verses which were regarded as an interpolation in antiquity; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.311-312; Pausanias 1.21.3 and 3.22.4; for a review of the ancient sources, see Tarrant (1976:245-46 commenting on Seneca's *Agammemnon* 394ff.) On the rock formation, see Salvini and Salvini (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> As explained below, at least two of these towns were purportedly founded by Tantalids.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Herrmann *TAM* 5.2, 477; see also Jones (1994) who has also analyzed these tales in detail in an article that builds on the suggestion of Louis Robert that the "Phrygian" myth of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.611-724) should be located on Mt Sipylus.

δῆλα ἦν ἐν τῆ λίμνη, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέκρυψεν αὐτὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου. $^{268}$ 

"The city Sipylus disappeared into a chasm; on account of this [earthquake], the shape of the mountain cracked, water flowed forth from it, and the chasm became the lake called Saloe and the ruins of the city were clear in the lake until the water of the torrent hid them."

Pliny<sup>269</sup> and Strabo<sup>270</sup> also record the cataclysm, but the fullest discussion is preserved in the *Orations* of Aelius Aristides,<sup>271</sup> who provides a sustained reflection about the history of settlement of the territory around Mt Sipylus; his account is also an explicit declaration of the imagined connections between the Roman inhabitants of Smyrna and their mythical ancestors on Mt Sipylus.<sup>272</sup> The combined evidence allows us to conclude the following: the earliest of the cities on Mt Sipylus was called Tantalis, presumably founded by Tantalus and destroyed by a deluge because of the primeval king's impiety.<sup>273</sup> The successor of Tantalis was called Sipylus. Aristides does not speak directly about Tantalis, but rather refers to Sipylus as "the earliest city" (ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτη πόλις ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ κτίζεται) and says that it was founded by Tantalus' son Pelops. The city of Sipylus too was destroyed by a deluge. The successor of Sipylus was located "beneath Sipylus by a spur of the mountain on the shore" (ὑπὸ τῷ Σιπύλῳ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τῆς ἡιόνος). This city was not founded by a Tantalid, but rather by Theseus:<sup>274</sup> the city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Pausanias 7.24.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Pliny the Elder Naturalis Historia 5.117: *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.* "Daphnus and Hermesta and Sipylum (which was previously called Tantalis, the chief city of Maeonia, where there is now the Sale Marsh) were also utterly destroyed. Archaeopolis [i.e. "the old city"], which Sipylum had replaced, also perished, and after it Colpis, and after it Libadis." Pliny mentions the event again at 2.93: *devoravit Cibotum altissimum montem cum oppido Cariae, Sipylum in Magnesia et prius in eodem loco clarissimam urbem, quae Tantalis vocabatur.* "It devoured Cibotus, a great mountain with a settelement in Caria, Sipylum in Magnesia, and the famous city which used to be called Tantalis which had been there before in that same place."

<sup>270</sup> Strabo 1.13.17: σεισμούς τινας μεγάλους τοὺς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λυδίαν γενομένους καὶ Ἰωνίαν μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος ἱστοροῦντος, ὑφ᾽ ὧν καὶ κῶμαι κατεπόθησαν καὶ Σίπυλος κατεστράφη κατὰ τὴν Ταντάλου βασιλείαν καὶ ἐξ ἑλῶν λίμναι ἐγένοντο. "[Democles] recorded some great earthquakes that occurred around Lydia and Ionia all the way to the Troad; as a result of which some villages were swallowed and Sipylus was destroyed during the reign of Tantalus and lakes were formed from swamps."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Aelius Aristides *Σμυρναϊκός πολιτικός* (ed. Dindorf pages 229-230).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> In addition to elucidating the relevant passages of Aristides, Jones (1994) gathered and analyzed numismatic, epigraphic, and literary evidence showing pride in these different mythical founders in Roman and Late Antique Smyrna. Erika Simon supposed that the foundation of Smyrna by Theseus explained the appearance of the hero (and the Minotaur) on architectural terracottas from Sardis and Gordion; I owe this information to Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. (*pers. comm.*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> This is the settlement Pliny the Elder describes at *Naturalis Historia* 2.205 as an "illustrious city" (*clarissimam urbem*). On the deluge as punishment, see the Homeric scholiast commenting on *Odyssey* 11.582. The site of Archaeopolis (literally "old city") is probably a gloss on Tantalis that has somehow crept into the text; see also Eustathius commenting on *Iliad* 20.615.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Aelius Aristides Μονωδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνη (ed. Dindorf p. 260, line 23).

founded by Theseus was Old Smyrna, at modern Bayraklı, "between the old and the new city" (ἐν μέσω τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ τῆς νῦν). The successor of the city founded by Theseus is Smyrna proper. While the succession of founders, from Tantalus to Pelops to Theseus, may reflect successive attempts to familiarize a pre-existing cultural landscape that was once perceived as foreign, the geographic displacement of the settlement from Sipylus, to Bayraklı, to the site of modern Smyrna reflects a historical shift in the regional cultural center from the mountain to the coast.

Strabo believes that the stories of a sudden catastrophic deluge on Mt Sipylus were credible;<sup>275</sup> and in fact, it is very likely that seismic activity drastically altered the hydrology of the region. But quite apart from registering awareness of past geological activity, the myths of sunken cities on Mt Sipylus constitute attempts to make sense of a pre-existing cultural landscape. Whether or not an inhabited city on Sipylus was ever destroyed by a flood that resulted from an earthquake is impossible to determine; but even if a cataclysm did not affect an inhabited city, the ruins of an abandoned pre-historic settlement may have been submerged suddenly as the result of seismic activity. While the Tantalids are imagined to be responsible for construction of the earliest cities around the lakes, Maeonians and Torrhebians are imagined instead to be genetically related to the lakes themselves. Although there may have been visible ruins in the shores of the Torrhebian and Gygaean lakes,<sup>276</sup> we hear nothing of these traces in the local mythology of landscape.

## ETYMOLOGIES OF Τάνταλις and Σαλόη

The ancient names of two of the lakes on Mt Sipylus seem to reflect the territory's intense geological activity. The name Tantalis is obviously related to that of Tantalus, which in turn has been sometimes thought to derive from the verb  $\tau\lambda\dot{\alpha}\omega$  meaning "to suffer, endure"; it is perhaps also related to  $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\dot{\epsilon}\omega$  meaning "to weigh, dangle" and hence, "to tantalize". Curiously, Hesychius glosses the denominative verb  $\tau\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\omega$  with a series of words that serve to describe seismic activity including  $\sigma\alpha\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\omega$  to shake, tremble" and "to be shaken".

However, as Pierre Chantraine noted: "Il n'est pas evident que le nom de Tantale, roi du Sipyle, doive s'interpreter à l'interieur du grec." Although the etymology of the name of Tantalus was most likely opaque even in antiquity, local geological activity may still be behind the names of local lakes, for the behavior of waters on Mt Sipylus could have been associated in several ways with the plight of the mythical Lydian King Tantalus. Tantalus' divine punishments included fresh waters that would subside as he thirstily

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Strabo 12.8.18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Including the remains of the citadels being studied by Christopher Roosevelt and Christina Luke ,mentioned in chapter two above with the references cited there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Tsitsibakou-Vasalos (2007:185).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> See *DELG* (s. v. Τάνταλος).

approached them; <sup>279</sup> as mentioned in chapter 2 above, Anatolian lakes suffered drastic fluctuations in water levels. <sup>280</sup>

Similarly, the etymology of lake Saloe ( $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\delta\eta$ ) may also reflect the seismicity of the region around Mt Sipylus. The name Saloe is almost certainly Greek and probably related to the word  $\sigma\dot{\alpha}\lambda\delta\varsigma$  defined by Chantraine as "agitation de la mer, houle". The morphology of the toponym is similar to that of Lake Coloe, discussed in chapter 2 above. Presumably these forms go back to \*salouiya and \*kolouiya. If the latter means "a reedy-(place)", the former may mean something like "a shaky (place)" or the like. Saloe could then allude to the sudden formation of the lake after an earthquake. If this etymology is correct, the name as preserved in Pliny (Sale) may be corrupt and the original toponym would be Saloe. At any rate, the literary contexts in which Saloe is mentioned seem critical to a proper understanding of the name: as mentioned above, our two main ancient sources on this body of water associate it with devastating cataclysms.

Alternatively, the name Saloe may be related to the Indo-European word for "salt". <sup>283</sup> As the passage of A. H. Sayce quoted above makes clear, even in the late nineteenth century there were streams on Mt Sipylus that flowed with thermal waters rich in minerals. <sup>284</sup>

### THE LYDIAN ACHELOUS RIVER

A river or stream Achelous on Mt Sipylus is one of several "Lydian" landmarks mentioned by Homer.<sup>285</sup> An ancient Homeric commentarist provides the fullest ancient treatment of this river and its mythology:

ἄλλως· αἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον: τινὲς "αἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελήσιον" (ποταμὸς δὲ Λυδίας, ἐξ οῦ πληροῦται <ὁ> "Υλλος), καὶ Ἡρακλέα νοσήσαντα ἐκ τῶν πόνων, ἀναδόντων αὐτῷ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν, τοὺς παῖδας "Υλλον καλέσαι καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ὁμφάλης Ἀχέλητα, ὃς Λυδῶν ἐβασίλευσεν· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ "νύμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες", ὥς φησι Πανύασσις. οἱ δὲ Ἀχελώϊον ὁμώνυμον τῷ Αἰτωλῷ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον περὶ Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαίας καὶ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Homer *Odyssey* 11.582-592.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Calder (1922:208-209) is worth quoting on the changing character of different Anatolian bodies of water: "In this land of seasonal rainfall, many of the lakes, an even some large ones, are seasonal and may be called lake or marsh according to the time of year." See also my comments on fluctuating water levels in the Gygaean Lake in chapter 2 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Johan Tischler (1977: s. v. Sale) compared the appellation Saloe with the personal names Σαλας and Σαλος, as well as the Pamphylian toponym Σέλουν, but he did not offer any elucidation of the meaning of the name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> See *DELG* (s. v. σάλος); the word was sometimes used of earthquakes (for example: Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 46), but it seems to be originally related to water.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> See *DELG* (s. v. αλς)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> On hydrothermal springs near Mt Sipylus, see Roosevelt (2009:57-58).

 $<sup>^{285}</sup>$  The relevant lines of the  $\it Iliad$  (24.614-617) were sometimes considered spurious for various reasons.

ἄλλον περὶ Λάρισσαν τῆς Τρωάδος. καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἀχελῷόν φασιν ὁ γὰρ ἐν Δωδώνῃ θεὸς παρήνεσεν ἀχελῷω θύειν ὅθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Διδυμαῖοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Σικελιῶται αὐτὸν τιμῶσιν. ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα αὐτῷ ἐπιτελοῦσιν. (616b) Ταἵ τ' ἀμφ' ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο: αἵτινες περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ χορεύουσιν, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχελώου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Αἰτωλία, ὅς ἀνόμασται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄχη λύειν, ἢ ὅτι ἀχελῷος κοινῶς καλεῖται πᾶν ὕδωρ. ἢ διὰ τοῦ η "Ἁχελήϊον" ἀχέλης γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ Σιπύλου ῥέει εἰς τὴν Σμυρναίων γῆν.<sup>286</sup>

"[This is interpreted] variously—"those by Achelous". Some [think] a river in Lydia, by which the Hyllus is plenished; and that when Heracles was ailing from his toils, since the rivers gave their warm waters to him, he called his children Hyllus and, the one he had by Omphale, Acheles, who ruled over the Lydians. There are also "Acheleian nymphs" as Panyassis says. Others [think] Achelous is homonymous to the Aetolian one, and that there is another in Achaian Dyme and another around Larissa in the Troad. And they say all water is Achelous. For in Dodona, the god commanded to sacrifice to Achelous, wherefore also the Athenians and the Didymaians and the Rhodians and the Sicilians honor it. (616b) T "Who go by Achelous." The ones who dance by the water; surely from the Achelous River in Aetolia that is called [Achelous] from the fact that it dissolves [λύειν] pains [ἄχη]. Or because all water is commonly called Achelous. Or rather with "eta" Acheleion. For the Acheles River flows from Sipylus into the land of the Smyrnaeans."

#### Location of Achelous

Because of its more famous homonym dividing Aetolia and Acharnania, the existence of an Achelous in Lydia troubled some readers in antiquity; even then, others rightly pointed out that homonymy should not be a cause for concern. Ancient sources offer two distinct possibilities for the location of the Achelous River on Mt Sipylus: the Homeric scholiast quoted above records that a river or stream Acheles flowed from Sipylus into the land of the Smyrneans; this would imply that the river ran down the southeastern slopes of the mountain range into the Aegean. However, Pausanias associates the river with the petrified Niobe, which (whether natural rock or Hittite rock-sculpture) is often associated with features on the northeastern slopes of the mountain. Although topographical exactitude concerning the river's location is almost impossible, the authority of Pausanias and venerable anciet monuments suggest that the Lydian Achelous should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Scholia on Homer *Iliad* 24.616.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> With a length of about 240kms, this Achelous is the longest river in Greece. In addition to the Aetolian/Acharnanian Achelous, there were rivers of this name in Achaia and Thessaly, and even one closer to Lydia, by Larissa in the Troad. Yet another Achelous, not mentioned by the scholiasts, existed in Thrace (modern Ахелой = Aheloy), where the battle of Anchialis between Simeon I of Bulgaria and Leo Phokas, emperor of Byzantium, took place in 917—a dark river for Byzantium.

 $<sup>^{288}</sup>$  Pausanias (8.38.10); local toponymy in the Roman period was conceivably independent of Homer.

probably be identified with one of the streams running down the northeastern slopes of Mt Sipylus.

There is yet one more piece of evidence that may favor this location. As mentioned above, Christopher Jones argued that the "Phrygian" myth of Philemon and Baucis may have taken place on Mt Sipylus.<sup>289</sup> In the *Metamorphoses*, a character called Lelex narrates the flood myth at a banquet in the house of the river god Achelous. The imagined location is explicitly said to be near Acharnania,<sup>290</sup> but Ovid was surely aware that Homer had mentioned a Lydian Achelous by the petrified Niobe on Mt Sipylus. Could the Roman poet have deliberately chosen the setting for Lelex's retelling in order to play a learned game with his readers? The poet may have known that the myth of Philemon and Baucis, being retold in the house of Achelous River in Acharnania, had taken place by the obscure Achelous River in Lydia.

## Etymology of Achelous

In the case of Achelous too, the etymology of the stream's ancient name offers a glimpse into ancient folklore and may help explain why so many rivers in antiquity were called Achelous. Achelous was an obvious appellation for a river. The name almost certainly derives from an Indo-European word meaning "water" as close cognates in Phrygian (akala-), Thracian (achele-) and Lithuanian (akele-) suggest.<sup>291</sup> The scholiast quoted above notes that the word "Achelous" was sometimes used (surely in poetic or religious contexts) to mean simply "water". To be sure, any river could be called Achelous, but a stream whose name was "the watery one", would be particularly at home in the northeastern slopes of Mt Sipylus where the element seems to have been venerated at least since the mid-second millennium BCE. If, as Johan Tischler suggested, the name Acheles is actually an adjective, built on the feminine abstract \*Άχελώ, which he glossed as "weib. Gottheit, Personifikation des Wassers," the adjective would mean "belonging to (the feminine personification of) water."<sup>292</sup>

#### Gender of Achelous

Although Achelo (*sic*) may have been originally a feminine abstract, in Greek thought Achelous is usually represented as a virile bull and as a worthy rival of Achilles. This fluctuation in the river's gender seems odd, but such variations may be the consequence of diverse traditions that were combined into a single god of waters. At any rate, it is known that Anatolian gods underwent similar fluctuations in gender as a result of the combination of, for example, Babylonian or Hattic and Indo-European divinities. The fluctuating gender of Achelous elsewhere may attest to transformations undergone by an originally near eastern divinity.<sup>293</sup> Note that the Homeric scholiast, bothered by the notion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Jones (1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Ovid *Metamorphoses* (8.570).

 $<sup>^{291}</sup>$  Cf. also, without the suffix -la, Latin "aqua"; Tischler (1977: v. s. Acheloos) points out that there is a difficulty with this etymology in the change from k to kh, but the clearly related toponym Aceles/Acheles shows evidence of fluctuation between the aspirated and un-aspirated consonants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Tischler (1977: v. s. Acheloos).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> D'Alessio (2004). Note also that a now lost fifth-century BCE statuette from a sanctuary of Achelous in Euboia depicted the river god wearing feminine clothes; see Lee (2006).

of a Lydian Achelous, suggested that the name of the Homeric Lydian river was in fact thought by some to be Acheles. In addition, the scholiast quotes the fifth-century BCE epicpoet Panyassis of Halicarnassus who mentions "νύμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες" or "Acheleian nymphs". As a native of Ionia, Panyassis was surely familiar with local folklore; his nymphs are similar to the water spirits mentioned in our discussion of the Gygaean Lake, the Torrhebian Lake, and also the naiad from the Hyllus River discussed in chapter 8 below.

At any rate, the beliefs held by the local inhabitants of the region around Mt Sipylus demonstrably changed over time. Initially the Luwians seem to have venerated a male mountain god close to a spring sanctuary. In contrast, Homer mentions the abodes of (female) godlike nymphs. By the Roman period a singular feminine divinity, the Anatolian mother goddess, was being revered near the Achelous or Acheles stream.

# 5 The Tombs of Mermnad Kings

#### INTRODUCTION

The Lydian tumuli are by far the most conspicuous ancient monuments in the Lydian landscape. As I discussed in chapter 3 above, the last Mermnad kings first built these earth-mounds on the southern shores of the Gygaean Lake in order to manipulate a landscape that was already charged with memories and meanings. In the centuries following the fall of Sardis in 546 BCE, tumuli kept being built throughout greater Lydia and in fact, the grip of the monuments on the imagination lasted long after they had ceased to be erected. In this and the following three chapters I discuss the imaginary afterlife of the Lydian tumuli in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

I begin with a geographical, archaeological, and historical description of the monuments and proceed to discuss ancient ideas about the origins and purpose of specific tombs. Chapter 5 deals primarily with the tombs of the historical Mermnad kings Gyges and Alyattes. Although the literary evidence treated here belongs mostly to the archaic period, the influence of these texts on later literature is pervasive and they thus serve to introduce the Lydian tumuli as imaginary constructs. Chapter 6 is concerned with a tradition according to which the largest of the tumuli in Bin Tepe was built not for a Lydian King, but rather by a Lydian king for a favorite courtesan or prostitute; this association allows me to reflect on the tumuli as paradigmatic symbols of "barbarian" customs and tyrannical power. Chapter 7 treats the tomb of the mythical Lydian king Tmolus: I argue that Late Hellenistic folklore about his tomb reflects the fusing of pre-Mermnad traditions and Mermnad monuments. Finally, chapter 9 deals with the tomb of the giant Hyllus near Temenothyrae; using Pausanias' discussion of this obscure monument, I examine conflicting mythologies of landscape concerning archaic ruins in northeastern Lydia. Throughout I use a combination of literary and archaeological evidence ranging from the Bronze Age through Late Antiquity.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

The most conspicuous monuments in the Lydian landscape are the funerary tumuli of the Lydian and Achaemenid elite.<sup>294</sup> Single tumuli or clusters of them exist throughout greater Lydia, where over six hundred mounds have been documented; the largest necropolis, known today as Bin Tepe or "a thousand hills" (see figure 5.1), is found in the Hermus Valley (modern Gediz Ovası) on a low limestone ridge between Sardis and the Gygaean Lake (modern Marmara Gölü).<sup>295</sup>

The largest of the Lydian tumuli is over 60m high,<sup>296</sup> with a diameter of ca. 360m and a circumference of approximately 1110m (see figure 5.2); the smaller mounds could

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> This section relies heavily on Roosevelt (2003) and (2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> At least 130 tumuli, scattered over an area of 72 square kilometers, were built in Bin Tepe; today there are extant remains of 119 tumuli if one includes chamber complexes originally in tumuli, and 116 tumuli still standing in one form or another.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Von Olfers (1858:545) gives the height of the mound from the plain up as 69.12 m; but the Sardis Archaeological Exploration has measured it at 61.46m from the base of the *crepis* up.

be as small as 1m high with diameters of about 10m. On average the tumuli in Lydia are 46m in diameter and 5m in height.<sup>297</sup>

While most of the tumuli were built between 550 and 450 BCE, and thus after the fall of Sardis in 546 BCE, the earliest datable tumulus, which also happens to be the biggest and was surely the inspiration for the rest of them, probably dates to a slightly earlier period when the Mermnad kings still ruled a vast empire that extended from the Aegean Coast to the Halys River (modern Kızılırmak).<sup>298</sup> This great tumulus, known today as Kocamutaf Tepe, is located in Bin Tepe and generally thought to be the one Herodotus described as being that of King Alyattes (ca. 610-560 BCE).<sup>299</sup> The tomb of Alyattes was probably completed about a decade before the middle of the sixth century, but it was surely conceived sometime before then.<sup>300</sup> Two other monumental tumuli in Bin Tepe, known today as Kırmutaf Tepe and Karnıyarık Tepe (see figure 5.3), also date to the final years of the Mermnad dynasty.<sup>301</sup> These three tumuli are believed to predate the Persian conquest of Sardis, partly because of archaeological and literary evidence, and partly because it is thought that the Persian king would not have allowed "Lydian" monuments to be erected at this scale.

The last Mermnad kings built the first tumuli in Lydia in Bin Tepe as memorials to themselves, but also, as Christopher Roosevelt and Christina Luke have argued,<sup>302</sup> in an effort to monumentalize real and imagined connections between themselves and ancestral local gods and heroes.<sup>303</sup> After the fall of Sardis, local elites under Achaemenid rule adopted practices that had been originally the sole domain of Lydian royals and continued the practice of tumulus burial, although generally at a smaller scale than their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> For the sizes of tumuli in relation to the types of burial they contain, see Roosevelt (2003:129–30) and (2006a:68).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> The dating of the Lydian tumuli espoused here corresponds to the generally accepted chronology, but it raises some difficult and yet unanswered questions: if the tumulus of Alyattes is indeed the first tumulus in Lydia, why was this burial practice adopted only in the mid-sixth century BCE when the great tumuli in Phrygia were being built in the eighth century BCE? Similarly, why did the practice stop in Lydia shortly after the death of Alexander, while it continued elsewhere in Anatolia into the Roman period?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Herodotus 1.93(=M2 no.278).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Ratté (1993:5); Roosevelt (2006b:67).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Kırmutaf Tepe is 350m in diameter and 46m high; for excavated evidence of a *crepis* wall, see Greenewalt and Rautman (1998:499-500); see also Roosevelt (2009:142-142, and 208). Karnıyarık Tepe is 234m in diameter and 49m high.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Roosevelt first presented this thesis publicly at the 2005 American Institute of Archaeology meetings in Boston, and published it in Roosevelt (2006b); he has then continued to elaborate these ideas, both in a book, Roosevelt (2009: see especially p. 147), and in a series of articles (some co-authored by Christina Luke) including Luke and Roosevelt (2009:211) and Luke and Roosevelt (forthcoming). Note also that Mazzarino (1947:177, quoted in chapter 2 above) had already suggested the importance of Bin Tepe as a monumental landscape of memory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> While early Greek authors such as Herodotus fully understood and explained the tumuli as monuments of the Mermnad kings, we now know from a combination of growing archaeological evidence and literary sources that the last Mermnad kings intended to claim as their own a landscape that had been charged with meanings and memories prior to the establishment of their dynasty. Christopher Roosevelt and Christina Luke's *Central Lydia Archaeological Survey* (CLAS) has shed much light on the archaeology and history of settlement in Lydia, and specifically on the significance of Bin Tepe and the Gygaean Lake for the Lydians.

predecessors.<sup>304</sup> The last of the tumuli in Lydia was built probably not much after Alexander's death. But even after the earthen mounds ceased to be the preferred mode of burial for Lydian and Achaemenid notables, local communities continued to use these prepossessing monuments to imagine the local past.

#### HIPPONAX ON THE TOMB OF GYGES

I turn now to the tomb of King Gyges (r. ca. 680-645 BCE), founder of the Mermnad dynasty. Gyges was a historical personage, but he achieved nearly mythic status after his various exploits were related by the likes of Herodotus and Plato.<sup>305</sup> Although it is sometimes said that tomb of Gyges is a tumulus in Bin Tepe, Christopher Ratté demonstrated that Karniyarik Tepe (a tumulus once described as the tomb of Gyges in modern scholarship) "should be dated roughly fifty to a hundred years later than the death of Gyges."<sup>306</sup> It is improbable that any of the great tumuli in Bin Tepe is as early as Gyges, but ancient authors spoke of his tomb as if it were a tumulus.

The first extant mention of this monument in Greek literature occurs in a fragment of the sixth-century iambic poet Hipponax, who in all probability knew the topography of Lydia through autopsy.<sup>307</sup> The surviving lines read thus:

ττέαρε[.....]δεύειετ τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης ἰθὶ διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καὶ τμεγάστρυτ στήλην καὶ μνῆμα Τωτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος, πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

[...] towards Smyrna go through [the land of] the Lydians, by the tomb of Attales and the monument of Gyges and the stele of [...] and the memorial of Tos, sultan of Mytalis, having turned your belly towards the setting sun...<sup>308</sup>

This fragment, which is mostly of a catalogue of proper names and monuments, is usually understood as an itinerary suggested to a traveler going from east to west along the Lydian portion of what would later become the Persian Royal Road.

None of the proper names attached to the different landmarks in the itinerary is of Greek origin; most if not all of them are Anatolian.<sup>309</sup> Gyges is a name related to Anatolian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Dusinberre (2003:141-142); Roosevelt (2009:148).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> For a selection of ancient literary sources on Gyges, see Pedley (1972: index s. v. Gyges).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Ratté (1994b; quote from page 161).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Hipponax was born in Ephesus probably around the mid-sixth century BCE; the poet's willingness to use Lydian words—or what he imagined to be Lydian words—is surely the result of familiarity with his Lydian neighbors; on the language of Hipponax, see Hawkins (2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> Hipponax (ed. Degani 7)=Pedley (1972: no. 280).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Hawkins (2004:230-231).

words meaning "grandfather" and is probably Carian in origin. 310 Attales, if indeed that is what Hipponax wrote,<sup>311</sup> is of Lydian ancestry, and likely related to a Proto-Anatolian root \*átta- meaning "father". 312 The root \*átta- meaning "father", may also be found in Lydian names such as Aly-attes and (S)ady-attes; however, the details are obscure and the Lydian word for father is actually taada-.313 Tws, genitive Twtos(?), is also most likely Anatolian since the similar  $T\beta\omega_5$ , genitive  $T\beta\omega_{\tau}$ , is attested epigraphically.<sup>314</sup> In the case of Mυτάλις, one can compare the Neo-Hittite abbreviation of the proper name Muwatalli/s to Mutalli/s; in addition, the name Μυτάλις has almost exact parallels in Lycian, while cognates in several other Anatolian languages suggest that Hesychius was not far off when he glossed μυττάλυτα as μεγάλου. 315 Finally, Theodor Bergk first tentatively suggested emending the senseless μεγάστρυ to Sesostris, the name of the legendary Egyptian Pharaoh.<sup>316</sup> According to this reading, the "stele of Sesostris" would be the thirteenth-century BCE rock-cut relief in Hittite style which stands at a place known today as Karabel and is often thought to have been described by Herodotus (see figure 5.4).<sup>317</sup> If Bergk is right, the real and imaginary impact of Egyptian culture on the landscape of Lydia would extend back at least into the last quarter of the sixth century BCE; but this emendation is entirely dependant on the relevant passage of Herodotus. 318

Hipponax's addressee probably goes along the Hermus River valley, past Bin Tepe, where he sees "the tomb of Attales and the monument of Gyges"; he then turns west (πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας) at the mountain pass known today as Karabel or alternatively at the pass known as Bel Kahve. While there is little doubt that at least some of the sightseeing highlights are tumuli, it is difficult to identify precisely the other monuments mentioned. This is so partly because there are abundant archaic structures on

 $<sup>^{310}\,\</sup>mathrm{See}$  my comments on the etymology of this name in chapter 2 above and the references cited there.

<sup>311</sup> Some, including Pedley (1972: no. 280), would like to emend the received  $\lambda \tau \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda \epsilon \omega$  to Alyattes in order to make it agree with Herodotus (1.93), but the text is blameless; Hipponax is simply referring to a different tumulus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> On Attales, illegitimate son of King Sadyattes, see Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F 63=Pedley (1972: no. 53). It is unlikely that Hipponax perceived the etymological relevance of these names, but it is possible that his Lydian contemporaries would have heard the echoes of kinship terms in royal onomastics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> On the Lydian word for father, see Gusmani (1964: s. v. taada-).

 $<sup>^{314}</sup>$  See Zgusta (1970: §1523 and cf. §1082 for [T]  $\omega\varsigma$ ; however, the conjecture may be dependant on our passage of Hipponax.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Bergk (1866).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Herodotus (2.106); on the Karabel relief, see Hawkins (1998).

 $<sup>^{318}</sup>$  West (1989) prints Bergk's emendation; on the real and imaginary presence of Egyptians in Lydia see chapter 12 below.

the way from Sardis to Smyrna and partly because of the semantic flexibility of the terms involved. Regardless, the lexical variety of these five fragmentary lines (τύμβον, σῆμα, στήλην, μνῆμα) effectively conveys to the reader the variety of monuments that existed in archaic Lydia and hints at the chronological depth of human intervention.

In addition to the clusters of tumuli along the Hermus River and the various reliefs in Karabel there are also Bronze and Iron Age monuments on Mt Sipylus (treated in chapter 4). It is not easy to explain why Hipponax would mention these structures, for the addressee of his poem would have most likely turned west before reaching the northern slopes of Mt Sipylus, but these landmarks are indeed in the general vicinity; perhaps Hipponax was registering all sightseeing highlights rather than those exactly on the way. However this may be, Hipponax's itinerary offers incontrovertible evidence of Ionian awareness of the profusion of non-Greek monuments in Lydia.

Although any interpretation of this short fragment is bound to be speculative, it is probable that by mentioning the different monuments associated with non-Greek personal names, Hipponax wants to conjure visions of tyrannical magnificence reaching back deep into local antiquity. Among the claims of the cosmopolitan high society of Western Anatolia may very well have been a sense of chronological depth legitimized by imagined connections to local Bronze and Iron Age monuments. By listing foreign names and monuments Hipponax may have been criticizing the claims of his aristocratic contemporaries.<sup>319</sup> At any rate, the tumuli were and are, among other things, monumental reminders of the vast social inequalities prevalent at Sardis at the time of their erection; the three great royal mounds in Bin Tepe almost certainly presuppose slave labor. What could be less democratic than these structures, which, according to Christopher Roosevelt, "should be considered, without doubt, the highest status type of burial in Lydia." <sup>320</sup>

Finally, Hipponax's subversion of specifically Lydian extravagance is detectable in the juxtaposition of two words: on the one hand, the term  $\pi \acute{\alpha} \lambda \mu \nu \varsigma$ , a Greek borrowing of the Lydian title  $qa\lambda m\lambda u$ - meaning "king", which I have translated above as "sultan", <sup>321</sup> and the strikingly prosaic  $\gamma \acute{\alpha} \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho$ , meaning "stomach, belly".  $\gamma \acute{\alpha} \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho$  calls to mind not royal pomp, but rather primary needs and passions, as if Hipponax were saying: "As you traverse the ancestral Lydian landscape, littered with the monuments of inveterate kings, remember that you too, traveler, are a mere body, a mere belly."

#### NICANDER ON THE TOMB OF GYGES

Nicander of Colophon mentions the tomb of Gyges, in a passage of the *Theriaca* that preserves local landscape traditions concerning the Lydian tumuli:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> This would be yet another case where Hipponax mocks the prevailing "sources of social power" among his contemporaries, on which see Morris (2000:185).

<sup>320</sup> Roosevelt (2009:273 n.17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> On which, see Gusmani (1964: s. v. *qaλmλu-*). Hesychius says: παλμυός· βασιλεύς. πατήρ. οἱ δὲ πάλμυς. The word πάλμυς was known to the Greeks as a proper name in Homer (13.792); it also appears in a fragment of Aeschylus (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* Radt (ed.) 437), as well as in the riddling Lycophron, where it is used, remarkably, as a title of Zeus, perhaps explaining Hesychius' second gloss.

Άγρει μὰν ὀλίγαις μηκωνίσι ῥάμνον ἐΐσην ἐρσομένην, ἀργῆτι δ' ἀεὶ περιδέδρομεν ἄνθη· τὴν ἤτοι φιλέταιριν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν ἀνέρες οἱ Τμώλοιο παραὶ Γύγαό τε σῆμα Παρθένιον ναίουσι λέπας, τόθι Κίλβιν ἀεργοί ἵπποι χιλεύουσι καὶ ἀντολαί εἰσι Καύστρου.

So gather rhamnos, like little wild lettuces, humid, and always covered with a white flower; φιλέταιρις<sup>322</sup> they call it— men who by the tomb of Tmolus and of Gyges inhabit the Virgin rock where un-worked horses feed on Cilbis and where the head of the Cayster is.

This text will detain me only briefly here, for I discuss it again in chapters 6 and 7 below. Ancient commentators suggest that Nicander considered the tomb of Gyges to be a tumulus; a scholion to the relevant line of the *Theriaca* ( $\sum ad 633c$  ed. Crugnola) calls attention to the fact that Hipponax (ed. Degani 7.3) had already mentioned the "monument of Gyges" (σῆμα Γύγεω). During the Hellenistic period, a citizen of Sardis probably did not need to be acquainted with Greek authors to know that the Mermnad kings had been buried in Bin Tepe. The memory of the Mermnad dynasty and the notion that the landscape of tumuli (both in Bin Tepe and beyond) was the legacy of Gyges and his kin seems to have been alive among local populations whose traditions, although increasingly Hellenized, retained elements that were perceived to be Lydian.<sup>323</sup> But surprisingly, Nicander's text implies that the tomb of Gyges is located not in Bin Tepe, but rather on the southern slopes of Mt Tmolus, somewhere in the Cayster River valley.<sup>324</sup> The location is curious because if Nicander is indeed transmitting local folklore—as is very likely—this would mean that several centuries after the fall of Sardis, people in places other than the former Lydian capital associated local monuments with the Mermnad Kings.

#### HERODOTUS ON THE TOMB OF ALYATTES

Although Hipponax is the earliest extant classical author to mention the Lydian tumuli, it is in fact Herodotus who defined Lydia in the Greek and Roman imagination.<sup>325</sup> Herodotus' account of the marvels, monuments, and customs of the Lydians secured a spot for the tomb of Alyattes in the mind of all well-educated men in Greek and Roman antiquity—not just the handful of travelers who saw the Lydian tumuli first-hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> For an extended exegesis of this word, see chapter 6 below.

<sup>323</sup> For example, according to Arrian Anabasis 1.17.3-6=Pedley (1972: no. 235), after Sardis willingly surrendered to Alexander, Σαρδιανοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι [sc. Αλέξανδρος] ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν "[Alexander] allowed the Sardians and the rest of the Lydians to use their old laws and he released them as free men."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> As suggested by Robert (1962:315 n. 1): "C'est juste par là [i.e. la région du sommet principal du Bozdağ avec le lac Torrébia], je crois, sur les pentes S.-E. du sommet du Bozdağ qu'il faut chercher les lieux et les monuments dans Nicandre, *Ther.*, 633-635."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> Spawforth (2001:380) notes that Herodotus's "*Histories*, given their popularity in antiquity, can be counted as a major conduit of the Lydian stereotype into post-classical times."

Herodotus himself did not write about the tomb of Gyges, but he did memorably assert that there was nothing in Lydia worthy of wonder save the alluvial gold in the Pactolus River and the tomb of one of Gyges' descendants: King Alyattes (r. ca. 610-560 BCE). Although Sardis, the recently monumentalized imperial capital with its limestone-reveted terraces and massive stone and mud-brick fortification did not catch the historian's eye, Herodotus did imply that the tomb of Alyattes was comparable to the monuments of Egypt and Babylon, thus cementing the connection between the Lydian tumuli and the Mermnad kings. Eventually the Pactolus River and the tumulus of Alyattes became emblematic of paradigmatic Lydian traits: bountiful riches and extravagant luxury. The lines of the *Histories* most relevant to the study of the Lydian tumuli read thus:

Θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἶά τε καὶ άλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. Έν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἔστι αὐτόθι Άλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μέν ἐστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. Ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ένεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. Οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αί θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ αν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιεῦσαι ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. Ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματός εἰσι στάδιοι εξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρός ἐστι πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα· λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοί αἰείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη.<sup>327</sup>

As far as wonders are concerned, the land of Lydia does not have very many worthy of recording, such as other regions do, except for the gold pebbles carried down from Mt Tmolus. However, one monument is much the greatest save for the monuments of the Egyptians and the Babylonians. It is the tomb of Alyattes, father of Croesus: its krepis wall is made of great stones, while the rest of it is a tomb of heaped earth. The merchants and the artisans and the prostitutes had it built. There were still to my time five markers on top of the tomb and letters were carved into them showing the contribution of each. It is clear that if one measures the tumulus, the working girls paid for most of it. For the daughters of the people of the Lydians are all prostituted, and thus they gather a dowry for themselves, and they do this until they marry. And they give themselves away. The perimeter of the tomb is six stadia and two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> For a selection of passages illustrating the idea of the Pactolus River as the source of Lydia's riches, see Pedley (1972: nos. 242-257).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Herodotus 1.93=Pedley (1972: no. 278).

plethra, and its width is thirteen plethra. There is a great lake by the tomb which the Lydians say is perennial: it is called Gygaean.

While the historical Alyattes may have inaugurated the tradition of tumulus burial in Lydia, 328 the kings responsible for captivating the Greek and Roman imagination were Gyges and Croesus, respectively the first and last rulers of the Mermnad dynasty: Croesus was famous for his fantastic riches, his hard-earned wisdom, and his divine deliverance from death; 329 and Gyges was renowned primarily for the manner of his accession to the Lydian throne. At the request of none other than the reigning king Candaules, who thought his own wife to be the most beautiful of all women in the world, the spear-bearer Gyges grudgingly agreed to spy on his queen; but Gyges was noticed by the queen who then asked him to choose between being killed himself or killing Candaules. By heeding the queen and choosing to kill Candaules Gyges displaced a man who was inordinately fond of a woman and thus founded the Mermnad dynasty. 330

In Greek and Roman literature, the Mermnad tumuli—and in particular the tumulus of Alyattes—evoked Lydian riches, as well as Lydian tyrannical power; the monuments were the lasting remains of an empire that at its peak had dominated most of the Anatolian peninsula from the Aegean coast to the Halys River (modern Kızılırmak); but they also were a reminder of much more unsettling traits of Herodotus's imaginary Lydians. For the tumuli were the monumental embodiment of the fact that, in some crucial aspects, the Lydians were not like the Greeks.<sup>331</sup> The greatest of the mounds in particular was proof of Lydian strangeness—a monument as marvelous as the pyramids of Egypt or the hanging gardens of Babylon, but also an unmistakable token that the Lydians prostituted their own daughters, and that one of their greatest kings had effectively been crowned by a woman.

#### HERODOTUS ON THE TOMB OF ATYS

It is worth recording that Herodotus (1.45.3) also mentions the tomb of Atys, son of Croesus, and says that the king interred the prince "as was customary", which almost surely means that Atys was buried in a tumulus in Bin Tepe. However, we hear nothing more about the tomb of Atys in ancient literature. Christopher Ratté very tentatively suggested that Karniyarık Tepe could conceivably be the tomb of Atys.<sup>332</sup>

 $<sup>^{328}</sup>$  Ratté (1993:5) suggested that King Alyattes might have drawn inspiration for his funerary monument from the great mounds he had seen in Gordion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> For a selection of ancient literary sources on Kroisos, see Pedley (1972: nos. 66-291).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> My narrative follows Herodotus 1.8-12=Pedley (1972: no. 34); for other versions of Gyges' accession, see Pedley (1972: nos. 4, 33, 35-36).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> Kurke (1999:168-171) pointed out irreconcilable aspects in Herodotus's historical and ethnographical account of the Lydians, particularly with reference to the tomb of Alyattes. The literary afterlife of the Pactolus River and the tumuli nicely illustrate the impact of these contradictions on Hellenistic and Roman readers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Ratte (1994b:161).

### BIN TEPE IN LATE ANTIQUE POETRY?

Other texts that do not mention Lydian kings or monuments would have been especially poignant to those Sardians who had the Mermnad tumuli before their eyes. For example, the fourth/fifth-century CE sophist and historian Eunapius preserves the following epigram composed by his contemporary, the poet Theodorus of Sardis:

ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κεῖται ἀρήιος, ἔνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεύς, ἔνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος, ἔνθα δ' ἐπὶ τρισσοῖσι πανείκελος ἡρώεσσι ψυχὴν καὶ βιότοιο τέλος Μουσώνιος ἤρως.<sup>333</sup>

There lies martial Ajax, and there lies Achilles, And there lies Patroclus, counselor equal to the gods, And there, entirely like the three heroes in spirit and in the end of his life, lies Musonius, a hero.<sup>334</sup>

Whatever force these lines of Theodorus might have lies entirely outside them, amidst the funerary tumuli north of Sardis that had nothing to do with the Homeric heroes mentioned. The epigrammatist was writing within view of Bin Tepe, a landscape that in 368 CE was still evocative, although increasingly bizarre and mysterious. Theodorus' deictics are not really pointing to specific monuments, for surely nobody thought that Ajax, Achilles, or Patroclus had been buried by the Gygaean Lake. Rather, the poet uses Bin Tepe to monumentalize an otherwise lame poem: "(Lo, the Lydian tumuli are proof that) heroes of old died in battle, as now has Musonius, an equal to them." To be sure, Theodorus did not have much to say, but his epigram is almost hopelessly banal, unless his intended audience was willing to associate his words with a landscape where the tombs of great heroes—or at least tombs imagined to be those of great heroes—abounded: this was Bin Tepe.<sup>335</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> Eunapius (quoting Theodorus) *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (ed. Müller) 4.33=Foss (1976: no. 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> Eunapius records that Theodorus had cried when Musonius, *vicarius Asiae*, had departed from Sardis to meet his death at the hands of the Isaurian bandits he had intended to punish. On the unruly Isaurians and their successful ambush of Musonius and his troops, see Ammianus Marcellinus (27.9.6-7) with discussion and modern references in Feld (2005:147-148).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> The tumuli in the Troad were similarly associated with Homeric heroes—sometimes against the evidence of the Homeric poems. For example, while Homer (*Odyssey* 24.76-84) sings of a single tumulus for Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus, Strabo (13.1.32) seems to speak as if there was a monument for each of them. Hasluck (1929:103-104, nos. 9-10) provides examples of ancient tumuli in Bythinia and the Troad that have been more recently re-appropriated and reinterpreted.

## 6 The tomb of the courtesan

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine the ancient notion that the largest tumulus in Bin Tepe was a monument made not for Lydian kings, but rather by a Lydian king for his favorite courtesan. After reviewing the origins of this account in fifth-century BCE authors as well as its transformations in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, I suggest that a hitherto unnoticed clue in Nicander's *Theriaca* may be evidence of the impact of this tradition on the local understanding of the tumuli. Throughout I use mainly Hellenistic and Roman literary evidence.

#### ANCIENT LITERARY SOURCES ON THE TOMB OF THE COURTESAN

The fullest ancient discussion of the "Tomb of the Courtesan" is preserved in Athenaeus, who credits his information to Clearchus of Soli. 336 Clearchus was a fourth/third-century BCE peripatetic philosopher with a penchant for recording outrageous lifestyles only to dismiss them prudishly. 337 The relevant passage of the *Deipnosophistae* reads thus:

Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν "Γύγης, φησίν, ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον περὶ ζῶσαν τὴν ἐρωμένην περιβόητος γέγονεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῃ πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτησάσης συναγαγών τοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυδοὺς πάντας ἔχωσε μὲν τὸ νῦν ἔτι καλούμενον τῆς Ἑταίρας μνῆμα, εἰς ὕψος ἄρας [...] ὥστε περιοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Τμώλου χώραν, οὖ ἂν ἐπιστραφεὶς τύχῃ, καθορᾶν τὸ μνῆμα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Λυδίαν οἰκοῦσιν ἄποπτον εἶναι."338

Clearchus says in the first [book] on matters of love that Gyges, the king of the Lydians became very celebrated on account of his beloved, not only while she was alive, having handed over himself and his whole dominions to her power, but also after she was dead; because he assembled all the Lydians in from the countryside, and heaped a mound that is even now called the "Tomb of the Courtesan", raising it high [...] so that if he was traveling within the country inside of Mt Tmolus, wherever he happened to be going, he could always see the tomb; and it was conspicuous to all the inhabitants of Lydia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12.515d-f. The tradition is also recorded by Strabo 13.4.7=Pedley (1972: no. 279).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> On Clearchus of Soli, see Robert (1968).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12.515d-f.

## "LYDIAN" SEXUAL INTEMPERANCE

Although explicit mention of the "Tomb of the Courtesan" is only found in Hellenistic and Roman authors, ultimately the association of monumental architecture and prostitution is indebted to fifth-century BCE descriptions of sexual mores in foreign courts, especially Babylon, Egypt, and also Lydia. The association could be plausibly pushed even further back chronologically, for Theodore Bergk (1866) suggested that a line in Hipponax's Lydian itinerary (ed. Degani 7.4, quoted in chapter 5 above) could be emended to read  $\kappa\alpha$ ì  $\mu\nu$ ημα Τουδοῦς ("...and the memorial of Toudo...");<sup>339</sup> but the emendation—by Bergk's own reasoning very tentative—is based on Greek stereotypes of Lydian practices that were consolidated only in the course of the fifth century BCE.

Herodotus repeatedly notes that the Lydians differ from the Greeks in their treatment of their own wives, daughters, lovers, and women in general. Although today Herodotus' account of life in the Lydian court is much better known than those of his contemporaries, many narratives of Lydian sexual intemperance are attributed also to Xanthus. In fact, a multitude of sensational tales concerning Lydia's renowned kings are still extant. For example: King Adramyttes was said to have been the first man to sterilize women to be used as eunuchs. King Cambles or Camblites, allegedly a glutton and a sot, purportedly liked his wife so much that he ate her. Similarly, King Candaules was reported to have been so enamored of his wife's physical beauty that he forced Gyges, one of his spear-bearers, to spy on her with fatal consequences. Ho too Gyges, who had acceded to the Lydian throne by displacing an overly enamored king, became himself overly enamored of a woman who was not even a queen, but rather a mere courtesan. And thus, in what must have been for many Greeks a gross display of tyrannical excess, Gyges erected the greatest monument in Lydia in order to commemorate a prostitute.

The association of tumuli with courtesans is directly indebted to several other well-known passages of Herodotus: his discussion of a pyramid in Egypt believed by some to have been commissioned by a famous Thracian prostitute called Rhodopis,<sup>345</sup> his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Toudo was the name of the wife of one of two Lydian kings: Sadyattes, according to Nicolaus of Damascus 90*FGrHist* F 49, or Gyges, according to Photius 150b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> As Kingsley (1995:180) notes, "[f] or early Greek historians it was routine to ascribe these somewhat alluring activities [i.e. wife-swapping and free sex] to as many foreign people as possible."

 $<sup>^{341}</sup>$  On Xanthus' fondness for the scandalous and anecdotal, see Kingsley (1995:178 with further references).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> On King Adramyttes, see Athenaeus (quoting Xanthus and Clearchus)

Deipnosophistae12.515d-f=FGrHist 765F4a=Pedley (1972: no. 130); the Suda, FGrHist 765F4b (again quoting Xanthus) says it was King Gyges who sterilized women. On spaying women in Lydia, see Devereux (1981).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> On King Cambles (or Camblites), see Athenaeus (quoting Xanthus) *Deipnosophistae* 10.415c-d=Pedley (1972: no. 28) and Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90F22=Pedley (1972: no. 29).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup> Herodotus 1.8-12=Pedley (1972: no. 34).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> On the pyramid believed to have been commissioned by Rhodopis, see Herodotus 2.134-135 with Kurke (1999:175-178 and 220-227). Although Herodotus dismantles the notion that Rhodopis could have paid for the pyramid, he nevertheless inaugurates a tradition according to which prostitution—often specifically royal prostitution—and foreign monumental architecture went hand in hand; cf. Herodotus 2.126 on the pyramid of the pharaoh Cheops and the prostitution of the pharaoh's own daughter.

accounting of the financing of the tumulus of Alyattes, according to which prostitutes paid for the lion's share of the monument,<sup>346</sup> and his assertion that the Lydians were in some ways very much like the Greeks, except that they prostituted their own daughters.<sup>347</sup>

A common theme in the Herodotean passages concerns the capacity of monuments to represent, or rather "to demonstrate" complex social transactions under tyrannical rule. For Herodotus, the tumulus of Alyattes is literally an  $\grave{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\iota\xi\iota\varsigma$ , a physical "showing-off", of the labor of diverse Lydian guilds. Although the nature of these guilds is not necessarily comprehensible to a Greek audience, and the alleged tradition of widespread female prostitution would surely have been shocking, the colossal effort of the Lydian merchants, artisans, and prostitutes is unmistakable. Herodotus is concerned with foreign monumental architecture as a material testament of social transactions. In fact, the tumulus of Alyattes is so exact a record, that according to the historian the markers on its summit tell precisely how much each of the three guilds contributed for its erection.

#### OMPHALE IN LYDIA

According to many Greek and Roman authors writing after Herodotus and Xanthus, genderbending was also a common occurrence in the Lydian court. Even more outrageously, Lydian kings purportedly came to such a point of self-indulgence that they became fully unmanned; in fact, a Lydian queen supposedly managed to mollify even the most virile of Greek heroes.

Lydian genderbending is exemplified in ancient mythology by the figures of Queen Omphale and Heracles. Tertullian contemptuously records that "the clandestine affair was given so much license that Heracles prostituted himself into Omphale, and Omphale prostituted herself into Heracles." <sup>348</sup> Such disdain was shared not only by the apologist's fellow Christians; consider, for example, the following passage of Athenaeus, which serves as a colophon to the tale of Adramyttes' sterilization of female subjects:

καὶ τέλος τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποθηλυνθέντες ἠλλάξαντο τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν βίον, διὸ καὶ γυναῖκα τύραννον ὁ βίος εὕρατο αὐτοῖς μίαν τῶν ὑβρισθεισῶν Ὁμφάλην. 349

Finally, thoroughly feminized with respect to their souls, they [i.e. the Lydians] changed their life for that of women, wherefore life found for them also a woman as a tyrant: Omphale, one of those who had been outraged.

There is archaeological evidence that attests to the continued relevance of Omphale in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia. In Maeonia, for example, several coins

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> On the financing of the tumulus of Alyattes, see Herodotus 1.93-94=Pedley (1972: nos. 278 and 132).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> On the contribution of Lydian prostitutes for the erection of the tumulus of Alyattes, Herodotus 1.94=Pedley (1972: no. 132).

 $<sup>^{348}</sup>$  Tertullian De pallio 4: tantum Lydiae clanculariae licuit ut Hercales in Omphale et Omphale in Hercule prostitueretur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophista*e12.515d-f=Pedley (1972: no. 130)

celebrating the queen were minted toward the end of the first and the beginning of the second century CE: one of these issues shows a bust of Heracles on the obverse while the reverse depicts Omphale dressed in lion's skin holding a club (see figure 6.1).<sup>350</sup> In Temenothyrae there was a sculptural relief representing Heracles in various moments of his life, including during his period of subservience to the Lydian queen.<sup>351</sup> In Sardis, the contents of a Late Hellenistic tomb included a white-slipped lidded jar decorated with a molded relief of what may be a representation of Omphale in her lion's skin (see figure 6.2 and 6.3).<sup>352</sup> Also at Sardis, or rather in the city's quarry, a rock-cut relief was found that may represent the famous couple: it shows a naked male with a club standing next to a female figure with ankle-length dress.<sup>353</sup> As mentioned in chapter 2 above, local tales involving the queen may also be behind Propertius' intriguing association of Omphale with the Gygaean Lake.<sup>354</sup>

What the relevance of the transvestite Omphale may have been in Roman Lydia is difficult to judge, 355 but there seems to have been a resurgence of pride in Lydian extravagance in the Late Hellenistic or Roman period. Kóδδαροι and  $\mathbb{Z}$ υρησίταυροι, the names of Sardian τάγματα attested in Apollonius of Tyana's letter 39, may be associated with gluttony and genitalia respectively; 356 if so, then these names, like those of several Sardian tribes, could be invoking the Lydian past, for gluttony and sexual debauchery were often associated with the Lydian kings of old.

## THE COURTESAN IN THE LOCAL IMAGINATION: NICANDER'S φιλέταιρις

The evidence just discussed does not have a direct bearing on the "Tomb of the Courtesan", but it indirectly supports the idea that a cryptic clue in Nicander's *Theriaca* may evince the impact that the tradition of sexual intemperance in the Lydian court had on the local understanding of the earth-mounds.

The word φιλέταιρις, which appears in the passage of Nicander's *Theriaca* mentioning the tomb of Gyges (quoted in chapter 5 above), has baffled modern commentators.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> See, for example, *Roman Provincial Coinage* http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk (accessed on June 1, 2010), temporary numbers 9330, 1326(=figure 6.1), and 1327.

 $<sup>^{351}</sup>$  Although the reliefs are no longer extant, the explanatory labels do survive, on which see Drew-Bear (1979:276 n.6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> The identification was first suggested by Hanfmann (1959: 18); see also Rotroff and Oliver (2003: no. 306), and Greenewalt in Cahill (2010a: no. 216); Boardman in *LIMC* (s. n. Omphale) expresses skepticism.

<sup>353</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:126-127, no. 156, figs. 301-303).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Propertius 3.11.17-20=Pedley (1972: no. 240): Omphale in tantum formae processit honorem/Lydia Gygaeo tincta puella lacu/ut qui pacato statuisset in orbe columnas/tam dura traheret mollia pensa manu. "Omphale—the Lydian girl washed in the Gygaean Lake—reached such illustrious beauty that he who had erected pillars in a world he had pacified worked his apportioned soft wool with hardened hands."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> For the relevance of a "transvestite" Omphale in other parts of the Roman world, see Kampen (1996) and Zanker (1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> Penella (1979:110-111).

## A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Schofield said the following:

Φιλέταιρις (-ριον), which N[icander] gives, as a synonym, appears at Diosc[orides] 4.8 and Plin[y] N.H. 25.64 and 99 as another name for πολεμώνιον, hypericum olympicum, "Cheiron's allheal." But its flowers are not white and it bears no resemblance to μηκονίς, "wild lettuce".357

Alain Touwaide also expresses perplexity:

En el actual estado, este párrafo del texto de Nicandro plantea un problema, pues los distintos elementos de la descripción de la planta aquí aludida no corresponden a vegetal alguno conocido por otras fuentes antiguas.<sup>358</sup>

### Touwaide further explains:

[sc. Φιλέταιρις quiere decir] textualmente: "afecto a los amigos". De hecho, hay un juego de palabras destinado a indicar, ciertamente, que la planta es salutífera, pero también a designar esa planta con uno de sus nombre regionales y construir, a partir de éste, un cuadro geográfico al modo tan típico de la literatura alejandrina.<sup>359</sup>

I agree with Touwaide that Nicander uses a local name to designate the plant in question, but I believe his translation should be refined to elucidate further the exact wordgame that prompts the poet's choice of nomenclature. The plant that grows near the tombs of Gyges and Tmolus was called  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{e}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\iota\varsigma$  by Nicander to invoke tales according to which King Gyges had made the greatest tumulus in Bin Tepe for a beloved  $\dot{e}\tau\alpha\acute{e}\rho\alpha$ , or courtesan.  $^{360}$  If Nicander is recording local folklore, as Touwaide suggests, then an interpretation of the tumuli that had originated in fifth-century BCE authors writing in Greek was already informing the local imagination of the tumuli by the third or second century BCE.

And so, for Nicander and his audience φιλέταιρις served as a reminder that the tumulus was a monument to the emotional intemperance of the founder of the Mermnad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Gow and Schofield (1953:182 commenting on 630; see also p. 24).

<sup>358</sup> Touwaide, Förstel, and Aslanoff (1997:295-296).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> Touwaide, Förstel, and Aslanoff (1997:218 n. 157).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> Masson (1962:132), commenting on Hipponax (ed. Degani 7), first pointed out that the "Tomb of the Courtesan" is none other than the tumulus of Alyattes in Bin Tepe (re-interpreted by imaginative readers of Herodotus): "On pourrait supposer ici une défomation des faits due à la légende et admettre qu'il s'agit simplement du monument de Gygès lui-même. Mais plusiers traits montrent à l'évidence que le tombeau en question est identique au tombeau d'Alyatte…". In this passage Masson made reference to the tomb of Gyges because he thought wrongly that the monument in Hipponax's itinerary should be identified with Karnyarık Tepe, on which see Ratté (1994b) and my comments on chapter 5 above. If Robert (1962:315 n.1) was right in thinking that the Tombs of Gyges and Tmolus mentioned by Nicander are monuments in the Cayster River valley, then the perception of tumuli even outside Bin Tepe would have been impacted by this tradition.

dynasty, a man who was virtually crowned by a woman and who surrendered his dominion to a courtesan. Whether the Hellenistic inhabitants of Lydia actually referred to a local plant that grew on or near the tumuli as  $\varphi i\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \tau \alpha i \rho i \varsigma$  or not is impossible to know, but a learned reader could surely be prompted to think about Gyges and his courtesan.

Note also that Nicander playfully juxtaposes φιλέταιρις with Παρθένιον λέπας or "Virgin rock" to emphasize that the word φιλέταιρις is invoking tales of Lydian sexual intemperance. The name of the plant celebrates a monument to wantonness, but grows next to a place known for its cleanliness or purity. The same sort of paradoxical contrast occurs again in Clearchus of Soli in a very similar context:

παραδείσους Κλέαρχος δέ φησι· Λυδοί διὰ τρυφὴν κατασκευασάμενοι καὶ κηπαίους αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες έσκιατροφοῦντο, ἡγησάμενοι τρυφερώτερον τὸ μὴ αὐτοῖς όλως έμπίπτειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγάς. καὶ τέλος πόρρω προάγοντες ὕβρεως τὰς τῶν ἄλλων γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους είς τὸν τόπον τὸν διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Άγνεῶνα κληθέντα συνάγοντες ὕβριζον.361

Clearchus says that on account of their delicacy the Lydians arranged for hunting parks and made them gardens and lived in the shade, since they thought it more delicate that the sun's rays not touch them at all. And finally, they went further in their arrogance gathering the wives and daughters of the others into the place which, on account of their action, was called the Ayveãva [or, as it were, "Holy-land"] and having gathered them there they would defile them.

It is almost certain that by the Hellenistic period the identity of the honorands of the tumuli had been confused among the increasingly Hellenized populations of Lydia. If Nicander is in fact transmitting epichoric botanical folklore when mentioning φιλέταιρις, the tales concocted by fifth-century BCE Greek authors about sexual habits in the Lydian court had already influenced local perceptions of the monuments and the plant growing on or near the tumuli was associated by some of the inhabitants of Hellenistic Lydia with the tales of the scandalous sexual preferences of their predecessors.

Finally, Jean-Marie Jacques, the most recent editor of Nicander, espouses a different explanation of φιλέταιρις relying on the authority of Pliny the Elder:<sup>362</sup>

"On créditait de la découverte de cette plante (sc. φιλέταιρις (-ιον et πολεμώνιον) soit Philétairos, roi de Pergame, soit Polémon I, roi du Pont, d'où les deux noms." <sup>363</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12.515d-f= Pedley (1972: no.130).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* (25.64).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Jacques (2002: *ad loc.*).

Although I believe that Nicander's word game is most effective with a distinctively Lydian resonance, perhaps Jacques' explanation is correct; even so, Nicander's juxtaposition of  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\iota\varsigma$  and "Virgin rock" would still be apposite, for according to Strabo, Philetaerus, son of Attalus, had been castrated or otherwise emasculated while still an infant.  $^{364}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Strabo 13.4.1.

## 7 The tomb of Tmolus

#### Introduction

In this chapter I use Nicander's passing reference to the tomb of Tmolus as well as scattered numismatic, sculptural, and epigraphic evidence to examine continuities and ruptures in the imaginary topography of Lydia from the archaic period through the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

#### NICANDER ON THE TOMB OF TMOLUS

The only evidence for the tomb of Tmolus is found in the passage of Nicander's *Theriaca* (630-635, quoted in chapter 5 above) discussed in connection with the tombs of King Gyges. Ancient scholia suggest that Nicander considered the tomb of Gyges to be a tumulus and it is likely that the poet thought also of the tomb of Tmolus as one.<sup>365</sup> The notion that there was a tumulus of Tmolus sheds light not only on the traces of pre-Greek Anatolian traditions in Hellenistic Lydia, but also on the aftermath of the Mermnad attempt to co-opt the landscape through the erection of tumuli.

#### TMOLUS: LITERARY EVIDENCE

Tmolus is most commonly associated with a Lydian mountain (modern Bozdağ), but there are also several mythological characters called Tmolus, as well as a town and a river of this name.<sup>366</sup>

Mt Tmolus was famed in antiquity for its wines and fragrant saffron, and the peaks near Sardis were celebrated as the source of the gold-bearing Pactolus. The earliest mention of Mt Tmolus in Greek literature occurs in the *Iliad* where the mountain is said to be snowy and is associated with the "prosperous people of Hyde" ("Ydhs èv πίονι δήμω) in the land of the Maeonians. Aeschylus mentions Mt Tmolus as a landmark in a list of Lydian allies of the Persians, where the tragedian describes the place as iepós or "holy," probably pointing—as modern commentators note—to its association with Dionysus; 369

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> See my comments in chapter 5 above.

 $<sup>^{366}</sup>$  In antiquity, Mt Tmolus was the name of both the range and of its heighest peak, which rises to 2,157 m.a.s.l.. The town of Tmolus, known in Roman Times also as Aureiopolis (after Marcus Aurelius), is almost certainly Gökkaya, 14kms west of Sardis, on the northern foothills of Bozdağ; the main modern treatment is Foss (1982); see also LIMC (s. n. Tmolus II). On the river Tmolus, see Theophrastus De lapidibus 47 and Hesychius (s. v.  $T\mu\tilde{\omega}\lambda_{05}$ ). The different characters called Tmolus are further discussed below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> On Tmolian wine see Strabo 14.1.15=Pedley (1972: no. 266), Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 14.74, and Vitruvius *De architectura* 8.3.12. On Tmolian Saffron see Vergil *Georgics* 1.56-57=Pedley (1972: no. 267) and 4.380 as well as Solinus 40.10. On Tmolian mines see Strabo 13.1.23=Pedley (1972: no 264); on the Lydian town called Metallum, literally "Mine," see Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 13.471-473 with Foss (1979:37-39) and further references therein.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Homer *Iliad* 20.382.385=Pedley (1972: no. 8). In antiquity Homeric Hyde was gratuitously equated with Sardis, but doubts about this identification always existed, see Strabo 9.2.20 and 13.4.6=Pedley (1972: no. 17).

however, other gods also ruled over Mt Tmolus, including Zeus, Apollo Carius, and—following the Persian conquest of Sardis in 546 BCE—the so-called "Tmolian goddess," who should be identified with the Lydo-Persian Artemis Anaitis. <sup>370</sup> In addition, the label "holy" also hints at the fact that, quite apart from the aforementioned divinities, Mt Tmolus was itself personified.

Partly on account of the mountain's mineral and vegetal wealth, the personified Tmolus was a complex mythological figure.<sup>371</sup> According to Nicolaus of Damascus a certain Tmolus was the father of Tantalus, King of Mt Sipylus.<sup>372</sup> Apollodorus mentions a different Tmolus who was king of Lydia prior to the establishment of the Heraclid dynasty; this Tmolus was Queen Omphale's husband and bequeathed his throne to her upon his death.<sup>373</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch relates a story about how a third Tmolus, son of Ares and Theogone, ravished the maiden Arsippe, devotee of Artemis, on a mountain that got its name from this event.<sup>374</sup> Today the most familiar personification of Mt Tmolus occurs in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where the aged Mt Tmolus acts as judge in a musical contest between Apollo and Pan.<sup>375</sup>

#### TMOLUS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In addition to the literary sources, there is numismatic and sculptural evidence that attests to the personification of Mt Tmolus in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, and elsewhere.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> See Aeschylus *Persae* (49) with Broadhead (1960:45 *ad loc.*) and Garvie (2009:65-66 *ad loc.*). On Mt Tmolus as the birthplace of Dionysus, see Euripides *Bacchae* 461-464=Pedley (1972: no. 257); for another example of the exact collocation iερός Τμῶλος, see Euripides *Bacchae* line 65 and cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> For Mt Tmolus as the birthplace of Zeus see John Lydus (quoting Eumelus of Corinth) *De Mensibus* 4.719=Pedley (1972: no. 14); for a sanctuary of Apollo Carius on Mt Tmolus, see Stephanus of Byzantium (quoting Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90F15) and my comments in chapter 3. On the "Tmolian Goddess", see Athenaeus (citing the Athenian tragedian Diogenes, also known as Oenomaus) *Deipnosophistae* 14.38.9=*Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Diogenes 1.7 (ed. Snell); on this goddess see my comments in chapter 12.

 $<sup>^{371}</sup>$  On the various characters called Tmolus, see LIMC (s. n. Tmolus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90F10; cf. *FGrHist* 90F18 (a different Tmolus); a scholion to Euripides *Orestes* (ad 5) says: Διὸς πεφυκώς: Τμώλου καὶ Πλουτοῦς υἱὸς ὁ Τάνταλος. "Born of Zeus: Tantalus the son of Tmolus and Pluto".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Apollodorus *Bibliotheca*, 2.6.3=Pedley (1972: no.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch *De Fluviis* 7.5. This passage is intriguing because it alone records that the mountain had been called "Carmanorium, for Carmanorus son of Dionysus and Alexirrhoia, who died when hunting attacked by a boar." (Καρμανόριον ἀπὸ Καρμάνορος τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Ἄλεξιρροίας παιδὸς, ὂς κυνηγετῶν ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ κάπρου πληγείς.) This tale is surely related to the various narratives of boar-hunting accidents in Lydia, the most famous of which is that of Atys, on which see Herodotus 1.34-45 and *Anthologia Palatina* 6.217-220, a series of epigrams relating the introduction of the cult of Attis (himself killed by a boar) from Phrygia into Lydia, with Gow and Page (1965:246-248 commenting on *Anthologia Palatina* 6.220).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 11.146-194 (the personification of Tmolus at 156) and also Pseudo-Hyginus 191. This and other narratives in Ovid most likely originate in Anatolian traditions that were transmitted by Hellenistic poets such as Nicander.

#### Numismatic evidence

Beginning in the second century CE, both the city of Sardis and the neighboring town of Tmolus minted coins illustrating the personified mountain.<sup>376</sup> On many of these coins, Tmolus is directly or indirectly associated with Dionysus:<sup>377</sup> in some cases the god himself is portrayed, in others his *numen* is merely invoked by a bunch of grapes or a garland of vines. At least one of the relevant issues from Sardis shows both the mountain and the personified divinity sitting atop it;<sup>378</sup> other issues show only the bearded head of the god with no trace of the topographical feature.<sup>379</sup> The idea that Dionysus was born on Mt Tmolus is most clearly represented on an issue of Faustina II from the town of Tmolus/Aureiopolis:<sup>380</sup> the reverse of this coin shows a naked and bearded standing figure holding a walking stick with a garland of vines in his right hand, and the baby Dionysus in his left hand.

### Sculptural evidence

In addition to the mountain, the town of Tmolus was also personified on coins, as well as in sculpture.<sup>381</sup> The personified town is represented on the basis of a famous monument erected at Puteoli, which is a replica of a dedication erected to the Emperor Tiberius by the Anatolian cities that had benefited from imperial largesse after the earthquake of 17 CE.<sup>382</sup> Here Tmolus is depicted as a young man with Dionysiac attributes, including grapevines; he is naked save for a fawn skin partially covering his chest. Even on this monument, so distant from his native Lydia, the origin of Tmolus as a mountain god is detectable: among all the city personifications on the basis from Puteoli, Tmolus alone is male.<sup>383</sup>

The most intriguing piece of evidence concerning the personified Tmolus is a marble altar of Late Hellenistic date from Sardis (see figure 7.1 and figure 7.2).<sup>384</sup> A relief on the altar depicts an almost totally naked, plump, but skinny-legged figure sitting atop the schematic representation of a mountain. G. M. A. Hanfmann and Nancy Ramage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Weiß (1995) has analyzed several of the coins from Sardis (as well as other diverse material) in his study of renewed interest and pride in local traditions in Roman Sardis. Baydur (1994) is a handy collection of (primarily) numismatic evidence concerning Anatolian mountain gods (Tmolus on pp. 59-60: cat. nos. 248-253).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> On Dionysus in Lydia, Quandt (1912) is still useful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Weiß (1995:102 Abb. 10)=Baydur (1994: cat. no. 249).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Weiß (1995:101 Abb. 8)= Baydur (1994: cat. no. 248) for a bearded head of Tmolus wearing a vine wreath on the obverse and, on the reverse (not reproduced in Baydur), Dionysus holding a *kantharos*, sitting on a throne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Weiß (1995:101, Abb. 11)=Baydur (1994: cat. no. 253).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> On these personificiations, see Foss (1982) and also *LIMC* (s. n. Tmolus II).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> On the earthquake of 17 CE, see the references cited in the introduction to chapter 10 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> On the basis of Puteoli, see Vermeule (1981) with illustrations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> On the date, see Hanfmann and Ramage (1978: no. 211, fig. 371). A closer numismatic parallel to the one alluded to by Hanfmann and Ramage can be found on the reverse of a quasi-autonomous coin from Sardis, on which the figure depicted is probably Tmolus, not the young Dionysus, see Weiß (1995:102 Abb. No. 10=Baydur 1994: cat. no. 249).

thought the figure was a representation of a river god,  $^{385}$  but surely what is being depicted is the personified mountain itself.  $^{386}$  The object was labeled by its dedicants:  $\Phi Y \Lambda H \Sigma TM \omega \Lambda I \Delta O \Sigma$  or "of the Tmolian tribe". Although there is no extant evidence for a tribe of the Tmolians or T(y)molitans at Sardis before the Hellenistic period, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that these appellations were inherited from pre-Achaemenid times.  $^{387}$ 

#### TMOLUS IN THE LOCAL IMAGINATION

The evidence concerning Tmolus reviewed here (from Nicander's mention of the tomb of Tmolus on the Cilbian plain to the coin depicting the mountain god holding the baby Dionysus) preserves traces of Anatolian religious beliefs—specifically mountain worship—in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia. Identification of mountains with gods among the Greeks was rare; in contrast, the Hittites and their contemporaries in Anatolia were prone to it.<sup>388</sup> A noticeable difference between Bronze Age Anatolian landscape personifications and those in mainland Greece, at least after the Classical period, was the higher degree of anthropomorphism that obtained among the latter.<sup>389</sup> For the Greeks the mountain was usually the abode of a *numen*, while the divinity was imagined to be an independent, fully-fledged human figure. In contrast, for the Hittites and their contemporaries in Anatolia the mountain itself could be consubstantial with the god.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> This may be simply the result of a typo or a slip because the figure is in the conventional stance of a river god.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Weiß (1995:103-104, Abb. 14) interprets the figure as a young Dionysus sitting on a fawn skin atop the mountain; he may be right, but Tmolus himself was depicted in a very similar pose in other media as mentioned in the previous note; moreover the figure's musculature and heavy proportions, as well as the implication of pubic hair suggest a mature figure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> The names of several of the known tribes in Roman Sardis are distinctly Lydian; many are clearly related to local mythological heroes and ancestors: in addition to the T(y)molitans (known from an inscription honoring the Emperor Tiberius (*Sardis* VII: no. 34), there were also the Asians (mentioned already by Herodotus 4.45.3), the Pelopidians (on which see Hanfmann and Mierse 1983:111 n. 30 and ill. 170), the Mermnads (*Sardis* VII: no. 124), and the Alibalians (*Sardis* VII: no. 127) the Masd<n>in chapter 1 (*Sardis* VII: no. 125 with Robert (1937:155-159), but see Gusmani (1960) who thinks with the original editors that it should read Masd<u>ians). On clubs and tribes at Sardis, see also my comments in chapter 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Certain Greek mountains were indeed personified as occurs in a fragment of Corinna (*PMG* 654) where Mt Helicon and Mt Cithaeron are engaged in a musical contest, but such personification is rare; note Buxton's (1992:5-6) remarks on the issue: "[...] in spite of Korinna's poetical evocation of the songcontest between Helikon and Kithairon, [...] Greek belief (as opposed, for example, to Cappadocian) preferred the model of association to that of identification." On Hittite attitudes to natural formations, consider the words of Bryce (2002:147-148): "All mountains, rivers, springs were inhabited by or identified with gods or spirits—generally male in the case of mountains, female in the case of rivers and springs. Mountains were themselves gods or sacred numinous regions were gods dwelt or assembled;" on specifically Luwian attitudes to natural formations cf. Hutter in Melchert (2003:220).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> I am grateful to Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. who shared with me his correspondence with the late Ruggero Stefanini on the differences between Greek and Anatolian mountain personifications.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Some of the gods who ruled the Lydian mountain peaks under Greek names were Hellenized versions of Anatolian mountain (and storm) deities. We know about several Lydian mountain gods, including Apollo Carius and Zeus Deusion, from literary sources, but others, such as Ζεὺς Ὀρείτης, Μήτηρ Ἄκραίαι and Μήτηρ Ὀρεία, are known only from inscriptions, see Petzl (1995:38-40) and de Hoz (1999).

Nicander's mention of the tomb of Tmolus is an example of the widespread ancient practice of associating natural features as well as artificial landmarks with the primeval inhabitants of a territory; apart from mountains and mountain peaks, many other natural features in the Lydian landscape were associated with imagined ancestors, notably lakes and rivers, as well as caves, rocks, and even trees. The association of Tmolus with a tumulus is remarkable and somewhat paradoxical because the imagined ancestor associated with the artificial monument was himself originally a natural mountain. The varying degrees of anthropomorphism of Mt Tmolus in Lydia and the incongruity of imagining a tumulus to be the tomb of a mountain reflect the accommodation of the Anatolian god to a Greek paradigm.<sup>391</sup>

## THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN MS. PARIS, SUPPLÉMENT GREC 247

To conclude this chapter, I offer some reflection on the earliest visual representations of the tombs of Lydian kings. These depictions appear in an illuminated manuscript of Nicander's *Theriaca* now in BnF Paris (*Supplément grec* 247).<sup>392</sup> While there is concurrence that the manuscript was produced in the tenth or eleventh century CE, there is still some disagreement as to the date of the original illustrations that served as the models for these miniatures; however, a date between the third and fifth century CE is very probable.<sup>393</sup> Intriguingly, Tertullian asserts that Nicander "writes and draws";<sup>394</sup> this may be taken as evidence that illustrated manuscripts of the *Theriaca* were circulating in the late second or early third century CE.<sup>395</sup> Nicander himself probably did not illustrate his texts, but there is no doubt that had he done so, he would have produced a very different image to that in the Paris manuscript, for it is all but certain that the poet knew that the tombs of Lydian kings were tumuli; he had most likely seen the great mounds in Bin Tepe and perhaps many others throughout Lydia. It was tumuli he had in mind when he composed the passage of the *Theriaca* that we have examined above, but many of his readers would have not been familiar with Lydian burial practices.

The artist or artists depicted the tombs of Tmolus and Gyges as temple-like structures with pedimented roofs.<sup>396</sup> That on *folio* 18*r* is merely a *naos* raised on a five-step platform (see figure 7.3); this miniature also includes the representation of two plants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> Hellenistic and Roman poets enjoyed playing word games that depended on the fluctuating degrees of personification of gods associated with natural features, see, for example, Ovid on Achelous, *Metamorphoses* 8:538-500 with Hollis (1970:99 commenting on 549ff.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> Touwaide, Förstel, and Aslanoff (1997) includes an excellent color facsimile and a companion volume of studies. As far as I know, it would take more than a millennium for the next illustrations of the tombs of the Lydian Kings to be executed, but when in the mid-eighteenth century Giovanni Battista Borra depicted the tumulus of Alyattes in Bin Tepe, he had the advantage of sketching it *in situ*. Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. informs me (*pers. comm.*) that one of Borra's drawings of the tomb of Alyattes is held in the Paul Mellon Collection of the Yale Center for British Art at Yale University; no. XX: "Mausoleo d'Haliatte in faccia à Sardes"; a double-page sketch (pp. 39-40) in Borra's notebook.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> For an exposition of the difficulties in securing a date, see Aslanoff in Touwaide (1997:63); Aslanoff favors a fifth-century CE date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> Tertullian Scorpiace 1: Nicander scribit et pingit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> Gow and Schofield (1953:9 with n. 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> See also Aslanoff's analysis of these illustrations, in Touwaide, Förstel, and Aslanoff (1997:96, with enlarged reproductions of the relevant miniatures on pp. 97-98).

labeled with botanical and topographical terms used in the *Theriaca*.<sup>397</sup> The tomb depicted on *folio* 18 $\nu$  (see figure 7.4) is a similar *cella*, but adorned with a tetrastyle façade; in the foreground there are personifications of Lydian topographical features including, on the left, the Cayster River shown as a young man with a halo, with water gushing at his feet; and on the right, a female figure, again with a halo, but wearing a mural crown and reclining on a rock, or rather, a mountain which sketchily extends behind her and occupies much of the space between the human figures and the tomb; E. de Chanot first identified the female figure as the personification of Cilbis, and Jean-Marie Jacques added to this analysis by specifying that the personified figure was sitting on the  $\Pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\nu\nu\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ , or "Virgin rock". <sup>398</sup> Whoever drew these images had never been to Lydia, nor did he know that the tombs Nicander mentioned were monumental earthen mounds, rather than built structures. These representations are evidence of what a Late Roman artist envisioned as proper monuments for notable personages of his own age; the artist was not interested in distinguishing them as Lydian, nor even as archaic for that matter. He simply imagined the tombs of Tmolus and Gyges in accordance with monuments that were familiar to him.

 $<sup>^{397}</sup>$  One of the plants on 18r is labeled καύκαλις (eccentrically accented thus), which is mentioned in Theriaca 843 and 892; the other plant is labeled παρθένιον, inexplicably, for Nikandros records a topographical feature of this name, but not a plant.

<sup>398</sup> Chanot (1876); Jacques (2002:181). It remains unclear whether a town Cilbis actually existed or the representation is solely the product of an artist unfamiliar with or uninterested in Lydian topography; for the difficulties in determining whether Cilbis is the name of a town, a river, or a mountain, see Tischler (1977: s. v. Kilbos, -is) and Zgusta (1984: s. v. Κιλβιανὸν πεδίον=§509). A similar problem arises with the rock and mountain on which the female figure is sitting; those familiar with Lydian topography would think most readily of Mt Tmolus as a paradigmatic Lydian mountain, but the artist who produced these illustrations using the poem for prompts was unconcerned with local landmarks.

# 8 The tomb of the giant Hyllus near Temenothyrae

#### PAUSANIAS ON THE TOMB OF HYLLUS

In this chapter I use the testimony of the Roman travel-writer Pausanias to explore local interaction with Bronze and Iron Age ruins in Roman Lydia. It has often been pointed out that when describing Greece, Pausanias shows a distinct predilection for things classical.<sup>399</sup> In contrast, many of the monuments he mentions in his native Lydia, both those immediately around Magnesia ad Sipylum, his hometown, and those further afield, belong to earlier periods and are not the product of Greek civilization.<sup>400</sup> Such is the case, for example, with the various landmarks he describes on Mt Sipylus (modern Spil or Manisa Dağı) as well as those further afield in Lydia.<sup>401</sup>

The relevant passage concerns landmarks on the border between Lydia and Phrygia and constitutes our only evidence for the tomb of the giant Hyllus near Temenothyrae (1.35.7-8):

τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν, Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι ένταῦθα παραραγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὀστᾶ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὡς ἔστιν άνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνου τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρόν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ γὰρ θρόνος άνδρός ἐστιν ἐνειργασμένος ὄρους λιθώδει προβολή καὶ χείμαρρόν τε ποταμόν 'Ψκεανόν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἤδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινας ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς άρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυόνην, ἐπεὶ δέ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην, οὖ μνῆμα μὲν οὔ, δένδρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδείκνυον λόγον, ὡς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ύλλου, παῖς δὲ Ύλλος εἴη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμός ώνομάσθη. Ήρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Όμφάλη ποτὲ ἔφασαν δίαιταν Ύλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν παῖδα.402

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> On Pausanias' artistic taste, see especially Kreilinger (1997); see also Habicht (1985:23-24) and Arafat (1996:1-42), the latter cautioning against over-emphasizing Pausanias' attention to the classical at the expense of more recent material.

<sup>400</sup> On Pausanias' birthplace and his description of monuments in his native land and nearby territories, see Habicht (1985:13-15, on p. 15, n. 66 there is a catalogue of the passages in which Pausanias reports on the region around Mt Sipylus). Consider also the insightful words of Ramsay (1882:62 n. 3): "One who reads over the passages in which Pausanias refers to Sipylus, Niobe, and Tantalus cannot fail to be struck by the life-like and telling accuracy of his language: it is that of a loving eye-witness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> See, for example, Pausanias 2.22.3 and 3.22.4. Spawforth (2001:376) has said that Pausanias' "specifically Lydian context tends to be sidelined." If this still holds true, the following analysis of conflicting local interpretations of Lydian landscape and mythology should help to redress the situation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Pausanias 1.35.7-8.

But this to me was a marvel. In Upper Lydia there is a city of no great size called Temenothyrae, where a mound (λόφος) cracked open after a storm and some bones became visible; their shape suggested that they were those of a man, but on account of their size it would not seem so. Immediately a story went about among the many that the corpse was that of Geryon, son of Chrysaor, and that the throne was his too; for there is a man's throne carved in a rocky outcrop of a mountain. And a winter torrent [that flowed there] they called Ocean; and they said that some men while ploughing had come upon the horns of cows, for the story goes that Geryon bred excellent cows. But when I contradicted them and revealed that Geryon is at Cadiz where there is no tomb, but there is a tree that takes different shapes, then the Lydian expounders pointed out the truth: that the corpse was that of Hyllus, that Hyllus was son of Earth, and that the river was named after him. They said, too, that Heracles called his son Hyllus after the river on account of his former sojourn with Omphale.

This text is evidence of Greek and Roman interaction with Anatolian ruins. <sup>403</sup> It is debatable whether or not the tomb of Hyllus was a tumulus. In fact, it is not even certain that the tomb of Hyllus was a man-made landmark. However, since it is probable that locals associated what were imagined to be the bones of Hyllus with a tumulus, and since the relevant passage sheds light on the imaginary topography of Roman Lydia, I discuss here Pausanias' description of this monument.

#### CONFLICTING MYTHOLOGIES OF LANDSCAPE

According to Pausanias, two local explanations of a marvel in northeastern Lydia are at odds. On the one hand is the story that went about among "the many"; on the other hand there is the explanation of the Lydian expounders, which Pausanias endorses. The two accounts coincide in their association of the bones and related landmarks with a giant; but they differ with respect to the giant's identity. The many are familiar with the canonical tales of Heracles and Geryon, but in the eyes of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles' cattle near Temenothyrae. In contrast, the Lydian expounders dismiss the notion that the bones and monuments have anything to do with the famous Geryon. Instead they invoke a local myth concerning the earth-born giant Hyllus, who is a homonym both of Heracles' son by Deianeira and of a nearby river. On the story of the many are familiar with the same familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles are familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles are familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles are familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles are familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles are familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly that Geryon stole Heracles are familiar with the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically well-informed for they imagine mistakenly the service of Pausanias these people are not topographically the servic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> Cf. Herodotus (2.106) where the historian describes and interprets the rock-cut relief in Hittite style at the Karabel pass (see figure 5.4); on the relief, see Hawkins (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> The idea that the bones belonged to a giant probably implied that they were also imagined to be inveterate; on the notion "big-therefore-old" in antiquity, see my comments in chapter 9 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Heracles' sojourn with Omphale left other traces in Lydian hydronomy: e.g. the stream Acheles on the slopes of Mt Sipylus, on which see the scholia to *Iliad* 24.616, Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v. Ἀκέλης) and my comments in chapter 4 above. For other traces of Heracles in the vicinity of Temenothyrae, see Drew-Bear (1979:276 n. 6) who mentions an inscription from Acmonia originally labeling a sculptural group depicting the hero's exploits.

Pausanias does not offer many details regarding the conflicting parties: the locals include acquaintances of farmers who have vague notions about Heracles' deeds in the region. The Lydian expounders seem to have been specialists: locals with authoritative knowledge of Lydian topography and mythology; these experts in Lydian matters are attested also in other literary sources. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly how and when the Lydian expounders intervened in the discussion concerning the bones of Hyllus. Did they keep the true account secret and reveal it only after being pressed by Pausanias? Or were they actually consulted to decide the disagreement between Pausanias and "the many"? Although we do not know how exactly they attained their specialist knowledge, it is very likely that the Lydian expounders were catering to those members of the secondand third-century CE Roman elite that were interested in epichoric traditions. Regardless of their primary audience, it is quite probable that these connoisseurs may have incited both curiosity and suspicion among "the many."

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Temenothyrae (near modern Uşak) was located in the eastern highlands of Lydia on the border with Phrygia. Pausanias—the only ancient literary author to mention the city—locates it in upper Lydia, while later notices place it in Phrygia. There is no evidence for the existence of a settlement there prior to the first century BCE, but the name Τημενοθύραι and its epigraphic variants suggest that it was an old Lydian foundation (cf. Grimenothyrai, and perhaps also Thyateira). An ancient route leading from Sardis to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> Lucan *Pharsalia* 9.950-979, famously portrays a "Phrygian" shepherd warning Julius Caesar not to tread on the tomb of Hector at Troy. This passage has sometimes been thought to be a sort of social impossibility, but Rossi (2001) cautions against assuming that Lucan's Caesar is ignorant. At any rate, the literary conceit does not imply that shepherds were actually uninterested in local monuments. In my experience, the opposite is often the case: Turkish shepherds sometimes have elaborate opinions about the origins of such ruins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> On these Lydian expounders and other guides in Pausanias, see Jones (2001:33-39). Artemidorus of Daldis, himself a Lydian, mentions very similar characters in *Oneirokritika* (2.70): καὶ γὰρ εἶναί τινα Λυδοῖς προξενίαν πρὸς Φοίνικας οἱ τὰ πάτρια ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενοί φασιν. "And indeed the expounders of local matters said that the Lydians had a relationship of guest-friendship with the Phoenicians."

<sup>408</sup> Tension between local communities and religious authorities and other specialists is well attested in the epigraphic record in the vicinity of Temenothyrae. These tensions often invovle agricultural restrictions or obligations, but may extend to the uses and interpretation of the local landscape. An inscription from the "Scorched Land" dated to 197/8 CE, records an armed attack against a local sanctuary and its attendants by a disgruntled group of people described as an ὄχλος or "mob", see Herrman and Malay (2007: no. 84); Malay (*ibidem* p. 112) believes that "the people living in the "Scorched Land" must indeed have had strong reasons for being wrathful towards some rural sanctuaries which obviously established a severe control over the villages and even small cities." At least two confession inscriptions specifically concern the mistreatment of a sacred grove in the vicinity of Saittai (modern Sidaskale), see *SEG* 37.913-914(= *TAM* 1.179 a and b) with Petzl (1978:253-257). For other Lydian confession inscriptions from the last decade of the second century CE that shed light on the strain between peasants and religious authorities, see Petzl (1995:43-46).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> On the city and its history, see Drew-Bear (1979).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> Both Lydia and Phrygia belonged to the Roman province of Asia. Although he does not specify a town, Philostratus (*Heroicus* 2.7) mentions the bones of Hyllus, son of Heracles, to be seen in Phrygia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> See Magie (1950:999 n. 36); see also Drew-Bear (1979:281-282) for etymological speculation about the name of the city; the second member of the name has sometimes been thought to mean

Philadelphia and Blaundos would proceed through the Mocadene to Temenothyrae then to Acmonia and the interior; this was an important crossroads for people and their stories.

The conflicting topographical and mythological traditions recorded by Pausanias, concern various objects dating from the remote past. The bones of Hyllus are very probably the petrified remains of pre-historic mammals as argued most recently by Adrienne Mayor. The throne has not been identified yet, but Pausanias' description is somewhat reminiscent of rock-cut monuments in Hittite style, such as the rock-cut relief of a Luwian ruler in a throne at Kızıldağ (see figure 8.1), or perhaps of the much more proximate rock-cut sculpture in Akpınar on Mt Sipylus (see figure 4.1), which Pausanias himself identified as "the oldest statue of the mother godddess". As far as I know, no such relief has yet been found in the vicinity of Temenothyrae.

The word  $\lambda \acute{o} \phi o \varsigma$ , which I translated above as "mound", means literally "(crest of a) hill". It almost invariably refers to a natural, rather than an artificial feature. However, as Sir William Ramsay first suggested over a century ago, the landmark mentioned by Pausanias may very well be one of the many pre-Roman tumuli in northeastern Lydia. There is no way to know for certain what exactly Pausanias meant by the word  $\lambda \acute{o} \phi o \varsigma$ , but considering the evidence gathered in chapter 5 through 7, it would not be surprising if this Hyllus too, like other primordial inhabitants, ancestral heroes, and supernatural creatures, would have been associated with a tumulus in Roman Lydia. Although Pausanias says that the tomb is a  $\mu \nu \tilde{\eta} \mu \alpha$  (or memorial), not merely a hill, this alone is not conclusive since he was not interested in distinguishing between natural and artificial monuments. Regardless, even if the  $\lambda \acute{o} \phi o \varsigma$  was not man-made, the giant bones exposed by the erosion of a natural topographical formation could have been later associated with a tumulus as we know occurred in the Troad.  $^{415}$ 

<sup>&</sup>quot;stronghold", for no discernible reason. According to Zgusta (1984: s. v. Τημενοθύραι), the first member probably derives from the name of a god or a hero.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Mayor (2000:74 and 267).

 $<sup>^{413}</sup>$  On the relief in Kızıldağ, which was probably carved in the eighth century BCE to reappropriate a thirteenth or twelfth-century BCE hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, see Aro (2003:334, plate XXV) and (Hawkins 1992). On the monument in Akpınar, see Pausanias 3.22.4 and my comments in chapter 4 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Ramsay (1927:169).

 $<sup>^{415}</sup>$  According to Philostratus, Heroicus~8.1, the emperor Hadrian saw the bones of Ajax at Troy after the "original" monument  $(\sigma\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha)$  had been destroyed by the sea. The "original" monument would have been merely a natural formation, but Hadrian probably reburied the bones in an actual pre-Roman tumulus that he refurbished for the occasion. Pausanias (1.35.5) himself knows of a tomb of Ajax in the Troad and also reports that the bones of the hero were exposed by the sea; he seems to think the tomb was a natural formation, apparently a cave by the sea with a narrow entrance. On these passages, see Mayor (2000:115-117, 266 and 270).

## The Hyllus Rivers in Lydia

There may have been as many as three rivers called Hyllus in Lydia:<sup>416</sup>

I—. A Hyllus River is mentioned by Homer, who places it near the Gygaean Lake in the land of the Maeonians and describes it as "rich-in-fish" (ἰχθυόεις). 417 Herodotus says that the plain before the city of Sardis (τὸ πέδιον τό πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ) is watered by the Hyllus, as well as by other tributaries of the Hermus. 418 If Homer and Herodotus are speaking of the same river, this is probably the Dümrek or Demirci Çayı which rises on Mt Temnus (modern Simav Dağı) and is a northern tributary of the Hermus (Gediz Çayı). 419 Coins from Saitta (modern Sidaskale) celebrate the river god Hyllus and record the name "Υλλας. 420 If this identification is correct, Homer and Herodotus would both be speaking somewhat loosely, for the Dümrek or Demirci Çayı is removed from the lake and to the northwest of Sardis.

II—. Strabo mentions a river in Lydia once called Hyllus, but known in his time as Phrygius.<sup>421</sup> Other ancient authors record a body of water named Phrygius in the vicinity of Magnesia ad Sipylum.<sup>422</sup> This Hyllus (known later as Phrygius) is sometimes identified with the modern Kum Çayı, which itself rises in Mt Temnus and is shown on maps as a tributary of the Glaucus and the Lycus.<sup>423</sup> The conflicting onomastics of this and other rivers in the region surely point to the mixed cultural situation in northern and eastern Lydia as well as to fluctuating political boundaries between Lydians and Phrygians.<sup>424</sup>

III—. It is possible that there was yet a third body of water near Temenothyrae called Hyllus, for the account of the Lydian expounders seems to necessitate a nearby body of water of that name. It seems improbable that the expounders would think that the Hyllus (I) and Temenothyrae were located in the same region and inconceivable that they would believe this in reference to the Hyllus (II). Pliny mentions a river Phryx, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> The three rivers discussed here are labeled Hyllus in the *Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World*; only the westernmost of the three, Hyllus (II), is marked as a tentative identification.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> *Iliad* 20.392=Pedley (1972: no. 239).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> Herodotus 1.80.1=Pedley (1972: no. 115).

 $<sup>^{419}</sup>$  Tischler (1977: s. v. Hyllus Nr. 2). See also Hamilton (1842: vol. II. p. 145), Malay (1999: no. 98) and Roosevelt (2009:42 n. 23).

 $<sup>^{420}</sup>$  For a coin of Saitta with a labeled Hyllus, see Imhoof-Blumer (1923: no. 322); for the attestation of the name "Yλλας in Saitta, see Münsterberg (1913:146). For further references, see Drew-Bear (1979:276 n. 7) and Malay (1999: no. 98).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> Strabo 13.4.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Livy 37.37.9; see also Appian Syriaca 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> See Tischler (1977: s. v. Hyllos Nr. 1). So identified by Kiepert and Kiepert (1893: IX *Asia Provincia*). Imhoof-Blumer (1923: no. 309) concluded that the river depicted on a coin of Julia Gordos was a Hyllus, but he does not explain his reasoning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> On ethnic intermingling in eastern Lydia, see Drew-Bear (1979:277 n. 14). For another local river with a Phrygian and a non-Phrygian name, see Pseudo-Plutarch *De Musica* 7, according to whom the Phrygian Marsyas River was also known as Masnes, which is the name of one of the two Lydian hero treated in chapter 1; on the Masnes River see also Tischler (1977: s. v. Masnes) and Gusmani (1960:328-329).

separates Phrygia from Caria;<sup>425</sup> this seems unimaginable for Hyllus (I) or Hyllus (II), and only inappropriate for a hypothetical Hyllus (III).

#### ETYMOLOGY OF HYLLUS

The name Hyllus is very likely derived from \* $5-\lambda_0$ \$ meaning "water-creature", 426 strictly speaking a "water-serpent" like the Homeric  $50-\lambda_0$ \$ That several rivers in Anatolia would share this same name should not be surprising considering this etymology. Ancient glosses show that "Hyllus" was imagined in antiquity to be a water-monster or water-creature. 428

It is quite likely that the river name Hyllus in Lydia masks reflexes of an Anatolian water-serpent such as the ones mentioned above, in chapters one and two. If the name is indeed Greek, then Hyllus is not the indigenous appellation of these rivers. Perhaps they were called "water-creature" by the Greeks because giant fish or monsters lurked in their waters according to Anatolian mythology. 429

#### HYLLUS IN THE LOCAL IMAGINATION

Hyllus was a figure of continued relevance in Roman Lydia, as is shown by scattered numismatic, epigraphic, and onomastic evidence.<sup>430</sup> There are also traces of the creature's existence in the local mythology of landscape, especially in an incontrovertible, but now obscure connection between the healing waters of two Lydian rivers named after Heracles' sons, and the myth of the dragon-slayer. As happened with other mythological characters associated with the great hero,<sup>431</sup> Hyllus is an ambivalent figure: a friend and a foe of Heracles.

It is probable that Hyllus, the water-monster, is himself a reflex of the grim dragon known in Hittite as *illuyankas*. If so, the paradigmatic dragon that had once opposed the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 5.119.

 $<sup>^{426}</sup>$  Tischler (1977: s. v. Hyllus Nr. 2). Note that *DELG* (s. v. ὕλλος) expresses reservations about this etymology and considers the word a borrowing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> Homer *Iliad* 2.723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> In his treatise on animal curiosities, Timotheus of Gaza equates a Hyllus with the ichneumon: περὶ ἰχνεύμονος. ὅτι ὁ ἰχνεύμων ὁ καὶ ἔνυδρος καὶ ὕλλος καλούμενος λέγεται πηλῷ χρίσας ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ὀλισθηρὸς ἤ πηδᾶν εἰς τὸ τοῦ κροκοδείλου στόμα καὶ οὕτως τὸ ἤπαρ κατεσθίειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν. "Concerning ichneumon: it is said that ichneumon (called also both Enhydros and Hyllus) smeared mud on himself so that he would become slippery and jumped into the mouth of the crocodile and thus ate his liver and killed him." Text from M. Haupt, "Excerpta ex Timothei Gazaei libris de animalibus," *Hermes* 3 (1869:24-25); other "fishy" glosses of Hyllus in Cyranides 1.20; on the ichneumon cf. Aristotle *Historia animalium* 6.35.580a 25 and Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia*, 8.35-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> According to a different analysis, Anatolian rivers called "water-snake" would receive this name because of their serpentine course or movement; on the topographical and mythological explanations of the river name "Dragon" and its cognates, see Tischler (1977: s. v. Drakon).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> As mentioned above, the name Hyllus (as well as Hyllas and Hylas) continued to be used as an anthroponym both in the region of Temenothyrae and elsewhere in Western Asia Minor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> For example, Omphale and Echidna, on which see my comments in chapters 1, 2, and 6.

paradigmatic hero was eventually re-conceived as the hero's helper.<sup>432</sup> Thus Hyllus was eventually imagined as a giant or a river that earned Heracles' gratitude by healing his wounds.<sup>433</sup> A Homeric scholiast (quoted also in relation to the Achelous River in chapter 4 above) notes the following:

ἄλλως· αἴ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον: τινὲς "αἴ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελήσιον" (ποταμὸς δὲ Λυδίας, ἐξ οὖ πληροῦται <ὁ> "Υλλος), καὶ Ἡρακλέα νοσήσαντα ἐκ τῶν πόνων, ἀναδόντων αὐτῷ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν, τοὺς παῖδας "Υλλον καλέσαι καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ὁμφάλης Ἀχέλητα, ὃς Λυδῶν ἐβασίλευσεν.

[This is interpreted] variously—"those by Achelous". Some [think] a river in Lydia, by which the Hyllus is plenished; and that when Heracles was ailing from his toils, since the rivers gave their warm waters to him, he called his children Hyllus and, the one he had by Omphale, Acheles, who ruled over the Lydians.

The scholiast goes on to note that Acheles may have gotten his name from the fact that he dissolves pain (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄχη λύειν). If at some point these two sons of Heracles stood as polar opposites, as a bane and a panacea, in Roman Lydia the "water-monster" who furnished death and "the dissolver of pains" who furnished life-restoting water had become equivalents instead.

 $<sup>^{432}</sup>$  For the confrontation between hero and snake in Lydian mythology, see my discussion of the myth of Tylon and Masnes in chapter 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> The fifth century BCE epic poet Panyassis also says that Heracles was cured by the waters of the Hyllus River (quoted by a scholiast commenting on Apollonius of Rhodes 4.1149=Pedley (1972: no. 5); Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a Lydian city Acheles, which he relates to Heracles: ἀκέλης, πόλις Λυδίας. οἱ πολῖται ἀκέλητες, τὸ θηλυκὸν ἀκελῆτις. ἔοικε δὲ λέγεσθαι ἀπὸ ἀκέλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Μαλίδος παιδός, δούλης τῆς Ὁμφάλης, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος. "Acheles, a city of Lydia, the citizens [are called] Acheletes, the feminine [form] is Acheletis. It seems that it derives from Aceles, son of Heracles and Malis, the slave of Omphale, according to Hellanicus."

# 9 The palace of Croesus

#### INTRODUCTION

In this and the next two chapters, I turn to the urban environment in order to examine the re-use of Lydian buildings and objects in Late Hellenistic and Roman Sardis. I begin by studying the redeployment of an archaic mudbrick structure that was believed to have been the palace of the Lydian King Croesus.

#### MUD-BRICK AS GOLD

In 1977, G. M. A. Hanfmann asserted that there were really only two passages in ancient literature that told us anything about the palace of Croesus: Vitruvius 2.8.9-10 and Arrian *Anabasis* 1.17.3-6.<sup>434</sup> Both texts are indeed informative, but to dismiss all other ancient literary references to the palace of this famous Lydian king is to ignore that buildings, as much as people or animals, have an imaginary life that affects their materiality: for a building is not just the substance of which it is made, it is also what one imagines to have taken place there. Fully to explore the fate of the palace of Croesus one must keep in mind this double existence.

Already by the fifth-century BCE, the palace had become the stuff of legend: Bacchylides, for example, spoke of the "bronze-walled court" of Croesus, 435 using lofty vocabulary harking back to Homer and befitting the residence of a man whose material largesse purportedly earned him divine deliverance from death. 436 Although people in antiquity surely realized that the palace walls were not actually made of bronze, most would have imagined—even independent of poetry—that the residence of a king who was granted immortality for his lavishness was itself exceptionally lavish. So it must have come as a surprise to many in Vitruvius' audience to learn that the palace of King Croesus was actually made of mud-brick. 437

Vitruvius mentioned the palace as part of a catalogue of ancient buildings illustrating both the durability of mud-brick walls—allegedly eternal if built absolutely perpendicular to the ground—and the rather curious fact that in some cities mud-brick

 $<sup>^{434}</sup>$  Hanfmann (1977:145). Vitruvius 2.8.9-10=Pedley (1972: no. 291) and Arrian *Anabasis* 1.17.3-6=Pedley (1972: no. 235).

<sup>435</sup> Bacchylides *Epinicia* 3.32=Pedley (1972: no. 124); a *TLG* search suggests that this is the only occurrence of the adjective χαλκοτειχής in classical antiquity; Hutchinson (2001:340 *ad loc.*) compares Homer *Odyssey* 7.86, a description of the palace of Alcinous: χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλέατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, "for [its] walls were fitted everywhere with bronze," and, Pindar *Paeans* 8.68-69, a description of a temple of Apollo: χάλκεοι μὲν τοῖχοι χάλκεαί θ' ὑπὸ κίονες ἔστασαν, "the walls were bronze and bronze columns stood under them." Note that Homer is less hyperbolic than Pindar and Bacchylides. In Mycenae, bronze plaques were indeed sometimes attached to the walls of tombs, see Wace (1949:32). Perhaps the most famous bronze-fitted building in ancient Greece was the temple of Athena at Sparta, which was known as the χαλκίοικος or "bronze-house," and is mentioned, for example, in Euripides *Helen* 228 and Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 1299.

 $<sup>^{436}</sup>$  For a selection of ancient literary sources relating the various fates of Croesus see Pedley (1972: nos. 124-126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Vitruvius 2.8.9-10=Pedley (1972: no. 291).

was considered a distinguished material, worthy of both public works and private residences—even royal palaces. Vitruvius' catalogue, later reprised with some additional information by Pliny the Elder, <sup>438</sup> provides evidence of ancient sensibility to differences in building techniques and awareness that these differences could be used as a chronological gauge. <sup>439</sup>

Vitruvius compiles cases of notable structures from around the Mediterranean built wholly or partly of mud-brick. Most of his examples come from Greece and Asia Minor, but he also mentions "an outstandingly built ancient wall" (*vetustum egregie factum murum*) in Arezzo, Italy. His list includes the following: in Athens, the walls facing Mt Hymettus and Mt Pentelicus; in Patrae, the walls of the chambers (*cellae*) of the temple of Zeus and Heracles; he also records that in Sparta, frescoes painted on mud-brick were excised from their original location, mounted on wooden frames, and transported to the *comitium* in Rome "as ornaments for the aedileship of Varro and Murena." He cites three Anatolian cases: in Tralles, the mud-brick palace of Attalus, which was always given to "[him] who holds the priesthood of the city;" Halicarnassus, the palace of Mausolus, which although wholly adorned with Proconnesian marble, had walls built of mud-brick. And finally, he mentions "the palace of Croesus, which the Sardians converted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 35.172-173=Pedley (1972: no. 290).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> Sensibility to differences in architectural fabric is amply attested in ancient literary sources. According to an ancient idea most clearly expressed in Vitruvius (2.1.3-7) and later popularized in the Renaissance, wooden originals were the source of stone architecture down to their most minute ornament; statues too were thought to have been first made of wood before being made of stone, on which see Donohue (1988:208-210). The most famous example of curious and unusual architecture being used in antiquity as a chronological gauge involves the attribution of the walls of Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns to inveterate mythical beings. This association, attested, for example, in Pausanias 2.16.5 and 2.25.8, has given us the term "cyclopean masonry;" (on the Cyclopes' exploits—architectural and otherwise—see especially the scholia to Euripides Orestes 965). Among the Greeks, the notion that giants built the massive structures of the Late Bronze Age can be traced back at least to the sixth century BCE (see Pindar Fragments 169a.7 and Bacchylides 11.77), but the tendency to think that big buildings necessitate big builders, and that bigger implies older is well documented beyond the Mediterranean: in medieval England, for example, the Anglo-Saxon poem known as "The ruin" constitutes an effort by an eighth-century observer to make sense of a dilapidated Roman bath that the poet describes as enta geweore, or "work of giants," on which see Cohen (1993); for a host of other Indo-European parallels, see West (2007:300-301); in colonial Mexico, the sixteenth-century Spanish Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún records that his Aztec contemporaries attributed the building of Teotihuacan to giants from Tollan (modern Tula), on which see Hamann (2002). Nowadays, people sometimes prefer to displace the agents of curious and unusual architecture spatially rather than chronologically and believe, for example, that aliens made the famous desert drawings in Nazca, Peru.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> Bergmann (1995:89) noted that the Romans sometimes valued artworks for incidental factors rather than their inherent qualities; in relation to Varro and Murena's plunder, she noted that according to Pliny, it was not the intrinsic beauty of the frescoes as much as their manner of transportation that made them worthy of wonder. But does Pliny's anecdote tell us anything about the Romans' appreciation of the paintings' antiquity? Pliny seems to be recording only the reaction of spectators in Rome; and yet, an antiquarian such as Varro would have most likely appreciated them, at least partly, for their antiquity.

the building in question could not have been much more than two centuries old at the very most, even if Attalus I (241-197 BCE) built it, and even if the statement held true when Vitruvius was writing, which is unlikely; note that the epigram of Bianor quoted at the end of this chapter speaks of the palace of Croesus as if it no longer existed during the reign of Tiberius. It should be remembered that the people of Tralles, after some consideration, fatefully sided with Mithridates of Pontus in 88 BCE and killed those Romans who had sought asylum in the local temple of Concord, on this incident see Bean (1971:209) and Mayor (2010:18). Would Rome have allowed religious privileges to be upheld after such perfidy?

into a *gerousia*, that is, a place for the citizens to relax in the leisure of age, a college of elders."<sup>442</sup>

Vitruvius' information concerning the conversion of the palace of Croesus very probably derives from a Hellenistic text, <sup>443</sup> plausibly a didactic book similar to his own *De Architectura*. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing exactly when the conversion took place, nor even whether it happened before or after Antiochus III's siege and destruction of Sardis in 213 BCE. The Lydian capital suffered varied catastrophes in the centuries between the Persian capture in 546 BCE and the Hellenistic period, including the great conflagration brought about by the Ionians in 499 BCE. Despite these calamities, certain Lydian structures seem to have survived at least until Alexander the Great's brief sojourn in Sardis, for Arrian—relying on Hellenistic sources—referred to a place inspected by Alexander as "the palace of the Lydians" ( $\tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \Lambda \nu \delta \tilde{\omega} \nu \beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \epsilon_{I} \alpha)$ . <sup>444</sup> As Hanfmann pointed out, it is possible that the Persian satraps and Seleucid governors continued using the Lydian Royal residence until the peace of Apamea in 189 BCE. <sup>445</sup> Regardless of the exact date, the conversion of the palace into a *gerousia* immediately raises questions: is it possible that people in Late Hellenistic Sardis valued mud-brick structures of the archaic period? And if so, why?

Some scholars have doubted the plausibility of the conversion, questioning among other things that a mud-brick building could have survived the many disasters that befell Sardis over the centuries. Although we still know relatively little about the Hellenistic city, there is no doubt that there would have been continuity in the use of certain urban structures, and especially of prestigious ones. But even if the palace of Croesus had disappeared long before the Hellenistic period, this does not preclude the possibility that people in Late Hellenistic Sardis could have imagined that the ruins of a mud-brick structure in the city had been the palace of Croesus.

<sup>442</sup> Vitruvius 2.8.10: Croesi domus, quam Sardiani <u>civibus ad requiescendum aetatis otio seniorum collegio</u> gerusiam dedicaverunt. The underlined text is probably a scribal gloss, for as Hanfmann (1977:146) noted, Vitruvius "certainly knew what gerousia was." Pedley (1972: commenting on no. 291) imagines other possibilities: "Vitruvius may be misunderstanding the term "gerusia" and may be meaning an old-age home; or he may be misunderstanding his Hellenistic source; or the translations may reflect what both meant."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>443</sup> On Vitruvius' debt to Greek architectural knowledge, see Rowland and Howe (1999:5); more generally, on his use of Greek learning, Wallace-Hadrill (2008:145-147).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>444</sup> Arrian *Anabasis* 1.17.3-6=Pedley (1972:no. 235).

<sup>445</sup> Hanfmann (1983:115).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> Foss (1976:48) implied that after Sardis was burned in 499 BCE and devastated again in 213 BCE, there would be little left to convert into a *gerousia*, but in fact the devastation may have contributed to the preservation of mud-brick; in any case, whether the material was abundant or not is in some way irrelevant, for little was needed to imagine that a place had once been important. Greenewalt (2006:364 n. 17) registered the skeptical opinion of Hermann Kienast who doubted that the *gerousia* could have been part of the palace of Croesus, but as Greenewalt himself pointed out: "Vitruvius's and Pliny's statements are made in the context of a remarkable but credible technical phenomenon (survival of mud-brick), not of folklore or romance."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>447</sup> On the urban development of Hellenistic Sardis, see Ratté (2008) who mentions on p. 131 the possibility—first suggested by Hanfmann—of two Lydian palaces, one on the acropolis and the other on its footbills.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup> Recent research shows that the Roman terraces on the northern foothills of the acropolis were built on predecessors that date back to Lydian times, see Cahill (2008).

As I have explained above, archaic material remains were associated with famous local ancestors, even when there was no historical reason for them to be: for example, in the late Hellenistic period, Mermnad tumuli were imagined to be the tombs of characters as diverse as the mythological king Tmolus, the giant Hyllus, and even the hundred-hander monster Gyges. In fact, Lydian objects were reused to articulate contrasting, even contradictory versions of local antiquity. Archaeological evidence of interaction with archaic Lydian *realia* in Sardis has been found mostly in religious settings; but it seems clear that a variety of local communities—not only religious sects—were eager to imagine connections with the local past, and it is likely that these communities would also re-deploy Lydian artifacts to legitimize their claims.

A letter from Apollonius of Tyana to the Sardians shows how divisive civic loyalties were in late-first and early-second century CE Sardis,<sup>450</sup> and also that those interested in claiming specific connections to the past ranged across the entire social spectrum:

Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἶθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι. κἀκεῖνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.<sup>451</sup>

It is likely that not even your servants are well-disposed towards you, first because they are servants, and also because most belong to opposing clubs. For they too, like you, have ancestors.

Many of these clubs expressed their allegiance to the past in the names they gave themselves;<sup>452</sup> some built structures that proudly bore these "made-up" names, imbued as

<sup>449</sup> As I explain in chapters 10 and 11 below, while in the late fourth century CE the city's pagan elite were re-erecting Lydian lions to verify the authority and antiquity of the goddess Artemis, the local Jews were making use of very similar material to prove their own ancestral presence in Lydia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> The authenticity of Apollonius' letters has often been questioned, on which see Penella (1979:23-29); regardless of who actually composed these texts, there is little doubt that many of the letters attributed to Apollonius evince familiarity with contemporary life, and specifically with life in late-first or early-second century CE Sardis; for an example of "puzzling" information in a letter of Apollonius to the Sardians recently been verified by an epigraphic find, see Jones (2006:6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> Apollonius of Tyana *Epistula* 41; eight of the letters of Apollonius of Tyana (38, 39, 40, 41, 56, 75, 75a, and 76) provide evidence of στάσις or "factional strife" in second-century CE Sardis; Penella (1979:130) called attention to the Platonic *sententia* (*Laws* I 629D) with which 76 concludes: στάσις δὲ πολέμου χαλεπότερον: "Faction is harder than war."

 $<sup>^{452}</sup>$  On τάγματα, see Lampe A Patristic Greek Lexicon (s. v. τάγμα) with evidence that these groups cut across classes and religions. It is still not clear how these τάγματα were related to Sardian civic tribes. On the tribal nomenclature of Sardis, see Robert (1937 and 1964:45-47) who argued (1937:158) that these names were "une creation artificielle et sans doute assez récente." However, not all the names were new in Roman times; consider, for example, the tribe Asias mentioned in Herodotus (4.45=Pedley (1972 no. 11), celebrating a remote hero and ancestor already in the fifth century BCE. Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:86) asserted the following: "Because of their native Lydian names, it appears very likely that the tribal divisions (*phylai*) reflect some sort of pre-Hellenistic Lydian social organization." While their conclusion is right, the alleged cause is not: much of the nomenclature did look back to the Lydian past, but not all the names were Lydian.

they were with ancient references.<sup>453</sup> But even the servants mentioned by Apollonius could also reactivate the past by redeploying material remains; just which ones they might have used to commemorate their own (presumably geographically remote) ancestry I cannot say.

At any rate, there seem to have been various materials for the inhabitants of Sardis to re-use in order to celebrate their antiquity. While the archaic statues and inscriptions prominently re-deployed in the sanctuary of Artemis and in the synagogue were immediately recognizable as objects of importance throughout antiquity, the alleged conversion of the palace as described by Vitruvius involves mud-brick. The conversion suggests that apart from intrinsically valuable materials such as metal, or objects that had once been prestigious such as marble sculptures and carefully carved inscriptions, more lowly things could also be involved in the deliberate re-activation of Lydian antiquity provided that they could inspire sufficiently potent associations in the present.<sup>454</sup> Mud-brick was one such substance.

The fact that people turned to lowly materials is not wholly inexplicable; ultimately, the number of marble (not to mention metal) *spolia* was limited and there would have been a strict hierarchy of claims on these materials. Ultimately not everybody who wanted them could have had access to them. In contrast, mud-brick was and is remarkably durable, but intrinsically worthless or almost worthless. <sup>455</sup> As opposed to marble statues and inscriptions, it would have been quite abundant in Hellenistic and Roman Sardis, especially after great catastrophes such as the lengthy sieges and earthquakes that afflicted the city. So, just as the pagan elite and the prosperous Jewish community in Late Roman Sardis re-used archaic marble *spolia* to make claims about their own local religious or political authority, <sup>456</sup> the council of elders in Late Hellenistic Sardis seems to have claimed that their mud-brick meeting place was the palace of Croesus. <sup>457</sup> The mud-brick fabric of a local building allowed them to celebrate a connection with the city's golden past.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> For clubs and clubhouses in second century CE Sardis, see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:86 and 147); *Sardis* VII.I (no. 12) is an inscription recording the building activity of one of these clubs, the so-called "tribe Dionysias," whose name could have rung pleasantly in Hadrian's ear, for when the emperor visited Sardis, he was celebrated as the new Dionysus, see *Sardis* VII.I (nos. 13-14) and Bowersock (1969:120-123). Naturally, many aspects of imaginary Lydia could produce, as it were, a double echo, resonating slightly differently at home than in Rome. For the name of a Jewish tribe in Roman Sardis with both Jewish and Lydian resonances, see chapter 11 and Robert (1964:45-47, no. 6). Also, compare the Knights of Columbus, named for the man himself, founded in 1882.

<sup>454</sup> Some aspects of Lydian bricks seem to have been admired enough to become standard; according to Vitruvius 2.3.3=Pedley (1972: no. 134), the Greeks recognized a brick-measure termed "Lydian."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup> Still today, villagers around Sardis prize Lydian mud-brick as a fertilizer.

 $<sup>^{456}</sup>$  See chapters 10 and 11 below. In addition to *spolia* the Sardian Jews actually used a pre-existing building.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> As is attested in inscriptions, a *gerousia* existed in the city from at least the second century BCE to at least the fourth century CE. This body of citizens could have been housed in more than one building during this long time span. For the *terminus post quem*: *Sardis* VII.I (no. 30, a stele mentioning the *gerousia* dated by the editors to ca. 150-50 BCE, see also nos. 32 and 48); for the *terminus ante quem*: *Sardis* VII.I (no. 166 an inscription dated by the editors to the third or fourth century CE=Foss (1976: no.11) who writes "4th. (?)" century. A relief stele mentioning the *gerousia* was found east of the pyramid tomb at Sardis in 2009 and is now in the Manisa museum; the object is of interest to this discussion because while it initially

The inhabitants of Late Hellenistic Sardis could have used any number of buildings to turn into a *gerousia*. The Lydians certainly constructed sophisticated mudbrick buildings; even the meager remains of their beautiful polychrome architectural terracotta are a testament to the elegance of their mud-brick architecture (see figure 9.1). <sup>458</sup> Many of the buildings associated with these objects would have probably struck their contemporaries as glamorous and it has even been suggested that Croesus' taste in tiles quickly inspired imitators among the Lydians' Ionian neighbors. <sup>459</sup> At any rate, people in Sardis were so attuned to the aesthetics of the tiles that they have even been found in secondary uses. <sup>460</sup>

If we look beyond Sardis there are even more remarkable examples of ancient appreciation of mud-brick. Herodotus, for example, records the following boastful inscription on the pyramid of Asychis:

Μή με κατονοσθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτο ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. Κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὅ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καί με τρόπῳ τοιούτω ἐξεποίησαν. 461

Do not look down on me in comparison to the stone pyramids: for I am preeminent over them as Zeus is over the other gods. For with a pole they struck down into a lake, and gathering whatever they could get from the lake-mud with the pole they made bricks and in this way completed me.

Here an *oggetto parlante* made of mud-brick proudly deems itself better than stone buildings. In Late Republican Rome archaic terracotta objects were excavated, prized, and collected as is demonstrated by Strabo's vivid account of "archaeological" efforts during Caesar's re-founding of Corinth, when graves were looted specifically for their ceramic contents. 462 But even if fine polychrome architectural terracottas were no longer to

 $^{460}$  In Sardis X (6, fig. 5) Shear records that tiles were "used to form the sides and cover of a small sarcophagus;" the re-deployment itself seems to have occurred in the sixth century BCE; the tiles could not have been very old at the time, but nonetheless they were carefully selected and arranged by the re-user.

 $^{462}$  See Strabo 8.6.23: θαυμάζοντες δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν οὐδένα τάφον ἀσκευώρητον εἴασαν, ὥστε εὐπορήσαντες τῶν τοιούτων καὶ διατιθέμενοι πολλοῦ νεκροκορινθίων ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν Ῥώμην·

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concerned the Hellenistic gerousia, it was re-erected for a different purpose in the second century CE. Originally carved in the Hellenistic period, the stele shows a standing couple (female on the left, male on the right) and two small children between them (a girl on the left and a boy on the right); initially the stele read simply  $\dot{\eta}$  yerousia  $\dot{\delta}$   $\delta \tilde{\eta} \mu o_{5}$  (the gerousia, the people), but a second text was added in the second century CE commemorating the funeral rites that a man paid to his two deceased sons. The man clearly prized the object and was apparently unconcerned with the fact that the relief showed a girl and a boy, rather than two boys. Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. shared with me photos of this stele, as well as his correspondence with Georg Petzl about the object.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Although not over-abundant, Lydian architectural terracottas have received a good deal of scholarly attention, including Shear (1926), Ramage (1978), Ratté (1994a), and Ateşlier (2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> Winter (1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> Herodotus 2.136.

be found in great quantities in Late Hellenistic Sardis, some standing mud-brick structures dating from the archaic period would still have been prominent: notably the ruins of the famed mud-brick fortification walls, which to this day have left conspicuous marks on the local landscape and would have looked much more architectural in antiquity than they do now. 463

It is also conceivable that an actual Lydian mud-brick palace actually existed at Sardis in the Late Hellenistic period when the conversion would have taken place. But whether or not there was a standing structure is not critical for my argument, nor even whether the locals had precise memories about the location of the Lydian palace. The point is that Sardians valued mud-brick ancient structures because they could be associated with the city's glorious past. The structure involved in the conversion was not necessarily a mud-brick palace that had been preserved through the centuries, for in fact, mud-brick ruins alone would suffice; perhaps something as simple as a big court with mud-brick walls or a series of mud-brick rooms that could be imagined to be a part of the palace.

The meaning of a mud-brick palace was different in Rome and in Sardis. Vitruvius had a Roman agenda in compiling his catalogue: those of his examples which evidence respect for ancient *realia* were intended to resonate with Emperor Augustus, the addressee of his work. Although Augustus boasted that he turned a mud-brick city into a marble one, his own court poets had sung of a rustic and hardy imaginary Rome. The emperor's renovation was reactionary and complex: in his newly re-imagined Rome the value of most materials was in flux: marble and mud-brick could be alternately virtuous or decadent, but it seems that at least for Vitruvius even the mud-brick palaces of Asia could lend "substantial authority to the majesty of empire."

In Sardis, and especially in connection with Croesus, mud-brick would have been a reminder of the final years of the Lydian Empire, which had always been full of didactic potential. It is no coincidence that the Hellenistic source behind Vitruvius and Pliny spoke about the palace of Croesus specifically, and not more generally about the palace of the Lydian kings, as did Arrian, because it was especially the semi-legendary Croesus who could serve as an ethical model. The irony that this proverbial king, purported to be the richest man who ever lived, inhabited a palace made of mud-brick, would hardly have escaped anyone's notice.

οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ ἐκ τῶν τάφων ληφθέντα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ὀστράκινα. "Since they [i.e. Roman Corinth's colonizers] admired the artisanship they left no burial undisturbed, so that abounding in these [i.e. grave goods] and placing them [in the market] for a high price they filled Rome with *necrocorinthia*: for thus they called what they had taken from the graves, especially the ceramic remains."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> In fact, some sections of the massive archaic fortification with its great stone socle and mud-brick superstructure would have been visible even in Late Antiquity, an impressive testament to the city's former military grandeur. Could this have contributed to the fact that the city was chosen as the site for an imperial arms factory in Late Antiquity? Marcus Rautman brought this possibility to my attention. On the arms factory, see Foss (1976:7, 14-15 and source no.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>464</sup> In the second paragraph of the programmatic preface of *De Architectura* Vitruvius addresses Augustus and says: *ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maieestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates...* "so that through you Rome was increased not only by the provinces, but also that the majesty of empire gain the substantial authority of its public buildings."

But the palace, like the king himself, was both a material and an imaginary entity, subject to exploitation. The Sardians who occupied the *gerousia* could make a point about the fact that the meeting place for the elders was itself proverbially old. More significantly, they could argue that the building was a material testament to the hard-earned wisdom of Croesus and, specifically, to the fact that experience was more valuable than wealth. In this way at least, mud-brick could be presented as being just as valuable as gold.

Finally I call attention to an epigram of Bianor of Bythinia, a contemporary of Tiberius. The poem, composed soon after the earthquake of 17 CE, deals with the fickleness of fortune and makes reference to the memory of the famous palace, suggesting that there was no trace of it by the first century CE. Bianor speaks of a palace "bricked"—in the sense of being built—in gold:

Σάρδιες αἱ τὸ πάλαι Γύγου πόλις αἵ τ' Ἀλυάττου Σάρδιες, αἱ βασιλεῖ Περσὶς ἐν Ἀσιάδι, αἱ χρυσῷ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπλινθώσασθε μέλαθρον ὅλβον Πακτωλοῦ ῥεύματι δεξάμεναι, νῦν δὴ ὅλαι δύστηνοι ἐς ε̈ν κακὸν ἀρπασθεῖσαι ἐς βυθὸν ἐξ ἀχανοῦς χάσματος ἠρίπετε. Βοῦρα καὶ ἷσ' Ἑλίκη κεκλυσμέναι· αἱ δ' ἐνὶ χέρσῳ Σάρδιες ἐμβυθίαις εἰς ε̈ν ἔκεισθε τέλος. 465

Sardis, you who of old were the city of Gyges and Alyattes; Sardis, an Anatolian Persia for the King, You who built yourself the old palace in bricks of gold Receiving wealth in the flow of the Pactolus. Now indeed wholly miserable snatched in a single disaster you fell into the depth of the gaping abyss. Boura and Helice were drowned the same; and you, Sardis, though inland, lie with those in the depths.

Although its sense is transparent, the verb  $\pi\lambda i\nu\theta o\mu\alpha$ 1 meaning "to build as with bricks" is exceedingly rare. As far as I know, it occurs only in this epigram. Bianor's coinage succinctly encapsulates the paradox embodied by the ruins of a once glorious city. Eventually the distance between the structures in the imagination and their materiality on the ground becomes unfathomable. Bianor's emphatic triple apostrophe is almost desperate: although he calls out to the Sardis of old, even he seems to know that as the famed gold has long been gone, so too the mud-bricks which were a material testimony of that gold are gone now.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> Anthologia Graeca 9.423.

# 10 The sanctuary of Artemis

# INTRODUCTION

In this and the following chapter I provide archaeological evidence of antiquarian interests in Late Roman Sardis. I argue that people were willing to engage with local material remains in order to express pride in religious traditions of old or to emphasize regional origins. While antiquarian interests among Greek-speaking literati in Roman Asia Minor has been thoroughly studied—especially during the so-called Second Sophistic—, much less attention has been paid to the physical aspects of antiquarianism in Roman Asia Minor. And yet, there is evidence in Roman Sardis and elsewhere in Anatolia of sophisticated engagements with local *realia*.

Below I argue that certain communities of Sardians were eager to recover and reerect specifically Lydian artifacts. To do so I combine literary and archaeological evidence that shows that between the second and the fourth centuries CE there was a heightened attention to archaic *realia* in the city. After discussing literary sources describing efforts to restore polytheist buildings in late-fourth century CE Sardis, I focus on the archaeological evidence for two sophisticated re-deployments of Lydian material remains in and around the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis. 466

### LYDIAN REALIA AND THE URBAN FABRIC OF ROMAN SARDIS

How recognizable was the Lydian past in the urban fabric of Roman Sardis? Were there objects in the city that could bring to people's mind the kingdom of Gyges and Croesus? If so, what sorts of objects were there, who was interested in them, and what did those who were interested do with these objects? Initially one would think that there could not have been very many things in the city capable of conjuring the Lydia of old to its Roman inhabitants: for even if there had been some degree of urban continuity after the Ionian sack of 499 BCE, and after Antiochus III's siege and sack of Sardis in 213 BCE, the city was purportedly levelled again by a great earthquake in 17 CE.<sup>467</sup>

The cataclysm of 17 CE was such that it required city-wide renovations: beginning in the second quarter of the first century CE and continuing at least until the third century CE, Sardis was built anew with typically Roman trappings which included an imposing theater-stadium-temple complex on an artificial terrace on the northern foothills of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>466</sup> Although I have chosen to focus on two major monument complexes, interest or respect for the past is indicated by *realia* in many parts of Sardis. Notable, for example, are the interrelationships between the Lydian and Late Roman constructions in the west limits of the Lydian city, on which see Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman (1994:18).

<sup>467</sup> On the earthquake and its aftermath, see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:141-143 and note the assertion on p. 114: "The cataclysmic earthquake of AD 17 made very nearly a *tabula rasa* out of the city." Tacitus, *Annales* 2.47 (=Pedley 1972 no. 220); Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 2.86.200 who describes it as the most ruinous earthquake in human memory: *maximus terrae memoria mortalium exstitit motus Tiberii Caesaris principatu, XII urbibus Asiae una nocte prostrates*; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 3.48.2; Strabo 12.8.18, 13.3-4; Seneca *Naturales Quaestiones* 6.1.13; Cassius Dio 57.17.7; Phlegon of Tralles *FGrHist* 257F13; Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 41.7562-767; 21.429-430; 22.439. *Anthologia Graeca* 9.423. For later literary sources and minor inconsistencies in their dating of this earthquake, see Ambraseys (1971); for epigraphic evidence relating to this and other earthquake in the region, see Robert (1978).

acropolis and the glamorous bath-gymnasium complex flanking the city's main east-west avenue. 468 Presumably, most of the Hellenistic and Achaemenid structures, not to mention whatever traces were left of the Lydian capital, were either completely destroyed by natural and man-made disasters or simply incorporated into the new urban fabric in such a way as to make it virtually impossible for the inhabitants of the Roman city to detect the local past in its civic furniture. But while the fabric of the city was constantly changing, it was never entirely new.

#### RE-ERECTION OF POLYTHEIST SHRINES IN LATE-FOURTH CENTURY CE SARDIS

The following passage from Eunapius' *Life of Chrysanthius* shows that prominent members of the polytheist elite in late-fourth century Sardis were interested in recovering and redeploying local material remains:

Τοῦ δὲ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκνικῶντος ἔργου καὶ κατέχοντος άπαντα, διὰ μακροῦ τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰσεφοίτησεν ἄρχων τῆς Ἀσίας (Ἰοῦστος ἀνομάζετο), πρεσβύτης μέν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ήλικίαν, γενναῖος καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἦθος, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ πατρίου πολιτείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἐκεῖνον ἐζηλωκὼς τρόπον, πρός τε ἱεροῖς ἦν ἀεί, καὶ μαντείας έξεκρέματο πάσης, μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι τούτων έπεθύμησέν τε καὶ κατώρθωσεν. οὖτος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβὰς ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ἔθνους καταλαβών (Ίλάριος ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο) συγκορυβαντιῶντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, βωμούς τε ἀνέστησεν αὐτοσχεδίους ἐν Σάρδεσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι), καὶ τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῶν ἱερῶν, εἴπου ἴχνος εὑρέθη, χεῖρα ἐπέβαλεν, ἀνορθῶσαι Τl βουλόμενος.469

When the work of the Christians was triumphing and taking hold of everything, after a long time, someone from Rome visited, an archon of Asia named Justus, already old in age, and noble in character; he had not removed himself from the old and ancestral rule, but zealously followed that blessed and happy way. He was always at the shrines, and depended on all manner of divination, thinking greatly of the fact that he was eager about these things and set them aright. After coming to Asia from Constantinople and realizing that the "leader of the people" (a man called Hilarius)

 $<sup>^{468}</sup>$  For a brief account of the urban development of Roman Sardis, see Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:31-32); for urban prosperity and renewal during this period, see Foss (1976:2-3); mention of the beauty (κάλλος) of Roman Sardis in a fragmentary inscription from the Athenian acropolis was likely prompted by the results of these urban renovations; the text of the inscription is found in Oliver (1941: no. 35 and 1970: no. 45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 23.4.1-2=Foss (1976: no. 22).

<sup>470</sup> Although I have preferred to translate ἡγεμῶν τοῦ ἔθνους literally, Penella (1979:209-211) may be right in thinking that here the expression means specifically "proconsul of Asia", rather than "governor of Lydia", as has often been thought, e.g., by Foss (1976:28). Penella reasons (p. 510) succinctly: "In Eunapius' account of Justus, beginning at *Vitae phil.* [= *Vitae Sophistarum*] XXIII 4.1, there is no

shared his eagerness, he lifted altars on the spot in Sardis—for there were none there!—and in the ruins of the shrines, if a ruin was found, he threw his hand wanting to re-erect them.

Eunapius' vocabulary shows that Justus and Hilarius engaged in a deliberate effort to seek, collect, and re-use polytheist ruins: κατορθόω means "to set upright, set straight" as in the case of something that has fallen (or of a fractured bone), while ἀνίστημι (used transitively) and ἀνορθόω mean "to set up again, restore, rebuild"; ἄχνος, means literally "track, trace" corresponding to Latin vestigium, as opposed to ἐρείπιον which corresponds to Latin ruina. Both ruina and vestigium are reminders of the past, but while ruina calls attentions to the past's lingering, if agonizing presence; vestigium can also denote its haunting, but unequivocal absence. ἄχνοι, "traces, tracks", are what hunters follow in chase of their preferred antiquity: not necessarily the animal itself, but rather its scent or its footsteps.

Although all too often ancient interest in the classical past is characterized as academic, Late Roman antiquarianism was not solely an intellectual or spiritual pursuit. There is increasing evidence—not least from Lydia—that Late Roman antiquarians had material interests as much as they had textual ones. In fact, as many as two centuries after Justus and Hilarius, the sixth-century CE antiquarian John Lydus, a native of Philadelphia, was still writing about the importance of preserving the physical remains of the pagan past from an emperor who was radically hostile to it.<sup>471</sup> Lydus repeatedly calls attention to the traces (『χνοι) of antiquity in his native city and elsewhere.<sup>472</sup> It is hardly a coincidence that 『χνος is exactly the same word used by Eunapius when describing the restoration efforts of Justus and Hilarius: the past envisioned by Late Roman antiquarians could be tracked physically in the material remains of the city.

### THE RESTORERS

Some of those engaged in salvage and reconstruction operations of polytheist *realia* were members of the aristocracy, as can be gleaned form the above passage of Eunapius. The restorers included regional administrators, officials from Rome, and local philosophers: 473 while Justus was an Asiarch, Hilarius may have been the governor of Lydia or the pro-consul of Asia; Chrysanthius—the subject of Eunapius' biography—is perhaps the most famous citizen of Late Roman Sardis, a virtual "*Socrates redivivus*", a pupil of Aedesius, who had himself studied under the famous Iamblichus and had a devoted following of his own among whom were counted both Christians and pagans. 474

reference to Sardis or Lydia before the word ἔθνους, but there are two references to Asia, both of which appear in our passage."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> On Lydus' antiquarianism see Maas (1992). More recently, Kaldellis (2003:306) noted the scope of Lydus' attention to material remains: "Lydos' antiquarianism was not merely academic but represented a conscious effort to preserve things being threatened by the Christian empire of Justinian."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> See for example, *De Mensibus* 4.2 and *De Magistratibus* 3.11. Compare also Lydus' assertion (*De Mensibus* 4.145) that according to the Sybilline oracles, the city of Rome would fall if its inhabitants neglected the statues of the gods.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> As we shall see below, the archaeological data provide evidence of a much wider array of people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum*: pupil of Aedesius (23.1.5); *'Socrates redivivus'* (23.3.1); pagan and Christian followers is suggested by (23.3.1).

Eunapius too was a Sardian, and not merely a student of Chrysanthius, but also a first cousin of Chrysanthius' wife, Melite.<sup>475</sup> Although Eunapius was at the center of the circle that favored such recovery efforts, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of his account.

Eunapius implies that Justus and Hilarius were motivated by religious devotion; but, however reactionary their motivation may have been, merely dusting off Lydian shrines was no longer an option for Sardian polytheists. What was needed rather was a bold intervention: a selection, combination, and re-erection of artifacts to connect the late-fourth century CE present to a historically vague, but physically distinct local past when polytheism was still uncontested. Thus, nearly half a century after Constantine had embraced Christianity, members of the local elite were still eagerly searching for the scattered remains of polytheist shrines in Roman Sardis and re-erecting them.

The time and money devoted to these recovery efforts should be understood as signs of the distinguished social standing of the restorers, who strove to validate the antiquity of their beliefs and the lasting influence of their authority. Precisely because the public prestige of polytheists was waning in late fourth century-Sardis, public displays of pagan allegiances were risky. Unsurprisingly, not every pagan was as bold or as reckless as Justus and Hilarius; many feared political repercussions and thus conducted their reconstruction efforts less conspicuously. Chrysanthius,<sup>478</sup> for example, carried out his restorations in such a way as to not incite ill-will:<sup>479</sup>

ό δὲ Χρυσάνθιος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους λαβών, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐξεπιστάμενος σαφῶς, οὐ βαρὺς ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὔτε τοὺς νεὼς ἐγείρων, ὥσπερ ἄπαντες θερμῶς καὶ περικαῶς ἐς ταῦτα συνέθεον, οὔτε λυπῶν τινας τῶν χριστιανῶν περιττῶς ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἁπλότης τοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum*: pupil of Chrysanthius, (23.1.1; 23.3.15); cousin of Melite, wife of Chrysanthius (7.4.5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> In late fourth century CE Sardis, for example, material remains were used to display a specific and by then very controversial aspect of the city's past: its polytheism. This was at least partly a result of the emperor Julian's vigorous and failed endeavors against Christianity, but it kept occurring long after Julian's reign (r. as Augustus 355-360, as Caesar 360-363).

<sup>477</sup> Eunapius was writing around 375 CE, and it appears that by then such ruins were rare; and yet, enough of them survived for Justus and Hilarius to be able to re-erect their shrines; in many cases, the reused material would have been specifically Lydian antiquities. In fact, even Constantine himself had been involved in the recovery of ruins, for it is recorded that he ordered the removal of ancient monuments "from all the cities of the East and West" (including explicitly Sardis) to adorn Constantinople, see Pseudo-Codinus, *Patria Constantinopoleos* in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum* 2.73=Foss (1976:8 and no. 6); these monuments would have included ancient pagan statuary in addition to prized architectural elements such as monolithic columns; on the urban image of Constantine's new capital, see Bassett (2004), who elucidates the historical context of the relevant passage of Pseudo-Codinus on p. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> Chrysanthius had himself taught Julian the Apostate as a young man, but had then avoided intimate associations with the emperor, even refusing to go to the court after twice being summoned (once through his own wife Melite), see Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* (23.2.3-6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> Eunapius praised Chrysanthius precisely for his discretion, which seems to have been taken by others for tepidness, see Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* (23.3.8).

ήθους, ώς κατὰ Λυδίαν μικροῦ καὶ ἔλαθεν ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπανόρθωσις.<sup>480</sup>

Chrysanthius took up the chief priesthood of all the people [of Lydia], and since he clearly knew well what was to come, he was not heavy on his authority, nor did he raise the temples, just as all the rest do in their hot and fervid ways, nor did he grieve any of the Christians excessively, but such was the simplicity of his character that throughout Lydia the re-erection of the shrines almost escaped notice.

Clive Foss asserted that the work of Chrysanthius "left no trace" and that that of Justus and Hilarius "met with a cold reception and proved abortive." <sup>481</sup> But surely there was a range of reactions, rather than a homogenous response, presumably some of the pagans and crypto-pagans who lived in Sardis until at the sixth century CE would have been delighted with the restoration of polytheist altars. <sup>482</sup> The efforts of Justus and Hilarius were abortive only in the general sense that Late Antique paganism was ultimately abortive; but comparable efforts with material remains in Sardis did in fact leave archaeological traces.

Although it is true that we cannot point to a specific re-use on the ground today and attach a historical name to it, there is ample literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence of the re-deployment of material remains in Roman Sardis through the late-fourth century CE. Perhaps more remarkable than the chronological span of such efforts is the fact that they involved not only the polytheist elite, but also Jews (and even Christians) who found ways of articulating their preferred version of the local past using Lydian realia. None of the people who re-used archaic objects was claiming that they themselves were Lydian in the way Gyges and Croesus were Lydian. Rather they effected these interventions in order to re-activate discrete aspects of the local past which were particularly meaningful to the restorers' present situation.

## THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT SARDIS

Archaeological evidence of Roman re-use of Lydian *realia* is abundant in and around the sanctuary of Artemis. Before discussing the different redeployments, I offer a succinct review of the two main structures in the sanctuary: the temple and the altar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> Eunapius Vitae Sophistarum (23.2.7-8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Foss (1976:28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> See e.g. Sardis VII.19=Foss (1976: 28-29, 116 no. 21), a fragmentary inscription from after 539 CE explaining (presumably official) handling of the city's remaining "damnable pagans" (ἐξωρισθέντων ἀνοσίων); see also, Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:192). Kaldellis (2003) examines John Lydus' complex—to us contradictory—attitudes in religious matters, and argues that, while he may have feigned being a Christian, he was certainly not averse to the wisdom of pagans.

# The Temple of Artemis

The main building in the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis is the temple proper (see figure 10.1 and figure 10.2). All The temple would have been—as it still is—one of the most emblematic monuments in the region. Today its remains seem to be made up almost entirely of Roman and Hellenistic blocks, but it is conceivable that some of its foundations are earlier. Whether or not there was a pre-existing Lydian structure, a temple began to be built in the first half of the third century BCE, probably around the year 280 BCE, when Sardis was under Seleucid control. During this initial building effort not much more than the *cella* and some portions of the peristyle were fully finished. The original Hellenistic structure was conceived as a dipteral west-facing building in the tradition of the sixth century BCE Artemisium at Ephesus, as opposed to the more common east-facing arrangement favored in the west; thus in its orientation this temple already harked back to the Ionian past.

The ruins of the temple that are visible today (see figure 10.3) reflect a Roman reconfiguration of the sanctuary that occurred in the second or third century CE. 485 At this time, the temple was redesigned and transformed to be an octastyle pseudo-dipteral structure with twenty columns along the sides. Other changes to the building included the splitting of the originally single cella into two back-to-back rooms and the creation of a second east-facing façade. The newly fashioned east room may have housed the cult of the divinized emperors, while the west room housed the original cult-statue of Artemis, which looked onto the altar and across the Pactolus River to the archaic necropolis. There is evidence of continued repair in Late Antiquity up until at least the seventh century CE. Beginning most likely in the ninth century CE, the temple was gradually—but never fully-—buried. Natural disasters such as the great earthquake of 17 CE, erosion from the acropolis, and successive flooding of the Pactolus River repeatedly threatened and eventually buried the unfinished temple. As G. M. A. Hanfmann noted, the temple's standing columns served as a placeholder for the name of the city. 486 As late as the sixteenth century CE, European travelers, including Cyriacus of Ancona saw twelve of them as well as part of the architrave in situ.487

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> Before Fikret Yegül's final publication of the temple, all arguments about the dating and phasing of the sanctuary will necessarily remain tentative; however, chronological details in the following account matter less than the fact that in Late Roman Sardis the sanctuary of Artemis was the site of many redeployments of Lydian *realia*. The following description is based primarily on *Sardis* I (1922); Gruben (1961), whose contribution greatly advanced our understanding of dating and phasing; Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:53-103); Foss (1976:48-49); Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:119-121); I also read a preliminary draft of Yegül's study, which the author kindly made available to me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> The archaic altar immediately west of the temple suggests, but does not necessitate, a corresponding archaic temple in the area. However, it has been remarkably difficult to prove or disprove the existence of an earlier temple at the site. Howard Crosby Butler, the original excavator, thought that he had detected traces of such a structure; more recently, Philip Stinson (*pers. comm.*) has noted peculiarities of specific blocks in these foundations that seem to suggest that there are in fact Lydian remains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> The peristyle is 44.58m (N-S) by 97.60m (E-W); the *cella* is 23m by 67.52m. Two of the eastern porch columns have been standing since antiquity to their full height of 17.81m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup> Hanfmann (1975:1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> Cyriac of Ancona (s. n. Bodnar (ed.) 2003:27). The massive drummed shafts of many other columns (some rising well over 6m) and parts of the *cella* walls proper, including remains of the ornate doorjambs, give the modern visitor a sense of what it must have been like to stand in the east porch of the temple in the first few centuries of the Common Era.

## The Lydian Altar

The temple of Artemis at Sardis opened west onto the so-called Lydian Altar (see figure 10.4 and 10.4b), which was itself a building with several construction phases. <sup>488</sup> In the late-sixth or early fifth century BCE, when Sardis was under Achaemenid rule, a limestone ashlar structure (labeled LA1 by excators) was built in the plateau between the western slopes and acropolis and the Pactolus River. This monument was originally roughly square in plan and volumetrically shaped like a truncated four-tiered pyramid. <sup>489</sup> Excavators identified the structure as an altar because of its proximity to the much later Hellenistic temple, and because around it were found votive offerings, some of which were Lydian; curiously, nearly all of these votives had been re-erected in the second or third century CE.

Sometime in the Hellenistic period, probably while the Hellenistic temple was being built, the original archaic altar (LA1) was partly dismantled, enlarged, and encased in an elongated platform (known to excavators as LA2). In contrast to the temple, which was made of marble, and to LA1, which was made of carefully cut limestone, LA2 was built of roughly squared boulders and limestone ashlar from the dismantled LA1. The exterior of this structure was then covered in successive layers of fine hard stucco that imitated marble; this outer shell was repeatedly renovated over the centuries. The exact date of the conversion of LA1 into LA2 and of the successive renovations has been difficult to ascertain owing to the fact that almost no stratigraphically meaningful deposits were left following the early-twentieth century excavations. What is certain is that the conversion happened during the Hellenistic period at the earliest;<sup>490</sup> the renovations could have lasted until as late as the fourth century CE. Exactly when and to what extent the Lydian altar was buried by the flooding of the Pactolus River and the erosion from the acropolis hill is also not known, but the altar would have been almost certainly out of use by the early fifth century CE.

## Archaisms in the sanctuary

It might seem surprising that during the Roman period the altar, which from the standpoint of ritual the most important part of the sanctuary, was the rather crudely-built LA2; remarkable too is the fact that the original Hellenistic temple was aligned and centered with respect to the comparatively small altar. The relation of the altar to the temple is not a matter of mere practicality, for the temple completely dwarfs the altar. If the Hellenistic or Roman architects had wanted it, they could have done away entirely with the altar or placed the temple in a different place in the plateau as part of the massive landscaping efforts that had preceded its construction in the early third century BCE. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup> The principal treatments of this structure are Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:88-103); Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:51-52, 120-121); Ratté (1989a:91, 216-218).

 $<sup>^{489}</sup>$  LA1 is much smaller than the temple: the length of the sides of the bottommost course is 8.14m N-S by 8.87m E-W; the length of the sides of the topmost course is 6.10m N-S by 6.80m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> Foss (1976) believes that by the fourth century the temple was already partly buried; but even if this was the case, partial burial does not imply that the sanctuary was completely abandoned.

perhaps this itself is evidence of religious respect for antiquity.<sup>491</sup> The successive efforts of beautification of the sanctuary may reflect the cultural value of antiquity in Roman Sardis.

The architecture of the temple is itself deliberately archaizing suggesting that several generations of builders and architects were aware of local Ionian architectural traditions. In his forthcoming study of the temple, Fikret Yegül, calls attention to some of these archaizing features, the most conspicuous which include, in the Hellenistic phase, the exceptionally elongated *cella* with proportions of nearly 1:3, which closely parallels both those of the fourth-century temples in Didyma and Ephesus, and that of the fifth-century temple at Samos—all most likely modeled on local archaic predecessors. In the Roman phase, the rhythm of inter-columniation of the east porch, which at the time served as the temple's main façade leading to the imperial-cult room, is peculiar: the distance between columns decreases from the center outward; this "complex inter-axial contraction", as Yegül labels the phenomenon, imitates not Hellenistic models, but rather the late classical temples at Ephesus and Samos.

The exact reasons why over the course of over half a millennium the Hellenistic and then the Roman architects were eager to quote archaic Ionian architectural traditions and to engage in sophisticated acts of replication may have differed,<sup>492</sup> but it is probable that some of these idiosyncrasies reflected awareness and pride in Lydian architectural accomplishments, for King Croesus was celebrated as a major benefactor of the Artemisium at Ephesus. At any rate, although no ancient building at this massive scale could be entirely canonical or homogenous in inspiration, the temple's archaizing features call attention to the possible significance of the local past in what was surely the most emblematic building in ancient Sardis.

Because throughout Late Antiquity the temple was constantly refurbished to serve new religious purposes, it served an architectural embodiment of cultural transformations at Sardis. Even in antiquity it was a sort of living ruin, rising as it was being transformed, a monumental reminder of the city's turbulent political and religious history. The city of Sardis had suffered divisive civic religious fractures during the Roman period: we can glean how contentious things had become not only from a multitude of sources, including the book of Revelation, the sermon on Easter of Bishop Melito, many of the letters of Apollonius of Tyana (discussed in chapter 9 above), the decrees and letters of the Jewish community in the city, and the biographies of Eunapius. The sanctuary bears the traces of these religious struggles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> Our surprise may also be the result of our own homogenizing perspective on the past. When we imagine ancient buildings, we usually tend to conceive them as finished objects beyond temporal vicissitudes, but part of the power of the sanctuary derived precisely from its capacity to adapt to different religious circumstances.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> While Hellenistic architects may have wanted merely to stress architectural practices that were in fashion in the region at the time, their Hadrianic heirs may have wanted pointedly to monumentalize imperial interest in the past.

## THE DEDICATIONS IN THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS

Many of the smaller monuments in the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis were also purposely engaged in a dialogue with the past. For as long as the sanctuary remained an active space of polytheist devotion, new votive offerings became part of an ever-growing collection of material that had been accumulating since the site was first consecrated. To be sure, many of these objects would have been damaged or lost as the sanctuary underwent renovations and ritual practices changed; but even after the advent of Christianity, some of the material remains of the city's polytheist past were preserved.

Many of the monuments around the temple were re-erected between the second and fourth centuries CE. 493 These dedications were physical reminders of the sanctuary's multiple incarnations. Not all of the items in the collection of the sanctuary were equally old, but among the votives were abundant archaic remains; by far the most remarkable redeployment of Lydian *realia* in the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis is a Roman assemblage of statues and bases known as the Nannas-Bakivalis monument.

#### THE NANNAS-BAKIVALIS MONUMENT

The so-called Nannas-Bakivalis monument was unearthed in 1913 (see figure 10.5 and figure 10.6). The display is formed by an exceptional collection of objects; according to the original excavator, "the whole group was very puzzling." It is arguably the most sophisticated Roman redeployment of Lydian *realia* in Sardis and it constitutes a deliberate attempt to make a single, coherent assemblage of dispersed Lydian statues and statue bases. The group, which was conspicuously located on the north terrace of the sanctuary of Artemis, perhaps along one of the main streets leading from the city to the temple, consists of three separate bases supporting three archaic zoomorphic marble sculptures. It is hard to determine the exact date of the re-erection partly because the primary purpose of early excavation efforts was the recovery of Lydian remains, and not necessarily the understanding of their re-use in antiquity. However, it is likely that the re-deployment occurred after the second century CE, and could have conceivably happened as late as the fourth century CE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:73).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> Sardis I (1922: 125-127, ills. 136-138) and Shear (1931), which is the first extended treatment of Lydian statuary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> Sardis I (1922:126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup> For a brief discussion and a find-spot plan, see Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:62, fig. 59); for a more detailed treatment, see Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:33-34 and the references given separately for each of the different items mentioned below); see also Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:50, 89, 133).

 $<sup>^{497}</sup>$  The area where the monument stood post-dates the earthquake of 17 CE according to Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:50).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:21, 33-34) concluded that it occurred in the second or third century CE; while there is little doubt that it did not happen earlier—for the major renovation efforts in the sanctuary and temple are Antonine or later—this and other re-erections could conceivably have been effected later, even as late as the fourth century CE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> I will discuss the dating of the re-used spolia at grater length further below.

## The bases

The bases are almost certainly more recent than the statues they support, although the bases themselves were old at the time of their re-use. Two of them were originally inscribed: while one was defaced probably before re-erection, rendering the text illegible, the other, dated by G. M. A. Hanfmann and Nancy Ramage to the fourth century BCE, bears one of only two known Lydian-Greek bilinguals (see figure 10.7). This inscribed base had been re-used at least once before becoming part of the Roman assemblage. Dowel holes show that in its earlier re-deployment it supported anthropomorphic bronze statuary, but it is unclear what the bases were intended to support in their original use. The lone inscription reveals that the base was associated with a dedication to Artemis; it is very probable that all the other objects that make up the monument were also votives.

## The sculptures

The sculptures the bases support are all archaic, ranging from the mid-sixth to the late-fifth century BCE. They represent an eagle and two lions; one lion sitting, the other reclining. 501 The recumbent lion's pose is stiff (see figure 10.8); musculature is minimal. The animal rests serenely and rather rigidly on a plinth with its fore legs extended and its head turned to one side, perpendicular to its body. The head has deep sockets for inlaid eyes, but the eyes are missing, conceivably they were already missing before re-erection. From the front, the mane radiates around the animal's roaring face; from the back, it resembles a mantle draped over the animal. Hanfmann dated this sculpture to ca. 550 -540 BCE.<sup>502</sup> The sejant lion is a rather more naturalistic beast (see figure 10.9): although its face is now badly damaged, its front legs are missing entirely, and its hind legs survive only partially, the rest of the animal is well preserved. Its musculature and bone structure are very carefully rendered, as are the locks of its mane. Hanfmann dated it to 500 BCE.<sup>503</sup> The eagle, whose head was lost in antiquity, stands heraldically with proud chest and wings folded on its back, clutching a helpless hare in its talons (see figure 10.10). The plumage is attentively rendered: large teardrop-shaped scales for the ventral feathers, long parallel grooves extending from the middle to the tip of the wings for the flight feathers, and finally, smaller elongated teardrop shapes for the feathers located where the upper wing joins the body. Comparanda for this animal are scarce and Hanfmann ventured only a "Late Archaic" date. 504

<sup>500</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978: no. 274 figs. 456-466); on the text, see Gusmani (1964:259, no. 29); the inscription reads: nannas bakivalis artimul/Νάννας Διονυσικλέος ᾿Αρτέμιδι. The other Lydian-Greek bilingual was inscribed in a column drum from the temple of Athena at Pergamum, see Gusmani (1964:264, no.40).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> This asymmetry may contribute to the notion that the objects were meaningful to the Roman restorers for reasons beyond mere aesthetic pleasure. The careful attention to geometric regularity in the reuse of *spolia* has often been thought to imply that an aesthetically pleasing composition is the main motive behind many re-erections; although the Nannas-Bakivalis monument is carefully arranged, it cannot be perfectly symmetrical, for all the sculptures are different.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978;cat. no. 236, figs. 407-408); Ratté (1989a; cat. no. A57).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:cat no. 235, figs. 405-406).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>504</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:cat no. 238, figs. 413-415).

# Eagle and lion in the local imagination

Howard Crosby Butler was the first to point out that the Nannas-Bakivalis eagle vaguely resembled Hittite examples. In fact, the eagle had been associated with Anatolian Bronze Age kings for millennia. Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 2 above, there seem to be frequent similarities between the names of Lydian royals and the names of several birds, including birds of prey. In fact, Gunther Neumann called attention to the possible derivation of "Mermnad" from a word meaning "eagle" or "hawk". <sup>505</sup> Although the etymology was surely unknown in Roman antiquity, the eagle would have been understood as a token of royal power.

Similarly, the lion ruled among Anatolian kings even before the advent of the Mermnads, 506 but after their rise to power, lions became the pre-eminent symbol of authority in the Lydian capital. Lions thus figured prominently in Lydian myths and were celebrated on archaic coins, gems, and statuary. The profusion of lion sculptures at Sardis incited Hanfmann to speak of "Lydian leontomania". 507 Christopher Ratté argued that "the lion maintained its cultural significance in Lydia well past the Persian conquest;"508 and indeed, long after the Persians stopped ruling the city, the animal still roared proudly in Roman Sardis, where tales of specifically Lydian lions were common currency. Note for example, a passing reference in a letter from Apollonios of Tyana to the people of Sardis, which alludes to the myth of how Meles, king of Lydia, magically protected the acropolis of Sardis by driving a lion cub around it. 509

#### THE LYDIAN AND GREEK STELAI

Among the most conspicuous monuments in the sanctuary of Artemis was an assortment of Lydian (and later) stelai re-erected at about the same time as the Nannas-Bakivalis monument (see figure 10.11).<sup>510</sup> The stelai constituted an inescapable visual presence around the temple and altar, especially because for as long as devotees used the sanctuary (certainly until the third and perhaps until the fourth century CE), they would have attended to these objects regularly and covered them with offerings.

There are 48 stelai in all of different dates, shapes and sizes. The stelai were grouped in rows around the (original) western façade of the temple. <sup>511</sup> Some of them were oriented obliquely with respect to the temple and the altar, suggesting walkways and guided vistas around the temple. Others were placed immediately around the altar, mostly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> Neumann (1961:69-71).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> One need only think of the noble lions flanking Hittite and Luwian gates; perhaps the most famous Hittite lions are the elegant pair on the so-called lion-gate in Hattusa, on which see Bryce (2003:238-239 fig. 12); on lions in Luwian art, see Aro (2003:307-309).

 $<sup>^{507}\</sup> Hanfmann$  and Waldbaum (1975:20).

<sup>508</sup> Ratté (1989a:379).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> Apollonios of Tyana, Letter 75, and Herodotus 1.84=Pedley (1972: no. 116); see also Favorinus, *De Fortuna* 22=Pedley (1972: no. 114).

 $<sup>^{510}</sup>$  In this case too, exact dating of the re-deployment is still uncertain, but again it was certainly carried out during the Roman Era.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>511</sup> Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:66-73).

on its north side, which even now is wholly flanked by the bases, and also on its west side at either end of the central staircase that led to the altar platform.

Very few of the actual stelai have been found—which is not surprising since they were prime candidates to be carted away to make lime. One of the excavated stele bore a long Lydian inscription (see figure 10.12);<sup>512</sup> in fact, it was this stele that first led the excavator to conclude that the entire altar was Lydian.<sup>513</sup> It is very likely that other Lydian-inscribed stele existed, but no other example has survived. The single inscribed stele set up in the sanctuary of Artemis and the inscribed base from the Nannas-Bakivalis monument should not be understood that Lydian was understood in Roman Sardis; in fact, the value of these objects was independent of the intelligibility of the texts they bore. The signs themselves rather than the content they recorded were meaningful for those who re-erected them; like the lion statues, the Lydian characters were sufficiently to focus on a specific memory horizon. The meaning of the text was un-important, in fact, probably irrecoverable in detail, to most if not all devotees of Artemis in Roman times, yet the letters carved in stone were material reminders of the history of the sanctuary and its users.

#### DATING AND INTENTION OF THESE RE-DEPLOYMENTS

Hanfmann and Ramage called attention to the fact that a "deliberate and consciously 'archaizing' policy prevailed already during the reconstruction of the Artemis Precinct after it was damaged, probably by floods—a reconstruction which certainly still continued in the late third century A.D."514 From the evidence of Eunapius quoted in the beginning of this chapter, it would seem that the willingness to restore pagan shrines lasted—undoubtedly at a reduced scale—well into the fourth century CE. Although it is probable that the Nannas-Bakiyalis monument and the stelai were re-erected before the reconstruction efforts mentioned by Eunapius—conceivably by as many as two centuries earlier—the intention of its makers could not have been much different from that of Chrysanthius, Justus, and Hilarius. Disperse Lydian realia had to be found, collected, and transported from around the sanctuary and possibly from around the city to the prominent position they eventually occupied. The people who reassembled these sculptures and bases wanted their collection to be a vivid memento of the city's religious filiations and perhaps also of its antiquity: for this was a reactionary monument, intended to announce to the inhabitants of Roman Sardis that, despite patent religious diversity, authority was still in the hands of Artemis.<sup>515</sup> If one were to look for reminders of the pagan past in Late Roman Sardis, one needed to look no further than the temple itself: for even if by the fourth century CE there was a little church in the south-east corner of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> Sardis I (1922:41-43).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> LA1 and LA2 were not distinguished as separate structures until 1970.

<sup>514</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:39).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> During the Roman era the cult of Artemis at Sardis was in competition with other regional religious centers, probably not the sanctuary of Sardis by the shores of the Gygaean Lake, but that of Ephesian Artemis, as is clear from the so-called sacrilege-inscription, on which see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:129).

temple's peristyle, the *cella* and many of the columns were probably recognizable as pagan.<sup>516</sup>

#### ON THE OBSOLESCENCE AND EXTINCTION OF THE LYDIAN LANGUAGE

We do not know exactly when the last speaker of Lydian died. It almost certainly did not occur in Sardis. It may have happened as early as the second century CE or—to judge from the fate of other indigenous Anatolian languages—as late as the sixth century CE. After the fall of the Mermnad dynasty in 546 BCE, the language of administration of the territory ceased to be Lydian, although Sardis remained a regional Achaemenid capital and some Lydian legal institutions continued to exist. 517 As occurred with most other indigenous languages in the region, by the Late Hellenistic period Greek had almost completely superseded Lydian. Multiple factors contributed to Lydian's demise, including the proximity of Lydia to the Aegean coast, as well as the prosperity and cosmopolitanism of its capital, which stood at the western end of the most important ancient trade route into central Anatolia and beyond. While many towns in the interior, for example, in Lycaonia or Galatia, saw only the most resolute traveler, so that parts of their remote populations could continue to speak indigenous languages long after the Hellenistic period, 518 most of the inhabitants of archaic settlements in Lydia had had to interact intimately and regularly with Greek-speaking peoples at least since the time of Croesus.

As far as we know, Lydian stopped being used in marble inscriptions by the third century BCE.<sup>519</sup> Thereafter, written evidence for the language is virtually non-existent. While Gusmani cautiously identified a monogram on what could be a Hellenistic or Roman tile as Lydian, the object itself is not securely datable and may very well be archaic.<sup>520</sup> The latest incontrovertible Lydian inscription is a graffito on a second century CE Hellenistic molded bowl fragment.<sup>521</sup> We know also from epigraphic evidence, that at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup> It is telling that both the Lydian Altar and the Nannas-Bakivalis monument are depicted in the reconstruction of the Late Antique sanctuary published in Foss (1976), even though the author believed that by the fourth century CE the sanctuary had gone out of use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> Arrian *Anabasis* 1.17.4=Pedley (1972: no. 235) records that Alexander "allowed the Sardians and the other Lydians to use their laws of old."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> While Galatian was widely spoken at least until the fourth century CE (see Jerome *In epistulam ad Galatas* 2.3), monolingual speakers of Lycaonian are attested as late as the late sixth century CE (*Vita Sancta Marthae*, *Acta Sanctorum* 418e-f). On the demise of the indigenous languages of Asia Minor, see Holl (1908) and, more recently, the brief remarks in Mitchell (1993: vol. 1, 50-51, on Galatian, and also 172-173, on other indigenous languages including Lydian). Patristic authors did not ever mention Lydian as a spoken language in their own time, but see my remarks below on Mysian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Gusmani (1980:17) dated the Lydian-Greek bilingual inscription on a column-drum from the temple of Athena in Pergamum (Gusmani 1964:264, no. 40) to the beginning of the third century BCE; for a translation into English and a brief commentary of this inscription, see also Adiego (2007b:771-772).

<sup>520</sup> The seal may show three letters which may or may not be Lydian: "a + r + t=art", see Gusmani (1975:37, A III 1, fig. 31) who said: "man denckt nämlich sofort mit Buckler an eine Abkürzung des Gottesnamens *Artimus*;" see also, Gusmani (1980:17) and Cahill (2010b:66). Regardless of the language the letter record, Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. wrote to me (*pers. comm.* dated 03.23.2010) explaining that the signs are "a monogram very like the one or two [on brick or tile fragments] recovered from the acropolis hillock just below the Hanging Towers by [excavator] Pınar [Özgüner in 2008];" at the time, Özgüner was excavating seemingly uncontaminated archaic deposits.

 $<sup>^{521}</sup>$  Gusmani (1975:34, A II 15, fig. 24)=Rotroff and Oliver (2003:113 no. 457, pl. 78 see also p. 108).

least one Lydian word, (*kaveś* meaning "priest", cf. Sanskrit *kavi*- "wise-man, poet") survived well after the earthquake of 17 CE, being written in Greek characters in inscriptions as late as the third century CE.<sup>522</sup> However, the attestation of a lone Lydian word for 'priest' merely demonstrates conservatism in a religious title; it should not be taken as proof of the continued (if agonizing) existence of Lydian at Sardis.

Scholars cite Strabo as evidence that the language was extinct in the first century CE,<sup>523</sup> but the Augustan geographer says only that Lydian was not spoken in Lydia proper; he goes on to mention the existence of pockets of Lydian-speakers (Cibyratans) in Lycia:

τέτταρσι δὲ γλώτταις ἐχρῶντο οἱ Κιβυρᾶται, τῷ Πισιδικῷ τῷ Σολύμων τῷ Ἑλληνίδι τῷ Λυδῶν· οὐδ' ἴχνος ἐστὶν ἐν Λυδίᾳ. 524

The Cibyratans use four languages, the Pisidian, that of the Solymians, the Greek and that of the Lydians; but there is not even a trace [sc. of Lydian] in Lydia.

And yet, Lydian speakers may have survived also in remote areas of Lydia unknown to Strabo, although there is no positive evidence for this. <sup>525</sup> It is also probable that even in urban environments, and almost certainly at Sardis, other lexical items (apart from religious titles) could have continued to be used, but were not written on ceramic or stone. Although it is almost certain that in Roman Sardis there was no Lydian written material other than scattered inscriptions and graffiti, it is conceivable that some people could still read Lydian even after the language had ceased to be spoken by the general population. However, the re-erection of objects with Lydian inscriptions in Roman Sardis merely shows local interest in archaic *realia*, and does not imply an audience that was actually literate in Lydian. <sup>526</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Gusmani (1964: s. v. *kave-*) and (1980: s. v. *kave-*); and note that the poet Hipponax uses the word (ed. Degani 3.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> Maas (1992: 30 n. 18); Spawforth (2001:384).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> Strabo (13.4.16-17)

<sup>525</sup> Jones (1964:994) speculated, but not wildly: "For northern and north-eastern Asia Minor evidence [of the existence of indigenous languages in Late Antiquity] is lacking, but it seems likely that in these remote and backward areas the native languages survived." Similarly, in western and northwestern Asia Minor evidence is scarce, but the *Vita Auxentii* reports that Mysian was spoken in the latter half of the fifth century CE, on which see Holl (1908:241-242). The Mysian language is an enigma owing to the almost total lack of native inscriptions (for an exception, see Cox and Cameron (1932)), but Strabo, relying on the evidence of Xanthus (Str. 12.8.3=FGrHist 765F15) said that the language of the Mysians was partly Lydian and partly Phrygian (μιξολύδιον καὶ μιξοφρύγιον). Also, John of Ephesus boasted about converting 80,000 recalcitrant pagans in rural western Anatolia during the reign of Justinian, on which see Foss (1976:28-29, 34). Could some of these people have continued speaking their indigenous languages as those elsewhere in Anatolia evidently did?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> These objects (discussed in chapters 9-10 above) include at least a stele and a statue base reerected between the second and the fourth century CE in the sanctuary of Artemis, and arguably also a stele (inscribed not in Lydian, but in a related, but unidentified Anatolian language) re-erected in the synagogue in the late fourth century CE.

Lydian words attested in late literary sources are without exception the product of literary learning.<sup>527</sup> Consider, for example, the following passage of John Lydus, perhaps the longest and most detailed ancient discussions of a purportedly Lydian word:

Ότι δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμησαν, δῆλον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλίδος πόλεως. Σάρδιν γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ Ζυαριν ὁ Ζάνθος καλεῖ, τὸ δὲ Σάρδιν ὄνομα εἴ τις κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀπολογίσεται, πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας εὑρήσει συνάγων μονάδας· ὡς κἀν τεῦθεν εἶναι δῆλον, πρὸς τιμὴν ἡλίου τοῦ τοσαύταις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνάγοντος Σάρδιν ἀνομασθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. νέον δὲ σάρδιν τὸ νέον ἔτος ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεσθαι τῷ πλήθει συνομολογεῖται· εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ φασι, τῆ Λυδῶν ἀρχαίᾳ φωνῆ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλεῖσθαι σάρδιν. 528

That they honored the year as a god is clear from the imperial city of the Lydians itself. For as to Sardis, Xanthus called it also  $\Xi \nu \alpha \rho \iota \varsigma$ ; and if someone calculates the name  $\Sigma \acute{\alpha} \rho \delta \iota \nu$  according to number, after adding up he will find five and sixty and three hundred units. <sup>529</sup> So that even from this it is clear that the city was called Sardis in honor of the sun which adds up a year in as many days. And it is also attested by the fact that even now the new year is called "new  $\Sigma \acute{\alpha} \rho \delta \iota \nu$ " by most: and there are those who say that in the ancient tongue of the Lydians the year was called " $\Sigma \acute{\alpha} \rho \delta \iota \nu$ ".

As a sixth-century CE antiquarian, language buff,  $^{530}$  and native of Lydian Philadelphia, John Lydus could have been—at least conceivably—in contact with the very last speakers of Lydian in Lydia. Yet, his mention of what he describes as the Lydian word for "year" is derived from Xanthus,  $^{531}$  and the kabalistic etymologizing smacks of Neo-Platonism; however, the surprising assertion that "even now" (that is, presumably to his own day) certain people called the year  $\Sigma \acute{\alpha} \rho \delta \imath \nu$ , requires further elucidation. If indeed the word  $\Sigma \acute{\alpha} \rho \delta \imath \nu$  was used to mean "year", and if it was used during Lydus' lifetime, it is probably proof of the impact of an Iranian language (cf. Avestan *sared*-meaning "year"), the language of the Zoroastrians, on the speech habits of some Lydians.  $^{532}$  An Iranian language continued to be spoken in Lydia long after the end of Achaemenid occupation—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> Gusmani (1964:19); Adiego (2007b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> John Lydus *De Mensibus* 3.20.

 $<sup>^{529} \</sup>sigma'(200) + \alpha'(1) + \rho'(100) + \delta'(4) + \iota'(10) + \nu'(50) = 365.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> Consider, for example, Lydus' thoughts on the fate of Rome and the continued use of its ancestral language at *De Magistratibus* 2.12; 3.42=*De Mensibus* Frag. 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> On the intriguing word Συαρις, see Gusmani (1964: s. v. *śfar*-).

 $<sup>^{532}</sup>$  On the Avestan etymology, see Kretschmer (1896:390). If the word Σάρδιν was in fact used to mean 'year' at Sardis in Lydus' lifetime, it seems likely that this is owed to the persistence of Avestan vocabulary items among a local community rather than a deliberate revival of a single Zoroastrian lexical item. If the word is Avestan, it can date no earlier that the Persian occupation of the city and so its existence cannot support the notion that "there was a long tradition of solar observation" in Mermnad Sardis as suggested by Munn (2006:203 and n. 89).

at least until the second century CE and probably even later.<sup>533</sup> Also, although we know extremely little about Lydian semantics, it is fairly clear that the Lydian word for year is actually *borli*- (perhaps cognate with the Hittite festival of *purulli*-).<sup>534</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> See Pausanias 5.27.5-6 and above chapter 12 for Late Roman inscriptional evidence for the presence of Zoroastrian priests in Lydia. On Persians in Lydia (as well as Caria and south-west Phrygia), see Boyce and Gernet (1991:197-253).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> Gusmani (1964 s. v. *borli*- and 1980: s. v. *borli*-).

# 11 The Synagogue

#### INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine the redeployment of Lydian *realia* in the Late Antique synagogue at Sardis. I argue that Sardian Jews reused archaic material remains to articulate ideas about their place in local history and in the history of the Jewish community at large. After a review of the literary evidence concerning Jews in Lydia, and an archaeological description of the Sardis synagogue, I focus on the incorporation of archaic Lydian lions in the synagogue.<sup>535</sup> Finally, I discuss a series of incised revetment fragments recently published by Marcus Rautman, which shed light on some of the specific resonances of lion imagery for Sardian Jews.<sup>536</sup>

# JEWS IN LYDIA

## Sepharad and Sardis

Although the real and imaginary history of the Jews at Sardis is long, the question of when exactly they first arrived in the city remains unanswered.<sup>537</sup> The book of *Obadiah* tells of Jews who fled the early sixth-century BCE Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem to a place called Sepharad.<sup>538</sup> Whether or not Biblical Sepharad is Lydian Sardis is unclear. The Lydian word for Sardis is *śfar*- on a Lydian-Aramaic bilingual stele that renders the name in Aramais as *sprd*.<sup>539</sup>

Note that the third- or second-century BCE translators of the Septuagint did not make the connection between the Biblical sprd and Sardis when dealing with the relevant passage in Obadiah; instead they wrote  $\Sigma \alpha \rho \epsilon \pi \tau \omega \nu$ . At any rate, no archaeological traces of a sixth-century BCE Jewish community in Sardis have been discovered.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup> For a recent analysis of *spolia* in the Sardis synagogue, see Mitten and Scorziello (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> Rautman (2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> On Jews in Asia Minor, see Trebilco (1991; the evidence for Sardis is on pp. 37-57) and Gruen (2002:84-104).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> Obadiah 20= Pedley (1972: no. 305); Foss (1976:29) and Kraabel (1983:178-179) identified Sepharad summarily with Sardis relying entirely on *Obadiah*.

<sup>539</sup> The text of the stele can be found in Gusmani (1964: no. 1); according to Gusmani (1964: s. v. sfar- and sfarda-), the [-d], which occurs in the Aramaic as well as in the Old Persian, Hebrew, and Greek versions of the place name, may derive from the Lydian ethnic sfarda- (meaning "Sardian"). Hemer (1986:134-136) discussed the significance of the existence of the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual and concluded that Sepharad and Sardis were one and the same place, specifying that Jews had arrived in Sardis in the sixth century BCE. However, the evidence provided by the stele is not definitive: Aramaic was a major diplomatic language in the Achaemenid Empire. While it is true that the stele is a private document, this does not mean that the author of the text was addressing a Jewish audience, much less that he was Jewish. In fact, the text was written originally in Lydia and it calls on Artemis to punish transgressors; although the invocation of the goddess does not preclude the possibility of the donor's being Jewish, the burden of proof rests on those who believe him to be so. Moreover, the stele does not necessarily imply the existence of a significant Aramaic-reading audience, it merely suggests that the donor understood and valued the finery of Persian official documents. There are other similar Lydian-Aramaic bilingual epitaphs including Gusmani (1964: no. 41)=Greenewalt (1995:134. n. 20).

## Antiochus III's relocation of Mesopotamian Jews

We know from Josephus that by the late-third century BCE, Jews had indeed arrived in Lydia. The Jewish historian records a letter dating from about 290 BCE, written by Antiochus III to Zeuxis, his close friend and *strategos* in Sardis;<sup>540</sup> in this letter Antiochus orders the relocation of two thousand Jewish families—perhaps as many as ten thousand people—from Mesopotamia to the fortresses and strongholds of inland Phrygia and Lydia. This relocation of Jews was arranged in an effort to pacify regions of Western Asia Minor that were rebelling against Antiochus. Although it is difficult to ascertain where exactly the different Jewish families went, it is probable that many would have gone to Sardis and taken part in the reconstruction of the city following Antiochus' siege and destruction of 213 BCE.

The same letter also records that the Jews were to be provided with land and vineyards, and that they should enjoy tax exemptions for ten years, conditions which were presumably geared at allowing them to establish themselves firmly in Western Anatolia. Conceivably, the favorable terms offered to the two thousand Jewish families added to the discontent among local Phrygian and Lydian populations that were already rebelling. Regardless of whether or not the influx of Jews and the accompanying measures caused discontent, it appears that indigenous Lydian and Phrygian communities eventually became receptive to some of the religious ideas of the Jews:<sup>541</sup> epigraphic evidence from the Roman period suggests that local pagan religious practices were informed by Jewish traditions.<sup>542</sup>

# Jewish and Anatolian mythology

It is harder to gauge what, if any, was the impact of Anatolian traditions on the displaced Jewish communities. However, there is archaeological evidence suggesting that Jews, or perhaps Jewish sympathizers, in Roman Lydia and Phrygia were aware of similarities between Jewish and Anatolian folklore and were eager to celebrate these parallels publicly.<sup>543</sup>

Arguably the most remarkable case of the simultaneous activation of Anatolian and Jewish myths involves a series of coins from the Phrygian city of Apamea dating from the late-second to the mid-third century CE. The coins depict Noah, his wife, a raven, and a dove in their famous ark (see figure 11.1); the tale of Noah would have surely inspired

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup>Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae (12:147-53); see also Robert (1964:9-15); Kraabel (1983:179); Trebilco (1991:5-7, 38); Ma (1999:63); in the past some have doubted the authenticity of this letter, but see Gauthier (1989:41-42) and Ma (1999: appendix 3).

 $<sup>^{541}</sup>$  For affinities between Jews and pagans in Roman Phrygia and Lydia, see Mitchell (1993: vol. 2 36-37).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup> For the possible influence of Judaism on the religious vocabulary of Phrygian and Lydian inscriptions, see Robert (1964:28-30). Arnold (2005) explores the possible resonances of Judeo-Christian teachings among those who erected the so-called Lydo-Phrygian "confession inscriptions", documents that reflect Anatolian practices dating at least as far back as the Mermnad period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>543</sup> This does not necessarily imply syncretism, it merely points to a community's readiness to imagine that some paradigmatic moment in its imagined history happened exactly where that community resided, thereby cementing its sense of belonging to a place.

associations with the many ancient flood myths that were set in Phrygia, including at least one specifically in Apamea,<sup>544</sup> thus appealing to both Jewish and Anatolian memories.<sup>545</sup> Nearly a century ago, Adolphe Reinach demonstrated that the Phrygian flood myth pre-existed the arrival of Jews to the region, and that the Jewish story was "overlaid" on the Anatolian substrate.<sup>546</sup>

Similarly, among Jewish and Christian communities at Sardis there was familiarity with Lydian mythology and history. It could hardly have been otherwise for the city and its kings had long ago become proverbial in the Greek and Roman imagination at large. However, well beyond mere awareness of epichoric antiquity, there seems to have been a willingness, especially among the Jewish community, to imagine the local past as being relevant to their own sense of origins. As I will explain below, this idea was sometimes celebrated through the redeployment of Lydian material remains.

## JEWS IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN SARDIS

By the first century CE, Sardian Jews were claiming that they had been living in Lydia and enjoying special privileges for a very long time. Josephus records a series of documents that show how the Jewish community at Sardis repeatedly called attention to the antiquity of their local presence and privileges. One of these documents is a letter dating to the first century BCE which shows that the Jews obtained permission from the Roman proconsul Gaius Norbanus Flaccus to keep collecting money and sending it to Jerusalem, even after the local gentile communities had tried to prevent them from doing so. In this letter, the Sardian Jews emphasized that they did these things according to ancestral custom (κατὰ τὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔθος).

A different letter, written in 49 BCE on behalf of the Sardian Jews by the propraetor and proquaestor Lucius Antonius to the magistrates, council, and people of Sardis, confirms the rights of the Jews at Sardis to a private association and meeting place, arguing (as the Jews themselves surely did) that they had enjoyed this privilege again

<sup>544</sup> Plutarch Parallela Minora 306e-f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> On the coins and the myths, see Trebilco (1991:86-95).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>546</sup> Reinach (1913); see also Calder (1922:209).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>547</sup> Hemer (1972) discusses the possible resonances of Lydian mythology and history among the Christian community at Sardis to whom the letter of *Revelation* was addressed. The author compiles many examples of Jewish and Christian authors making use of Lydian myths and historical events; see also, more generally, Hemer (1986:129-150).

 $<sup>^{548}</sup>$  It is unknown whether the Jews living in Hellenistic and Roman Sardis imagined that they inhabited the Sepharad mentioned in Obadiah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> Like the letter of Zeuxis mentioned above, these documents too have been deemed suspect, but skepticism is unwarranted; on their authenticity, see Gruen (2002:84-86).

<sup>550</sup> Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae (16.171=M2 no. 212): Γάιος Νωρβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. Καῖσάρ μοι ἔγραψεν κελεύων μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὅσα ἂν ὧσιν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναγαγόντες χρήματα ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἔγραψα οὖν ὑμῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὅτι Καῖσαρ κἀγὼ οὕτως θέλομεν γίνεσθαι. "Gaius Norbanus Flaccus proconsul to the leaders of the Sardians: Greetings. Caesar wrote me ordering not to keep the Jews, as many as they may be, from gathering money and sending it to Jerusalem according to their ancestral custom. So I have written you, that you may know what Caesar and I want to have happen."

"according to ancestral laws from the beginning" (κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ'ἀρχῆς).551

Josephus also records a decree, enacted by the council and the people of Sardis, in which the same emphasis is placed on the local antiquity of the Jewish community, whose members are said to have lived in the city "from the beginning" (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται) and enjoyed the favor of its people. This last document shows that the Jews here acted without Roman intermediaries: asking and obtaining their privileges directly form the Sardians. 553

To be sure, the attention the Sardian Jews call to the antiquity of their practices and presence in the region is in keeping with contemporary Roman diplomatic and civic language; over the next few centuries, even Christians would make similar claims in their correspondence with Roman officials,<sup>554</sup> as well as in their own public records, but there is nothing to indicate that the Jews at Sardis, or the rest of the population for that matter, did not believe that there had been a Jewish community in the city, if not from time immemorial, then at least "from the beginning", which may refer to 188 BCE when control of the region was officially handed over to Rome. Regardless, Jews had in fact been living in the area before the advent of Roman rule.

What is critical about the texts quoted above is that they suggest that the Jewish community at Sardis had, as it were, a double memory horizon: on the one hand they looked back to Jerusalem and Palestine for their ancestral customs;<sup>555</sup> and on the other, they claimed to have been in Sardis "from the beginning". Whatever this meant, it was not merely a rhetorical ploy: Sardian Jews must have had memories about their forefathers' ancient presence in the region, and, as I explain below, they used local material remains to verify the authenticity of these recollections.

<sup>551</sup> Josephus Antiquitates Judaicae (14:235): Λούκιος Άντώνιος Μάρκου νίὸς ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δήμω χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ἡμέτεροι προσελθόντες μοι ἐπέδειξαν αὐτοὺς σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ὧ τὰ τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσιν, τοῦτό τε αἰτησαμένοις ἵν' ἐξῆ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα. "Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, proquaestor and propraetor, to the leaders of the Sardians, the council, and the people. Our Jewish citizens had come to me and showed that they had a meeting place of their own and a place of their own, according to ancestral custom from the beginning, in which they decide their matters and their internal controversies, because they were asking that it be permitted that they do this, I decided that they take care and attend to this." Their place of worship might have been destroyed by the earthquake of 17 CE making the Later Roman room in the Bath-Gymnasium complex at least the third in a succession of synagogues from the forced migration during the reign of Antiochus III to the fourth century CE, on the different synagogues see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:179).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>552</sup> Josephus *Antiquiteates Judaicae* (14:259-261).

<sup>553</sup> Gruen (2002:92).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup> Consider, for example, how Melito of Sardis, archenemy of second-century CE Sardian Jews, ingeniously tries to substantiate the authority and antiquity of Christian "philosophy" in his correspondence with Marcus Aurelius, Melito of Sardis *On Pascha* (ed. Hall, fragment 1.7-11).

<sup>555</sup> The Sardian Jews were certainly proud of their ancestral traditions: they observed dietary laws (Josephus *Antiquitates Judaicae* 14.261) and they sent money to Jerusalem (as the letters quoted above show).

#### THE SYNAGOGUE AT SARDIS

The Late Antique synagogue at Sardis is a lavish building located in the south-east corner of the city's bath-gymnasium complex (see figure 11.1). Mile more imposing ancient structures have been excavated by the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, few buildings in the city have so challenged prevailing notions about the past—and specifically about the lives of Jews in Roman Asia Minor. In fact, the discovery of the Sardis synagogue provoked a thorough reassessment of Diaspora Judaism and its relation to Roman political and civic institutions, as well as to Greek *paideia*. Archaeological evidence from the synagogue showed that the Jewish community in Late Roman Sardis was far more prominent, affluent and conspicuous than had been thought possible for Anatolian Jews, inciting questions about the extent and manner of interaction between the Jews and other contemporary religious groups, including pagans, Christians, and the so-called god-fearers.

# Physical description

The synagogue is located in the south-east corner of the bath-gymnasium complex between the southern colonnade of the *palaestra*, and a row of shops flanking what was probably the main (east-west) avenue in Roman Sardis (see figure 11.2).<sup>560</sup> The fact that the synagogue was housed in such a prominent location and that it so profusely decorated indicate that at least some of its members were well-to-do and enjoyed political favor.<sup>561</sup> The building was identified as a synagogue because in it were found twelve *menorot* or depictions of *menorot*, a *lulav* (palm's branch) and a *shofar* (ram's horn), as well as over eighty inscriptions, many of which indicated the mixed Judeo-Greek background of the congregation.<sup>562</sup> The inscriptions are proof of intimate and prolonged interaction between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>556</sup> The description below is based primarily on Seager (1972, 1974, and 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup> I quote the following modern opinions about the Sardis synagogue merely to give an idea of its historical importance. Levine (2000:260): "...by far the most monumental of all ancient synagogues." Stewart-Sykes (1998:9): "...certainly the largest and perhaps the richest Roman synagogue to have been discovered." Magness (2005:443): "The most spectacular ancient synagogue building found to date in Asia Minor, and, indeed, one of the most impressive synagogue buildings uncovered anywhere." Bonz (1993:139): "...the single most important archaeological source for our knowledge of western diasporan Judaism and its relation to the Greco-Roman world."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup> As Trebilco (1991:43) noted, so unusual was the synagogue at Sardis in its opulence, prominence, and sheer size, that the very notion of fitting the building into a typology of ancient diasporan synagogues is debatable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>559</sup> For an assessment of the impact of the Sardis synagogue on modern understanding of Diaspora Judaism, see Kraabel (1983:178-190).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>560</sup> A plan of the synagogue with some of the urban context can be found in Hanfmann and Mierse (1983: fig. 206=figure 11.2 below). The date for the beginning of terracing and groundwork is inferred from a dedicatory inscription (*SEG* 36.1092) commemorating Tiberius as founder of the city (but dating from the reign of Claudius), on which see Greenewalt, Ramage, Sullivan, Nayir and Tulga, (1983:12-13 fig. 15); Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:141-142 n. 28); and Herrmann (1995). On the dating and phasing of the bath-gymnasium complex, see Yegül (1986).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> The main treatments of the building by the excavator are Seager (1972, 1974, and 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup> On the various Jewish paraphernalia, see Seager (1983:170-171). The Greek inscriptions were published by Kroll (2001); the Hebrew inscriptions were published by Cross (2003).

Jews and gentiles in Late Roman Sardis and they provide evidence that the god-fearers were prominent members of the community.

The synagogue was impressive and large; at nearly 80m by 18m it could fit nearly a thousand people (see figure 11.3).<sup>563</sup> This attractive building seems to have been at least partly open to the public with an inviting forecourt leading to the main hall: if the fountain in the peristyle forecourt is indeed the one mentioned in an epigraphic catalogue of public fountains, then the forecourt would have been probably accessible to everyone.<sup>564</sup>

Apart from its prominent location, its exceptionally large size, and its glamorous decor, the synagogue at Sardis was unique in other ways. In the east end of the main hall, there were twin pedimented shrines (themselves made of *spolia*), presumably designed to house the Torah and perhaps also a menorah. <sup>565</sup> In the west, where other ancient synagogues usually have the torah shrine, there was an apse with a three tiered marble bench that could sit as many as 70 people; this synthronon-like feature was presumably designed to seat elders and prominent visitors. There was no apparent architectural division to segregate the congregation by gender. These eccentricities may simply reflect the absence of a Diaspora architectural canon. However, the synagogue looks like a Roman basilica because it may have been one. It did not stand out as weird or foreign, but rather melded seamlessly into the fabric of the city and provided a general sense of urban continuity. This incorporation of a Jewish religious space into the fabric of what was by then a predominantly Christian—and to a lesser much extent pagan—city was achieved partly by the reuse of a pre-existing structure and also by the incorporation of *spolia*, to which we will now turn.

# **Dating**

Sometime after the great earthquake of 17 CE, the area of Sardis where the bath-gymnasium complex now stands was leveled and built up into an artificial terrace as part of city-wide urban renovations.<sup>566</sup> By the mid-first century CE, the bath-gymnasium complex proper was begun: while the main building was only dedicated in 212 CE, its exercise court, or *palaestra*, was not fully completed before the mid-third century CE.<sup>567</sup>

 $<sup>^{563}</sup>$  The building was 18m wide; the main nave was 60m long, and the forecourt was 20m long. Levine (2000:261) provides illuminating comparanda from the largest Palestinian synagogues: Capernaum 24m, Meiron 27m, and Gaza ca. 30m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> Sardis VII.I no. 17. In 1967, an attempt was made by Tankut Akalın, a Sardis Expedition staff member, to determine the capacity of the crater fountain in the synagogue and compare it with the information given about the fountain in the inscription; Akalın concluded that the capacity of the crater fountain in the synagogue was much greater than that of the fountain in the inscription. I owe this information to Crawford H. Greenewalt jr. (pers. comm.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> Trebilco (1991:41).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> On the earthquake, see Tacitus *Annales* 2.20=Pedley (1972: no. 220) and the references quoted in chapter 10 above. On the aftermath of the earthquake, see Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:141-143); for a brief account of the urban development of Roman Sardis, see Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:31-32); on urban prosperity and renewal in second and third century CE Sardis, see Foss (1976:2-3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup> On the bath-gymnasium complex, see Yegül (1986).

The dating of the Sardis synagogue is still a matter of controversy.<sup>568</sup> The excavators concluded that the conversion of a basilical hall in the Bath-Gymnasium complex into a synagogue may have occurred as early as the third-century CE,<sup>569</sup> that the synagogue as it was excavated (and reconstructed) reflected primarily a mid-to-late fourth century CE structure,<sup>570</sup> and that Jews used the building until the first quarter of the seventh century CE.<sup>571</sup> Recently, there have been proposals to revise these dates: for example, Marianne Bonz's analysis, based on historical and numismatic evidence, points to a fourth century CE date for the conversion of the building since "the Jewish community at Sardis appears to have achieved its prominent status only in the late third century".<sup>572</sup> Independently, Helga Botermann also arrived at a fourth century CE date.<sup>573</sup> While this slightly revised date may very well be right, the more radical suggestion by Jodi Magness that the conversion occurred in the sixth-century CE date needs further investigation.<sup>574</sup>

A more precise chronology would obviously illuminate the exact historical context in which the re-deployments in and around the synagogue were made, but since this is not yet possible, I assume with the excavators that the re-use of Lydian remains in the synagogue occurred in the latter half of the fourth century CE, at about the same time when Eunapius recorded pagans were re-erecting pagan shrines elsewhere in Sardis.<sup>575</sup>

# Phasing

The building occupied by the synagogue underwent several renovations before becoming a Jewish temple. Andrew Seager proposed four main phases of construction (see

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> As was the case with the sanctuary of Artemis, all arguments concerning dating and phasing will necessarily remain tentative before final publication of the synagogue. In addition to Seager, the main discussions of these matters are Botermann (1990); Bonz (1990 and 1993); and Magness (2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> On the possibility that the conversion took place in the third century, see Seager in Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:173) and Kraabel (1983:179), accepted e.g. by Kroll (2001:7); Kraabel based this suggestion primarily on historical evidence thinking that the building would have been given to the Jews before the reign of Constantine I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup> According to Seager (1983:173) the main hall would have been finished in the second quarter of the fourth century, while the forecourt would have been finished between 360 and 380 CE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup> Kraabel (1983:180); Bonz believes the synagogue was later converted into a church (1990:120-121).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> Bonz (1990, the quotation is from p. 356); see also Bonz (1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Botermann (1990).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Magness (2005:459) based her argument primarily on numismatic evidence, which is now being re-examined by Jane Evans. Magness' revised date makes it difficult to account for some epigraphic, archaeological, and historical evidence. Magness believes, against the excavators, that the *spolia* too suggest a sixth century CE date for the conversion of the building and she associates the availability of this material to the sanctioned destruction of pagan temples; but *spolia* of many sorts, including objects associated with religious structures, could be available as a result of many things including natural disasters and structural instability, not simply concerted efforts of erasing a specific part of the local past. In fact, there seems to have been a widespread culture of re-possessing Lydian *realia* in Roman Sardis that reached a peak in the late fourth century CE.

 $<sup>^{575}</sup>$  The literary evidence for the re-erection of pagan shrines in late-fourth century Sardis is discussed above.

figure 11.4):<sup>576</sup> initially, the space housed three ancillary rooms off the exercise court, presumably *apodyteria*, or dressing rooms, with direct access to the *palaestra*. During a second phase, these three rooms were turned into a long space of indeterminate use, with a vestibule to the east where the entrance was then relocated; this room was divided into two aisles and a main central space with an apse at the west end with niches for statues, perhaps of emperors or deities. In the third phase the vestibule disappeared and a series of sturdy piers replaced the columns; the main entrance remained to the east. The use of the building in this third phase is uncertain, but Seager and Kraabel entertained the notion that it may have already been a synagogue. The fourth phase was completed in the midto-late fourth century CE. The principal access to the building continued to be in the east, but now a wall divided the basilical space into a main nave and a peristyle forecourt with a large marble fountain; the wall itself had three doors communicating the two spaces. The floor of the synagogue was decorated with elaborate polychrome mosaics and the walls with fine opus-sectile and mosaic revetments.

## THE SYNAGOGUE SPOLIA

David Mitten and Aimee Scorziello recently studied the re-use of *spolia* in the synagogue, calling the building "a treasure trove of architectural blocks and pieces of sculptures from earlier centuries of the city's history."<sup>577</sup> Although their treatment is not focused specifically on the re-deployment of archaic objects,<sup>578</sup> Mitten and Scorziello noted that the synagogue contains more re-used Lydian material remains than any other single building at Sardis. While some of these objects were intentionally defaced or completely incorporated into the fabric of the building,<sup>579</sup> others were left exposed without any apparent purpose;<sup>580</sup> a few were intentionally and prominently displayed.

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 $<sup>^{576}</sup>$  Seager (1972) provides helpful illustrations including an interpretative phase plan (ill.2) and more detailed excavation plans corresponding to the different phases of construction and excavation (Figs. 2, 7, 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> Mitten and Scorziello (2008, quote from p. 137).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> To be sure, not all of the re-deployed elements are archaic, but the pieces that are include architectural fragments, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic statues, and inscriptions. Among the non-archaic re-used *spolia* is a marble *kantharos* of Hellenistic date conspicuously placed in the forecourt of the synagogue. This object may have been the inspiration for the representation of a *kantharos* in the mosaic floor of the main nave of the building. On the re-use of the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman *kantharos*, see Mitten and Scorziello (2008:139-142, figs. 4-8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> A votive relief depicting Cybele and Artemis dating to around the end of the fifth century BCE was defaced and buried as paving in the forecourt of the synagogue; the faces of the goddesses were mutilated while the rest of the stone was left untouched; if those who re-used the stones were also involved in the mutilation, their intention could not have been merely practical. On this relief see Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:58-60 cat no. 20, figs. 78-83); on the re-use see Mitten and Scorziello (2008:138-139 figs. 2-3).

<sup>580</sup> The so-called synagogue inscription (see figure 11.6) may be one such case of "meaningless" exposure: an inscribed rectangular architectural block was built into one of the piers (S4) of the synagogue; it dates to between the sixth and the fourth century BCE. The inscription is in a script resembling Lydian, and in an unknown, but probably Indo-European language, on which see Gusmani (1975:115-132) and Hanfmann and Mierse (1983:88-89). The exact content of the inscription was probably as mysterious to the Jews of Roman Sardis as it is to us today. Mitten and Scorziello (2008:138, 145-146) argue that that the fact that the text was facing outward and that there was no plaster or any other material covering it suggest that the re-use of this block was of special character and significance; perhaps, but it is difficult to see why the re-users would have chosen to place this block in an otherwise random pier. If the block was indeed meaningful, it is impossible to determine what specifically the Jews of Roman Sardis thought about the text, but in an

## A double memory horizon

Some scholars would explain all of the re-erected Lydian *realia* in the synagogue at Sardis as a straightforward, even banal re-arrangement of available construction material that was aesthetically pleasing; however, the redeployment of Lydian lions<sup>581</sup> suggests that the intention of those who re-used this *spolia* went beyond the simple pleasures of symmetry.

As I mentioned in chapter 10 above, G. M. A. Hanfmann was so struck by the profusion of statues of lions in archaic Sardis that he spoke of "a regular Leontomania". In what follows I consider a revival, as it were, of this peculiar phenomenon by examining "Leontomania" in the Late Roman synagogue. Lions were the paradigmatic emblem of royal power in Lydian Sardis; but independent of their prominence in Mermnad Lydia, the animals also make distinguished appearances in Jewish scriptures. Thus archaic lions offered an exceptional opportunity for the Jewish community to celebrate both its Jewish and its Lydian part, since the animal had strong resonances in both traditions. Robert first suggested that the use of lions in the synagogue at Sardis was an attempt by the local Jewish community to imagine a connection with the tribe of Judah described as a lion in Genesis 49:9. Thomas Kraabel later pointed out other relevant Biblical references. More recently, Marcus Rautman has precisely identified another possible Biblical reference in the synagogue decoration that sheds light on the meaning of lions for Sardian Jews.

As Robert showed, there is ample evidence for the importance of lions in the Jewish community at Sardis: there was, for example, a (local Jewish) tribe, called "Leontine" (φυλῆς Λεοντίων), 586 as well as several members of the community were named

ancient city where many different scripts had been used over the centuries, the importance of public writing on stone would not have escaped anyone's notice. Conceivably, as I have suggested in chapter 10 above, the meaning of inscriptions in indigenous languages was less important than the fact that the signs could be filled with the given content that a Sardian community found appropriate to their situation. The Sardian Jews would very probably know that the inscription was ancient; perhaps they also thought that is was somehow their own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup> Apart from the various sculptures, drawings, and inscriptions mentioned below, one could also the little pilaster capital with a sculpted lion that was part of the decoration of the main hall. On this object, see Seager (1974:7 fig. 23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> Trebilco (1991:45) noted that most lion references among Sardian Jews—and not just the reused statues—should also be understood as working against a dual Lydian-Jewish background. See also Kraabel (1983:184-185).

<sup>583</sup> Robert (1964:47).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup> Kraabel (1983:184): the tribe of Dan (Deut. 33:22) Israel (Num. 23:24, 24:9); Judah the Macabee (1 Macc. 3:4-6); the Messiah (4 Ezra 12:31).

<sup>585</sup> Rautman (2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> As Kroll (2001: no. 10) explains, building on the insight of Robert (1964:45-7 no. 6), the tribal name may refer to a group within the Jewish community that claimed to be *bonafide Ioudaioi* distinct from the god-fearers who were also commemorated as donors in other adjacent inscriptions; the inscription may also signal that perhaps one can claim to be both *bonafide Ioudaios* and *bonafide Lydios* in one roar, as it were.

Leontios.<sup>587</sup> Another Sardian Jew may have been called Leo: if the reading of the lone inscription where this name survives is right, this text too would reveal the heterogeneous cultural background of the Jewish community's members, for it is purported to say *ben leho* meaning "son of Leo"—and although the name is Latin, the text is Hebrew.<sup>588</sup>

## Leontomania in the synagogue

Not all of the lions re-used in the building that became the synagogue were visible; but even those that were not may have been used as more than simple building material. For example, an early-sixth century Lydian lion was found built into the foundation of one of the piers of the synagogue. Its incorporation into the substructure of the building suggests a magical purpose. Remember that Meles, king of Lydia, magically protected the acropolis of Sardis by driving a lion cub around it. 590

One of the largest and oldest Sardian sculptures, "easily the most impressive and monumental of all Lydian lions," came from just outside the synagogue (see figure 11.5). <sup>591</sup> This is a massive beast: 1.58m long and 1.1m high (at its head). <sup>592</sup> Hanfmann dated it to 560-550 BCE, thus just before the fall of Sardis. The sculpture was re-erected probably in the fourth century CE. The lion may have been prominently displayed at the southwest corner of the building standing guard at the interior corner of the colonnaded street that flanked the west side of the bath gymnasium complex.

Fragments of another sculpture from this area suggest that, another lion of its kind may have been set symmetrically across it on the western side of the colonnade. Since several of the shops abutting the south side of the synagogue were owned by Jews and other lion sculptures were either kept in these shops or prominently displayed inside the building, it is likely that this archaic sculpture and its hypothetical mate were re-erected by Jews during one of the fourth-century renovations of the area. The lion or lions at the entrance to the synagogue would greet not only the Jewish congregation, but also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> Kroll (2001: nos. 22, 23, 39, 48).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> Kraabel (1983:184-185); but see Cross (2002:15 ins. 6, n. 33) who gives a completely different reading of what I think is the same inscription. I am not qualified to decide matters of Hebrew epigraphy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> On this statue, see Hanfmann and Ramage (1978: no. 26 figs. 102-104) and Ratté (1989a:392 cat. no. A47); on its re-use, see Mitten and Scorziello (2008:140-141 fig. 9-10).

 $<sup>^{590}</sup>$  Apollonios of Tyana, Letter 75, and Herodotus 1.84=Pedley (1972: no. 116); see also Favorinus, De Fortuna 22=Pedley (1972: no. 114).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978: cat. no. 31, figs. 119-122); for its find spot, see Seager (1974 fig. 35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> The animal is lying down with its head turned to its side perpendicularly to its body in a staid pose: its hind legs are very markedly curved producing almost geometric volumes: the paws and lower parts of the hind legs are rendered as a single mass resting on the plinth; the front legs are gone. Various clamp holes reveal that after re-erection only the lion's front was meant to be visible, its back was attached to a wall and its spine was cut to produce a flat surface; other secondary clamp holes were made to serve an indeterminate purpose. The exact placement of this lion cannot be known with certainty. Teoman Yalçınkaya, who was involved in the excavation of this object, remembers (*pers. comm.*) that the sculpture was not found *in situ*.

everybody else who passed by this busy intersection; it was a public monument commemorating the local community's connection to Jewish and Lydian traditions.<sup>593</sup>

Another intriguing redeployment of Lydian sculpture in the synagogue involves two pairs of back-to-back marble lions dating from the late fifth or early-fourth century BCE found in the main nave of the building, flanking the lectern where the torah was read (see figure 11.7, figure 11.8, and figure 11.9).<sup>594</sup> Although the lions were broken and their position inside the synagogue is somewhat conjectural, they were prominent statues, perhaps the only free-standing sculptures inside the building.<sup>595</sup> These statues coincidentally reflect the notion that lions in the synagogue could reactivate a double memory horizon.

Rautman has recently published evidence that sheds light on the meaning of the lions re-used in the synagogue. A series of revetment fragments depicting the Biblical story of Daniel seems to have been one of the tales that the Sardian Jews had in mind when redeploying sculptures of Lydian lions (see figure 11.10):597 the deeply and carefully incised revetment fragments depict a man holding a scroll surrounded by a group of lions.

The Book of Daniel tells the story of a righteous man who was favored by the Persian King Cyrus. Daniel incited the envy of the king's associates and as a result was thrown into a den of lions; instead of being devoured by the beasts, he was miraculously unharmed by them. The story of Daniel would have resonated strongly with the Jewish community in Roman Sardis, because even before their relocation by Antiochus III, the Jews that came to Sardis had lived in the Diaspora among gentiles, precisely in Mesopotamia. <sup>598</sup> The Jews in late-fourth century Sardis clearly enjoyed a position of privilege within the city, as it attested by their synagogue and the office titles they used in their inscriptions. And yet, despite Rome's favor or perhaps because of it, they had repeatedly been the object of harsh attacks. <sup>599</sup> Those who incised the depiction of Daniel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> A point already made by Kraabel (1983:184-185): "the Jews were not simply 'reusing' the lion statues; they were actually associating themselves in some way with this traditional Sardis image, combining it with the Biblical one, using it as the story of Noah was used at Apameia in Phrygia." And also Hammer and Murray in Ascough (2005:186): "the large lions on the main avenue just outside the synagogue would be more likely connected to the lion images associated with the city of Sardis and with Cybele than to the lion as it was assimilated into the Jewish context."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> Hanfmann and Ramage (1978:63-65). The table itself was made of re-used blocks: a massive architectural element with fine egg-and-dart molding on three sides serves as the table-top standing on two orthostates depicting Roman eagles clutching thunderbolts. On the so-called "Eagle Table", see Mitten and Scorziello (2008:142-144, figs. 14-16 and the references therein.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> For although the inside of the synagogue was lavishly decorated with mosaic floor, opus sectile walls and bi-dimensional zoomorphic and botanical decorations, there seem to have been no other statues in the round.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> Rautman (2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> S62.41:4750, S62.44:4786, S62.45:4787, S62.62:487.

 $<sup>^{598}</sup>$  They had lived in the Diaspora at least since the third century BCE and perhaps even from as early as suggested in Obadiah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> The author of Revelation referred to the Jews in neighboring Philadelphia as "the synagogue of Satan;" and at Sardis proper, the second century CE bishop Melito condemned them for the crucifixion of

and the lions on the synagogue walls may have wanted to identify their community with Daniel and imagined Rome, or those Sardians who were amicable as lions; while they could have thought of Melito and his fellow Christians in subsequent centuries as the Persian king's associates who threw Daniel to the lions.

Christ. On Melito, see Stewart-Sykes (2001), who makes an overstatement when he claims (on p. 12) that "all trace of the ancient city [i.e. Sardis] would have perished as a result of the major earthquake early in the first century CE."

# 12 Philadelphia

#### INTRODUCTION

In this chapter and the next I treat Philadelphia and Hypaepa, two cities in the historical heartland of Lydia that often chose to commemorate pasts other than the Lydian when celebrating their own traditions and antiquity. Since the Mermnad kings were associated primarily with their capital, one could think that there would be no reason for any town in Roman Lydia apart from Sardis to express pride specifically in the line of Gyges. However, places other than Sardis did indeed celebrate connections with the Mermnads, and conversely, some close neighbors of Sardis do not seem to have cared much for Anatolian mythology in general, even though some favorite Lydian tales unrelated to Gyges and his descendants were set in their immediate vicinity. <sup>600</sup> If indeed Philadelphia and Hypaepa had turned their back on imaginary Lydia, where then did they seek their origins?

In what follows I examine Philadelphia's alternative memory horizons. After a geographical description and a historical and archaeological overview, I turn to Philadelphia's coinage, which commemorated Macedonian founders and Roman benefactors; I discuss a peculiar Philadelphian coin, whose imagery, elucidated by Barbara Burrell, delved past Romans and Macedonians to celebrate the origin of the city's most important religious object by invoking a Greek myth set somewhere in the Crimea. <sup>601</sup> I then treat the local mythology of landscape, focusing on the changing attitudes of the Philadelphians' to their region's intense geological activity. I conclude by analyzing a passage of the sixth-century CE antiquarian John Lydus who asserted that Egyptians had founded Philadelphia.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Philadelphia was located on the northeastern foothills of Mt Tmolus, commanding the fertile Cogamis River valley (modern Alaşehir Çayı). The city lies immediately southwest of the "Scorched Land" (see map). While the κατακεκαυμένη is located in the Anatolian highlands between Lydia and Phrygia, and Philadelphia was founded on the low plains, most Philadelphians would have been intimately familiar with the volcanic territory's peculiar landscape, since some of their staple crops, including their vineyards grew in the κατακεκαυμένη. In fact, the city itself was sometimes considered part of the "Scorched Land". On the "Scorched Land".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>600</sup> As explained in chapter 1 above, the exploits of Tylon and Masnes probably took place in the "Scorched Land", which is much closer to Philadelphia than it is to Sardis; and yet, as far as we know, it was only the people of Roman Sardis who put Tylon and Masdnes on their coins and named their civic tribes after them. Conversely as analyzed in chapter 5 above, Nicander *Theriaca* 630-635=Pedley (1972: no. 281) arguably preserves local lore identifying a tumulus in the Cayster River valley as the tomb of king Gyges.

<sup>601</sup> Burrell (2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>602</sup> Although the name is written Cogamis on coins, Pliny (5.30.111) seems to have written Cogamus; on the name of the river Cogamis, a tributary of the Hermus, see Tischler (1977: s. v. Kogamis, -os).

<sup>603</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium says Φιλαδέλφεια: πόλις Λυδίας, Άττάλου κτίσμα τοῦ φιλαδέλφου. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Κεκαυμένης, ὑπὸ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν κατεχομένης. "Philadelphia: a city in

Philadelphia stood at an important commercial and military crossroads on the way from the Aegean Coast to inner Anatolia: a hurried traveler following the strenuous road from Ephesus along the Cayster River through the plain of Cilbis to Acmonia and Dorylaeum would necessarily go by Philadelphia; so would anyone going from Sardis or Pergamum (through Thyatira) along the Hermus and then Cogamis rivers to Hierapolis, Laodicea, or Apamea.<sup>604</sup>

### HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

In contrast to what has happened at Sardis, the ruins of Philadelphia are today enveloped and mostly buried by a modern city: Alaşehir. Partly as a result, there has been little excavation and there is virtually no archaeological evidence of how the Philadelphians dealt with the physical traces of prior habitation in their city. However, by examining such things as coinage, architectural reliefs, and honorific sculptures and inscriptions it is still possible to get a sense of how the inhabitants of Roman Philadelphia imagined their own past.

The history of Philadelphia is comparatively shorter and less eventful than that of Sardis.<sup>605</sup> The evidence for Lydian occupation of the territory is scarce, but not altogether nonexistent. Although early identifications of Philadelphia with Lydian towns mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon were incorrect,<sup>606</sup> it seems almost certain that a Lydian settlement preceded a proper Hellenistic foundation:<sup>607</sup> a tumulus cluster in the vicinity of the city and other scattered remains of archaic and even earlier date have been found in

Lydia; a foundation of Attalus Philadelphus; it is a part of the "Scorched land", inhabited by both Lydians and Mysians."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>604</sup> On these roads, see Ramsay (1910:395) and French (1998); the latter treats the entire Anatolian stretch of the Persian Royal Road, not only its passage through Lydia. For some general remarks on the settlement of the Hermus and Cogamis River plains, see Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:18).

<sup>605</sup> That is, at least until the fifteenth century, when the great Çağatay conqueror Timurlenk, known in the west as Tamerlane, is said to have built up the walls of Philadelphia with the corpses of the vanquished city's inhabitants. I do not know when or where this tale originated, but I gather Tamerlane was said to have done this in places other than Philadelphia as well. For a thorough and less colorful account of the ramparts of Philadelphia, see Pralong (1984). Even Late Byzantine historians lamented the "recent" loss of Lydian gold to Tamerlane after his devastation of "Lydian" cities, see Michael Ducas 103=Foss (1976: no.36 and Foss's comments on pp. 137-139).

<sup>606</sup> On the Lydian towns of Callatebus and Castolou Pedion, see Herodotus (7.31) and Xenophon (Hellenica 1.4.3 and Anabasis 1.1.2 and 9.7). Ramsay (1895:199-201) pointed out the error of identifying Philadelphia with Calletebus; Boyce and Grenet's (1991:215 and 241) argued that Philadelphia merely incorporated the Lydian population of ancient Calletebus, but even this cautious assessment is speculative. The relevant passage of Herodotus suggests that Calletebus would have been much closer to the Maeander River plain than Philadelphia was, perhaps even further east than it appears in Kiepert and Kiepert (1893: IX Asia Provincia reproduced here). French (1998:17 and fig. 7) suggested that Calletebus was located in the vicinity of Buldan. On Castolus, see Robert (1937:159-160) and TAM V.1.222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> On the pre-Hellenistic occupation of what would become Philadelphia, see the brief remarks of Hemer (1986:154 n. 4). The case seems comparable to that of Thyatira (modern Akhisar), a Seleucid refoundation of a Lydian settlement; but in the case of Thyatira, the Lydian name for the settlement continued to be used into the Roman period, while that of Philadelphia was abandoned after its refoundation.

and around modern Alaşehir.<sup>608</sup> Whatever the name and size of the underlying Lydian settlement, Philadelphia was probably founded by Attalus II Philadelphus (220–138 BCE, r. from 159).<sup>609</sup> Although Ramsay may have gone too far when he said that the Pergamene king's intention was "to make it a centre of the Graeco-Asiatic civilization and a means of spreading the Greek language and manners in the eastern parts of Lydia and in Phrygia," there is little doubt that its founder's well-known philhellenism remained a constant throughout the city's history.

Epigraphic and numismatic evidence suggests that throughout the Roman period the Philadelphians were devout followers of Zeus-Helios and of the Lydo-Persian deity known variously as Artemis Anaitis, Meter Anaitis, or Persian Anaitis. Throughout antiquity the city held great public festivals in honor of these deities and even as late as the sixth century CE, civic polytheistic activities earned the admiration of the Neo-platonist philosopher Proclus, who visited Philadelphia after being temporarily banished from Athens. Despite the lasting strength of polytheism, Christianity made an early impact in Philadelphia, which was home to one of the seven churches of Asia; in the book of *Revelation*, Philadelphian Christians were praised for their steadfastness. Beginning in the late-second century CE, some local Christians adopted Montanism, a particularly portentous and divisive faith, eventually deemed heretical. Although our sources about Montanism are almost invariably hostile to it and often patently hyperbolic, it is clear that

<sup>608</sup> Roosevelt (2003:270-1 and 531-3, TG 44 Philadelphia, 668-9 cat. nos. A4.90-92) and (2009: cat. 12.1A) where he mentions a "[g]roup of five tumuli, including one possible tumulus, centered on Alaşehir"; Roosevelt also noted the existence of an archaic lion of unknown provenance acquired by the Manisa museum from a dealer in Alaşehir (2009: cat. 12.1C). A Lydian electrum coin (BMC Lydia, Philadelphia, no. 4) was allegedly found on the city's acropolis. Keil and Premerstein (1914: no. 20) recorded an inscription mentioning  $\dot{\eta}$  παλαιὰ πόλις "the old city": but this appellation could conceivably refer simply to the city that existed before the earthquake of 17 CE (on which see the references in the introduction to chapter 10 above). Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:22 and n. 27) mentioned the existence of Mycenean sherds in Gâvur Tepe in Philadelphia. Recep Meriç has also conducted limited excavations in and around Philadelphia that have unearthed early Bronze Age material, see Meriç (1985) and Meriç (1993).

<sup>609</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium: Φιλαδέλφεια, πόλις Λυδίας, Άττάλου κτίσμα τοῦ φιλαδέλφου. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Κεκαυμένης, ὑπὸ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν κατεχομένης. "Philadelphia: a city in Lydia. A foundation of Attalus Philadelphus. It is a part of the "Scorched Land" occupied by Mysians and Lydians." To this testimony may be added a bust of Attalus II (SEG 26.13.13); see also Burrell (2005:236). Other possible, but less likely, founders include Eumenes II, with or without Attalus II (see Hemer (1986:154 n. 3)), and even Seleucus I (see SEG 35.1170=de Hoz (1999: no. 5.12))\$ and a boundary stone dating from 279-267 BCE found in Badınca (SE of Philadelphia) describing the kings Antiochus and Seleucus as benefactors of a religious space.

<sup>610</sup> Ramsay (1910:391).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>611</sup> On the inscriptional evidence for the varied cults in Philadelphia, see de Hoz (1999: s. v. Philadelphia in the topographical index). On the cult of Helios, see de Hoz (1999:69), and on the cult of Anaitis, see de Hoz (1999:73-76). Despite sharing her name with goddesses from other towns, including those of Hypaipa and Sardis, each manifestation of Artemis Anaitis was a distinctly local deity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>612</sup> John Lydus *De Mensibus* 4.58 (discussed below); Marinus *Vita Procli* 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>613</sup> Three of these churches were in Lydia: Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira. On the letter of *Revelation* addressed to Philadelphia, see Hemer (1986:153:177).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>614</sup> Montanism quickly spread to North Africa, where it gained its most famous adherent: Tertullian. The bibliography on Montanism is immense, for a succinct treatment of the sect, see Chadwick (2001:114-116). On Tertullian, see Barnes (1970).

Montanists believed that the Holy Spirit could reveal the future through ecstatic prophets. Regardless of the murky issue of how much they owed to pre-Christian Anatolian religion, some of their practices and beliefs were patently informed by the local landscape, as I explain below. <sup>615</sup>

Philadelphia was one of the Asian cities wrecked by the earthquake of 17 CE and like several others it benefitted from, and celebrated Tiberius' subsequent generosity. 616 Under the emperor Gaius it briefly adopted the name (later only epithet) Neocaesareia; under Vespasian it gained the title Flavian; under Caracalla, it became *neokoros*, or "temple-warden", and under Elagabalus it was made *metropolis*. 617 It is critical to note that Philadelphia received these imperial honors and privileges only after Sardis had already done so. Throughout the Roman period, the town existed in the shadow of the former Lydian capital and consequently, the Philadelphian past was often imagined in contrast to that of Sardis. 618 Burrell described the situation precisely: "If there is a single and persistent theme to Philadelphia's actions throughout the Roman imperial period, it is the pursuit of privileges that Sardis already held." 619

#### "IPHIGENEIA IN PHILADELPHIA"

Ancient authorities note that Philadelphia's population was heterogeneous, referring variously to the city's inhabitants as Lydians, Mysians, Myso-Lydians, and even Phrygians. 620 Whatever the Philadelphians thought of themselves in the second and third centuries CE, they too—like the inhabitants of many other cities in Roman Asia Minor—were keen to celebrate their imagined antiquity. 621 Today the most conspicuous physical traces of the contest of origins in which the cities of Roman Asia Minor engaged can be

<sup>615</sup> We know little about the Jewish community in Roman Philadelphia, apart from the fact that it was referred to as "the synagogue of Satan" in *Revelation* (3.9). Ignatius of Antioch, who in the second century CE wrote letters to seven churches of Asia (although not to Sardis), seems to have been anxious about the Judaizing tendencies of Philadelphian Christians. On the relevant passages of Ignatius, see Trebilco (1991:27-28). Malay (1994: no. 432 fig. 160) published an inscription that attests to a continued Jewish presence in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia in Late Antiquity: he tentatively dated to the fourth century CE a stele bearing a proper name ([1]ωσεφ) and a very schematic menorah from Cabarfakılı (NE of Philadelphia).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>616</sup> On the earthquake of 17 CE, see the references cited in the introduction to chapter 10 above. The affected towns that enjoyed imperial benefactions erected a monument with sculpted personifications of their various cities on its base; an ancient replica of this monument survives today, see Vermeule (1981).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>617</sup> On Neocaesarea, see *BMC* Lydia, Philadelphia, no. 55; see also Hemer (1986:157, n. 17) and Burrell (2005:236 n. 58); on Flavia, see *BMC* Lydia, Philadelphia, nos. 60-62; see also Hemer (1986:158) and Burrell (2005:236 n. 60); on *neokoros*, see Burrell (2004:126-129, 288-92, 333-335); on *metropolis* of Asia, see *SEG* 17.528 and Burrell (2005:237 n. 64).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>618</sup> When in the fourteenth century CE, Philadelphia succeeded in supplanting Sardis as metropolis of Lydia, the author of the indiction by which this was effected was aware that, even if on the ground there was little left of the great Lydian capital, Philadelphia was still eclipsed by Sardis in the imagination; accordingly, the imaginary grandeur of Sardis needed to be acknowledged after power was transferred to the relative newcomer. For the text of this indiction, see Foss (1976: no. 34).

<sup>619</sup> Burrell (2005:235-239, quote from p. 239).

<sup>620</sup> Strabo 12.8.12; Pliny Naturalis Historia 5.111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>621</sup> For a vivid ancient account of how these contests of origins were acted out before in Rome, see Tacitus *Annales* 4.55.

found in architectural reliefs, honorific inscriptions, and coins.<sup>622</sup> In the case of Philadelphia, coins in particular offer critical evidence concerning civic self-representation. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Philadelphians do not seem to have cared much for the Lydian past, instead they sought civic roots elsewhere, celebrating, for example, their Hellenistic founders, Macedonian ancestry and Roman benefactors.<sup>623</sup>

Curiously, the goddess Artemis Anaitis played a central role in the articulation of the imaginary past of both Philadelphia and Hypaepa (discussed in chapter 13 below): while the citizens of Hypaepa commemorated the deity's unimpeachable Persian ancestry, the Philadelphians chose instead to bypass both Persian and Lydian resonances. Barbara Burrell (2005) has shown that a previously misunderstood Philadelphian coin (see figure 12.1) paid tribute to the statue of Artemis Anaitis as if it were the effigy purloined by Iphigenia, Orestes, and Pylades from the land of the Taurians. As Burrell has argued: "It is likely [...] that Philadelphia illustrated the Iphigeneia myth under Trajan Decius because it gave it an ancient background, and perhaps also a connection to mainland Greece via founders from the epic world and the realm of Mycenae." <sup>624</sup> It may seem surprising that an Attalid foundation would claim such a remote origin for a local religious object, but what the Philadelphians lacked in history, they made up in love of country. As in "countless imperial settings" here too there were "locals eager to impress [...] both the antiquity of their land and its impeccable Homeric credentials." <sup>625</sup>

It is worth noting that by invoking the myth of Iphigeneia the Philadelphians could acknowledge the effigy's foreignness as well as its epic legitimacy and its centrality in Hellenic culture. The historical manipulation of the origins of the Philadelphian cult statue is especially poignant because such an aetiology explicitly acknowledges the "barbarian" origin of the statue, while avoiding associations with Lydians and Persians. The obscurity of the original Lydian settlement and its inhabitants' unwillingness to assert their "Lydianness" are surely relevant to the commemoration of the Iphigeneia myth in the Roman period, but more than pre-Hellenistic Philadelphia's former insignificance, it may be the imaginary magnificence of Sardis that made the proud Philadelphians look back to the exotic land of the Taurians for the ancestry of their divine image.

#### GEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY AND CIVIC IDENTITY

The earthquake of 17 CE was a major disaster for the city, but were it not for this cataclysm, some of our earliest substantial literary references to Philadelphia would not

<sup>622</sup> Price (2004).

<sup>623</sup> The Hellenizing tendencies of the city's coinage have long been noticed, see Ramsay (1910:394-395), Hemer (1986:154), and Burrell (2005). For Roman coins commemorating Macedonian ancestry, see Imhoof-Blumer (1897: Philadelpheia Neokaisareia no.5) and (1901: Philadelphia no. 2); see also *BMC* Lydia, Philadelphia, nos. 1-4, purportedly Hellenistic, seconded by Hemer (1986:154 n. 7), but not by Ramsay (1910:395) or Imhoof-Blumer (1897:113). A bust of Attalus II was erected in Lydian Philadelphia under the Severan emperors; see *SEG* 26.1313, and the bibliography in Malay (1994: no. 4). The city also honored the emperor Caracalla as "founder" on a building inscription, on which see Bartels and Petzl (2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>624</sup> Burrell (2005:247).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>625</sup> Williamson (2005:219) commenting on Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 13.88 where Pliny discusses whether the first-century CE traveler Gaius Licinius Mucianus could have read or not a letter of Sarpedon.

exist. However damaging, the earthquake did not rid Philadelphia of its inhabitants.<sup>626</sup> Although many locals left the city to tend to their famous vineyards in the "Scorched Land",<sup>627</sup> Philadelphia remained an important commercial center and a strategic base for military operations.

Curiously, seismicity seems to have been more than just an incidental part of daily life in the city; it shaped who the Philadelphians were, informing such things as their architectural practices and religious beliefs. This is remarkable, for Sardis and other neighboring towns were not less susceptible to earthquakes; and yet, local geological activity does not seems to have affected their mentality as much as it did that of the Philadelphians. Consider the following passages from Strabo, written shortly after the earthquake of 17 CE:

Μετὰ δὲ Λυδούς εἰσιν οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ πόλις Φιλαδέλφεια σεισμῶν πλήρης. οὐ γὰρ διαλείπουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι διιστάμενοι καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλο μέρος τῆς πόλεως κακοπαθοῦν· οἰκοῦσιν οὖν ὀλίγοι διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καταβιοῦσιν ἐν τῆ χώρα γεωργοῦντες, ἔχοντες εὐδαίμονα γῆν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων θαυμάζειν ἔστιν ὅτι οὕτω φιλοχωροῦσιν, ἐπισφαλεῖς τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες· ἔτι δ' ἄν τις μᾶλλον θαυμάσειε τῶν κτισάντων αὐτήν.628

After the Lydians are the Mysians and the city of Philadelphia, which is prone to earthquakes. The walls there are always cracked and in this and that part of the city they are seriously damaged; therefore few inhabit the city proper, and most spend their lives in the countryside and are farmers, since their land is fertile. But even though there are few, it is surprising that they are so fond of the place, considering that they occupy such unstable dwellings. But, in fact, one should be surprised rather at those who founded the place!

Another passage from Strabo notes the Philadelphians' attentiveness to geological activity:

καὶ ἡ Κατακεκαυμένη δὲ, ἥπερ ὑπὸ Λυδῶν καὶ Μυσῶν κατέχεται, διὰ τοιαῦτά τινα τῆς προσηγορίας τετύχηκε ταύτης ἡ τε Φιλαδέλφεια, ἡ πρὸς αὐτῆ πόλις, οὐδὲ τοὺς τοίχους ἔχει πιστούς, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν τρόπον τινὰ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>626</sup> On how earthquakes affect "towns and their individual fortunes" rather than having macrocosmic consequences, see Horden and Purcell (2000:306).

<sup>627</sup> Strabo 13.4.11 and 14.1.15; Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 14.75; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. κατακεκαυμένη. In addition to the literary sources, coins also celebrate Philadelphia's viticulture, see, for example, Imhoof-Blumer (1901:X. no. 4) and *BMC* Lydia, Philadelphia, no. 64. Hemer (1986:158-159), might have gone too far in arguing that "Dioynsus was the principal deity [of Philadelphia]", but viticulture was indeed important and, as Hemer agued, the Domitianic edict ordering the cutting down of vines must have been especially unpopular in Philadelphia.

<sup>628</sup> Strabo13.4.10.

σαλεύονται καὶ διίστανται, διατελοῦσι δὲ προσέχοντες τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντες πρὸς αὐτά. $^{629}$ 

And the "Scorched Land" too, which is occupied by Lydians and Mysians, got this appellation through such events [i.e. geological activity]; and in Philadelphia, the city near it, not even walls are safe, but rather daily they shake and crack somehow; they [i.e. the Philadelphians] continuously attend to what is happening to the earth and build their architecture accordingly.

In Lydia and elsewhere bizarre natural formations often serve as a resilient matrix for specific myths, but in Philadelphia the nearby landscapes incited rather the continued production of related, but ultimately distinct, narratives. The old scintillating tales of fire-breathing monsters and dragon-slayers set in the nearby "Scorched Land" yielded to prophecies suggesting that the end of the world would happen in nearby Phrygia and that it would involve a cosmic conflagration. <sup>630</sup> Seismic and geo-thermal activity including hot-springs in the vicinity of the city, <sup>631</sup> caverns fuming with noxious gases in the countryside, and most important of all, the haunting volcanic highland territory of the κατακεκαυμένη, emboldened some Christian Philadelphians to make the remarkable claim that the new Jerusalem would descend in their midst, in an otherwise insignificant site called Pepouza. <sup>632</sup>

What continuity there may have been between pre-Christian and Montanist divinatory practices in Phrygia is beyond the scope of this study, but it is no coincidence that in Roman Philadelphia both pagans and Christians "read" their seismically active landscape to foretell the future. 633 John Lydus repeatedly invoked his hometown of Philadelphia when discussing geological activities; in addition he claimed to know the meaning of different earth tremors and he recorded a pagan festival to appease earthquakes own. Lydus' geological interests cannot be explained simply as the leaning of an antiquarian. 634

Even before Philadelphia was founded, the local inhabitants of the region had been sensitive to geological activity. Although we do not know a great deal about what the Lydians themselves thought about the "Scorched Land" and the geo-thermally active region around Philadelphia, the little we do know allows us to examine at least two

<sup>629</sup> Strabo 12.8.18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>630</sup> See my comments on the Christian re-interpretation of Anatolian landscapes in chapter 1 above.

<sup>631</sup> On geothermal springs near Phildelphia, see Roosevelt (2009:57-58 with further references).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>632</sup> The "New Jerusalem" is prophesied in *Revelation* 21.1-3. On Pepuza, see Lampe (2004) and Tabbernee and Lampe (2008); the prophecy is recorded in Epiphanius *Panarion* 49.1.3. See also Barnes (1971:130-131) and Lane-Fox (1986:405).

<sup>633</sup> In addition, independent of geological activity, there is epigraphic evidence that Lydian polytheists were "using" individual prophets as intermediaries between themselves and their varied gods, see Malay (1999: no. 139 with further references). A remarkable inscription from neighboring Phrygia suggests that if one were not entirely sure whether pagan or Christian prophecy was more effective, one could address a prophet who was skilled in both "inspired scriptures" (πνευματικαί γραφαί, i.e. Christian writings) and Homeric verses; see Lane-Fox (1986:404-406) and Mitchell (1993: vol. 1, 46-51, with additional bibliography on Lydian prophets in n. 272).

<sup>634</sup> John Lydus *De Mensibus* 4.76, 4.115.

different perspectives, both preserved in passages attributed to, or derived from, Xanthus. On the one hand, we have a geo-mythological account, which almost certain preserves remnants of local Anatolian folklore and dates back at least to Homer, according to which Typhon's lair was in the "Scorched Land";<sup>635</sup> on the other hand, we have a rationalizing account, which attributed the formation of this extraordinary landscape to non-mythological causes.<sup>636</sup>

However dissimilar mythological and rationalizing interpretations may have been, they share an interest in using the landscape to reflect about the past. In other words, they answer a similar question: what brought this about? In contrast, the Christian account explained the landscape around Philadelphia as a sign of what was to come. This is a critical difference between the old and the new stories. While the myth of Typhon provided an aetiology, the martyr Pionius invoked the scorched land to illustrate a prophecy.

### EGYPTIANS IN PHILADELPHIA

Having examined local traditions about the antiquity and origins of Philadelphia, I turn to the perplexing claim of the sixth-century CE antiquarian John Lydus—arguably the city's most distinguished scion—who asserted that Egyptians had founded his hometown. Even if we accept that Philadelphia had turned its back on imaginary Lydia, this is rather surprising information: Egyptians? Really?

Lydus' text survives only in epitomized form:637

Ότι τὴν ἐν Λυδίᾳ Φιλαδέλφειαν Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπόλισαν. ὅτι οἱ περὶτὸν φιλόσοφον Πρόκλον μικρὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκάλουντὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνας ζῆλον διά τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν εἰδώλων. 638

[sc. John Lydus said] ...that Egyptians founded Philadelphia in Lydia; that those who spent time with the philosopher Proclus called Philadelphia "Little Athens" because of its zeal for the feasts and the shrines of the idols.<sup>639</sup>

Michael Maas considered Lydus' claim to be an example of exalted regionalism, but he did not try to explain Lydus' motivation.<sup>640</sup> Colin Hemer suggested that the assertion could be simply the result of confusion between a Macedonian and an Egyptian

 $<sup>^{635}</sup>$  See chapter 1 above.

 $<sup>^{636}</sup>$  Xanthus was a keen observer of landscape and he provides some of the earliest literary evidence for awareness of landscape change at a continental scale (see *FGrHist* 765F12 on why there are sea-shells in ancient Armenia, modern central Turkey); cf. Xenophanes of Colophon DK 21 A 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>637</sup> Maas (1992) is still the only book-length study in English on John Lydus; on Lydus' pride in his origins, see pp. 30-31.

<sup>638</sup> John Lydus De Mensibus 4.58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>639</sup> On the reason for Proclus's exile from Athens, see Marinus Vita Procli 15.

<sup>640</sup> Maas (1992:30).

founder: Attalus II Philadelphus and Ptolemy II Philadelphus;<sup>641</sup> while Hemer's hypothesis is appealing, there are alternative explanations involving not a historical equivocation, but rather a deliberate attempt on the part of the Philadelphians to participate in what Burrell labeled a "mythological duel" among cities.<sup>642</sup> Although this contest of origins may have reached its peak during the second and third centuries CE, it did not completely die out in later centuries despite the spread of Christianity. Rather, it continued to be waged among the intellectual elite in the great centers of learning of the Roman Empire.<sup>643</sup> Justinianic Constantinople was rife with intellectuals celebrating the imagined antiquity of varied Roman cities, much as the luminaries of the Second Sophistic had done so several centuries before them. Late antique scholars commemorated the imaginary origins of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, as well as those of lesser-known places, including their own hometowns, even when these were modest places. It is precisely in this agonistic context that we should interpret Lydus' claim that Philadelphia was founded by Egyptians.

Although Sardis is nowhere explicitly mentioned in the passage, for someone familiar with the rivalry, the obvious implication is that, however large the former Lydian capital may have loomed in the imagination, on the ground Philadelphia had become a more attractive city. But why Egyptians? It is well known that many Greek thinkers in Late Antiquity had a keen interest in "barbarian" wisdom; "<sup>644</sup> specifically Egyptian learning was thought to be very old indeed, perhaps older than any other type of knowledge. It is well known, for example, that many Neo-platonists had admiringly read the *Hermetica*. A Philadelphian with philosophical pretensions could thus claim to have Egyptian roots and imagine that his ancestors were even older than the founders of *autochthonous* and *protochthonous* Sardis.

Regardless of the exact motivations of the assertion that Philadelphia was an Egyptian foundation, Lydus—or whoever made this claim before him—did not have to concoct a story out of whole cloth, for Herodotus famously attributes the reliefs in Hittite style at the pass known today as Karabel to the Egyptian Pharaoh Sesostris, <sup>646</sup> and Xenophon records that Croesus' Egyptian troops were given cities in Western Anatolia close to the sea, including Aeolian Larisa, Cyllene, and Cyma. <sup>647</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>641</sup> Hemer (1986:154 n. 3).

<sup>642</sup> Burrell (2005:248-250).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>643</sup> In the fifth and sixth centuries CE, Nonnus and Macedonius Consul could still commemorate the great antiquity of Sardis; for the relevant texts, see Foss (1976: no. 8 for Nonnus and no. 9=*Anthologia Graeca* 9.645 for Macedonius Consul) with Robert (1937:303-304, and 1962:298 and 315-316) and Weiß (1995).

 $<sup>^{644}</sup>$  Kaldellis (2007:169) sees this growing regard for foreign learning among Late Antique Greek intellectuals as part of a movement with hieratic leanings and explicitly anti-Greek elements.

<sup>645</sup> Fowden (1986:196-212).

<sup>646</sup> Bergk (1866) first tentatively suggested emending the senseless μεγάστρυ to Sesostris, the Greek name of a semi-mythical Egyptian Pharaoh. According to this reading, the "stele of Sesostris" would be the thirteenth century BCE rock-cut relief in Hittite style which exists at a place known today as Karabel and is thought to have been described by Herodotus. If Bergk were right (as West (1989) believes), the imaginary presence of Egyptians in Lydia would extend back into the last quarter of the sixth century BCE; but this emendation is entirely dependant on Herodotus. On the Karabel relief, see Hawkins (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>647</sup> Xenophon Hellenica 3.1.7 and Cyropaedeia 7.1.45.

# 13 Нураера

#### Introduction

"Little Hypaepa", as Ovid calls this ancient town on the southern slopes of Mt Tmolus, was not well known in antiquity.<sup>648</sup> Today the town is primarily known—if it is known at all—as the setting for the myth of Arachne in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>649</sup> Although Hypaepa was relatively close to Sardis, its citizens, like those of Philadelphia (discussed in chapter 12 above), often chose to commemorate a past other than the Lydian when imagining their origins. Coincidentally the principal divinity in both Hypaepa and Philadelphia was Anaitis Artemis.<sup>650</sup> In both places the local cult statue was a symbol of civic identity, but while the inhabitants of Philadelphia believed that their effigy was the statue purloined by Iphigenia, Orestes, and Pylades from the land of the Taurians,<sup>651</sup> those of Hypaepa chose instead to celebrate the goddess' Persian ancestry.

In what follows I examine the tenacity of Persian traditions in Roman Hypaepa. After a geographical description, a historical overview and a discussion of local archaeological remains, I focus on Hypaepa's connections to Persia, discussing the lasting impact of Persian culture on local cultural practices. To conclude this chapter I suggest that even the myth of Arachne—that most "Lydian" of tales—may itself have had a Persian tinge that has hitherto been unnoticed. Throughout I use a combination of literary and epigraphic evidence dating mostly from the Roman and Late Antique periods.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Hypaepa (modern Günlüce) is located at 1,065 m.a.s.l. on the southern foothills of Mt Tmolus (see map). The town grew on opposite sides of a ravine, in a topographical situation that is somewhat similar to the better known Nysa ad Maeandrum. The site is virtually ringed by mountains except to the south where a broad fertile stretch of land separates it from the Cayster River; across the Cayster to the south rises the Messogis mountain range (modern Cevizli Dağ). The Torrhebian Lake (examined in chapter 3 above) is on a high plateau less than 10kms to the northeast of Hypaepa; further north over the Tmolus ridge, about 25kms away from Hypaepa as the crow flies, lies the city of Sardis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>648</sup> Ovid Metamorphoses 6.13 and 11.152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>649</sup> Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.1-138. Arachne was the insolent, but skillful local artisan who challenged Athena to a weaving contest, defeated the goddess, and was punished by being transformed into a spider.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>650</sup> On the peculiar order of the deity's names see below.

<sup>651</sup> Burrell (2005) and my comments in chapter 12 above.

<sup>652</sup> The main modern treatments are Reinach (1891:146-167) and Weber (1892), who collected and analyzed ancient literary sources and described the ruins; see also, Robert (1976), and also Boyce and Gernet (1991: s. v. Hypaepa in the index), who focus specifically on Persian culture in Hypaepa.

<sup>653</sup> Cf. Strabo 13.4.7: Ύπαιπα δὲ πόλις ἐστὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τμώλου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Καύστρου πεδίον. "Hypaepa is a city [found along the way] for those going from Tmolus to the Caystrian plain."

Hypaepa lies on two important ancient routes: an east-west road communicating the Aegean Coast to inner Anatolia, and a north-south route leading from the Hermus River plain over Mt Tmolus to the Cayster River plain; the latter route was the most direct—although not the easiest—way to go from Sardis to Ephesus. Both conduits may have served as paths for religious pilgrimage in antiquity. 654

#### HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Hypaepa is rarely mentioned in Greek or Roman literary sources.<sup>655</sup> Despite its relative obscurity, the town must have been prosperous in antiquity for the Cayster plain is remarkably fertile, producing abundant olives, as well as many of the famed fruits and nuts of the Lydians including grapes, figs, olives, chestnuts and walnuts.<sup>656</sup> There is virtually no evidence of a pre-Achaemenid settlement in modern Günlüce, which may suggest that Hypaepa was founded after the fall of Sardis in 546 BCE. The town probably served as a military outpost guarding the various north-south roads over Mt Tmolus, as well as east-west traffic along the Cayster valley.<sup>657</sup> Quite apart from its agricultural richness and strategic advantages, Hypaepa was set in the midst of a landscape that had been charged with meaning and memories since the Bronze Age.

The landscape around Hypaepa continued to be a site of heightened religious significance through Late Antiquity.<sup>658</sup> Although many deities were worshipped in Roman Hypaepa including Apollo, Zeus, Dionysus and Asclepius, Anaitis Artemis held pride of place. <sup>659</sup> The varied divinities celebrated on Hypaepan coinage are a testament to its poulation's diverse background. Some of the Hypaepan issues seem to represent allegorically the religious transformation brought about by Achaemenid occupation: one of the most complex examples is an issue depicting a young male figure that may be Dionysus holding an image of the Persian goddess and standing opposite the Emperor Septimius Severus; between the two figures is a flaming fire altar (see figure 13.1). <sup>660</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>654</sup> The east-west road is marked on the Peutinger Table, where Hypaepa is labeled ΥΠΕΠΕ. The north-south roads over Mt Tmolus have been studied by Foss (1979). For the use of these roads as routes of religious pilgrimage, see my comments in chapter 3 with the references cited there.

<sup>655</sup> For the few literary sources not discussed below, see Reinach (1891).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>656</sup> For ancient literary testimony concerning a variety of fruits and nuts grown around Mt Tmolus, see Theoprastus, *Historia Plantarum* 4.5.4; Sullivan (1989) analyzed the pollen record from the Torrhebian Lake and confirmed that there was sustained cultivation of fruit and nuts in the vicinity of Hypaepa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>657</sup> On the settelement of Persians in Hypaepa to guard roads over Mt Tmolus, see Boyce and Gernet (1991:204). For a Sardian inscription mentioning the "Hypaepan Avenue", see Foss (1976: no. 115).

<sup>658</sup> The peaks of Mt Tmolus were inhabited by many gods including Zeus Lydius, Apollo Carius, Dionysus, and the so-called Tmolian goddess: Anaitis Artemis, who was without a doubt the chief deity in Hypaepa. On Zeus Lydius, see John Lydus (citing Eumelus of Corinth) *De mensibus* 4.71=Pedley (1972: no. 14); on (Apollo) Carius, see Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90F15, with Bengisu (1994 and 1996) and my discussion in chapter 3 above; on Dionysus, see Euripides *Bacchae* 461-464=Pedley (1972: no. 257); on the "Tmolian Goddess", see Athenaeus (citing the Athenian tragedian Diogenes, also known as Oenomaus) *Deipnosophistae* 14.38.9=*Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Diogenes 1.7 (ed. Snell).

<sup>659</sup> Robert (1976:48) noted: "la cité a bien d'autres cultes et la déesse [i.e. Anaitis Artemis] paraît elle mème avec d'autres divnités et parfois dans un lien étroit avec Apollon; mais la désse a une idole toute speciale et ses images refletént encore la théologie de l'Avesta."

<sup>660</sup> Imhoof-Blummer (1897) Taf. IV.9; see also Boyce and Gernet (1991:235).

Although Roman Hypaepa was relatively small, its population was heterogeneous in its religious affiliations: in addition to polytheists, Christians, and devotees of the Lydo-Persian goddess, there is evidence for a thriving Jewish community through the Late Roman period.<sup>661</sup>

"Great Sardis", as Ovid calls the city to contrast it with "Little Hypaepa", must have always loomed large in the political and cultural life of the Hypaepans, but the nature of the relationship between the two settlements changed under Roman rule. Although until the peace of Apamea, Sardis and Hypaepa were closely related, Roman administrators managed to separate one from the other, for Hypaepa became fiscally part of the *conventus* or assize district of Ephesus, rather than that of Sardis, although Sardis was much closer than Ephesus.<sup>662</sup>

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Hypaepa was once adorned with a great temple of Anaitis Artemis. As Mary Boyce and Franz Gernet have noted, this building "would have been visible to all those who traveled the much-frequented road between Ephesus and Sardis." The Hypaepans proudly celebrated their temple on local coins, some of which depict a classicizing hexastyle structure with a figure of the goddess inside (see figure 13.2). It is possible that the siting of the sanctuary of Anaitis Artemis in Hypaepa may signal the deliberate attempt of Achaemenid official to co-opt a landscape that was already sacred before the Persian capture of Sardis. Whether or not this was the case, it is clear that Persian traditions had an impact on the conceptualization of local Anatolian divinities in and around Hypaepa. 664

Achaemenid presence outside of Dascyleium did not leave many monumental traces in Western Asia Minor; even at Sardis, which served as satrapal capital, the impact of Persian civilization has been reconstructed mostly through the analysis of non-monumental objects. 665 While varied ruins of Hellenistic and Roman date were visited and described by early modern travelers, little is visible in Günlüce today. In the nineteenth century, Charles Texier recorded that Turks and Greeks systematically dismantled the buildings of ancient Hypaepa and used them in the construction of the town of Ödemiş

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>661</sup> There is inscriptional evidence of a thriving Jewish community in Roman Hypaepa: Young Jews (Ἰουδα[ί]ων νεωτέρων), for example, erected a public marker to signal their preferred spot in the local gymnasium and one "Samuel, also called Julianus", a Hypaepan Jew, council member and Roman citizen, made a donation to the synagogue at Sardis. On epigraphic evidence for Hypaepan Jews, see Reinach (1885), Trebilco (1991:177), and Kroll (2001: no. 34).

 $<sup>^{662}</sup>$  Independent of the taxing arrangement, Hypaepa's own political and religious importance may have reached as far as Clarus, near the Aegean Coast, and Hierapolis in Phrygia as suggested by a coin of Hierapolis discussed in chapter 3 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>663</sup> Boyce and Gernet (1991:204).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>664</sup> See my discussion in the section entitled *Persian Nymphs and Persian Maidens* below.

<sup>665</sup> On Achaemenid Sardis, see Dusinberre (2003). In the former Lydian capital there is little incontrovertibly Persian monumental architecture with the exception of the so-called pyramid tomb, on which, see Ratté (1992), and the so-called Lydian Altar in the sanctuary of Artemis, on which see Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1975:88-103); on the Lydian Altar, see also my comments in chapter 10 above. Another important example of monumental Achaemenid architecture in the vicinity of Lydia is the tomb known as Taş Kule some seven kms east of ancient Phocaea, on which see Cahill (1988).

(4kms to the southeast).<sup>666</sup> Extensive spoliation may have occurred already during the Byzantine period, when Hypaepa continued to be a prosperous small town. At any rate, the ruins visited in the nineteenth century included a theater, several bridges, an aqueduct, and a large complex of indeterminate purpose with an elaborate vaulted substructure.<sup>667</sup>

#### ETYMOLOGY OF HYPAEPA

The place where Hypaepa used to lie is now called Günlüce, but at least one of its former Turkish names, Tapai, attested to the continued existence of the ancient toponym until the nineteenth century CE. In Greek, the name "Y $\pi\alpha$ i $\pi\alpha$  means literally "underheights" ( $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{o}+\alpha\tilde{i}\pi\alpha$ ). The grammarian Herodian recognized the etymology of the name, and knew or assumed that there was a nearby cliff called  $\tau\dot{o}$  A $\tilde{i}\pi\sigma\varsigma$ . Robert identified a steep rise of the Tmolus mountain range north of Ödemiş as the natural feature called  $\tau\dot{o}$  A $\tilde{i}\pi\sigma\varsigma$ , but insisted that Hypaepa was a distortion of an old indigenous name. See no compelling reason to assume with Robert that the name of the town is merely a curious Hellenization. In fact, very close parallels to this formation can be found among the toponyms of Western Asia Minor, for example in the name of the Ephesian fountain Y $\pi\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ 105, meaning literally: "under-olive".

#### PERSIAN HYPAEPA

### Persian priests

Despite the overall lack of monumental architectural remains in Hypaepa, there is abundant archaeological material to prove that the town remained a focus of Persian culture in Lydia long after the Hellenistic period; in fact, Hypaepans continued to observe Persian traditions into Late Antiquity. Epigraphic evidence of Persian influence in Hypaepa extends back to the Hellenistic period and—almost exceptionally for Lydia—includes official proclamations. This situation contrasts sharply with most other known centers of Persian cult in the region where inscriptions usually date to the Roman period and are almost invariably personal dedications.<sup>671</sup> The impact of Persian culture in Hypaepa is detectable in such varied things as personal onomastics, funerary art, civic inscriptions, coinage, and religious practices.

<sup>666</sup> Texier cited in Robert (1967:32 n.31).

<sup>667</sup> Reinach (1891) and Weber (1892).

<sup>668</sup> Herodian records the following etymological explanation of the town's name: "Υπαιπα πόλις Λυδίας κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τὸ παρακείμενον ὄρος, ὑπὸ τὸ Αἶπος. "Hypaepa, Lydian city founded under the mountain which stands against it, under "the Height"."

<sup>669</sup> Robert (1976:27 n. 11) concluded: "Ainsi la géographie permet de comprendre une séche notice et de ne pas la mutiler par correction, et de gagner une ètymologie ancienne—et fausse malgré son accord avec la geographie—du nom Hypaipa, curieusement hellénisé."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>670</sup> Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* (quoting Creophylus) 8.62.7; see also Tischler (1977: s. v. Ὑπέλαιος). Note that Ὑπέλαιος functions practically as a two-ending adjective: ἡ κρήνη ἐστὶν Ὑπέλαιος καλουμένη (Str. 14.1.4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>671</sup> The only other city in Lydia with such a marked interest in its Persian ancestry was Hieracome/Hierocaesarea by the river Glaucus on the Hyrcanian plain, on which see Boyce and Gernet (1991: s. v. Hierocaesarea (Hiera Kome) in the index).

Remarkably, Pausanias records that in his own day fire-priests in Hypaepa still spoke a foreign language (probably Avestan).  $^{672}$  A fragmentary inscription from Hypaepa dating roughly from the time of Pausanias confirms the presence of local religious officials designated as  $\mu \acute{\alpha} \gamma oi.$  In addition, a well-known first- or second-century CE inscribed stele from Hypaepa offers a striking example of the tenacity of Persian traditions in the city: the inscription honors a young local citizen referred to as "Theophronus, son of Theophronus [...] son of Hermolaus, son of Theophronus, hereditary priest of Anaitis-Artemis".  $^{674}$  As Boyce and Gernet suggested the text shows that, despite bearing Greek names, the priesthood of Artemis in Hypaepa was a hereditary office, in accordance with Persian traditions; furthermore, the hereditary name "Theophronus" meaning "of godly mind" may have been chosen specifically in accordance with their office; the pointed inversion of the divinity's titles emphatically call attention to the goddess' Persian name over her Greek and Anatolian appellation.  $^{675}$ 

Religious officials in Hypaepa—and not just Zoroastrians—continued to bear Persian names well after the second century CE: in 325 CE, Hypaepa sent a bishop named Mithras to the council of Nicaea. While in many cases such minor onomastic details may signal nothing more than a conservative naming fashion, it is likely that the Persian resonance of the name Mithras would not have gone unnoticed at a reunion where the nature of religious authority was being debated. Like the Philadelphians who chose to believe that their town was an Egyptian foundation, some Hypaepans chose to celebrate their Persian origins as a means of legitimizing cultural authority. The citizens of Hypaepa could thus retroject their roots into an antiquity that was imagined to be extremely remote; even a Christian bearing a Persian name could have felt connected to a venerable tradition of Persian wisdom. Persian wisdom.

## Persian nymphs and Persian maidens

The pre-existing ancestral and sacred landscape around Hypaepa may have influenced the siting of the sanctuary of Anaitis Artemis. As explained in chapter 3 above, the mountain peaks around the town were sites of heightened religious significance. The nearby Torrhebian Lake would have been particularly welcoming to a divinity closely associated with water such as the Persian goddess, whose ancient proper name was also Sarasvati or "she who possesses waters." 678

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>672</sup> Pausanias 5.27.5-6. On Persian priests in Asia Minor, see Wiekander (1946) and Boyce and Gernet (1991:201).

<sup>673</sup> Herrmann (2002).

<sup>674</sup> Reinach (1891:151-157); Robert (1976:31); De Hoz (1999: no. 3.58). (1991:224).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>675</sup> The names of the goddess are sometimes inscribed in this order in Hypaepa and also in Hieracome/Hierocaesarea; on the relevance of the inversion with respect to the more common collocation Artemis Anaitis, see Boyce and Gernet (1991:224).

<sup>676</sup> Robert (1967:31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>677</sup> Xanthus (quoted by Diogenes Laertius 1.2=FGrHist 765 F32) asserts that Zoroaster lived sixthousand years before Xerxes crossed the Hellespont. On the Greek dating of Zoroaster, see Kingsley (1995).

<sup>678</sup> Lommel (1954).

Conversely, it is also likely that Persian traditions influenced the local mythology of landscape. Feminine water spirits had been venerated there since at least the archaic period; these creatures were usually thought to be benevolent nymphs, or as the Lydians were wont to call them, "muses". <sup>679</sup> The Torrhebian nymphs mentioned in passing in chapter 3 were originally indigenous deities associated with mountain springs and lakes. But as occurred elsewhere in Anatolia, local nymphs were quickly identified with Persian deities associated with water sources including rivers, springs and lakes, such as the Ahurani. <sup>680</sup> That these Lydo-Anatolian creatures were celebrated in the Hellenistic period may be surmised also from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6.14-15, a passage that has sometimes bothered readers and led them to propose unnecessary emendations to get rid of the surprising mountain nymphs gamboling in the vineyards of Tmolus.

The nymphs of the Tmolus were closely associated with music. As discussed in chapter 3 above, a local nymph gave birth to Torrhebus, and in turn the ancestral heroes went on to great musical accomplishments: he invented special melodies, instructed the Lydians in music, and even added a fifth string to the lyre.<sup>681</sup> The association of musical innovation on Mt Tmolus is not restricted to nymphs. The fifth or fourth century Athenian tragedian Diogenes (also known as Oenomaus) gives an account of the songs sung around the Torrhebian Lake in the classical period.

κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας τε παρθένους ποταμῷ παροίκους Ἅλυι Τμωλίαν θεὸν δαφνόσκιον κατ' ἄλσος Ἄρτεμιν σέβειν ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων ἀντιζύγοις ὁλκοῖς κρεκούσας μάγαδιν, ἔνθα Περσικῷ νόμῳ ξενωθεὶς αὐλὸς ὁμονοεῖ χοροῖς<sup>682</sup>

I hear the Lydian maidens, as well as the Bactrian ones who live by the river Halys, 683 venerating the Tmolian goddess,

<sup>679</sup> In addition to the passage of Stephanus of Byzantium (quoting Nicolaus of Damascus) cited in chapter 3 above, consider also the scholion to Theocritus 7.92: εἰ μή τις παρέργως τὰς νύμφας ἀκούει Μούσας· οὔτως γὰρ αὐτὰς οἱ Λυδοὶ καλοῦσιν. "Unless, incidentally, [he means] someone hears the muses: for the Lydians call them thus;" and Photius (s.v. νύμφαι); for a brief tretment of Lydian nymphs in literary sources, see Larson (2001:199-200). Nymphs were venerated throughout Lydia as is amply attested epigraphically, see, for example, De Hoz (1999: cat. nos 7.17, 8.19, 11.1, 40.26 and 46.1)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>680</sup> Thus, for example, the author of the famous trilingual stele from Lycian Xanthos uses the Greek word "nymph" as well as the Lycian word *eliyana* as equivalents of the originally Avestan term *Ahurani*. On the stele "Ahurani" appears as an Aramaic transliteration of the Avestan term meaning: "(watery) wife of Ahura Mazda, on which see Laroche (1979:114) and Humbach (1981).

<sup>681</sup> See Plutarch Moralia [De Musica] 1136c=(Maehler ad pae. 13): Πίνδαρος δ' ἐν Παιᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Νιόβης γάμοις φησὶ Λύδιον άρμονίαν πρῶτον διδαχθῆναι, ἄλλοι δὲ Τόρηβον πρῶτον ταύτη τῆ άρμονία χρήσασθαι, καθάπερ Διονύσιος ὁ "Ιαμβος ἱστορεῖ. "Pindar in his paeans about the wedding of Niobe says that Lydius was first taught harmony, but others [say] that Torrhebus first used this harmony, just as Dionysius the iambic poet relates." And Boethius De Musica 20: quintam vero chordam post Torrhebus (Migne printed Chorebus) Atys (Migne printed Athys) filius adjunxit, qui fuit Lydorum rex. "And then Torrhebus added a fifth chord; he was the son of Atys, who was king of the Lydians." Lydian melodies were often described as "soft" by ancient authors (see Plato, Republic 398e and Plutarch Moralia 831, cf. Aristotle Politics, 1342b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>682</sup> Diogenes (also known as Oenomaus) in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.38.9=*Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Diogenes 1.7 (ed. Snell).

Artemis, under the laurel-shaded grove, with antiphonal, drawn-out songs of triangles and *pectides* striking the *magadis*, where according to the Persian custom the inviting flute is of one mind with the choruses.

These musicians were not themselves nymphs, but rather Lydo-Persian maidens involved in actual religious ceremonies that took place in the vicinity of Hypaepa. Their instruments of choice were distinctly Persian. The impact of Hypaepan women on the Greek imagination seems to have had a lasting influence; one of the few other references to Hypaepa in the ancient literary record concerns the exceptional beauty of the town's women.<sup>684</sup>

#### A Persian Arachne

Today Hypaepa is primarily known as the setting for the myth of Arachne. Although the myth of Arachne is related in full only in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,<sup>685</sup> the story was already known to Virgil.<sup>686</sup> There are also later references not derived from Ovid, but distantly related to the version of the myth Ovid knew, found in Pliny, the scholiasts, and the mythographers.<sup>687</sup> Quite apart from its literary attestations, it is clear that the myth's contents are indebted to Greek and Roman popular beliefs: spiders were proverbially clever and, at least according to some authorities, exceptionally haughty; the idea that the work of a cunning woman was like that of a spider was also commonplace;<sup>688</sup> moreover, weaving—whether human beings or chelicerate anthropods were doing it —was imagined to be characteristically feminine: in fact, some ancient authors went so far in this division of labor by gender that they asserted that male spiders hunted while females weaved.<sup>689</sup>

Commentators often state that Ovid's Greek source is specifically Nicander's *Heteroeoumena* and that both Nicander and Ovid are reworking a Lydian tale.<sup>690</sup> The notion that the myth of Arachne is Lydian depends entirely on the toponyms and ethnonyms used in the *Metamorphoses*.<sup>691</sup> But despite the specifity of Ovid's geographic references, the context of the narrative is more generally Asiatic, rather than specifically

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>683</sup> I have translated maiden twice to avoid geographical confusion; on "the Bactrian maidens that live by the river Halys", see Boyce and Gernet (1991:271).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>684</sup> See Stephanus of Byzantium, s. n. Hypaipa.

<sup>685</sup> LIMC (s. n. Arachne).

<sup>686</sup> Vergil Georgics 4.246-247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>687</sup> On these ancient references see Rosati (2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>688</sup> This is expressed, for example, in Aeschylus' Agamemnon (1492).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>689</sup> Pliny the Elder Naturalis Historia 11.28: feminam putant esse quae texat, marem qui venetur; ita paria fieri merita coniugio.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>690</sup> Note that the scholia to Nicander commenting on *Theriaca* 8 and 12 (ed. Crugnola, pp. 37 and 40 respectively) may reveal familiarity with the version of the myth related by Ovid and also with the myth of an Athenian Arachne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>691</sup> In fifteen lines (6.5-20), Ovid uses seven proper names, or adjectives derived from proper names, to locate his narrartive: *Maeoniae*, *Colophonius*, *Phocaico*, *Lydas*, *Hypaepis*, *Timoli*, and *Pactolides*.

Lydian. <sup>692</sup> Even the speaking-names of the protagonist and her relatives are patently Greek. <sup>693</sup> Ultimately, there is little incontrovertibly Lydian about the tale except Arachne's hometown, which may not have been a Lydian foundation at all. There is no trace of the story of Arachne in Hypaepa proper, or anywhere else in Lydia for that matter. In fact, there is no incontrovertible depictions of this myth in ancient Greek art. <sup>694</sup>

The story narrated by Ovid may very well be a local myth, but this does not necessarily mean that it was a tale told by people who thought of themselves as Lydian. Long before the Hellenistic period Sardis had been a cosmopolitan urban center where Anatolian stories were told alongside Persian and Greek ones. A Late Antique mention of the story of Arachne suggests that there may have been a connection between Arachne and Persia. The relevant references are found in various passages of Nonnus' *Dyonisiaca*. When Nonnus mentions Arachne he uses two surprising ethnonyms to describe her: Persian and Babylonian. While it is possible that Nonnus did not imply much more than Oriental with these terms, 696 it is intriguing that in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the story takes place in a town that was prone to celebrate its Persian ancestry. The confrontation between the Greek Athena and the Asiatic weaver already points to a setting with mixed artisanal practices. Could even this most popular of "Lydian" myths be testimony of Hypaepa's Persian heritage?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>692</sup> For example, even if we believe that Colophon may have had a mixed Ionian-Lydian population, the same cannot be said for Phocaea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>693</sup> While Arachne means "Spider", that of her son "Closter" (cf. Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 7.196) means Spindle, and that of her father, Idmon, means "Wiseman."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>694</sup> The Corinthian aryballos believed by Weinberg and Weinberg (1956) to illustrate the myth of Arachne certainly depicts women at the loom, but there is nothing that suggest that this is the specifically myth of Arachne. The architectural frieze in the temple of Minerva in the *forum transitorium* is the lone Roman visual representation of the myth of Arachne, on this relief see Fredrick 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>695</sup> Dionysiaca 18.215, 40.303, and 43.409. As I have stated in chapters 1 and 4 above, Nonnus had access to Anatolian myths of which we know virtually nothing, and he was familiar specifically with the local traditions of several small settlements in Lydia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>696</sup> Conflation of Near Eastern ethnonyms was common among Greek and Roman authors who were often less interested in specifics than in conveying a sense of spatial and temporal foreignness. Zoroaster himself was sometimes described as Chaldean, which by implication meant "Babylonian", see Kingsley (1995:201).

## Conclusions

Sart is on the road that leads to the highland pastures of Boz Dağ... In olden times this was an eminent city, but now only the fortification wall still stands. Water flows there.<sup>697</sup>

In the mind of the great Ottoman historian and geographer Kâtip Çelebi,<sup>698</sup> Sardis was little more than a spring and the ruins of its fortification wall; he did not even mention the lofty columns of the temple of Artemis, two of which still stand to their full height, nor the funerary tumuli of the last Mermnad Kings, so conspicuous from the northern foothills of Mt Tmolus. Although Kâtip Çelebi may have known that "in olden times" the waters of the river that flowed by Sardis used to carry gold, he simply noted, like many other visitors before and after him, the unforgiving distance between the "eminent city" of memory and its sorry physical remains: a spring was all that was left of the capital of Croesus.

But even in the second century CE, when Sardis was still a major metropolis, the distance between the imaginary city and the city on the ground was noticed. Thus, Plutarch deemed it necessary to caution a citizen of Roman Sardis:

ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο λέγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, "ἀρχόμενος ἄρχεις, ὑποτεταγμένης πόλεως ἀνθυπάτοις, ἐπιτρόποις Καίσαρος· 'οὐ ταῦτα λόγχη πεδιάς,' οὐδ' αἱ παλαιαὶ Σάρδεις οὐδ' ἡ Λυδῶν ἐκείνη δύναμις.<sup>699</sup>

This too you must say to yourself: "Since you rule as a subject, and the city is under the control of proconsuls, the governors of Caesar. This is not the 'spear of the plain' (cf. Sophocles *Trachiniae* 635), nor the Sardis of old, nor the famed empire of the Lydians!"

Plutarch's words immediately raise intriguing questions: did his interlocutor actually need reminding that the fabled Lydian city and the Roman city were not one and the same? Would Plutarch's adressee look out from the acropolis of Sardis onto the Gygaean Lake and remember that Homer had mentioned Mesthles and Antiphus, "lakeborn leaders of the Maeonians"? Would he think of them as his own ancestors? And when traveling through the country, did he believe that the great funerary tumuli in the countryside were part of his own past, or did he consider them foreign objects rather, the colossal, but ultimately dumb traces of barbarian antiquity: dirt piled upon treasure? Like every inhabitant of Roman Lydia, he too would have to choose what to imagine when confronted with the local landscapes, monuments, and objects of "olden times."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>697</sup> Kâtip Çelebi (known in the west as Haci Kalfa), *Cihanuma* (Constantinople 1145H=1732), cited by Foss (1976:no. 39). On Kâtip Çelebi's *Cihanuma*, see Hagen (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>698</sup> On Kâtip Celebi's *Cihanuma*, see Hagen (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>699</sup> Plutarch, *Praecepta gerendae republicae* 17 (813 D, E)=Foss (1972:no. 228).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>700</sup> Homer *Iliad* 2.864-866=Foss (1972:no. 238).

A century ago, Sir William Ramsay thought that in the Roman period the distance between the Sardis of memory and the Sardis on the ground was unfathomable:

Sardis was one of the great cities of primitive history: in the Greek view it was long the greatest of all cities. At the beginning of record it stands forth prominently as the capital of a powerful empire. [...] In the Roman period it was almost like a city of the past, a relic of the period of barbaric warfare, which lived rather on its ancient prestige than on its suitability to present conditions.<sup>701</sup>

Archaeology has demonstrated that in many ways this was a gross overstatement: Sardis was a prosperous Roman provincial center, outclassed among its neighbors only by Pergamum and Ephesus. However, few cities in the region could compare to what Sardis had been and still was in the imagination; in this sense at least, Ramsay was right, Sardis was a city of the past. And for some of its citizens, as well as for many others, its imaginary existence was not altogether independent from its physical one. Thus even in the Roman period people chose to remember and celebrate Sardis as "the outstanding city of the Lydians," "protochthonous and autochthonous," "nurse of wealth" and "age-mate of dawn." These memories were embedded in a material matrix composed of the physical traces of "olden times."

The thirteen chapters above constitute an attempt to sketch out a general topography of memory in Late Hellenistic and Roman Lydia. By examining places and things that were believed to be charged with ancient meaning, as well as the narratives variously attached to those places and things, I have illustrated a wide variety of engagements with the local past. While I am aware that in antiquity there was only a vague sense of the layering of cultural remains in the region, I have drawn attention to the fact that multiple memory horizons were accessible to different communities and individuals. Thus, even when the Lydian tumuli prompted memories of a period when Lydia was ruled by kings, not everybody chose to remember specifically Croesus and Gyges; some focused rather on the mythical pre-Mermnad past, embodied in such characters as Tmolus or Tantalus and their descendents, while others preferred to look back to a vague heroic antiquity of Homeric pedigree. While some of these narratives coincide more or less with historical events, others seem to be based in myth and fable; similarly, some of them can be shown to have been drawn from Anatolian traditions extending back for centuries, even millennia, while others were ad hoc tales, produced on the spot. Regardless, both those "remembering" Anatolian tales, and those "fabricating" alternative interpretations, were engaged in assertive acts of creation, for there was no selfevident or given past.

Many of the chapters above provide evidence for what Antony Spawforth cautiously termed "the projection of a degree of Lydian identity" in Roman Asia Minor. 702 While this regional identity may have been partly "rooted in a demographic continuity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>701</sup> Ramsay (1910:354).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>702</sup> Spawforth (2001:375).

from the pre-Hellenistic age,"703 it was sustained primarily because local pasts continued to be relevant in the cultural and political life in Roman Asia Minor, especially between the second and the fourth centuries CE. Anthony Kaldellis touched in passing upon the issue of regionalisms based on indigenous cultures in Roman Asia Minor, and asserted that the adduced evidence for a Lydian identity was meager and that it did not affect the overwhelming impulse of provincials to become Roman.<sup>704</sup> By drawing attention specifically to archaeological evidence, including natural and artificial landscapes, as well as re-used monuments and objects, and by combining this material with the better known literary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources, I have shown that the local past was subject to constant manipulation, and that some of these manipulations involved physical interventions. More specifically, I have shed light on antiquarian interests in the Greek and Roman world by exploring the often neglected physical aspects of Late Roman antiquarianism. I believe that as more attention is paid to the manipulations of the material matrix of memory, it will become increasingly clear that the sophisticated redeployment of physical remains was pervasive in Late Roman urban environments. I hope that the evidence compiled above shows that, far from being a marginal phenomenon, the deliberate celebration of local pasts was part and parcel of life in Roman Lvdia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>703</sup> Spawforth (2001:393).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>704</sup> Kaldellis (2007:84), who explains what he understand by "Romanization" in the eastern empire on pp. 45-46 and 54-55. On the issue of regionalisms in Roman Asia Minor, see also Mitchell (2000).

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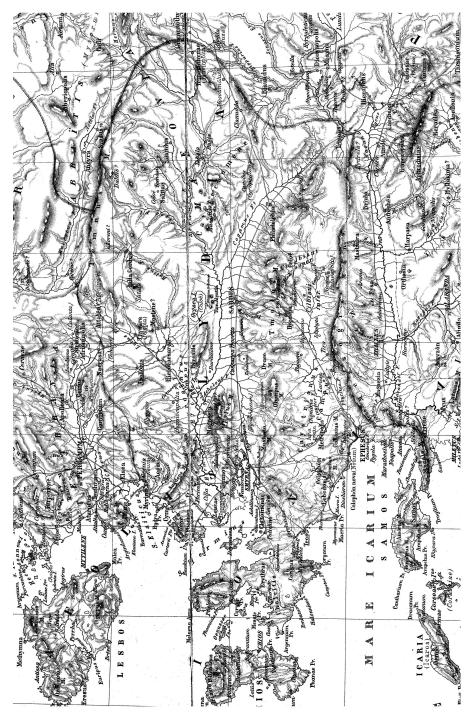
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Map of Lydia. Detail from Kiepert & Kiepert (1893).



1.1 View of the κατακεκαυμένη or "Scorched Land", northeastern Lydia (Photo courtesy of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr.)



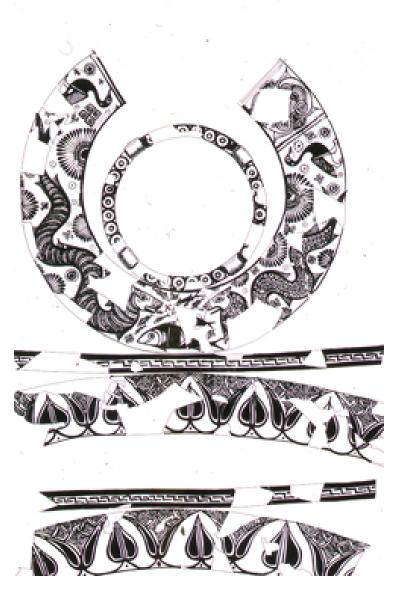
1.2 Coin of Sardis, minted under Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235 CE); rev.: Tylon and Masnes, dead snake between them, and herb of life; from *BMC* Lydia Sardis no. 179.



1.3 Coin of Sardis minted under Emperor Gordian (238-244 CE); rev.: Masnes with club and defiant snake with herb of life; from Robert (1937, planche 1, no. 7).



1.4 Detail of sixth-century BCE *lebes* from Sardis, P93.25: 10069;
 Manisa, Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum 8055.
 (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



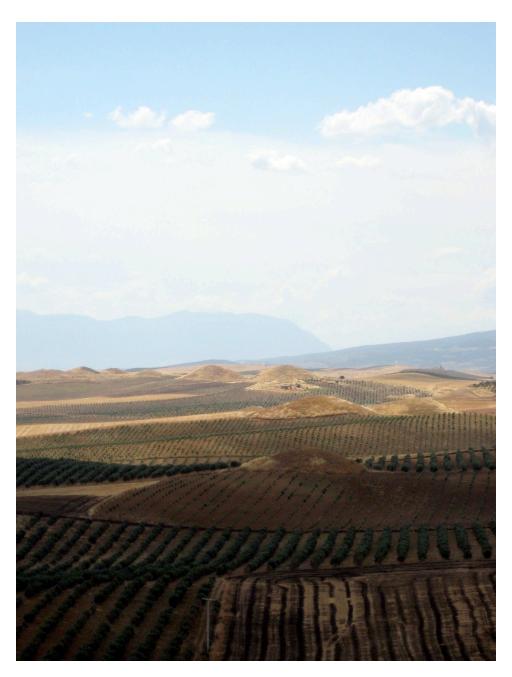
1.5 Drawing of sixth-century BCE *lebes* from Sardis, P93.25: 10069; Manisa, Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum 8055. (Drawing courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



1.6 Ninth-century BCE neo-Hittite representations of *illuyankas* on orthostate from the Lion's Gate at Arslantepe (Malatya), now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara (Photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin at http://www.hittitemonuments.com/)



2.1 View looking south of the Gygaean Lake, tumulus of Alyattes, and Tmolus mountain range (Photo courtesy of Christopher Roosevelt)



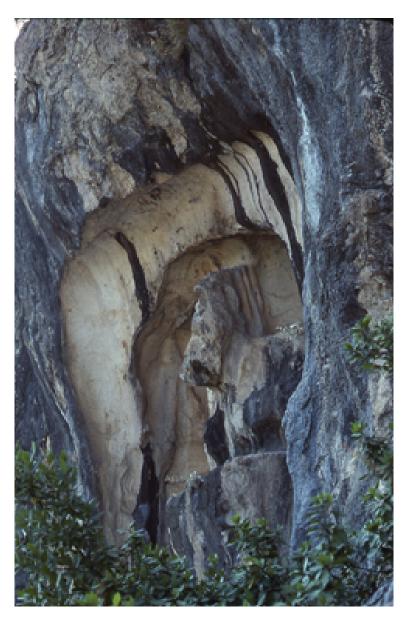
2.2 View of tumuli in Bin Tepe (Photo courtesy of Brianna Bricker)



3.1 View of Torrhebian Lake (modern Gölcük) (Photo courtesy of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr.)



3.2 Coin of Hierapolis, minted between 101-225 CE; obv.: Apollo; rev.: Mopsus and Torrhebus (From BMC Phrygia, Hierapolis no. 32)



4.1 "Taş Suret" near Akpınar on Mt Sipylus (Photo courtesy of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr.)



4.2 "Yarıkkaya" on Mt Sipylus (Photo courtesy of Shane Solow from http://www.losttrails.com)



4.3 "Throne of Pelops" on Mt Sipylus (Photo courtesy of Shane Solow)

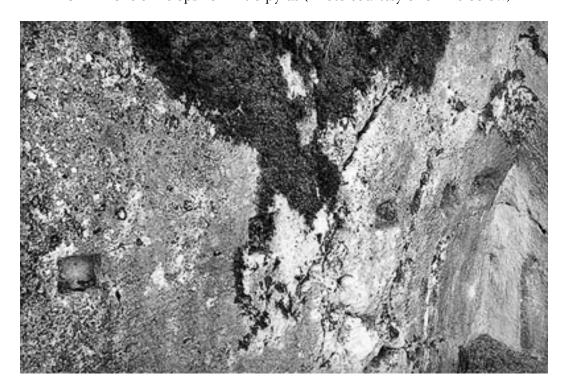


Figure 4.4 Remains of rock-cut features on Mt Sipylus (Photo courtesy of Shane Solow)

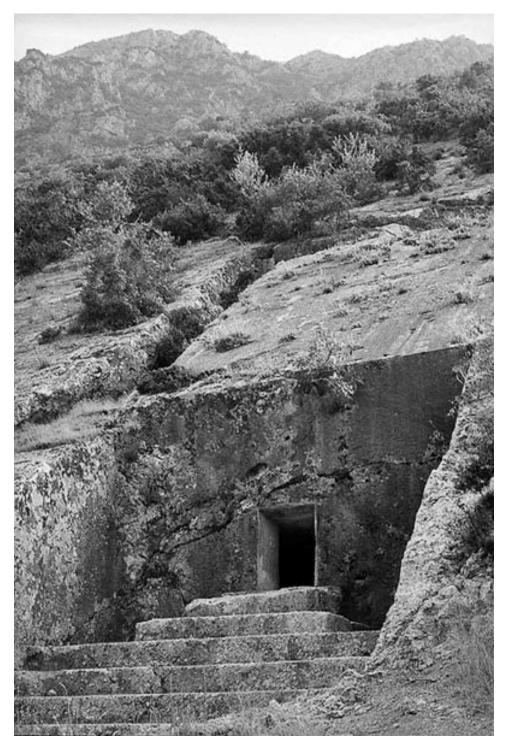


Figure 4.5 "Tomb of Tantalus" on Mt Sipylus (Photo courtesy of Shane Solow from http://www.losttrails.com)



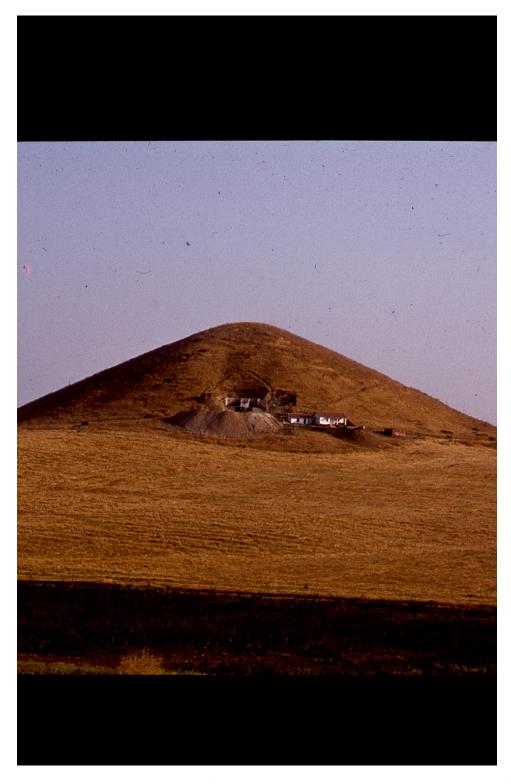
4.6 "Niobe" on Mt Sipylus (Photo courtesy of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr.)



5.1 General view of Bin Tepe (Photo courtesy of Christopher Roosevelt)



5.2 View looking north to Tumulus of Alyattes in Bin Tepe (Photo by Felipe Rojas)



5.3 Karnyarık Tepe in Bin Tepe (Photo courtesy of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr.)

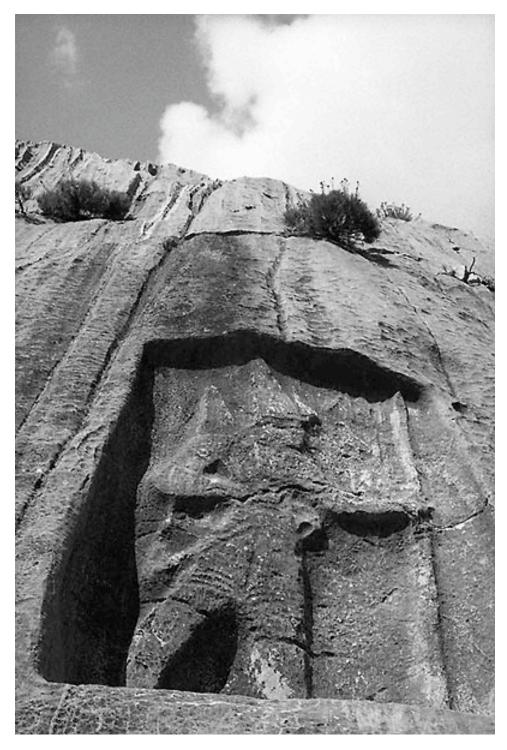


Figure 5.4 Thirteenth-century BCE rock-cut relief in Hittite style at Karabel (Photo courtesy of Shane Solow from http://www.losttrails.com)



6.1 Coin of Maeonia, minted between 147-161 CE; Heracles on obverse; Omphale with lion-skin and club on reverse. (From *Roman Provincial Coinage* http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk temporary number 1327)



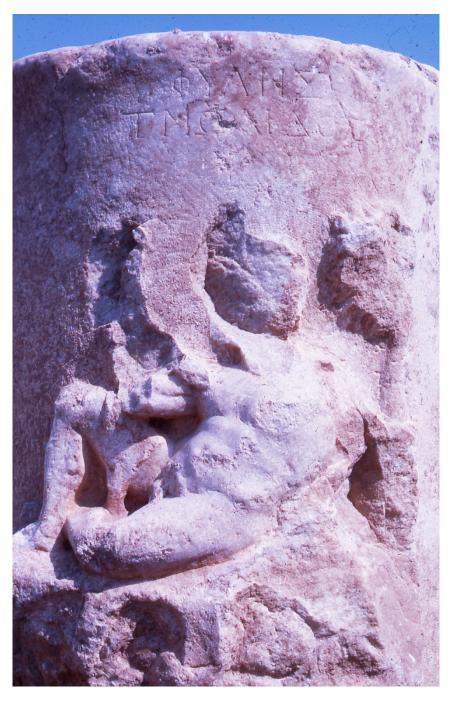
6.2 Late-Hellenistic "Omphale" amphora from Sardis, P59.412 A, B: 1802; Manisa, Archaeologial and Ethnographical Museum 2186. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



6.3 Detail of Late-Hellenistic "Omphale" amphora from Sardis, P59.412 A, B: 1802; Manisa, Archaeologial and Ethnographical Museum 2186. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



7.1 Altar of Tmolian Tribe. Sardis IN 60.19. (Photo courtesy of Robert Horner)



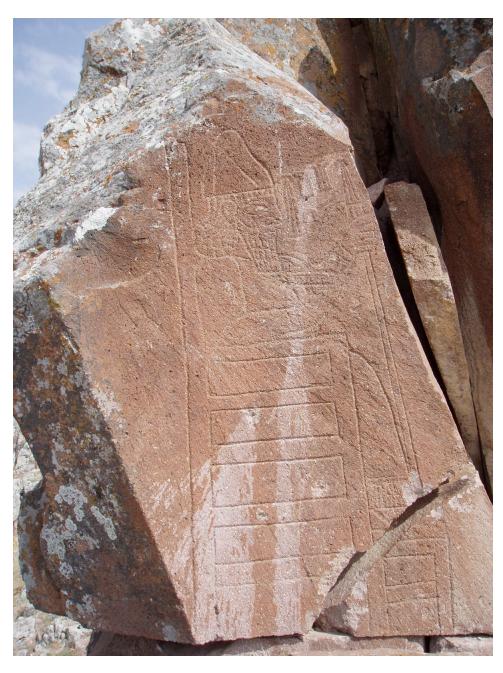
7.2 Detail of sculptural relief and inscription on altar of Tmolian Tribe. Sardis IN 60.19. (Photo courtesy of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr.)



7.3 Tomb of Gyges (BnF Paris ms. Supplément grec no. 247, f18r)



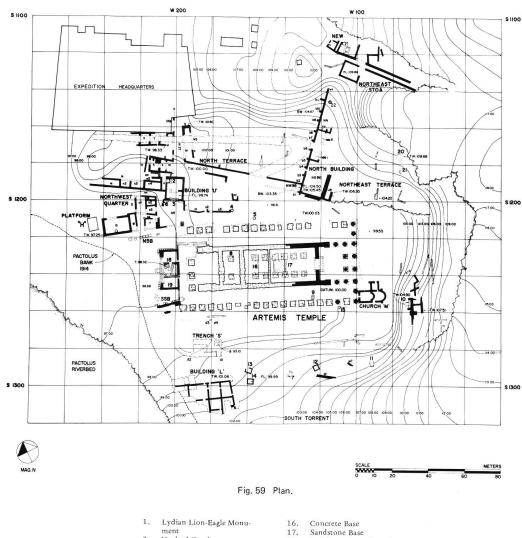
7.4 Tomb of Tmolus (BnF Paris ms. Supplément grec no. 247, f18v)



8.1 Ninth-century bce Luwian relief (of man in throne) from Kızıldağ (Photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin)



9.1 Archaic terracotta tile fragment from Sardis. T60.35; 2914; Manisa Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum 1673. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



- ment Vaulted Tomb
- Marble Steps, Building U Terracotta Wells

- Stelai Sarcophagus Mortgage Inscription on Wall
- Two Small Columns Exedra Monument Vaulted Tombs 10.
- Terracotta Well

- Building LA, Lydian Altar Perimeter Structure 18.
- 20,21. 22. Bases Well

Hatched walls existed in 1914, since

Levels based on datum 100,00 (138.38 a.s.l.)

10.1 Plan of sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis (Drawing courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



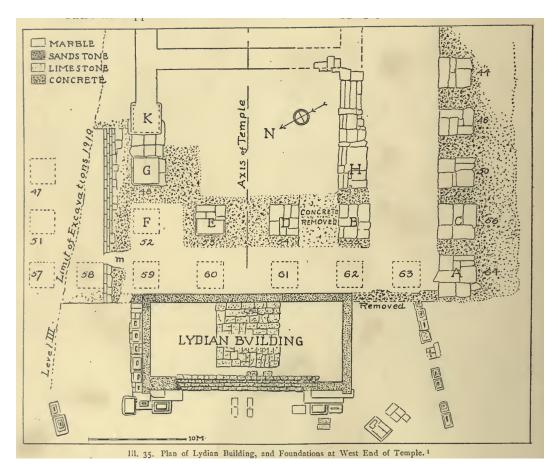
10.2 View looking west of Temple of Artemis at Sardis (Photo by Nuri Bilgi Ceylan from the series *Turkey Cinemascope*)



10.3 View looking south of Temple of Artemis at Sardis (Photo by Felipe Rojas)



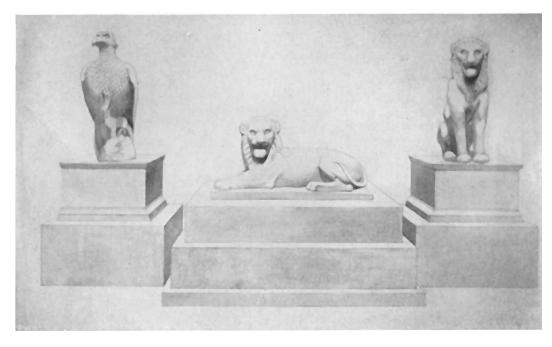
10.4 Plan of Lydian Altar: LA1 (square structure in the middle), LA2 (rectangular structure encompassing LA1), and Lydian stele bases abutting LA2



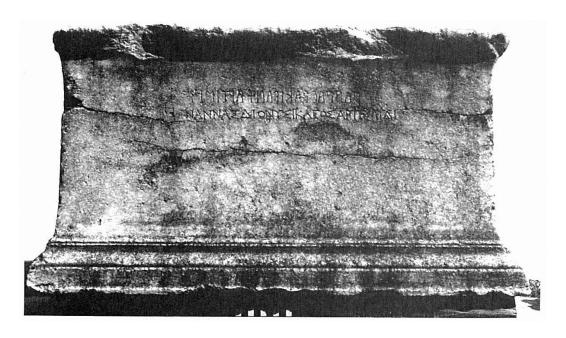
10.4b Plan of Lydian Altar (labeled "Lydian Building"), and west end of temple; from  $Sardis\ I,\ ill.\ 35.$ 



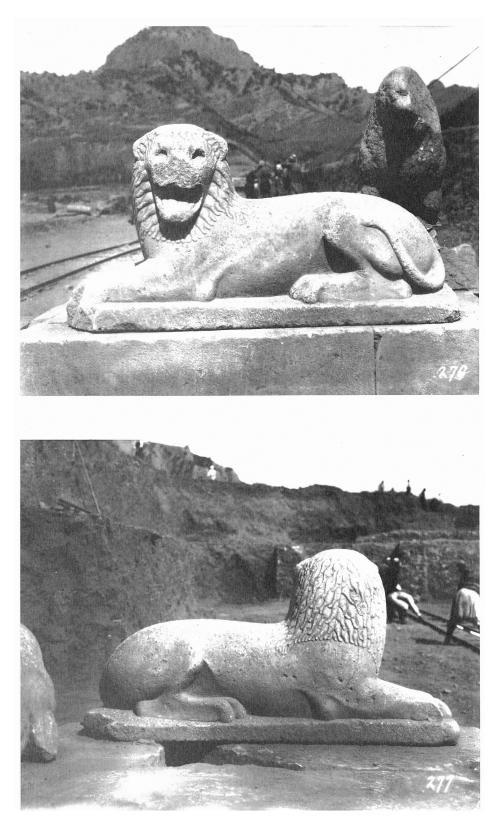
10.5 Photograph of Nannas-Bakivalis monument during excavation (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



 $10.6\ {\rm T.\ L.}$  Shear's reconstruction of Nannas-Bakivalis monument; from Shear (1931, fig. 4)

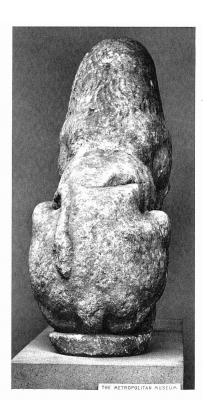


10.7 Inscribed base from Nannas-Bakivalis monument.
Inscription=Gusmani (1964: no. 20)
(Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



10.8 Recumbent lion from Nannas-Bakivalis monument. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums 4028. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)

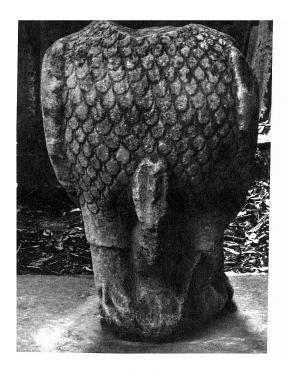




10.9 Sejant lion from Nannas-Bakivalis monument.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.5.9; Gift of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1926.

(Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)

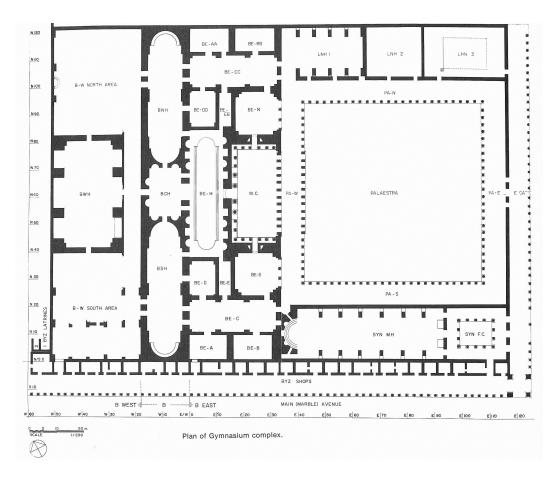




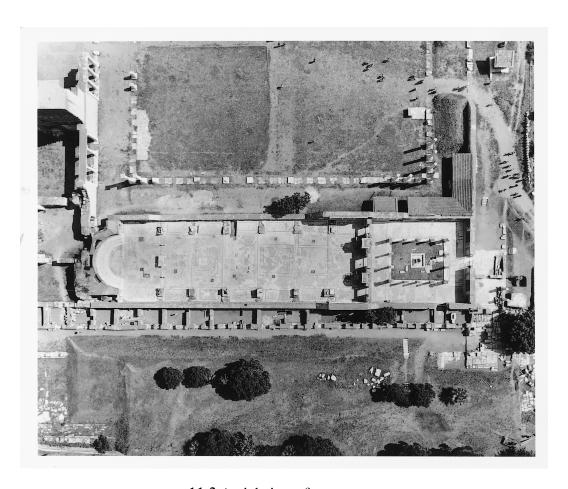
10.10 Eagle from Nannas-Bakivalis monument; Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4032 (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



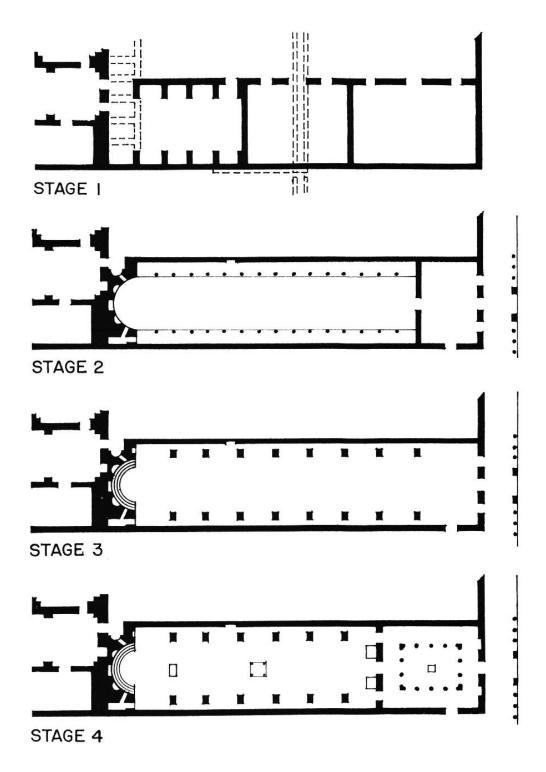
11.1 View of forecourt of synagogue and bath-gymnasium complex (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



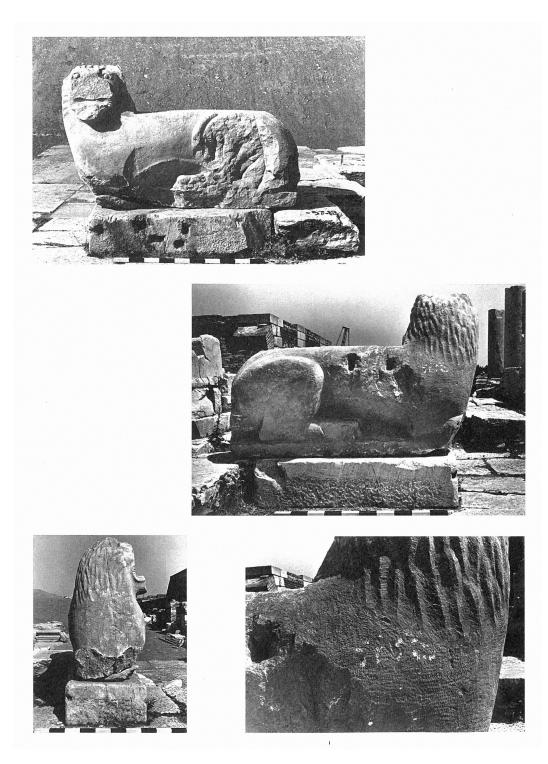
11.2 Plan of bath-gymnasium complex; the synagogue is the elongated structure with peristyle forecourt and apse on the lower right hand corner (Drawing courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



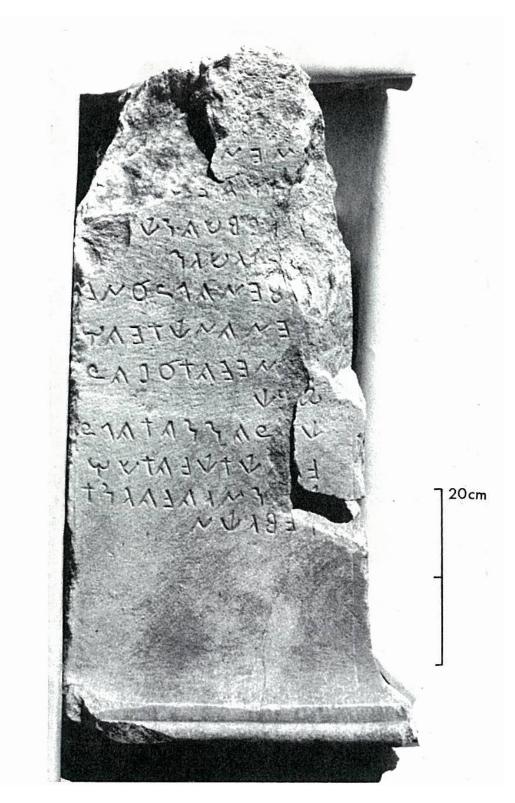
11.3 Aerial view of synagogue (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



11.4 Synagogue phase plans (Drawing courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



11.5 Lion from outside the synagogue. S73.1: 8125. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



11.6 Synagogue inscription in an epichoric script. Sardis IN63.141. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



11.7 Synagogue lectern and reproductions of addorsed lions that may have flanked the lectern. (Photo by Felipe Rojas)



11.8 One of two addorsed pairs of lions that may have flaked lectern. Sardis S63.37A, B: 5394; Manisa Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum 4032. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



11.9 View of synagogue looking east (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)



11.10 Revetment from synagogue incised with depiction of Daniel and lions. (Photo courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis)





12.1 Coin from Philadelphia showing Trajan on the obverse and Iphigenia, Orestes, and on the reverse Pylades "rescuing" statue of Artemis from the land of the Taurians; from Burrell (2005, figs. 1a and 1b)



13.1 Coin of Hypaepa, minted under Septimius Severus (r. 145 – 211 CE), showing "Dionysus" holding an effigy of Anaitis Artemis, standing opposite Septimius Severus, in front of Persian fire altar; from Imhoof-Blumer (1897), Taf. IV.9.



13.2 Coin of Hypaepa; obv. Marcus Aurelius; rev.: hexastyle temple of Anaitis Artemis; cult figure inside; from *Roman Provincial Coinage* http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk temporary number 1284