

Iron Age Western Anatolia: The Lydian Empire and Dynastic Lycia

Christopher H. Roosevelt

1 Introduction

Two Iron Age cultures of western Anatolia that emerged in the aftermath of the collapse of Late Bronze Age (LBA) systems merit special discussion because of their importance both as cultures with indigenous traditions and languages and as geographical, political, and cultural intermediaries between the Near Eastern and Aegean worlds: the Lydians in central western Anatolia and the Lycians in southwestern Anatolia. The LBA histories of Lydia and Lycia were presumably related in as much as the two regions were likely the heartlands of western Anatolian groups identified in Hittite archives – the Seha River Land and Mira, on the one hand, and the Lukka Lands, on the other – and they featured significantly in Hittite territorial campaigns in the west. They are related also in their unfortunate dearth of evidence pertaining to the transition from the LBA to the Early Iron Age. Yet, despite the clear and common impacts of interactions with other Anatolian, Greek, and later Achaemenid Persian cultures, the Iron Age histories of Lydia and Lycia remain almost entirely distinct.

The history and archaeology of early 1st millennium BC Lydia is illuminated by a combination of pseudo-historical, historical, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, providing a rich synthesis of the sociopolitical, economic, and religious traditions of this indigenous and territorially unified kingdom down to the Persian conquest in the mid-6th century BC. While much of the material record in 6th century Lydia cannot be sorted according to specifically Lydian versus

Achaemenid features – a result of a strong degree of cultural continuity – a clear picture of the pre-Achaemenid Lydians can be drawn. The Iron Age history and archaeology of Lycia before its mid-6th century BC conquest by the Persians, however, remain almost entirely unknown. Yet, Lycian traditions attested in and after the 6th century presumably owe at least as much to the continuity of older, local traditions as they do to the introduction of foreign features. Furthermore, while Lydia remained politically and geographically cohesive throughout both Lydian and Achaemenid hegemony, at no point in its early history can Lycia be defined as imperial, or even federal, and its dynastic history under the Achaemenids displays a territorial and, perhaps, political fragmentation that may have resembled its LBA configuration.

Our knowledge of Lydia and Lycia derive from a long tradition of scholarship beginning with early travelers in the 17th through 19th centuries who relied heavily on histories and rich anecdotes relating to these areas in Classical literature, and whose “archaeological” activities consisted primarily of collecting and/or cataloguing sculptural, architectural, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence for Western audiences. Early pictures of Lydia and Lycia were thus painted from the perspective of Classical Greek and Roman understandings of the local cultures of Asia Minor, as Anatolia was commonly known in Classical sources. Such sources directed scholarly interest toward the primary urban sites of the regions: Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and Xanthus, the capital of Lycia, at least during certain periods. More recently, archaeological excavations, regional surveys, and linguistic studies have highlighted the indigenous, Anatolian character of these cultures, and expanded research foci beyond primary centers to hinterlands and rural settlements. With reference to all such sources, this chapter aims to provide overviews of the Lydians and Lycians in western Anatolia from their earliest archaeological attestation to the Persian conquest in Lydia and to the loss of local administrative control during the Achaemenid period in Lycia.

2 Early Lydia

The obscurity of early Lydia, among its Aegean and western Anatolian neighbors in the Early Iron Age, is demonstrated by a lack of secure answers to seemingly basic questions regarding the origins of the Lydians and the extent of their territory. From where and when did Lydian-speaking populations arrive in Lydia? What was the territorial definition of Lydian culture at this time? Primary obstacles to answering such questions include a dearth of historical and archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, while Lydian origins remain debated, the probable core of early Lydia was the area surrounding its eventual capital and only known urban settlement of the Iron Age: Sardis, where over half a century of excavations have uncovered stratified occupation sequences beginning in the LBA. Located at the southern edge of the valley of the Hermus (Gediz) River, along the middle stretch

of its course from Mount Dindymus (Murat Dağı) to the Aegean Sea, Sardis and its immediate environs were undoubtedly the heartland of Lydia from its early days through the establishment of the Lydian Kingdom and later Empire. According to later Classical sources, the Lydian Kingdom included at least the valleys of the Hermus and Cayster (Küçük Menderes) rivers and their tributaries, separated by the Tmolus (Boz Dağı) range. A string of peaks and ranges separated inland Lydia from coastal Ionia and Aeolis to the west, while mountainous uplands to the north and east shared borders with Mysia and Phrygia, respectively. Ancient accounts vary as to whether parts of the Caicus (Bakir) and Maeander (Büyük Menderes) river valleys, on the northwest and south, respectively, were part of Lydian territory. This core region, then, contained diverse topography – rivers and lakes, broad and fertile valley floors, rolling and forested uplands, and lofty peaks reaching more than 2,000 meters above sea level – as well as varied resources – abundant water, wood and stone, richly arable land and precious metals, most notably gold. The discovery of gold, or rather the natural alloy of gold and silver called electrum (Ch. I.16), in the Pactolus (Sart) river at Sardis may, in fact, have been a primary attraction in the early settlement of the site in the LBA. But who were the first settlers of Sardis?

Toward the end of the LBA the region described above belonged to two vassal kingdoms of the Hittites, according to texts found at Hattusha (Chs. I.30, II.38). Mira, the better known of the two, had its capital at Apasa (Classical Ephesus) and controlled an elongated swathe of territory stretching from the Aegean toward the interior along the Maeander and Cayster river valleys. North of Mira and probably separated from it by the Tmolus range was the Seha River Land, with its capital probably in central Lydia and coinciding territorially with most of northern Lydia and perhaps the Caicus river valley as well (Hawkins 1998). The unnamed capital of the Seha River Land may have been located recently in central Lydia, not at Sardis but near the shore of the Gygaean Lake (Marmara Gölü) at Kaymakçı, the size and monumental remains of which suggest its probable regional significance (Luke and Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt 2009, 2010). It was during the LBA when Kaymakçı was a regional capital, then, that Sardis, 18 kilometers to the southeast, appears to have been first settled.

The inhabitants of these western Anatolian vassal kingdoms of the LBA are usually thought to have spoken Luwian, an Indo-European dialect related to Hittite (Nesite) and Palaic, among other languages, all descending from Common Anatolian, the speakers of which are thought to have entered Anatolia by or sometime in the 3rd millennium BC. By the 7th century BC, at the very latest, however, it is clear that the inhabitants of Iron Age Lydia were speaking and recording things in their native tongue, Lydian. Known from around 115 inscriptions of the 6th–4th centuries, most of which are funerary in nature, Lydian is a dialectical descendant of Common Anatolian and is thus a member of the larger Indo-European language group. It had developed from its common Anatolian roots over a long time before its appearance in written form. If the Seha River

Land was primarily Luwian-speaking in the LBA, then, Lydian speakers must have entered Lydia some time after the collapse of LBA society in the 12th century, but before the appearance of written Lydian in the 7th century. Those who adhere to this view usually cite a Bronze Age origin for the Lydians somewhere in northwestern Anatolia, from where they later migrated south to Lydia (Melchert 2010). Citing the paucity of evidence for Luwian speakers in Bronze Age central-western Anatolia, however, other scholars think it likely that Lydian speakers inhabited the area already in the Bronze Age (Yakubovich 2008a). Thus, the first settlers of Sardis would have been Lydian speakers, as would the inhabitants of Bronze Age political centers in the area, notably Kaymakçı. Although both the pseudo-historical evidence of Greek accounts and archaeological data have been brought to bear on this problem, no firm resolution has emerged.

Greek accounts written well after the fact, yet perhaps containing kernels of truth, name many early kings of Lydia. Yet the earliest Greek account we have for this area, Homer's *Iliad*, written down some time around 700 BC, mentions nothing at all of a place called Lydia, referring to the same area, rather, as Maconia. For later Greek authors, such as Herodotus and Strabo, writing in the 5th and 1st centuries BC, respectively, Maconia was an early name for Lydia – and this may have been the case, since Maconia appears to have roots in a LBA toponym of the Seha River Land (van den Hout 2003). At any rate, while Homer mentions neither Lydia per se nor its kings, others give accounts of numerous Lydian kings that appear to be irreconcilable, and the existence of none of these kings can be substantiated before the rise of the Mermnad Dynasty in the early 7th century, for which we have firm historical evidence.

The clearest account of early Lydian successions is by Herodotus (1.7), who reports that two dynasties ruled in Lydia before the Mermnads. The first of these was the Atyad Dynasty, with an eponymous founder named Atys, whose son, Lydus, gave his name to the region and people. Little else is revealed of this earliest Lydian dynasty, yet it is probably apocryphal given the nature with which it provides a neat history for the name of the Lydians. Herodotus knew the second dynasty of Lydia as the Heraclids, and he reports that Heraclid kings ruled for 22 generations, a total of 505 years, before the usurpation of Candaules by the first Mermnad king, Gyges. While the rule of Gyges is historically corroborated by the Assyrian archives of Assurbanipal (668–627 BC), which help to date his accession to c.680 BC and refer to him as Gugu of Luddi, the reigns of his predecessors have no external historical support. Nevertheless, it may be more than an interesting coincidence that the Heraclid Dynasty dawned, according to Herodotus, around 1185 BC, or 505 years before the reign of Gyges (c.680 BC). This would place the beginning of Heraclid rule in Lydia (and the end of Atyad rule, if historical) to just the time when LBA society in western Anatolia had fallen into turmoil. Unfortunately, archaeological evidence for this period of transition neither confirms nor denies such circumstances.

Limited excavations at Sardis have exposed levels extending well into the LBA and indicate the occupation of the site at least by this time. A burnt level is attested at some point toward the end of the LBA, but neither the date, the circumstances, nor the extent of this burning are firmly established. The exposure is too small to warrant any far-reaching conclusions about conflagrations at Sardis during a time when many sites in the eastern Mediterranean were destroyed and/or abandoned.

Abandonment, and possibly destruction as well, are attested, however, at Kaymakçı and other LBA citadels in central Lydia. In the Iron Age, such citadels remained abandoned in favor of settlement in other locations with both upland and lowland situations. Aside from this shift in settlement patterns, certain production technologies in central Lydia, including those for mudbrick and ceramics, also seem to change between the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. As for the burning level at Sardis, however, the timing and nature of such changes are too poorly understood to determine whether they derive from external or internal developments or from a combination of the two. Thus the archaeological record at Sardis and in central Lydia in general cannot yet distinguish between changes in population and changes in local, socioeconomic conditions during the transition from the LBA to the Iron Age.

The archaeological record at Sardis as it progressed into the Iron Age, however, especially ceramic evidence, bespeaks the general cultural affinities of Sardians during these times. Just as in the LBA, when the Seha River Land and Mira were intermediaries between the Hittites and their Aegean adversaries, to the east and west, respectively, and their material culture featured both Anatolian and Aegean characteristics, the evidence of the Early Iron Age shows shifting affinities from inland to coast among Anatolian, especially Phrygian and Aegean Greek features (Ramage 1994). By the late 8th century, just before the advent of the Mermnad Dynasty, Lydian material culture continued to show similarities with these two broad cultural regions. By this time, though, some classes of evidence, especially ceramics, appear to show a significant increase in Greek features that can be correlated with historically documented interactions between the Mermnad kings and the Greek city-states of coastal western Anatolia during the 7th century.

3 The Lydian Kingdom and Empire

Lydian interactions with coastal Anatolian Greek city-states naturally dominate the primarily Greek written sources that document the period of the Mermnad Dynasty, dating from c.680 to the mid-540s BC. Yet interactions with central Anatolian and Near Eastern powers are illustrated historically as well as archaeologically. The intermediary nature of Lydian territories between East and West, along with the Mermnads' eagerness to interact in both directions, helped produce a capital city, Sardis, a kingdom, and later an empire suffused with

cosmopolitan internationalism. The dynasty is defined by five kings reigning in hereditary succession, from Gyges (c.680–644 BC) to Ardys (c.644 to the late 7th century BC) and Sadyattes (late 7th century to c.610 BC), followed by Alyattes (c.610–560 BC) and Croesus (c.560 to the mid-540s BC). The military campaigns of each of these kings are chronicled by Herodotus and others, but the reigns of Gyges, Alyattes, and Croesus are known best.

Herodotus tells a romantic tale about Gyges' usurpation of Candaules' Heraclid throne involving superlative beauty, hubris, and honor (1.8–12), yet Gyges' rise appears to have been enabled by external support from Caria and external sanction from the Greek oracle at Delphi, just as it may ultimately have resulted from internal revolt or feuding (Ramage 1987). Shadowy as his beginnings may be, by c.664 BC Gyges was embroiled in territorial defenses against Cimmerian invaders who were laying waste to much of the Anatolian peninsula. We know of these invaders from Greek accounts, but more explicitly from the Assyrian archives of Assurbanipal that mention Gyges' requests for military assistance (Cogan and Tadmor 1977; Spalinger 1978). Specific confrontations between the Lydians and Cimmerians are noted in c.664 and 657, and again in c.644 BC, when Gyges was allegedly killed in battle. The Cimmerian problem long-outlasted Gyges' reign, however, causing difficulties throughout the 7th century for his immediate successors, one of whom, Ardys, also requested Assyrian assistance. According to Greek sources, the threat was at last put down by Gyges' great-grandson, Alyattes. Even then, remnant Cimmerian populations near coastal Adramytteion, just northwest of Lydia proper, may have prompted Alyattes to install his son Croesus there as governor.

Even while occupied with the Cimmerian threat to their immediate east, however, Gyges maintained diplomatic and military activities in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean, notably sending mercenaries to Egypt to assist Psammetichus I between c.662 and 658 BC. At the same time, Gyges attacked Ionian and Aiolian Greek city-states, including Smyrna, Colophon, and Miletus, to the west, and his successors Ardys and Sadyattes kept up similar campaigns. Ardys even captured Priene. There is little evidence that Priene or any other coastal areas were held for long, however, as the territorial bounds of the Lydian Kingdom appear never to have encompassed the Aegean coast. Lydian control probably stretched inland by the late 7th century, with the Phrygian capital of Gordion (Ch. II.42) serving as an important symbolic, if not also strategic, conquest. The real expansion of Lydian territories, however, came later during the reigns of Alyattes and Croesus, when the eastern border of Lydia was established at the central Anatolian Halys (Kizilirmak) river and Croesus began to exact annual tribute from all conquered states to its west.

The eastern border of Lydia was set at the Halys river as a compromise between the Lydian king Alyattes and the Median king Cyaxares, whose armies had previously fought to a standstill over some years. Herodotus (1.74) reports that a total eclipse of the sun (dated astronomically to May 28, 585 BC) interrupted the

inconclusive battles and helped precipitate the negotiation of a boundary between Lydian and Median territories at this river. He also says the treaty was witnessed by the kings of Babylon and Cilicia and was further cemented by a Lydian–Median royal marriage alliance. Alyattes’ daughter, Aryenis, was wed to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, and it is likely that Alyattes or his kin reciprocated by taking a Median wife of royal blood. Such marriage alliances were by no means limited to Lydian diplomacy in the Near East, and seem to have been a defining feature of Lydian interactions with Greek polities. Carian and Ionian Greek wives bore children to Alyattes and a daughter of Alyattes was wed to Melas, the tyrant of Ephesus. Croesus, whose mother was Alyattes’ Carian wife, thus had an Ionian half-brother and both Ephesian and Median brothers-in-law. The trend extends back even further to the founder of the dynasty, Gyges, whose mother was said to be Phrygian and whose wife was Mysian. This long tradition of royal intermarriage between Lydians and other western Anatolian cultures is only one example of interactions between such territories on many cultural levels. Increasingly strong ties with Greek cultures were notable in the spheres of religious practice and artistic production, among others, and are well documented in Greek sources.

Lydian kings, for example, appear to have regularly patronized Greek sanctuaries, as has been established for Gyges, Alyattes, and Croesus. All three of these kings made rich offerings to Apollo at his oracle at Delphi, and Alyattes rebuilt one temple and founded a second temple dedicated to Athena at Assesos. Croesus made dedications at a wider array of sanctuaries, including those at Thebes, the Amphiaraiion, Sparta, Didyma, and Ephesus, and he commissioned precious works of fine craftsmanship from Greek artisans of Chios and Samos. Furthermore, inscriptions in Lydian and Greek attest Lydian technical and financial contributions to the construction of the monumental temples of Athena at Smyrna and Artemis at Ephesus, respectively. These two cities may have had particularly close connections to Lydia, perhaps because they would have served as its most important maritime ports of trade, at least under the reign of Croesus (Kerschner 2010).

The richness of Lydian interactions with other western Anatolian and Aegean Greek peoples and polities, however, never seemed to have limited, nor to have been limited by, Lydian attacks and eventual territorial conquest. Alyattes followed in the footsteps of his forebears by attacking Miletus and Smyrna, besieging Priene and invading Clazomenae. Croesus attacked all these again, yet significantly altered Lydian diplomacy in the area by imposing annual tribute on each of the places he conquered. Thus Croesus transformed the Lydian kingdom into an empire, with territories spread across most of Anatolia west of the Halys river, including the coastal Aegean region, but excluding, for reasons unexplained by Herodotus (1.28), the coastal Mediterranean areas of Lycia and Cilicia. Just as it had been the capital of the Lydian Kingdom, Sardis became the capital of the Lydian Empire, and its imperial status was reflected in new monuments built throughout the city and in its immediate environs.

Sardis, the only known urban settlement in all Lydia during these times, flourished during the 7th and 6th centuries BC under Mermnad rule, primarily that of Alyattes and Croesus. Located among the northern foothills of the Tmolus Range, along the southern margin of the Hermus River valley, Sardis likely gained importance from its strategic location: it sat along major routes of communication, had an extremely defensible acropolis and could exploit an abundance of nearby resources, including wood and stone in the mountains, arable land in the plain, and fresh water from springs and rivers. The topography of the site was shaped by rivers flowing north from the mountains that defined between them residual hills of local conglomerate bedrock. The most important of these was the Pactolus, the river that bore the silver-gold alloy electrum extracted in abundance by the Lydians. To its east lay the most intensively inhabited areas of Sardis, atop and covering the foothills of its acropolis, a naturally well-fortified citadel. West of the Pactolus was another precipice known today as the Necropolis because of the rock-cut chamber tombs and other burials of Lydian and later periods that cover its lower foothills.

By the late 7th or early 6th century, and perhaps earlier, the urban area of Sardis was defined by a monumental fortification wall that enclosed c.108 hectares of the northern foothills of the acropolis. Built atop stone foundations c.20 meters wide, on average, and with its varying mudbrick and stone-faced superstructure preserved in places up to 10–13 meters high (Cahill 2010b), the wall appears to have been built to impress on an imperial scale. Its functionality is demonstrated by the additional 20 meter wide sloping glacis that abutted its exterior in places, probably intended to waylay the likes of siege engines, chariots, and sappers. Below the strong citadel on the acropolis and within the area defined by the fortification wall, then, the city of Alyattes and Croesus took form. Prior to this centralization of the urban space, settlement remains including domestic workshop complexes and perhaps even public structures suggest that the focus of activities was along the eastern bank of the Pactolus. Yet, scattered remains from earlier periods have been recovered on the acropolis and in its northern foothills, too. During the mid-6th century, natural terraces on the acropolis and its northern foothills were transformed by a large-scale terracing project, with finely worked stone walls reveting natural spurs. The building technology and monumentality of such constructions, and of parts of the fortification wall as well, may have derived from Near Eastern traditions and they seem to have been pioneered in western Anatolia by Lydians and Ionians at around the same time (Ratté 1993). Terrace construction at Sardis was undoubtedly of royal sponsorship, yet its exact purpose has yet to be clarified. Palaces and temples at Sardis are attested in Greek sources, and, despite a lack of archaeological confirmation, it is likely that the terraces of central Sardis supported these types of buildings.

Textually attested sanctuaries at Sardis include only those of Artemis of Sardis and Cybele, locally known as *Kuvava* and, more generally, the “mother.” Although remains of these sanctuaries do not survive, a modest altar of Kuvava

and small-scale models of her monumental temple were recovered during excavations. The latter seem to depict temples of Ionic Greek form, perhaps similar in design to those that Alyattes and Croesus sponsored at Miletus and Ephesus. Other sanctuaries, shrines and small cult places must have been quite common at the site, for several other deities of Anatolian and Greek origin are known from Lydian inscriptions and later textual sources. In addition to the above goddesses, who seem to have been especially important at Sardis, with Cybele probably serving as a protector of the royal house, Artemis appears to have been worshiped in the city in two other guises: Artemis of Ephesus, attesting to the special relationship between Sardis and that city, and Artemis Coloëne, or of Lake Coloë, another name for the Gygaean Lake, located some 12 kilometers north of the city. Other local deities include *Leus*, or Lydian Zeus; *Qldans*, perhaps the moon god or a sun god equivalent to Greek Apollo; *Baki*, the Lydian Dionysus; and *Sandas*, a warrior god with Luwian roots sometimes equated with Heracles. Deities originating in the Greek world yet who worshiped at Sardis include Apollo, Hera, Demeter, Kore, and possibly Aphrodite. In addition to these identifiable gods and goddesses, deities of unclear nature (perhaps Lydian or Carian) were probably the recipients of so-called ritual-dinner offerings, 26 examples of which have been excavated across the site. Each was remarkably consistent in content, including a place-setting (cup and plate), a small pitcher, a cooking pot, a knife, and the bones of a young canine (Greenewalt 1978). Obscure though they may be, each was deposited in what may be classed best as a form of household cult practice.

Spread across the spurs and terraces of the acropolis in and around more monumental constructions were the main residential areas of the mid-6th century city. Most houses were probably built with rubble foundations, mudbrick walls, and thatch roofs. Finely molded and painted terracotta tiles and architectural revetments have been recovered in excavations in some areas of the site, but these must have been associated with high-status buildings, such as elite or royal houses and cult buildings. More common houses or house complexes appear to have been composed of several single-room units arrayed within a courtyard space. Kitchen spaces attest to a variety of food processing and preparation activities as well as a diversity of foodstuffs, including cereals, pulses, garlic, and grapes, and the remains of meaty meals with bone scraps from bovines, fowl, pig, sheep, and goat (Cahill 2002). Other spaces within house complexes appear to have seen mixed use for both domestic purposes and cottage industry, with households producing small, rock-crystal and glass items and textiles, for example. Larger-scale workshops – e.g., for ceramics and stonework, including sculpture – have yet to be located within the city and may have been situated outside the fortifications, as in the case of a 6th century metal refinery located in the Pactolus river valley where the two-stage separation of electrum into its component parts of gold and silver was carried out. Earlier, during the 7th century, it was probably at a similar workshop that electrum was first hammered into lumps of regular

size and stamped with a royal insignia, a lion's head, thereby guaranteeing its value and inventing coinage, a particular claim in Lydian history. The separation technique that allowed Croesus to issue coins of pure gold and pure silver may have been hit upon at this very refinery, but, to date, minting facilities and paraphernalia have eluded discovery.

Also confined to areas outside the city walls were burials of the Lydian period. These include burial forms of three main types attested both at Sardis and throughout greater Lydia: pit burials, some lined and covered with stone slabs; sarcophagi of terracotta or stone; and chamber tombs, either hewn from bedrock or covered with mounds of rubble and earth and, in that form, commonly known as "tumuli" (sing. *tumulus*). Rock-cut chamber tombs, pits, and sarcophagi were used most frequently in the urban cemeteries of Sardis along the Pactolus river, especially in the foothills of the Necropolis, where more than 1,100 were excavated in the early 20th century. While these types of burials are found elsewhere in Lydia, too, the conspicuous monumentality of tumuli has resulted in a clearer understanding of their distribution and significance.

The largest Lydian tumuli are those containing the tombs of Alyattes and other members of Sardian royalty and elite found roughly 7 kilometers north of Sardis in the largest known tumulus cemetery of Anatolia, known locally as Bin Tepe (Turkish for "thousand mounds"). With its 70 meter height and 361 meter diameter, the tumulus covering the tomb of Alyattes is the largest example in western Anatolia and, as Herodotus first noted (1.93), vies with the Egyptian pyramids of Giza in its monumentality. While none of the royal tumuli of Bin Tepe have yet been found intact by archaeologists – having been looted some time ago, some already in antiquity – smaller tumuli located elsewhere in Lydia give pale hints of the grandeur of these royal burials. Tumuli at Güre, near Uşak (eastern Lydia), for example, had wall paintings decorating the interiors of finely built stone tomb chambers (Özgen and Öztürk 1996). The deceased were laid out on stone funeral couches (Greek *klinai*), adorned in fine jewelry of precious metals and stones, and covered with shrouds. Abundant grave goods included items of personal care and adornment, such as cosmetic boxes, perfumes, and combs, in addition to what may be interpreted as the remains of funerary feasts, including plates, bowls, cups, and incense burners made of ceramic, glass, stone, silver, and gold.

These tombs belonged to high-status individuals living in the early years of Achaemenid rule in the area, yet the quality and quantity of their finds reflect ultimately Lydian traditions concerning the dead, just as their locations reflect Lydian traditions concerning the living. More than 600 tumuli spread throughout Lydia are clustered into fewer than 100 groups that were sited with reference to subsistence, communication, territorial, and resource control (Roosevelt 2006) and probably mark the locations of elite family estates tasked by the Lydian court at Sardis to attend to such concerns. As such, they can serve as proxies for understanding the organization of regional settlement. While elite

family members may have spent much of their time at the Lydian court, slaves and/or commoner inhabitants living in small hamlets or villages near to or within estate lands would have farmed their holdings. In addition to slaves and commoners, Lydian society at Sardis was defined by at least three other broad social strata attested textually: a very broad middle class, including merchants, shopkeepers, craftsmen, artisans, etc.; high-status or elite groups, including noble families and religious officials; and royalty (Roosevelt 2009). A lack of evidence prevents further elucidation of Lydian social structure or differentiation along age or gender lines, yet it is clear that Lydian society was ethnically diverse, at least by the 6th century. Phrygian, Mysian, and, especially, Carian immigrants and influences are common among Anatolian sources and are attested at Sardis in material production as well as by historical texts and personal names. Further afield, similar types of evidence reflect possible interactions with, if not the local presence of, Phoenicians, Assyrians, and Scythians. Yet Greeks from the mainland and the east Aegean coast, as well as their cultural traditions, most permeated Lydian society. Lydian–Greek affinity was probably a result of long-term interaction on military, religious, commercial, and artistic levels and reached a crescendo in reign of Croesus, when several Greek leaders visited his court.

It was perhaps because of his close connection to Greece and its sanctuaries that Croesus made the fateful mistake attributed to him by Herodotus (1.46–81) that put an end to both his reign and the Mermnad Dynasty. According to this romantic tale, Croesus was unnerved upon learning that an upstart king of Persia named Cyrus had conquered the Medes under their king Astyages c.550 BC. Perhaps because of a familial obligation to avenge his brother-in-law, perhaps in an attempt to protect or even expand his rule in Anatolia west of the Halys River, Croesus planned to confront Cyrus and his army. Before doing so, however, he sought sanction from what he considered the best of the Greek oracular sanctuaries, the oracles of Apollo at Delphi and of Amphiaraus in Thebes. When asked whether Croesus should attack, both oracles answered that were he to do so “he would destroy a mighty empire.” Fatefully misunderstanding the answer, Croesus led his armies east, having sent embassies of alliance to Sparta, Egypt, and Babylon. After an inconclusive battle near Pteria in Cappadocia, and outnumbered by Cyrus’ vast army, Croesus retreated to Sardis, released his mercenaries, and awaited his allies’ reinforcements. Cyrus and his army followed too closely upon Croesus’ heels for his plans of reinforcement to come to fruition, however. Cyrus surprised the Lydians and engaged in open battle in front of Sardis, besting their cavalry with the strategic aid of a Mede named Harpagus. After a brief siege, Cyrus overcame Sardis’ defenses, laying waste to its urban landscape, monumental and residential alike. This mid-540s BC Persian sack of Sardis has been attested archaeologically and impressively in numerous contexts across the site, vividly illustrating the destructive end of Croesus’ Lydian rule. While Cyrus quickly sent his armies beyond Sardis to continue his territorial conquests, Sardis only gradually recovered from its violent sack. By the end of the 6th century, and after a

brief Lydian resistance, the city was transformed into the satrapal capital of an imperial Achaemenid province, with its administrative operations continuing much as they had under Lydian rule.

4 Pre-Achaemenid and Dynastic Lycia

Following the sack of Sardis and the successful conquest of rebellious contingents in Ionia and Caria, Cyrus' troops under Harpagus made their way south to Lycia. Importantly, while Herodotus refers to Harpagus' suppression of several peoples and places in Ionia and Caria (1.162–176), he reports that Harpagus took only Xanthus in Lycia, suggesting that, like Sardis, it may have been the only centralized seat of power in Lycia at that time. Here, the Lycians met the Persians in the Xanthus river valley and retreated to the acropolis of Xanthus after suffering defeat in open battle. Besieged by the Persians, the Lycian troops gathered their women, children, servants, and possessions in the acropolis and burnt it down completely in a final suicidal sally against the invading forces. We learn also from Herodotus that the city was later reinhabited by "foreigners" as well as 80 Xanthian families who had been absent during Harpagus' siege. Contrary to the earlier and longer thread of evidence available for Lydia, this account is the earliest historical testimony we have on Lycia, yet it clearly indicates the presence of a Lycian culture, if not a political entity, that was well established before the mid-6th century. What else can be said of pre-Achaemenid Lycia, its territory and people?

By the later 5th or 4th century BC, Lycia could be defined as the mountainous coastal area of southwestern Anatolia stretching between Caria, to the west, and Pamphylia, to the east, roughly between modern Fethiye and Antalya. The courses of several major rivers divided the mountainous terrain, and the largest of them, the ancient Xanthus (Eşen) River, achieved a width of 20 kilometers in places and was likely the political core of Lycia in the early 1st millennium BC and perhaps earlier. Other rivers created a dissected, circumscribed coastal terrain that encouraged both landed isolation (and the eventual establishment of more than 30 independent cities) and maritime communication. To the northwest of Lycia lay the territory of the Cibyratis and to the north-northeast that of Milyas, both separated from the coastal strip by mountain ranges. While Milyas displayed markedly Phrygian characteristics in material culture during the 7th century, as known from the Bayindir tumuli in Elmali, the area seems not to have been brought under Lycian political control until the 4th century BC (Keen 1998: 13–20).

The archaeological evidence of 2nd and early 1st millennium BC Lycia includes rare Bronze Age pottery from a handful of Lycian sites and early tombs and sparse pottery of the late 8th/early 7th and 6th centuries from sites such as Pinara, Xanthus, the Letoön, and Patara, in the Xanthus river valley, and Phellus,

Antiphellus, and Limyra, further east (Keen 1998: 28, 214–20). The 7th century remains at Xanthus also include architectural remains that resemble Near Eastern *bit hilāni* (Ch. II.41) structures (Marksteiner 2005: 39). Little else can be said about pre-Achaemenid Lycia from a material perspective. Accordingly, one must speculate about the early history and geographical definition of Lycia on the basis of LBA historical, Iron Age pseudo-historical and linguistic evidence. That “Lycians” were associated with the area described above at least since the LBA is suggested by continuity in placenames between Iron Age Lycia, as it was known to the Greeks, and the Bronze Age Lukka Lands in Hittite sources (Bryce 1986: 1–10; Keen 1998: 214–20). The people of the Lukka Lands appear to have been politically unconsolidated groups dwelling in areas stretching from southern Caria into western Lycia, perhaps practicing transhumant pastoralism. Their maritime activities and coastal situation are indicated as well by their description as sea-borne marauders in the royal correspondence between Cyprus and Ugarit, and by their identity among the “Sea Peoples” plaguing the eastern Mediterranean during the reign of Merneptah in the late 13th century BC. Furthermore, the territorial affinity between the Lukka Lands and later Lycia, at least western Lycia, has been confirmed by an itinerary of the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV recorded in the Yalburt inscription (Poetto 1993) which names *inter alia* several places that can be identified with Tlos, Xanthus, and Patara, and that align well with the topography of the Xanthus river valley.

References to Lycia and the Lycians in the *Iliad*, too, though pseudo-historical, seem to confirm the importance of the Xanthus river valley and its population by the time of its composition around 700 BC. The Lycian contingent is taken to be Troy’s most important ally, with their leaders Sarpedon and Glaucus playing important roles in the Trojan War’s final year (e.g., *Iliad* 2.816–877, 5.471–492). “Lycia” and “Xanthus” even seem to be used interchangeably in Homeric epic, suggesting that, from a Greek perspective, the two were inseparable. The Bellerophon saga, and its location in Lycia, also, draws attention to the area and suggests a general familiarity with the region and its people amongst Homer’s intended audience.

The troubling paucity of corresponding archaeological evidence of the 2nd and early 1st millennium BC for either the people of the Lukka Lands or for Homer’s Lycians has been explained most commonly by assuming that the people of Iron Age Lycia lived elsewhere during the LBA and migrated into Lycia only later (Bryce 1986: 24–40), or that heavy alluvial sedimentation, the relative archaeological invisibility of transhumant pastoralist ways of life, and a lack of intensive surveys in the area have collectively failed to identify pre-7th century remains (Keen 1998: 27–8). Until richer remains of the LBA and Early Iron Age are located, and these can be associated with the Lukka or Lycians, this question will remain unanswered. Further confounding the story of 1st millennium Lycia is Herodotus’ testimony that Lycians were earlier called “Termilae” (1.173) and that they migrated to Lycia from Crete. This and other Greek tales of Lycian

origins were probably literary inventions written to suit contemporary purposes and we need not rely on tales of foreign migrations today. Yet, Herodotus' account may have a kernel of truth, as "Termilae" resembles *Trmmili*, the term used by the Lycians in their native language in referring to themselves and the name by which they were known to the Persians and Babylonians (Keen 1998: 30).

Like Lydian, Lycian is attested in a relatively small corpus of texts, most of which date to the late 5th and 4th centuries BC. The earliest examples found in Lycia date to the 6th century, however, presumably well after the language had reached maturity. A corpus of around 200 inscriptions in stone is dominated by funerary dedications and burial instructions, though a few decrees and religious dedications are known as well. Bilingual (e.g., Lycian-Greek) and trilingual (e.g., Lycian-Greek-Aramaic) texts are also known, the longer of which aided the decipherment of the language (Bryce 1986: 42). Lycian is an Anatolian language, dialectically descendant from Common Anatolian like Lydian, but much closer to Luwian. Aside from indicating what the Lycians called themselves – *Trmmili* – Lycian inscriptions are among the richest evidence available for understanding family composition, burial traditions, bureaucratic and religious offices, and local political history.

Lycian sociopolitical, religious, and economic traditions have been partially reconstructed on the basis of epigraphic evidence in combination with analyses of numerous sculptural monuments, thousands of coins, settlement patterns, and burial traditions. Such sources are of great importance given the comparative dearth of reliable contemporary testimony pertaining to Lycian ways of life. It is difficult to judge the accuracy of reports (e.g., Herodotus 1.173) referring to Lycian men wearing long hair, practicing a matronymic pattern of self-identification, or donning feminine dress during mourning (Bryce 1986: 128, 139, 212). Equally unclear is how early and how widespread such customs may have been. Did they pre-date or post-date the Achaemenid conquest? Were they limited to the Xanthus river valley or not? That such evidence derives almost entirely from Greek authors writing for Greek audiences encourages caution in its acceptance.

Lycian tomb inscriptions provide the fullest evidence of family composition, showing that tomb owners, usually males, provided for the burial of their spouses and offspring, and sometimes for extended family members also, especially nieces and nephews (Pembroke 1965; Bryce 1979; 1986: 116). The inscriptions also provide the names, but rarely the associated responsibilities, of a variety of religious and secular titles and professions, including priest, seer, military commander, and even "king" or "dynast" (Bryce 1986: 129–35). Administrative institutions are named in inscriptions as well, and include a council known as the *minti*, which provided now obscure mortuary services, and a group of people or deities, the *itlehi*, that could be invoked to punish those who mistreated particular tombs. Other common invocations of tomb protection and/or retribution were

made directly to a variety of deities of Lycian, Carian, and Greek origin. These included *Eni Mahanahi*, the Lycian mother goddess later syncretized with the Greek Leto; *Trqqas*, the Anatolian storm god later equated with Zeus; *Maliya*, later equated with Athena; the *Teseti*, a set of oath gods; and the *Eliyana*, apparently akin to Greek nymphs. Greek deities adopted later included Artemis, Aphrodite, and Apollo (Bryce 1986: 172–82). No pre-Achaemenid cult places have been identified for any of these deities except, perhaps, at the Letöon near Xanthus. The early 7th century remains there were probably associated with a cult of the mother goddess and/or nymphs before it became something of a national sanctuary dedicated to Leto and her offspring in and after the late 5th or early 4th century.

Post-dating the sparse pottery and other remains that date the earliest Iron Age activities in Lycia to the late 8th/early 7th centuries BC, the first substantive archaeological evidence of settlement dates to the later 6th century and includes settlement and tomb remains at Xanthus and a number of rich tombs from other sites in central Lycia. Structures on the so-called Lycian Acropolis at Xanthus, usually described as a series of dynastic residences, were preserved beneath a destruction layer dated to c.540 BC. We know from Herodotus' account of Harpagus' conquest of Lycia that Xanthus must already have been an important center at that time – hence Harpagus' decision to conquer it – and these finds support that view. A particular class of monumental tomb known from Xanthus and sites in central Lycia also serves as evidence of pre-Achaemenid Lycian traditions and settlement distribution (Draycott 2007, following Marksteiner 2002b). These are the so-called pillar tombs, consisting of stone pillars that supported squared chambers decorated with relief sculpture on their exterior façades. The sculpture of these tombs not only reveals an openness to the ultimately Greek tradition of sculpted tomb embellishments, consonant with the adoption of Greek deities mentioned above, but also, through comparison with better known monuments in the Aegean, provides dates for the monuments, the earliest group of which was carved in the later 6th century. The distribution of the earliest group, with one each at five sites in central Lycia and two at Xanthus, indicates not only shared cultural traditions that encouraged prominent displays articulated in funerary architecture, but also the likely nodes of personages and/or families that had been important before and/or quickly rose to power during the early years of Achaemenid rule.

Already by the end of the 6th century, then, we can talk of a number of centers in Lycia where prominent families likely served in leadership roles and expressed their positions in society through common cultural signifiers. The commonality of Lycian cultural traditions in this and earlier periods may not have extended to political unification, however, and there is little evidence of regional political organization at this time. In addition to settlement patterns, tomb types, and sculptural styles, coinage also bears on such issues because the issuers and guarantors of coins of standard value were probably politically as well as

economically important. The earliest coinage in Lycia appeared by the last decade of the 6th century and had a limited range of decorative motifs and standard weights that, despite the invention of coinage in Lydia, suggest an introduction from Greece (Zahle 1991). Their uniformity implies a single mint, probably at Xanthus. The uniformity of the early coinage, however, gave way, by the end of the first quarter of the 5th century, to a confusing variety of coin weights, decorative motifs, and legends, which endures into the last decades of the 5th century (Zahle 1991).

The number of coin issues in circulation during the mid-5th century is paralleled by an increase in the number of prominent centers (usually referred to as “dynastic centers”) that appear contemporaneously and persisted into later times. The prominence of such sites is suggested by the remains of sometimes fortified spaces called “dynastic residences” at Xanthus, Sura, Limyra, and Avşar Tepesi, among others (Işık and Yilmaz 1996; Marksteiner 2002a, 2002b). Additionally, new types of monumental tombs appeared by the mid-5th century at Xanthus, Phellus, Apollonia, Trysa, and Limyra, and these, too, are commonly thought to mark the locations of dynastic centers (Kjeldsen and Zahle 1975; Zahle 1983; Keen 1998: 182–6). Just who these “dynasts” were, however, and whether such sites were truly political centers, is unclear (Zimmermann 1992; Marksteiner 2002b). Equally unknown is whether and how they functioned within the overarching framework of Achaemenid governance. That at least some of these centers issued coinage throughout the mid-5th century suggests a degree of regional administrative fragmentation uncharacteristic of other Achaemenid satrapies and it is likely that at least some parts of Lycia were relatively autonomous in this period.

The administrative fragmentation of Lycia during the mid-5th century BC and later should be considered together with the broader military and political narratives of the time. In the first two decades of the century, the armies of Darius and Xerxes campaigned against mainland Greece. Greek and Persian naval conflicts persisted through the middle of the century as the Athenians continuously pressed to forge broad alliances (Childs 1981). Because of their strategic control of protected harbors, and thus maritime routes between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, Lycian centers were likely pulled between Persian and Athenian allegiances and not all centers may have responded similarly. Thus the “Lycians” contributed 50 ships to Xerxes’ fleet c.480 BC (Herodotus 7.92); Cimon gained “Lycian” allegiance to Athens before c.468 (Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 11.60.4); Telmessus and the “Lycians” are listed as paying tribute to Athens in the late 450s and 440s (Bryce 1986: 105); and the Athenian Melesander was killed in a “Lycian” conflict c.430/29 (Thucydides 2.69). The pendulum of support seems to have swung back and forth, yet a clearer understanding of the period and its local political developments is hindered by our inability to determine to which Lycia or Lycians – that is to which Lycian centers – such historical testimony refers. Nevertheless, continuous political interactions with Greek

city-states during the 5th century foreshadowed the relatively thorough Hellenization of such centers in later centuries.

At least one of the many centers of Lycia, Xanthus, appears to have been the seat of a hereditary dynasty that remained relatively faithful to its Achaemenid overlords throughout the 5th century BC. Inscriptions at Xanthus provide the names of five or six rulers of the Harpagid Dynasty, whose founder, one Harpagus, may or may not have been the same as Cyrus' general of the same name (Keen 2002). Beginning with Kybernis and his successor Kuprlli, who reigned from the late 6th into the mid-5th century, the allegiance of Xanthus to the Achaemenid Empire is displayed in part by features of sculpture and coinage appearing first around 480 BC. The so-called Harpy Tomb (c.480–470 BC) and the later Heroön G (c.460 BC) show pronounced Persian influences (Draycott 2007). Coins probably minted at Xanthus show similar affinities in their decorative motifs, suggesting that the dynasts of Xanthus wished to highlight their close connections to the Achaemenid administration at this time (Zahle 1991: 153).

Later pronounced Persian affinities may have also resulted from the personal ambitions of particular regents. Thus, in the late 5th/early 4th century, Erbbina, the ruler of Xanthus, decorated his clearly Greek-inspired tomb, the well-known Nereid Monument, with Persian motifs. Following Erbbina's death and the end of the Harpagid Dynasty c.380–370 BC, two western Lycian dynasts named Artumpara and Mithrapata claimed power simultaneously. We know little of their activities, but their Achaemenid sympathies are suggested by their Persian names. Despite such examples, there seems to have been no pervasive Persianization of Lycia, or at least Xanthus. Persian personal names appear in inscriptions, yet this may reflect only a desire on the part of some families for close ties to Achaemenid sources of power rather than the presence of ethnic Iranians in the area. The balance of inscriptional evidence, in fact, seems to suggest a continuity of local traditions, especially in burial and religious practices, mixed with a gradual and broad Hellenization (Bryce 1986: 158–71). Thus, while Achaemenid features appeared again on coin issues circulating around Xanthus in western Lycia during the very late 5th/early 4th century BC, contemporary with Erbbina's reign and the Persian stylization of his tomb, the light monetary standard used for these issues was adopted directly from Athenian coinage (Zahle 1991: 152). Erbbina and his contemporaries appear to have embraced certain aspects of the Greek world while striving to maintain their own power and giving the appearance of being effective servants of Achaemenid hegemony, even if that hegemony was not uniform throughout Lycia.

Achaemenid rule in Lycia was soon challenged again, however, by a certain Pericles, who came to power at Limyra in c.380 BC. The extent of his growing power is paralleled by coin issues circulating in central and eastern Lycia at this time, struck on a single, regular standard, heavier than the Athenian one used in the west (Zahle 1991: 150–2). Whether or not he ever claimed allegiance to the Achaemenids, by c.360 BC, Pericles had briefly united a previously fragmented

Lycia under his autonomous rule, from Telmessus in the west, to Phaselis in the east, and to the Elmali Plain in the north (Keen 1998: 13).

Following broader crises in Achaemenid provincial control in western Anatolia, known collectively as the “Great Satraps’ Revolt,” it was untenable for the Achaemenids to allow such autonomy in Lycia and the area was soon brought back within the fold. At this point the region was put under the protectorship of the greatly Hellenophile, yet pro-Achaemenid Hecatomnid satraps of Mylasa and Halicarnassus, and thus the regional administration of Lycia left Lycian hands. The area remained this way through the end of the Achaemenid period and, because of its strategic location, was regularly contested among the powers of the Mediterranean throughout the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, the region’s persistent trend of political disunity was reflected again in the 2nd century BC, with the federalization of Lycia’s many polities into a “Lycian League.” Enduring for more than half a millennium, this league provided the first and only long-lasting and cooperative local administration of the area in its history, and serves well to contrast its earlier political fragmentation. However, by the time firm Roman rule took hold in the 1st century AD, most traces of indigenous Lycian culture had been supplanted by broader Greek and Roman cultural traditions.

GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

In addition to the sources cited in the chapter, further detailed reading on Sardis and Lydia should begin with Sardis excavation reports, published regularly in *BASOR* and *AJA*, and the numerous *Report* and *Monograph* volumes of the Harvard and Cornell University-sponsored Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, which present the ongoing work of that expedition at Sardis begun in 1958. For broader syntheses on Sardis and Lydia, see Hanfmann (1983) and, more recently, Dusinger (2003), (Roosevelt 2009), and the papers in Cahill (2010a). Further reading on Xanthus and Lycia should begin with the series of volumes in the *Fouilles de Xanthos* series (Paris) published by the French team responsible for ongoing excavations at Xanthus and the Letöon begun in 1951. Regular reports of ongoing work at these sites can be found in *Anatolia Antiqua*. For a selection of other recent work at the many sites and areas in Lycia recently and currently being investigated, see Borchardt and Dobesch (1993); *Lykia*, the annual of Akdeniz University’s Archaeology Department edited by Işık and others (Anatolia, 1994–); and the *Lykische Studien* volumes (Bonn, 1995–), an important series on work in central Lycia around Kyaneai edited by Frank Kolb. Other useful collections of articles on various Lycian subjects include Borchardt et al. (1990), French (1994), and Giorgieri et al. (2003).