

## Lydian and Lycian arts in the context of Achaemenid Anatolia: a comparative approach

Fabienne Colas Rannou

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# Studies on the history and archaeology of Lydia

from the Early Lydian period to Late Antiquity



Ergün Laflı and Guy Labarre Lydia, lying between the Aegean coast and the Anatolian plateau, has been associated since Antiquity with the Pactolus river, which carried gold from the Tmolus mountain, and with the wealth of Croesus. Populated by Lydians and Maconians, and marked by the presence of Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines, it has attracted the attention of researchers since the end of the 18th century. This book aims to cover the chronology of Lydian studies from the protohistoric period to the beginning of the Byzantine period and to bring together the contributions of international researchers and scholars from a wide range of disciplines that includes history, archeology, epigraphy, and numismatics, and from different perspectives. The various studies discuss society, social structures, military aspects, economy, religion, arts, architecture, and material culture. This diachronic approach makes it possible in particular to question continuity and discontinuity between the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, as well as with those that preceded them.

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# Studies on the history and archaeology of Lydia from the Early Lydian period to Late Antiquity

Études sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de Lydie de la période proto-lydienne à la fin de l'Antiquité

edited by Ergün LAFLI and Guy LABARRE

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A preliminary report on the recent archaeological discoveries in Lydia and the Upper Cayster Valley

#### Ergün Laflı

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## List of main abbreviations

Acc. no.: Accession number. Max: Maximum.

A.D.: Anno Domini. M: Meter.

B.C.: Before Christ. Mid: Middle.

Mill.: Millennium. BIAA.: The British Institute at Ankara. Cat. no.: Catalogue number. Mm: Millimeter.

Mt.: Mount. Cm.: Centimeter.

Coll.: Collection. N.: Note.

DEU.: Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir. Diss.: Dissertation. Nos.: Numbers.

No.: Number.

Ed.: Editor. P.: Page(s).

Pl.: Plate. Eds.: Editors.

Pls.: Plates. Fasc.: Fascicule.

S.: Section. Fig.: Figure.

St: Saint. Figs.: Figures.

Tab.: Table. Frg.: Fragment. Th.: Thickness.

Gr.: Gram. Trans.: Translated.

H: Height. U.S.: United States.

Km: Kilometer. Vol.: Volume.

L.: Length.

#### Antonio Gonzales Foreword

Studies on the history and archaeology of Lydia from the Early Lydian period to Late Antiquity edited by Ergün Laflı and Guy Labarre brings together forty-seven (47) international contributions on the history and archaeology of Lydia. This book, which brings together specialists of Asia Minor in general and Lydia in particular, offers us an assessment of the knowledge acquired to date on a complex territorial ensemble whose geo-historical contours have fluctuated during the period under consideration, with the more or less strong insertion of populations, territories, economies, and religious and cultural forms within or in the orbit of regional or imperial powers from Gyges to Rome and Constantinople. The book is divided into six parts—Lydian in the Third and Second Millennia B.C., Historical and other Aspects of the Lydian Period and the Early Lydians, Historical and other Aspects on Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, Material Culture of Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, Early Byzantine Lydia, Varia anatolica occidentalia, Selected Abstracts on Recent Research in Lydia—the works take stock of the state of scientific knowledge and the current dynamics of research dedicated to Lydia in order to offer readers a temporal and spatial journey within the historiography devoted to this specific space.

From the introduction, the editors set the framework and objective of the book, which aims to offer a variety of points of view on a particular space with a long history marked by alternating phases of great political and cultural stability interspersed with periods of political, social, economic and cultural upheaval that have led to profound changes in the face of certain subsets of this space, which is no longer seen today as a homogeneous block reacting monolithically to historical changes.

The multifactorial approach which is at the heart of this editorial project aims to offer a dynamic synthesis, i.e. a set of proposals in which the sum of the individual approaches results in a nuanced, momentary and evolving picture, as underlined by most of the conclusions of the contributions and even more so by the texts which make up the last part of the book, which does not close the reflection but opens it up to new issues and new knowledge about a region which is constantly being rediscovered.

The mineral wealth, including gold, forests, agriculture and "Sardonian" craftsmanship constituted an economic manna for Lydia, which its various masters were able to take

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advantage of in the context of exchanges with more or less close neighbours. The early use of money, the development of major roads from the Persian period onwards, and a policy of exports attested by material finds in Lydia itself and outside the territory covered by the studies in this book show that this area with its varied contours played a role as a nodal platform in the interconnection of the regions of the Mediterranean East to the central Near East, which should encourage us to think of this region as a more open space than we may have thought in the past.

However, the integration of Lydia into a vast economic and geopolitical framework did not prevent the development of minor regions that remained, within the multiscalar framework of Lydian area, cultural conservatories that archaeologists and historians are trying to understand and put in synergy. The rediscovery of this buried world, which really began in the 19th century under the *aegis* of the German school, then expanded with the work of the American school, is today an area of research and international collaboration in which Americans, Germans, Spaniards, French, Italians, but above all Turks, who are reclaiming a national heritage, are working together to improve our knowledge of this multi-century world and its historical, archaeological, heritage and cultural development. It is therefore necessary to thank the editors and contributors of this book for the contribution that this publication constitutes. *Verba uolant, scripta manent*.

# Guy Labarre" An introduction to Lydian studies

The ancient region of Lydia in western Anatolia stretches from the present-day Turkish province of Manisa in the west to Uşak in the east (fig. 1). It was one of the largest landscapes in Asia Minor in ancient times and was inhabited by the Lydians and Maonaens. Lydia was not a coastal region but an inner eastern Aegean landscape. Pliny the Elder gave a concise and equally vague description of the country: the center of the heartland comprised the mountain Tmolos (now Beydağları), on which the capital was Sardis, the Gygian lake (today Marmara Gölü), and the surrounding fertile plain along the Hermus. In the south, Lydia bordered on Caria, in the east on Phrygia, in the north on Mysia, and extended to Ionia in the west. Turning to modern publication, C.H. Roosevelt's 2009 book, entitled *The archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*, has a special emphasis on archaeology of Lydia, as well as its history within the wider context of ancient Asia Minor. For the chronology of Lydia, Roosevelt has recently developed a uniform scheme to meet the methodological difficulties:

- I. Pre-Lydian period (before the 12th century B.C.).
- 2. Early Lydian period (about 12th century to seventh century B.C.).
- 3. Middle Lydian period (about seventh century to 547 or 545 B.C., the time of Croesus, the last and most famous Lydian king).
- 4. Late Lydian period (about 547 B.C., after the conquest of Sardis by Cyrus the Great and creation of the Persian satrapy Sparda, until 217 B.C.).
- 5. Post-Lydian period (late third century B.C. to third century A.D.).
- Province "Lydia" after Diocletian's provincial reforms in A.D. 297. The province, however, consisted only of the slightly extended Hermus Valley, the heart of Lydia.
- 7. Early Byzantine rule from the beginning of the fifth century A.D. until 616/617, when Sardis and the surrounding area suffered massive destruction from the incursion by the Persian troops of the Sassanid Khosrau II.
- 8. Byzantine empire, from A.D. 617 until A.D. 1405, by which time Sardis was a small castle that was finally destroyed by the Golden Horde of Timur the Mongol.

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The following subjects are currently being discussed by scholars in the context of Lydia and the Lydians: Society, social structure, military, economy, resources, agriculture and livestock, ceramics, textiles and luxury, commerce, religion, cults and cultic sites, visual arts, architecture, music, and the Lydian language. The most important topics of Lydian research are a.o. local resources, especially the gold from the Tmolos, agriculture and pastoralism, the oldest coinage in the Mediterranean, and the so-called Royal Road or King's Road in Lydia.

The name Lydia was linked to wealth in antiquity. In most cases it mentioned prominently that the Pactolus poured out gold from the Tmolos, which would have led to the wealth of the Lydians. This view continued into the 20th century but has become increasingly relativized in recent years. In fact, Lydia was well positioned economically. Firstly, there were the rich soil, which, together with the mild climate, produced very good agricultural yields. The uncultivated land also offered good grazing grounds and game for hunting, as well as forests that supplied firewood and timber. In addition to the gold of the Tmolos (as recent research has shown, it was indeed gold and not electrum, as has long been assumed), there existed iron, copper, lead, and mineral deposits suitable for textile dyeing. Furthermore, there was marble, limestone, jasper, and a kind of onyx that was named "sardonyx" after the city of Sardis. Lastly, the favourable geostrategic position needs to be mentioned: Lydia was a borderland on the route between the Anatolian plateau and the Aegean coast.

As regards agriculture, the produce of Lydia was not significantly different from most Greek cities. In addition to cereals, legumes, pumpkins, and olives, a very popular local wine was produced. Reddish figs were called "Lydian figs" in antiquity and chestnuts "Sardinian acorns." In the seventh century B.C., the first coins were issued as a means of payment, which represent the oldest coin finds in the ancient world. The so-called Royal Road was one of the first major, long-distance highway in antiquity and was built by Persians to allow rapid communication across his very large empire, stretching from Susa to Sardis. The first coinage as well as the route of the Royal Road were linked most probably to the local resources of Lydia.

Since the end of the 19th century Lydia has been scientifically researched. One of the most significant scientific initiatives of the 20th century was the American "Archaeological Exploration of Sardis" project. Since the late 1950s, numerous scholars, notably G.M.A. Hanfmann, C.H. Greenewalt, Jr., R. Gusmani, P. Herrmann, A. Ramage and C. Foss have contributed to the study of the city's as well as region's archaeology, history, and epigraphy in the Lydian, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Early Byzantine, Byzantine, and Late Medieval periods.¹ Following the 2009 publication by C.H. Roosevelt on Lydia, three more books have appeared in recent years: a historical book on Lydia by Peter Högemann and Norbert Oettinger in 2018, a study by Annick Payne on the Lydian language, and the epigraphic monograph of Hasan Malay (†) and Georg Petzl on religious texts from Lydia.²

<sup>1</sup> The project website is one of the most informative archaeological digital resource in Turkey with an extensive corpus of excavated finds and their detailed desriptions: <a href="https://sardisexpedition.org/">https://sardisexpedition.org/</a> (accessed 1 January 2021).

<sup>2</sup> Professor Hasan Malay passed away suddenly on February 23rd, 2022, in Izmir. Furthermore, a noteworthy dissertation is completed by Kevin Leloux on "the Lydian Kingdom under Alyattes' and Croesus' reigns. A kingdom at the crossroads of the Greeks cities and the eastern monarchies. Research on its internal organization and its foreign policy" (original title in French "La Lydie d'Alyatte et Crésus. Un royaume à la croisée des cités grecques et des monarchies orientales. Recherches sur son organisation interne et sa politique extérieure") at the Université de Liège in Belgium. Its website is as follows: <a href="https://orbi.uliege.be/handle/2268/220928">https://orbi.uliege.be/handle/2268/220928</a> (accessed 1 January 2021).



Fig. 1. Map of Lydia and neighbouring areas in western Asia Minor (by S. Patacı, 2021).

Since 2005, Lydia has become a significant research area owing to the increasing number of archaeological projects, such as the excavations at Thyatira, Tripolis-on-the-Maeander, and Blaundos, and field surveys in southeastern Lydia and around Hypaepa in the Cayster Valley. Additionally, the archaeological departments at the Universities of Manisa and Uşak are very active in the region. The local museums of Manisa, Uşak, and Akhisar in Lydia have also carried out a large number of rescue excavations and producing publications. Some of the Lydian material in the Museums of Afyonkarahisar, Ödemiş, Tire, Izmir, and Kütahya have been published.

For the current state of Lydia research two conferences and their contributions are decisive: one is the volume Forschungen in Lydien, published in 1995 and edited by E. Schwertheim, and the other is the proceedings of the Lydia Conference held in Rome in 1999 and edited by M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M.-C. Trémouille, and P. Vannicelli. This volume is the result of a third major symposium on Lydia, which was held on May 17-18, 2017 at Dokuz Eylül University (DEU) in Izmir, Turkey. This event, titled «Archaeology and history of Lydia from the early Lydian period to late antiquity (eighth century B.C.sixth century A.D.)» was intended to cover time frame as much as possible streching from the Middle Iron Age to the late antiquity. Our intention was to broaden the timeline of Lydian studies from the Lydian period to the Early Byzantine period and to bring together researchers from a broader range of disciplines, including archaeology, history, epigraphy, etc., as well as to discuss a series of questions related to greater diversity perspectives interdisciplinary. One of our questions was whether there was a «continuation» of the earlier phases in Lydia during the Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine periods, a time frame from the late fourth century B.C. until the middle of the sixth century A.D., as there is a great cultural continuity in all parts of Asia Minor. In this symposium 65 papers were accepted as contribution. Thematic works were divided into 20 sessions dealing with both Lydia and other neighbouring regions in western Anatolia.

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As said above, the object of this study is to bring together in one volume some recent historical and archaeological studies concerning Lydia, of the Lydian through Byzantine periods. In terms of structure, the book moves from a general to a specific treatment of the region. Since Lydia has a long tradition of treatment as a special region within the field of ancient Anatolian studies, we have divided the book into six chapters and we have added some useful abstracts in the chapter 7 at the end of the book.

We should like to express our gratitude to the many scholars who have helped us in this endeavour, but especially to Dr Chris Lightfoot, the former curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, now living in Kyrenia in Northern Cyprus, for correcting our book entirely. We hope that this volume proves worthy of his trust to our work and will serve as a type of commemoration to him and his lasting influence on scholarship in ancient Anatolia. We have been fortunate to have the support of successive directors of the excavations in Lydia and their encouragement at a crucial juncture kept us going and enabled us to complete the volume. For general inspiration, advice, and various contributions, we thank all of the current excavators, surveyors and researchers in Lydia. The three anonymous reviewers of the manuscript did a thorough and meticulous job for which we are extremely grateful. Outside reviewers have a thankless, yet vital role in the publication of scholarly work. We have attempted to incorporate their suggestions in the hope of making this a stronger and more useful book. Every editor needs a good redactor and we have had the advantage to have some of the best in the publications office of the ISTA in Besançon. We would like to acknowledge Ms Laurène Leclercq and Professor Antonio Gonzales, for their endless

patience and assistance. A systematic search for relevant bibliographic material was last conducted in November 2020.

Usual abbreviations follow *L'Année philologique*. Others are cited in the bibliography of each author before the bibliographical references.

For Greek names, the Greek ending has been kept, except for the names that are traditionally Latinized, such the names of ancient authors (Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarchus, Nicolaus Damascenus etc.) or other famous names (Croesus, Cyrus, Darius). The etablished list of authors and works in the *Greek English lexicon* of H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones (p. xvi-xxxviii) was used as a reference. Greek toponomy was also preserved (Pergamon etc.), except for Ephesus, Stratonicea, Laodicea, Cyzicus etc. Exceptions can be found in author citations or in bibliographic references. Articles reflect the state of knowledge as of 2017, the year in which they were submitted for publication here.

Other acknowledgements in alphabetical order: Mr Hüseyin Baloğlu (Bayındır), Dr Maurizio Buora (Udine), Ms Alev Çetingöz (Izmir), Mr Diether Schürr (Kaş/Hanau), and Professor Hugo Thoen (Deinze/Ghent).

Unfortunately two of our authors have been passed away; Dr Fred C. Woudhuizen from the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Heiloo on September 28th, 2021, and Professor Yannis Pikoulas from the University of Thessaly in Volos on May 10th, 2022. Dr Woudhuizen was an independent scholar who was examining in particular the writing systems of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the eastern Mediterranean, especially Luwian hieroglyphs of Asia Minor. Professor Pikoulas was a professor of ancient history at the University of Thessaly, and was the founder as well as one of the editors of the journal Hόρος of the Greek Epigraphic Society.

Tarabya – Istanbul / Besançon, 16 July 2021

# Lydian and Lycian arts in the context of Achaemenid Anatolia: a comparative approach

Fabienne Colas-Rannou'

#### Introduction

Studies on Lydia and Lycia traditionally tend to highlight the impact of Greek and Persian culture on the Lydian and Lycian ones, notably through art. It has led scholars sometimes to point out the difficulty to extract and identify Lydian personality or, in the case of Lycia, to enhance the hellenization of Lycian art and to misinterpret, in a purely Greek way, Lycian images.<sup>2</sup> My research on Lycian art and iconography offers a reflection on the different ways in which cultural identity was asserted in ancient Lycia. From a methodological point of view, it is important first to "deconstruct" the images, or figurative representations, and to follow a comparative approach of the local corpus and the Greek, Persian or Oriental, Anatolian, and East Mediterranean ones. Genuine comparisons concern style, iconographic pattern, and composition and elucidate likeness, similarity, differences, and variations for each element. It leads to an appreciation of the different components of the images, their origin, their adaptation, and the originality of the images thus created. The final phase "reconstructs" each image, puts forward a final global approach of the whole, and the meaning in the local context.3 I would like to use this experience to shed light on Lydian art by drawing a comparative examination of Lydian and Lycian sculpture and wall painting, based on style and iconography. In the frame of this paper, I will focus on a selection of examples that will allow me to propose the main ideas. From a historiographical point of view this approach will let us reassess the "Hellenization" and "Iranization" concepts traditionally used in Anatolian studies. It aims to contribute to the study of the relations between Anatolian regions, the heartland of the Achaemenid Empire, and the Greek world.

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**<sup>1</sup>** Greenewalt 1978, p. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup> Notably, the female birds from the so-called "Harpy Tomb" at Xanthos, the freestanding female figures distributed among the intercolumniations and fragmentary figures attributed to the akroteria of the so-called "Nereid Monument" at Xanthos. See, for example, Picard 1931; Demargne 1987. About the interpretation of the intercolumnar statues of the so-called "Nereid Monument": Colas-Rannou 2021.

See, for example, Colas-Rannou 2020.

Lydia and Lycia share a number of common features: their cultural history and cultural contacts are not inextricably dependent on political history. For example, despite becoming part of the Persian Empire, Lydia and Lycia maintained and/or developed contacts with the Greek world. Lydian and Lycian elites used a selection of burial forms, funeral architecture, and a repertoire of funerary imagery in an ostentatious way in order to display their social status and, by doing so, they contributed to an expression of their cultural identity. Both Lydian and Lycian images came about through an "eclectic creative process", mixing local, Anatolian, Greek, and Persian or Near Eastern elements. In both cases, it was a constantly evolving process. However, each one had its own identity, and I will try to demonstrate that this "eclecticism" was not exactly the same in Lydia and in Lycia.

#### 1. A comparative historical overview

The Lydians and Lycians's ancestors belonged to the Late Bronze Age peoples of Western Anatolia. Lydia emerged as a territorial empire in Western Anatolia at the end of the seventh century and in the first half of the sixth century B.C. According to Herodotus (I.28), the Lycians were not conquered by the Lydian king Croesus. During the 540s, Lycia, as well as Lydia, came under the control of the Achaemenid Empire. During Achaemenid rule, both regions were included in the satrapal system.<sup>7</sup> Sardis was a satrapal capital, linked to the royal heartland thanks to the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa. Members of the Lydian political and social elite held important positions alongside Persians in the satrapal administration. The Persian presence is well attested at Sardis and the in Lydian countryside;8 the Great King himself (for example, Xerxes during the year 479) may have spent time in Sardis.9 Lycia lies on the Southwestern coast of Anatolia<sup>10</sup> and was not connected with royal roads. Its coast played an important role, connecting Lycia with Eastern Mediterranean area. The system of rule in Lycia was what we call "the dynastic system," and Persian control in Lycia may not have been very strong. During a large part of the Achaemenid period, Xanthos was the main city, so the dynast at Xanthos had a dominant position. The political history of Lycia shows a fluctuating position between Persian control and the Greek cities. It would be interesting to reflect further on the political and economic relationship between the two regions, Lycia and Lydia. It is not the purpose here, but I would like to draw attention to the recent discovery (in 2014) of a Lydian coin minted at Sardis and dated from the first half of the sixth century B.C. at Patara on the southern Lycian coast.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For imported Greek pottery, see Ramage 1997, p. 66-68; Roosevelt 2009, p. 188; *FdX* IV, p. 192-95.

**<sup>5</sup>** For Lydia, see Roosevelt 2009, p. 200-1; Dusinberre 2003, p. 45. For Lycia, see Colas-Rannou 2013, p. 51-57; Colas-Rannou 2014, p. 109-10.

<sup>6</sup> For Lycia, see Herodotus, I.176.1-3; Keen 1998, p. 71-75. For Lydia, see Herodotus, I.77-86.

<sup>7</sup> For Lycia, see Herodotus, III.90.1 (Lycia is included in the first satrapy, along with Ionia, Magnesia, Aeolia, Caria, Milyas, and Pamphylia); Bryce 1986, p. 101; Keen 1998, p. 82-86, 90-91. For Lydia, see Herodotus, III.90; Dusinberre 2003, p. 7-8, 11. See also Briant 1996, p. 44-48, 73-78.

<sup>8</sup> Roosevelt 2009, p. 27, 191, 194, 198-199.

<sup>9</sup> About the history of Lydia, see also Payne, Wintjes 2016, p. 5-45.

**<sup>10</sup>** Keen 1998, p. 13-21.

**<sup>11</sup>** Keen 1998, p. 39, p. 84 (for example, there is no evidence for Persian garrisons before the late fourth century B.C.).

**<sup>12</sup>** Aktaş *et al.* 2015, p. 92.

#### 2. A Neo-Hittite heritage: the example of carved lions

A Neo-Hittite "heritage" is present in both regions, leading to different representations or combinations in sculptures dated from the late seventh and sixth centuries B.C. For example, lions rendered in the round in Lydia and lions rendered in relief in Lycia have been compared with late Hittite square-headed lions. It is the case for a Lydian recumbent lion from Sardis (marble lion, S65.12:6904), and two limestone reliefs from Xanthos showing a seated lion with a raised foreleg and an open mouth (for one of them, the other is headless).<sup>13</sup> For Lydian lions, Neo-Hittite features can be mixed with details from Archaic East Greek lion sculptures.<sup>14</sup>

#### 3. The iconography of the lion

From an iconographic point of view, it is interesting to note the common importance given to lions in Lydian and Lycian sculpture repertoires until the fourth century. But, perhaps, lions did not exactly have the same meaning in each context. There may have been a greater diversity of iconographic patterns in the Lycian sculptural repertoire. Freestanding lions of different sizes have been discovered in Lydia, recumbent or seated, or walking as seen on a relief from Sardis.<sup>15</sup> This animal may have symbolized courage and power, and perhaps had apotropaic properties. In the Lydian context, it could be associated with the royal house at Sardis, with the goddess Kybele, and with funerary monuments.<sup>16</sup> It is possible to find an iconographic variation with lions about to attack an animal: on a Lydian funerary relief (limestone, fifth century) two facing lions are flanking and threatening a grazing ram or wild goat<sup>17</sup> (fig. 1). In Lycia, rendered in relief or in the round, lions or lionesses were mostly associated with tombs<sup>18</sup> (for example, pillar tombs, rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, and more monumental tombs like the "Nereid monument" from Xanthos<sup>19</sup>). Various types and patterns can be found: lion heads/protomai or lions' forequarters, seated and recumbent lions (freestanding, as in Lydia, or in relief). Apart from the Nereid Monument, ca. 380 B.C. (British Museum 929), lionesses can be seen on reliefs dated from the sixth century B.C. (reliefs from Lycian pillar tombs). Lions could be included in more complex patterns or scenes, for example, fighting scenes with a male figure or with a bull. A male figure is fighting a lion on one of the reliefs that adorned the so-called "Lion Pillar" from Xanthos (ca. 540-530 B.C.). The standing nude male figure on the left is grasping one lion's ear with his left hand and plunging a short sword, held in his other hand, into the lion's body, while

**<sup>13</sup>** Concerning the reliefs from Xanthos, see Courtils des 1995; Cavalier 2006, p. 336-37, fig. 4, p. 346, p. 349-50.

**<sup>14</sup>** With regard to the quoted marble lion from Sardis and Lydian lions, see Hanfmann, Ramage 1978, p. 65-66, no. 26, figs. 102-4 (compared with the "Late Hittite" Anatolian square-headed crouching type); Roosevelt 2009, p. 165-66.

**<sup>15</sup>** One lioness has been discovered at Sardis: a marble recumbent lioness, Manisa Museum, acc. no. 303, ca. 550-530 B.C.; Hanfmann, Ramage 1978, p. 69-70, no. 34, figs. 125-29.

**<sup>16</sup>** Hanfmann, Ramage 1978, p. 62-71, nos. 23-39, figs. 87-138; Roosevelt 2009, p. 165-71; Dusinberre 2003, p. 100-4, 101, fig. 41 (relief with a walking lion from Sardis).

<sup>17</sup> Relief from Ödemiş, Izmir Archaeological Museum, acc. no. 4344. For the lower frieze, see Roosevelt 2009, p. 156, fig. 6.20, p. 252, cat. no. 19.2A.

<sup>18</sup> In one case, a triangular relief showing lions (British Museum, acc. no. B 290, now broken, with two seated lions facing each other, on the upper register; two crouching sphinxes facing each other on the lower register) is attributed to a building whose function may have been funerary as well as memorial, "building H" from the "Lycian acropolis" at Xanthos, usually called a "heroon." See *FdX* II, p. 66, fig. 22, pl. XLVII-1; Bruns-Özgan 1987, p. 258, M 5a; Rudolph 2003, p. 58-59. About the architecture and the function, see Draycott 2015, p. 99, 111, 125.

**<sup>19</sup>** British Museum, acc. nos. 929 and 930: one lioness and one lion, in the round, associated with the Nereid monument; acc. nos. BM 938 and 939: lion heads from the sima. *FdX* VIII, p. 231-33, pls. 156-58.



Fig. 1. Limestone funerary relief, Ödemiş, fifth century B.C. (Izmir Archaeological Museum 4344) (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

the lion is standing on one hind leg in front of him.<sup>20</sup> In Lydia, this pattern adorns a seal from Sardis carved in an Achaemenid style with a male figure wearing Persian garb.<sup>21</sup> Two lions facing and attacking a bull are carved on the base of a sarcophagus from Xanthos (ca. 430-400 B.C.)<sup>22</sup> (**fig. 2**). The theme reminds us of the pattern of lions about to attack an animal from the Lydian relief mentioned above (but the style is different) and can be found on a seal from Sardis with one lion combatting a bull, carved in "Achaemenid hegemonic" style (an expression proposed by Elspeth Dusinberre instead of "Graeco-Persian").<sup>23</sup> In Lycia, in a dynastic context, these last two patterns may have recalled and matched royal Achaemenid iconography and sculpture; these themes were present at Persepolis (the doorway of the hundred-columned hall with a royal hero combatting a

**<sup>20</sup>** British Museum B 286. Two other reliefs from this pillar tomb show a lion and lioness. About the "Lion Pillar," see Akurgal 1941, p. 3-51, pls. 1-3, 4.4, 5; *FdX* I, p. 29-32, pls. II-III; Marksteiner 2002, p. 234-38, figs. 140-44, pls. 154-57; Seyer 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal, Istanbul Archaeological Museums, acc. no. 4589. Dusinberre 2003, p. 275, fig. 90 ("hero combatting lion"); Dusinberre 2010, p. 182-83, fig. 6.

**<sup>22</sup>** "Sarcophage aux lions terrassant un taureau." Base of the sarcophagus in situ. FdXV, S1, p. 46-60, pls. 21-26, pls. XXII-XXIV; Bruns-Özgan 1987, p. 285, S 25.

**<sup>23</sup>** Istanbul Archaeological Museums, acc. no. 4523. Cahill 2010, p. 498, no. 121; Dusinberre 2010, p. 185, fig. 11.



Fig. 2. Base of a limestone sarcophagus, Xanthos, in situ, so-called "sarcophage aux lions terrassant un taureau", ca. 430-400 B.C.
© Photo. F. Colas-Rannou (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2009).



Fig. 3. Marble fragmentary statue, Sardis, ca. 530-520 B.C. (Manisa Museum 325). After Hanfmann, Ramage 1978, fig. 51 (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

lion; the stairs of the apadana with a lion attacking a bull).<sup>24</sup> The theme of the royal hero combatting a lion also belonged to the repertoire of Achaemenid seals.<sup>25</sup>

# 4. Sixth-century B.C. sculpture: impact of Archaic Greek sculpture and complex artistic combinations

During the sixth century, the East Greek style, more specifically the Ionian style, had an impact on stone sculpture in Lydia. There was a continuity in Lydia from the Middle Lydian period to the late Lydian one (Persian period). This stylistic impact can be noticed for lions and also for human figures (on reliefs and freestanding statues), which have features in common with Archaic Greek statues, such as *korai*. It is possible to cite a marble statue from Sardis, now kept in the Manisa Museum (acc. no. 325) (**fig. 3**). The attitude, the treatment of the folds of the chiton and the himation, the long tresses of hair of this (most probably) female figure, recall main features of a Greek Archaic *kore*. A Greek impact can be seen on Lycian sculpture too: on the limestone reliefs that adorned pillar tombs, dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C., so after the Persian conquest. We can observe features inspired by Greek Styles in male figures: for example, in hairstyle and in the appearance of warriors, as seen on limestone reliefs from the pillar tomb from Isinda (the round shields

<sup>24</sup> Ghirshman 1963, p. 203, fig. 252; Dusinberre 2003, p. 84, fig. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Garrison, Root 2001.

**<sup>26</sup>** From Sardis sector PN: Hanfmann, Ramage 1978, p. 51-52, no. 8, figs. 51-54 (dated 530-520 B.C.); Roosevelt 2009, p. 76, fig. 4.10. See also (for another example), Hanfmann 1978, p. 30, pl. 8, fig. 5.

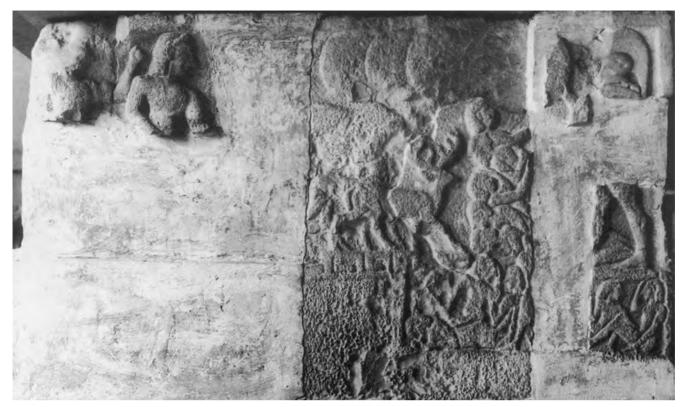


Fig. 4. Limestone relief, Pillar tomb, Isinda, South side, last quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Istanbul Archaeological Museum). After Akurgal 1941, pl. 6 (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

and the helmets make the warriors look like hoplites) (**fig. 4**). An impact of Archaic East Greek sculpture (more specifically Milesian or Ephesian)<sup>27</sup> was still active at the beginning of the fifth century (ca. 480 B.C.) in Lycia, as seen in the marble reliefs from the so-called "Harpy Tomb" from Xanthos (notably, the kinds of clothes, the folds in the clothing, and the hairstyle, in representations of seated male and female figures and standing women).

During the sixth century B.C., East Greek features were included in complex and original combinations. For the so-called "Kybele Naiskos" (ca. 550/540-530 B.C.), scholars have pointed out a complex combination of Lydian, East Greek, and Mesopotamian features (see in this volume the paper by Tamás Kisbali, entitled "Influencing Lydia: The 'Kybele Shrine' from Sardis and its Near Eastern and Greek contexts."); this combination occured in a religious context to celebrate a goddess.<sup>28</sup> A similar complex combination is present in the Lycian reliefs from Isinda with Anatolian or Lycian, Greek, Neo-Hittite, and Near Eastern features. We can find a mixture between traditional Anatolian and Lycian themes like hunting and war, a Greek style impact (mentioned above), Neo-Hittite and Near-Eastern motifs and ideas (the way of depicting victorious warriors and enemies on the east side, victorious warrior near and above prisoners on the south side) (fig. 4), a Lycian pattern on the same side (the succession of round shields in the upper part and the gesture of the warrior holding the first shield in front of him), the Greek scene of westlers at the beginning of a fight (on the north side). This last scene has probably been transmitted by Greek black-figure pottery, but here it is adapted because the wrestlers are not nude but seem to wear a sort of loincloth. The iconographic programme claims the status

<sup>27</sup> Rudolph 2003, p. 29.

**<sup>28</sup>** Marble block. Hanfmann, Ramage 1978, p. 43-51, no. 7, figs. 20-50; Dusinberre 2003, p. 104-6; Roosevelt 2009, p. 82, 84, fig. 4.15.

of the pillar tomb owner and displays values of a member of the Lycian elite of the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., in the new political context of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>29</sup>

The same phenomenon can be noticed for wall paintings, too, in Lycia. A similar complex combination can be found in the painted tomb chamber at Kızılbel, in northern Lycia (ca. 525 B.C.): East Greek style impact mixed with Anatolian, Near Eastern, and Archaic Greek features or iconographic motifs.<sup>30</sup>

# 5. Late fifth-century and fourth-century B.C. sculpture: the "mistress and maid" theme and family scenes, an impact of Classical Greek sculpture

In both Lydian and Lycian arts, Classical Greek art and, more specifically, Classical Athenian art may have been a source of inspiration in the late fifth century and during



Fig. 5. Marble funerary relief, Hayallı, third quarter of the fourth century B.C. (Manisa Museum 6225).

After Roosevelt 2009, fig. 6.21 (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

**<sup>29</sup>** Akurgal 1941, p. 52-97, pls. 6-14; Deltour-Lévie 1982, p. 172-74; Marksteiner 2002, p. 223, no. 31, p. 239-41, figs. 145-48, pls. 158-61; Colas-Rannou 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Mellink 1998. Concerning this combination, see also Colas-Rannou 2017, p. 45-54.

the fourth century B.C. For example, two funerary reliefs from Lydia bear the motif of a seated woman receiving an attendant, the "mistress and maid" theme, well-known in Classical Athenian funerary imagery. This pattern is carved on a marble funerary relief from İncesu/Gölde in eastern Lydia, dating to the late fifth century B.C. according to Christopher Roosevelt.<sup>31</sup> It is possible to identify a similar influence on family scenes carved on Lycian rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi dated to the fourth century B.C., although these scenes are not exactly the same. We can cite the reliefs on two rock-cut tombs at Myra in central southern Lycia. For tomb number 69, the scene takes place in a frieze above the entrance door: a woman is seated in the context of a banquet scene, with two children (female figures, the second smaller than the first one) standing behind her.<sup>32</sup> For tomb number 81, the scene is carved on a panel located to the right of the entrance, facing the left panel, showing a reclining man, so that the panels complement each other as a banquet scene.33 Furthermore, a specific Greek motif seems to have been borrowed in both fourth-century Lydian and Lycian sculptures, the result is not exactly the same from a stylistic point of view, but the origin of the motif is the same: a seated woman holds her veil in one hand and pulls the veil in front of her face. On the marble funerary relief from Hayallı (eastern Lydia), the woman is present in a banquet scene<sup>34</sup> (**fig. 5**). On a rock-cut tomb in Myra (mentioned above, number 69), the woman is seated in front of a reclining man (banquet) and accompanied by her children behind her35 (fig. 6). On the east pediment of



**Fig. 6.** Rock-cut tomb relief, Myra (no. 69, the so-called "Lion tomb"), *in situ*, ca. 350-330 B.C. After Borchhardt 1975, pl. 73 C (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

the so-called "Nereid Monument" from Xanthos, the dynast's wife is seated in front of her husband (the Lycian dynast), with their children standing close to them.<sup>36</sup> This motif can be seen in the Parthenon frieze with Hera sitting next to Zeus. The motif also recalls the *anakalupsis* gesture: a ritualized gesture accomplished by the bride in the context of the Greek wedding ritual; the scene thus can symbolize the wife.<sup>37</sup>

We can point out here that the banquet, a common and very important theme in both Lydian and Lycian arts (and in Western Anatolia in general), could have been revived by using Classical Greek style and iconography. This kind of scene was not present in the contemporary monumental Achaemenid sculptural repertoire. However, in a number of Lycian banquet scenes, we can also see references to Persian material culture: notably to Persian silverware (the Persian-style rhyton in the frieze with a banquet from the Nereid

**<sup>31</sup>** Roosevelt 2009, p. 158-59, fig. 6.23, cat. no. 16.4, p. 245; and see fig. 6.24, cat. no. 18.1B, p. 250-51 (midfourth century B.C.).

**<sup>32</sup>** The pediment of this tomb is adorned with the pattern of a lion attacking a bull, mentioned above in this paper.

**<sup>33</sup>** Borchhardt 1975, p. 129-32 (no. 69, "*Löwengrab*", ca. 350-330 B.C.), pls. 72-B, 73 B-C-D, and p. 135-46 (no. 81, ca. 360-340 B.C.) (relief IV), pls. 75, 78-A, colour plate I, p. 112 (dating).

**<sup>34</sup>** Manisa Museum, acc. no. 6225. Roosevelt 2009, p. 157, fig. 6.21, p. 158, cat. no. 11.9, p. 236 (third quarter of the fourth century B.C.).

**<sup>35</sup>** Borchhardt 1975, pl. 73 C.

**<sup>36</sup>** British Museum, acc. no. 924. *FdX* VIII, p. 291-96, pls. 140-41, LXVII.

<sup>37</sup> See Lissarrague 1991, p. 167; Lissarrague 1996; Gherchanoc 2006.



Fig. 7. Marble relief, Banquet scene, the Nereid Monument, Xanthos, ca. 380 B.C. (British Museum 903). © Trustees of the British Museum (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

Monument at Xanthos, dated ca. 380 B.C.<sup>38</sup>) (**fig. 7**), and to Persian silverware and Persian jewelery (for example, on paintings inside the monumental chamber tomb at Karaburun, northern Lycia, dated to the first half of the fifth century, ca. 470 B.C.<sup>39</sup>).

# 6. A revival of traditional Anatolian or East Mediterranean themes and imagery with Greek iconographic patterns in Lycia

Classical Greek art provided new iconographic models that allowed a revival of traditional Anatolian or East Mediterranean themes and imagery. This phenomenon may, perhaps, have been stronger in Lycia than in Lydia. The example of the representation of a male figure combatting a griffin is significant. The hero or royal hero combatting a griffin is known from Mesopotamian, Neo-Hittite, and East Mediterranean imageries. For example, we can see a hero holding a sword combatting an eagle-headed griffin on a Neo-Hittite orthostat from Tell Halaf<sup>40</sup> and on ivory plaques from Nimrud.<sup>41</sup> The lid of a Lycian sarcophagus from Limyra (called the "Centaurs's Sarcophagus") in eastern Lycia, dated ca. 340-330 B.C.) is adorned with a relief showing two male figures wearing oriental clothes, combatting an eagle-headed griffin (fig. 8). It is important to notice the presence of the oriental clothes, the crest behind the eagle head, the pose of the rider and horse with its forelegs raised, and the griffin above the male figure on the ground. It is the same scene (with these same details) as the one that decorate Attic red-figure vases belonging to the "Kertch style", dated to the fourth century B.C. (see, for example, the neck of the Attic krater G 530 in the Louvre museum, dated to the mid-fourth century<sup>42</sup>). The owner of this Lycian sarcophagus used the Greek pattern to promote himself in a form of heroization by assimilation to the victorious hero who defeats the hybrid creature. In my opinion, it could compete with the image of the royal hero combatting an eagle-headed or lion-headed griffin carved on reliefs at Persepolis (in the doorways of the Hundred Columns Hall, fifth

**<sup>38</sup>** British Museum, acc. no. 903. *FdX* VIII, p. 207-8, pl. 133.

**<sup>39</sup>** Karaburun II: Mellink 1971, p. 250-55; Mellink 1973, p. 297-301; Mellink 1988.

<sup>40</sup> Dated to the ninth-eighth century B.C.; Orthmann 1971, p. 331, Tell Halaf A3/55, pl. 9f.

<sup>41</sup> Dated to the eighth century B.C.; Mallowan 1966, p. 537, fig. 456 (ND 10696), p. 587, fig. 559.

**<sup>42</sup>** Beazley 1963, p. 1469-70, no. 161 (groupe G); *LIMC* VIII 1997, suppl., s.v. Arimaspoi, p. 532, no. 39, pl. 343; Boardman 2001, fig. 261.



**Fig. 8.** Fragment of the limestone lid, so-called "Centaurs' sarcophagus", Limyra, ca. 340-330 B.C. After Bruns-Özgan 1987, pl. 36, 1 (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

century B.C.).<sup>43</sup> In Lydia, this subject is not present in the sculptural repertoire, but it can be seen in miniature on Sardian seals, more precisely on seals belonging to the so-called "Achaemenid hegemonic" style. For example, the scene decorates a chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 4527) with the hero wearing Persian courtly robes and a crenelated crown, holding a short sword in his left hand and grasping, with his right hand, a rampant lion-griffin (winged horned lion-griffin)<sup>44</sup> (**fig. 9**). The Lycians may not have produced comparable seals; an Achaemenid seal, discovered in 2004 at Patara, is the only one currently known from Lycia (with a bearded and crowned sphinx).<sup>45</sup> Thus, different choices were made in Lycia and in Lydia that concerned both the medium and the iconography. Here, the satrapal capital status of Sardis may explain the diffusion among the local elite of such seals with this Achaemenid version of the theme.

# 7. Achaemenid royal imagery as a source of inspiration

Achaemenid royal imagery could have been a source of inspiration for sculpture and wall painting. For example, scholars use to compare the procession of possible gift bearers painted in the tomb of the Harta tumulus in northwestern Lydia (late sixth or early fifth century B.C.) with the procession of the tribute bearers on the Apadana at Persepolis.<sup>46</sup> A relief from Xanthos (British Museum B 312) shows a motif that is also present on the Apadana at Persepolis. This relief belonged to a frieze showing a "convoy" or "parade" of



Fig. 9. Chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal, Sardis (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4527). After Cahill 2010 p. 497, no. 119 (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

**<sup>43</sup>** Ghirshman 1963, p. 202, figs. 250-51.

<sup>44</sup> Dusinberre 2003, p. 163-64, 169-70, appendix 4, fig. 92, p. 277, p. 274 (IAM 4527), see also fig. 80, p. 268-69 (agate cylinder seal, IAM 4581); Dusinberre 2010; Cahill 2010, p. 497, cat. no. 119 (IAM 4527), p. 502, cat. no. 128 (IAM 4581). Chalcedony seal IAM 4527, found in a tomb, height 1.7 cm; face 1.4 cm x 1.1 cm; Dusinberre 2003, p. 274.

<sup>45</sup> Isin 2007

**<sup>46</sup>** Near Kırkağaç in the upper Caicus river valley; Roosevelt 2009, p. 172, p. 174, fig. 6.43, cat. no. 9.1A, p. 230-31; Özgen, Öztürk 1996, p. 36-39, 45-46; Özgen 2010, p. 324-26, figs. 40, 41, 42.

chariots, riders and horses, from the so-called Building G" (ca. 470-460 B.C.), located on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos. On this relief, a male figure (a groom) is walking behind the horse with his forearm lying on the horse's back; this scene reminds us of what appears on the Apadana relief.<sup>47</sup> In the same frieze at Xanthos (British Museum B 311-312-313, Antalya 3532), the horses display Persian features, being represented with the knotted tail and forelock of Persian horses.<sup>48</sup> The knotted tail of a horse is also visible on a fragment from the Lydian painted tomb of the Harta tumulus that is mentioned above.<sup>49</sup> A Persian style for the mane can also be seen in the paintings of the tumulus tomb at Karaburun (Karaburun II, also above).<sup>50</sup>

One of the most important Near Eastern royal scenes, known in both Assyrian and Achaemenid repertoires, is this audience scene. The image of the Great King enthroned alone, appears on a seal from Sardis carved in "Achaemenid hegemonic" style (the figure wears Persian courtly dress and a crenelated crown, and rests his feet on a footstool);51 but apart from this glyptic imagery, audience scenes do not seem to feature in Lydian art, especially in sculpture. This is not the case in Lycia and in Lycian audience scenes the main protagonist is not the Great King. On one of the long sides of the Payava sarcophagus, the seated dignitary may be the satrap Autophradates, who is mentioned in the inscription carved above the scene. He wears Persian garments, while the male figures standing in front of him (comprising an embassy, with among them probably the Xanthian dynast Payava) are dressed in a Greek way. The "influence" of Greek style can be observed in the way these standing figures are depicted.<sup>52</sup> In other depictions, the seated dignitary can be interpreted as the local nobleman or dynast. Such an audience scene is painted inside the tomb chamber at Kızılbel (northern Lycia, dated ca. 525 B.C.).53 Another appears on a relief from the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (from the smaller frieze of the podium). Here, the relief is carved in a Greek style and the scene from the heartland of Achaemenid sculpture (Persepolis) has been adapted (fig. 10). The general composition is the same but details differ. The dynast is imitating the Great King: he is seated with his feet resting on a footstool; the headdress depicted here (the tiara) is not the one worn by the Great King in the audience reliefs at Persepolis; and behind him is a standing parasol bearer. This kind of parasol bearer appears at Persepolis behind the standing king (on a door in the palace of Darius, and other doors in the palace of Xerxes) but not in audience scenes (in audience scenes, an attendant holding a fly-whisk is sometimes depicted).<sup>54</sup> This Lycian way (and ability) of adapting a "royal" scene may have been a result of the geographical and political situation of Lycia inside the Achaemenid Empire, mentioned above in the introduction. On the one hand, the royal Achaemenid/Oriental iconography was a reference point, symbolising power, but on the other hand, it could be freely manipulated by Lycian rulers to promote themselves, using a Greek style.

<sup>47</sup> Bas-reliefs on the external faces of the Apadana (audience hall): Frankfort 1954, pl. 183; Allen 2005, p. 74-75, fig. 3.14. Concerning this detail on the relief B 312 from Xanthos and this comparison: Bernard 1965, p. 279-86.

**<sup>48</sup>** This comparison has already been made by Paul Bernard (Bernard 1965, p. 271) and mentioned elsewhere; see, for example, Dusinberre 2003, p. 87. About building G at Xanthos and these reliefs; see notably *FdX* II, p. 49-61, pl. XXXVIII 1-2, XXXIX 1; Bruns-Özgan, 1987, M4c, pls. 1, 3-4.

<sup>49</sup> On this detail, see Özgen 2010, p. 326, fig. 42.

<sup>50</sup> Mellink 1979, p. 491, concerning the battle scene of the north wall.

**<sup>51</sup>** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum/IAM 4524: Dusinberre 2003, p. 278, fig. 94, p. 170; Cahill 2010, no. 120, p. 497; Dusinberre 2010, p. 181-82, fig. 3, p. 186.

**<sup>52</sup>** *FdX* V, p. 78-82, pls. 42-43.

**<sup>53</sup>** For the north wall, see Mellink 1998, p. 30-31, p. 52-53, pls. XIX-XX.

**<sup>54</sup>** *FdX* VIII, p. 264-65. On Persepolis, see Schmidt 1953, pls. 75-76, 96-99, 138-39, 178-81; Root 1979, p. 76-110, pl. 29b, p. 285, pls. 15a, 25b. See also Kaptan 1996, especially p. 267.



Fig. 10. Marble relief, Audience scene, the Nereid Monument, Xanthos, ca. 380 B.C. (British Museum 879). © Trustees of the British Museum (by F. Colas-Rannou, 2018).

# 8. Conclusion: Lydian and Lycian images as results of conscious choices

In the disparate world of ancient Anatolia during the Iron Age and more specifically during Achaemenid rule, styles and iconographic norms were shared by artists or craftmen and were linked through the exchange network, the circulation of people, and the Anatolian élites's common way of life. In the absence of related local texts, looking through art is an important strategy for helping to improve our understanding of Anatolian societies. I have tried to show, with a number of examples, that common features were shared by Lydians and Lycians. However, Lydian identity was not the same as the Lycian one. Anatolian, Greek, Near Eastern, and, more specifically, Persian traditions were mixed, but in different ways in Lydian and Lycian art, resulting from active or conscious choices. Images thus created were therefore typically Lydian and Lycian. A lot of other examples could be shown. Diversity did exist and Achaemenid rule did not prevent this creative process." Studying images constitutes a complex but very interesting way to understand Anatolian cultural history.

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FdX IV: Metzger H. (1972), Fouilles de Xanthos, vol. 4:, Les céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne, Paris.

<sup>55</sup> With regard to the question of unity/diversity, see Briant 1996, p. 88-89 about "Pouvoir central et polycentrisme culturel"; Dusinberre 2013, p. 259-71.

- FdX V: Demargne P. (1974), Fouilles de Xanthos, vol. 5: Tombes-maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages, Paris.
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- *LIMC* = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 1981-97, Zurich-Munich-Düsseldorf.

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# Abstracts and keywords in English / Türkçe Özetler ve Anahtar Kelimeler

#### Nihal Akıllı

Protohistorical excavations at Hastane Höyük in Akhisar

**Abstract:** The earliest findings of the Hastane Höyük, the prehistoric settlement of Thyateria in Northern Lydia, located in the district of Akhisar in Manisa province, date from the Late Chalcolithic period. Although the Middle and Late Bronze Age layers were not found yet, a large amount of pottery from these periods was unearthed in the settlement inhabited during the Early Bronze Age. The mound is thought to have been used as the acropolis area of the ancient city of Thyateria during the Hellenistic period and as the necropolis area during the Roman period.

The aim of the studies carried out in the region is to shed light on the prehistoric period of Akhisar and its surroundings within the Northwest Anatolian geography and to recognize the significance of the region within the regional archaeology. During the excavations carried out at the Hastane Höyük, which is located in an area close to the natural road route of the Aegean Region, early findings such as blades, hand axes, cutting tools, spindle whorls, idols and necklaces were found. The pottery fragments from the settlement dated to the Late Chalcolithic Period show similar features to those of the Çanakkale Region and the pottery finds dated to the Early Bronze Age show similar characteristics to those of the cultures in the Balıkesir, Manisa, Bakırçay Basin, Izmir and Çanakkale regions. In the coming years the excavations at Hastane Höyük will provide important information to understand the regional prehistory.

Keywords: Hastane Höyük, Lydia, Thyateira, Late Chalcolithic period, Early Bronze Age.

## Hastane Höyük'teki Prehistorik Kazılar

**Özet:** Manisa ili, Akhisar ilçe merkezinde yer alan ve Antik Kuzey Lydia Bölgesi kentlerinden Thyateira'nın prehistorik yerleşimi olan Hastane Höyüğü'nün en erken buluntuları Geç Kalkolitik Çağ'a tarihlenir. Erken Bronz Çağı süresince iskan edilen yerleşmenin Orta ve Geç Bronz Çağları'na ait tabakaları henüz bulunamamış olsa da, bu dönemlere ait çok miktarda çanak-çömlek ele geçmiştir. Höyüğün Hellenistik Dönem'de Thyateira antik kentinin akropol alanı, Roma Dönemi'nde ise nekropol alanı olarak kullanıldığı düşünülmektedir.

Yörede yürütülen çalışmaların amacı Kuzeybatı Anadolu coğrafyasında yer alan Akhisar ve çevresinin prehistoryasına ışık tutmak ve yörenin bölge arkeolojisi içerisindeki önemini anlamaktır. Ege Bölgesi'nde, yol güzergahına yakın bir alanda bulunan Hastane Höyüğü'nde yapılan arkeolojik kazı çalışmalarında dilgi, el baltası, kesici alet, ağırşak, idol ve kolye ucu gibi erken döneme ait buluntular ele geçmiştir. Yerleşmede bulunmuş ve Geç Kalkolitik Çağ'a tarihlenen çanak-çömlek fragmanları Çanakkale yöresi örnekleri ile, Erken Bronz Çağı'na

tarihlenen çanak-çömlek buluntuları ise Balıkesir, Manisa, Bakırçay Havzası, İzmir ve Çanakkale yörelerindeki kültürlere ait örnekler ile benzer özellikler göstermektedir. Hastane Höyüğü'nde önümüzdeki yıllarda sürdürülecek kazı çalışmaları yöre prehistoryasını anlamamız için önemli bilgiler sunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: : Hastane Höyüğü, Thyateira, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Erken Bronz Çağı.

#### Gaetano Arena

Heleis: A chief physician in Roman Lydia

**Abstract:** A white marble altar found in Thyateira bears the epitaph of a chief-physician "of the whole *xystos*". The inscription has been dated, by almost all the scholars, to the end of the second–beginning of the third century A.D., but a more detailed analysis, based on a comparison with other testimonies (written sources, inscriptions), might also suggest a date into the fourth century, when Thyateira and its territory still played a central role in the political and military history of the Late Roman Empire.

Keywords: Thyateira, medicine, gymnasium, Late antiquity, milestones, Imperial constitutions.

# Heleis: Roma Dönemi'nde Lydia'da Baş Hekim

**Özet:** Thyateira'da ele geçmiş olan beyaz mermerden bir sunak, "bütün xystos'un" başhekiminin yazıtını taşımaktadır. Yazıt, birçok tarihçi tarafından İ.S. 2. yy.'ın sonuna, İ.S. 3. yy.'ın başına tarihlendirilmiştir; ancak tarihi yazılı kaynaklar ve diğer yazıtlarla karşılaştırıldığında, söz konusu yazıt Thyateira ve egemenlik alanının Geç Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nin siyasi ve askeri tarihinde hâlâ merkezi bir rol oynadığı İ.S. 4. yy.'a tarihlenmelidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Thyateira, Antik tıp, gymnasium, Geç Antik Çağ, miltaşları, Roma İmparatorluk kurumları.

#### Cinzia Susanna Bearzot

Pissuthnes, satrap of Lydia

**Abstract:** The paper evaluates the role of Pissuthnes, satrap of Sardis in Lydia in the fifth century B.C. (ca. 440–415), in the context of political relations between Athens, its allies, and Persia. It highlights Pissuthnes's anti-Athenian politics, which undermined the solidity of the Athenian empire with the help of the pro-Persian factions in the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

**Keywords:** Pissuthnes, Lydia, Athens, Persia, Asia Minor.

# Lydia Satrapı Pissuthnes

**Özet:** Bu makale, İ.Ö. 5. yy.'da (İ.Ö. yaklaşık 440-415 yılları arasında), Sardeis Satrabı Pissuthnes'un Atina, müttefikleri ve İran arasındaki siyasi ilişkiler bağlamında tarihsel rolünü değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Makale, Anadolu'nun Klasik Dönem Yunan şehirlerindeki Pers yanlısı grupların yardımıyla Atina İmparatorluğu'nun sağlamlığını baltalayan Pissuthnes'in Atina karşıtı siyasetini vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pissuthnes, Lydia, Atina, İran, Anadolu.

# Margherita G. Cassia

Medicine in Roman Lydia: a close connection with the imperial power

**Abstract:** A fragment of a marble base, found near ancient Blaundos at the end of the 19th century and today lost, bears an honorific inscription, very incomplete, for Servilius Damocrates. Comparison with other sources – epigraphic, numismatic, and literary – allows us to establish the profession of this man, the chronology of his activity (around the middle of the first century A.D.), and, above all, Servilius's role of "mediation" between his home town Blaundos, members of the Roman elite, and the imperial court.

**Keywords:** Blaundos, Julio-Claudian dynasty, chief physician, earthquakes, coinage, pharmacology.

Roma Dönemi Lydia'sında Tıp Bilimi: İmparatorluk Gücüyle Yakın Bir Bağlantı

**Özet:** 19. yy.'ın sonunda Antik Blaundos Örenyeri yakınlarında bulunan ve bugün kayıp olan mermer bir kaide fragmanı, Servilius Damokrates için yazılmış, ancak eksikleri olan bir onur yazıtı taşımaktadır. Bu yazıt metni epigrafi, nümizmatik ve Antik edebi eserler gibi diğer kaynaklarla karşılaştırıldığında, bu kişinin mesleğini, İ.S. 1. yy.'ın ortalarındaki faaliyetlerinin kronolojisini ve her şeyden önce Servilius'un memleketi Blaundos, Roma yüksek sınıfı ve imparatorluk sarayı arasında "arabuluculuk" rolünü oluşturma olanağını sağladı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Blaundos, Julius-Claudius Hanedanlığı, başhekim, depremler, sikkeler, farmakoloji.

## Michele R. Cataudella

Aššuwa, Ἀσία, and the land of Lydians

Abstract: From the evidence, against the widespread view, it does not seem that the name Asía was used to indicate the Lydia country before the Persian empire, when Asía coincided with the Persian empire and indicated the entire continent in opposition to Europe. Before this time Maeonia (Homer), Sardis (Sparda is attested by Persian inscriptions) and Lydia (from the seventh century) were the names used to indicate the Lydia country, whereas the name Asía identified roughly the western side of Anatolia, including Lydia; the same value had probably the Minoan and Mycenean use and above all the hittite term Aššuwa related to a coalition (or confederation) of peoples which seems to have had some common geographical and chronological features with Trojan alliance in the Trojan war.

Keywords: Asia, Sardis, Lydia, Aššuwa, Trojan War.

### Aššuwa, Ἀσία ve Lydia Ülkesi

**Özet:** Yaygın olan görüşe rağmen, Asia'nın Pers İmparatorluğu ile bir tutulduğu ve tüm kıtanın Avrupa'nın dışında bir yerde olduğu düşünüldüğü zaman, Pers İmparatorluğu kurulmadan önce Lydia ülkesini belirtmek için "Asia" teriminin kullanılmadığı görülmektedir. Bu dönemden önce Lydia ülkesini belirtmek için kullanılan adlar Homeros'a göre Maionia, Sardeis (Persçe yazıtlarda mevcut olduğu şekli ile Sparda) ve İ.Ö. 7. yy.'dan itibaren Lydia iken, "Asia" ismi Lydia da dahil olmak üzere Anadolu'nun kabaca batı bölgelerini tanımlamaktadır; aynı isim, olasılıkla Minos ve Myken yazılı belgelerindeki kullanımına ve hepsinden önemlisi, Troia savaşında Troia ittifakı ile bazı ortak coğrafı ve kronolojik özelliklere sahip görünen bir halk koalisyonu (veya konfederasyonu) ile ilgili Hitit terimi olan Aššuwa'ya eş değerdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asia, Sardeis, Lydia, Aššuwa, Troia savaşı.

# Costel Chiriac, Lucian Munteanu

Lydian seals from the western Pontic area

**Abstract:** The topic of our study are the Lydian lead seals found in the west Pontic area. We succeeded to record 13 such artefacts, bearing inscriptions with names of the following cities from this province: Dios Hieron, Hypaepa, Koloe, Tralles, and probably Thyaira. Almost all the seals were discovered on Roman sites from the Dobruja or in their vicinity, most of them located on the lower Danube and only a few on the Black Sea coast. We believe that the Lydian commercial seals found in the west Pontic area attest to the trading of goods imported from this region, in order to maintain the logistics of the Roman army stationed along the Danube during the Gothic war under the emperor Valens (A.D. 366–369).

Keywords: Commercial seals, Lydia, West Pontic area, Valens, Gothic war, Roman army, supply.

# Batı Karadeniz'de Ele Geçmiş Lydia Mühürleri

**Özet:** Çalışmamızın konusunu Batı Karadeniz (Pontos)'de ele geçmiş Lydia'ya ait kurşun mühürler oluşturur: Dios Hieron, Hypaipa, Koloe, Tralleis ve olasılıkla Thyateira gibi Lydia şehirlerinin isimlerinin yazılı olduğu 13 adet eser ele geçirilmiştir. Hemen hemen tüm bu mühürler, Dobruca'daki Roma Dönemi örenyerlerinde veya yakınlarında keşfedildi; bu örenyerlerinin çoğu Aşağı Tuna Bölgesi'nde ve birkaçı ise Karadeniz kıyısında bulunuyordu. Batı Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde bulunan söz konusu Lydia mühürlerinin, İmparator Valens Dönemi'nde (İ.S. 366-369) Gotlar Savaşı sırasında Tuna Nehri boyunca konuşlanmış Roma ordusunun lojistiğini korumak için bu bölgeden ithal edilen malların ticaretini kanıtladığına inanıyoruz.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ticari mühürler, Lydia, Batı Karadeniz Bölgesi, Valens, Gotlar Savaşı, Roma ordusu, ordu tedariği.

#### Fabienne Colas-Rannou

Lydian and Lycian arts in the context of Achaemenid Anatolia: a comparative approach

**Abstract:** The paper proposes a comparative examination of Lydian and Lycian sculpture and wall painting, based on style and iconography. Lydian and Lycian cultures shared a number of common features, however each one had its own identity. Both Lydian and Lycian figurative representations came about through an eclectic creative process, mixing local, Anatolian, Greek and Persian or Near Eastern elements. In both cases, it was a constantly-evolving process. Thanks to a selection of guenine examples dated from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., the author demonstrates that these elements could be mixed in different ways in Lydia and in Lycia. A diversity did exist and the Achaemenid rule didn't prevent this creative process.

**Keywords:** Lydia, Lycia, sculpture, wall painting, seals, iconography, style, eclecticism, identity, Achaemenid period.

Akhamenid Hanedanlığı Dönemi'nde Anadolu'da Lydia ve Lykia Sanatlarına Karşılaştırmalı Bir Yaklaşım

**Özet:** Bu makale, Lydia ve Lykia heykel ve duvar resim sanatlarının stil ve ikonografiye dayalı olarak karşılaştırmasına ilişkin bir analiz sunmaktadır. Lydia ve Lykia kültürleri bir takım ortak özelliklere sahip olsalar da, her birinin kendine ait bir kimliği mevcuttu. Hem Lydia, hem de Lykia figüratif eserleri, yerli, Anadolu, Yunan, İran veya Yakın Doğu uyğarlıklarına ait sanatsal unsurları kombine eden, eklektik bir yaratıcı süreçle ortaya çıkmıştır. Her iki sanat da, sürekli olarak gelişen bir sürece sahipti. Makalenin yazarı, İ.Ö. 6. yy.'dan 4. yy.'a tarihlenen bir dizi öne çıkan örnek sayesinde, bu sanatsal unsurların Lydia ve Lykia'da farklı şekillerde karıştırılabileceğini göstermektedir. Burada bir çeşitlilik mevcuttur ve Akhamenid Hanedanlığı'nın yönetimi bu yaratıcı süreci engellememiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lydia, Lykia, heykel, duvar resmi, ikonografi, üslup, eklektizm, etnik kimlik, Akhamenid Hanedanlığı Dönemi.

# **Fabrice Delrieux**

The Greek cities of Lydia during the First Mithridatic War (89–85 B.C.)

**Abstract:** The First Mithridatic War (89-85 B.C.) was an essential step in the history of relations between the Greek cities of Lydia and Rome at the end of the Republic. Not only it sets the fate of each of them for a long time, but the variety of local behavior during the conflict reflects the complexity of these relationships before the outbreak of hostilities. Some cities like Magnesia of the Sipylus remained faithful to the Romans, even at the most dramatic moments of the war for Rome, sometimes by taking up arms to resist Mithridates. Other cities, such as Tralles, took part for the king, until participating in the massacres of the Italic populations present in Asia Minor in 88 B.C. For all that, it would be wrong to believe that the choices were always so decided in Lydia. The case of Nysa gives us the example of a divided community about the party to be taken. On the one hand, the city seems to have opened its doors to Mithridates who, in return, showed generosity towards her. On the other hand, the Nysaean Chaeremon son of

Pythodorus, well-known by epigraphy, played a very important rôle, at the risk of his life, in the resistance to the Pontic troops. These diametrically opposed attitudes, in a region that is subject to the excesses of Rome, especially to the excesses of the publicans, since the organization of the Roman proconsular province of Asia in 129-127 B.C., clearly have multiple causes. As in other parts of Asia Minor, such as Caria, the problem must be examined on a case-by-case basis. Such an approach often leads us to go back to the origins of Rome's relations with Lydia in the second century B.C.

Keywords: First Mithridatic War, Lydia, Rome, Asia Minor.

Birinci Mithridates Savaşı Sırasında (İ.Ö. 89-85 Yılları) Lydia Bölgesi'ndeki Yunan Kentleri

Özet: İ.Ö. 89-85 yılları arasında gerçekleşmiş olan Birinci Mithridates Savaşı, Roma Cumhuriyeti Dönemi'nin sonunda Lydia'daki Yunan şehirleri ile Roma arasındaki ilişkiler için önem arz etmekteydi. Söz konusu bu savaş bu her bir kentin kaderini uzun süre belirlemekle kalmaz, aynı zamanda savaş sırasındaki yerel davranışların çeşitliliği, düşmanlıkların patlak vermesinden önce bu ilişkilerin karmaşıklığını yansıtır. Magnesia ad Sipylus gibi bazı şehirler, Roma savaşının en dramatik anlarında bile, bazen Mithridates'e direnmek için silahlanarak Romalılara sadık kalmışlardır. Tralleis gibi başka bazı şehirler ise, İ.Ö. 88 yılında Anadolu'da bulunan İtalyan halklarının katliamlarına katılana kadar Mithridates'in yanında yer almışlardır. Tüm bunlara rağmen, bu konudaki tutumların her zaman Lydia içinde kararlaştırıldığına inanmak yanlış olur. Örneğin Nysa'da vuku bulan bir olay, bize kentlerin hangi tarafta yer alacağına dair alınacak kararlar konusunda bölünmüş bir ahali örneği veriyor. Bir yandan, Nysa kenti kapılarını, ona karşı cömertlik gösteren Mithridates'e açmış görünseler de, öte yandan, epigrafik metinlerde tanınan Pythodoros'un oğlu Nysalı Chaeremon, Pontos birliklerine karşı direnişte canı pahasına çok önemli bir rol oynamıştır. İ.Ö. 129-127 arasında Roma prokonsüler eyaleti Asia'nın örgütlenmesinin çok sayıda nedeni olduğu için, Roma'nın aşırılıklarına, özellikle de kamuoyunun aşırılıklarına maruz kalan bir bölgede bu taban tabana zıt tavırların birden çok sebebi vardır. Anadolu'nun diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, Karia'daki sorun duruma göre incelenmelidir. Böyle bir yaklaşım bizi genellikle Roma'nın Lydia ile İ.Ö. 2. yy.'daki ilişkilerinin kökenine geri dönmeye götürür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birinci Mithridates Savaşı, Lydia, Roma, Anadolu.

# Dimitris P. Drakoulis

A contribution to the study of Lydia in the Early Byzantine period

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to contribute to the study of Lydia in the Early Byzantine period (fourth-sixth century A.D.) from an historical and geographical viewpoint. An historical crosssection will be attempted in order to clarify the administrative situation of the province in the sixth century (source: the Synekdemos of Hierocles). A digital cartographic representation of the historical topography will be created in order to describe and clarify the provincial and regional context. The sources used for the representation of this cultural landscape comprise, among others. the "oldest" cartographic monument of Late antiquity, i.e. the Tabula Peutingeriana and the "newest", i.e. the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World. An accompanying database will be also constructed in order to classify the provincial settlements according to historical cultural and geographical - spatial criteria. The first set of criteria is related to parameters and variables such as the date of foundation, continuous presence in five historical periods (Archaic - Classical - Hellenistic - Roman - Early Byzantine), ancient and modern place names. The second set of criteria is related to the location of the settlement and uses parameters and variables such as geomorphology, water elements, communication networks, and the presence of a nodal point. The final objective of the paper will be a structured synthesis of knowledge regarding the distinctive features of the settlement network of Lydia and the correlation of this information with the dynamic parts of the system, that is, communication networks and cultural exchanges. Keywords: Early Byzantine Lydia, settlements network, roads network, historical human geography, Synekdemos of Hierocles.

# Erken Bizans Dönemi'ndeki Lydia Üzerine Yapılan Araştırmalara Bir Eklenti

**Özet:** Bu makalenin amacı, Lydia Bölgesi'nin Erken Bizans Dönemi'ndeki (İ.S. 4.-6. yy.'lar arası) tarihi coğrafya açısından durumuna katkıda bulunmaktır. Makalede Hierokles'in Synekdemos'u kaynak olarak alınarak İ.S. 6. yy.'da bölgenin idari durumunu açıklığa kavuşturmak için tarihi bir kesit verilmeye çalışılacaktır denenecektir. Bölgenin kentlerini ve bölgesel durumunu tanımlamak ve netleştirmek için tarihi topografyanın dijital bir kartografik temsili oluşturulacaktır. Bu kültürel peyzajın temsili için kullanılan diğer kaynaklar ise Geç Antik Dönemin 'en eski' kartografik "anıtı" olan Tabula Peutingeriana ile 'en yenisi' olan Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world. Kent yerleşimlerini tarihi, kültürel ve coğrafi ile mekânsal kriterlere göre sınıflandırmak için ayrıca bir veri tabanı oluşturulacaktır. Bu veri tabanındaki ilk kriterler, kentlerin kuruluş tarihi, başlıca beş dönemdeki (Arkaik, Klasik, Hellenistik, Roma ve Erken Bizans Dönemleri) süreklilik gösteren varlıkları ile eski ve modern yer adları gibi parametrelerdir. İkinci kriter grubu ise yerleşim için seçilen yerlerle ile ilgilidir ve jeomorfoloji, su unsurları, iletişim ağları ve bir yol düğüm noktasının varlığı gibi parametreleri ve değişkenleri kullanır. Makalenin son amacı, Lydia yerleşim ağının ayırt edici özellikleri ile iletişim ağları ve kültürel alışverişlerle korelasyonuna ilişkin yapılandırılmış bir bilgi sentezi oluşturmak olacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Erken Bizans Dönemi'nde Lydia, yerleşim ağı, yol ağı, tarihi beşeri coğrafya, Hierokles, Synekdemos.

#### **Damien Glad**

Sardis factories and the supply of eastern Roman auxiliaries

**Abstract:** This study explains why Diocletian chose Sardis for one of the *fabricae* location. This is related to its strategic location far from the Persian frontlines. I would argue that this Lydian factory can offset loss of Antioch or Nicomedia of disasters and natural catastrophes. Furthermore, former contacts between Lydians and Sarmatians of the Northern Caucasus and the barbarization of the Roman army can explain the widespread dissemination of a new type of helmet, the *Spangenhelm*, in the Roman army. The original shape needs to be sought in Sardis 1000 years ago. This can be explained by the permanence of a military and craft tradition, the presence of a mint and a local administrative organization.

Keywords: Sardis, state arms factories, Roman army, Spangenhelm, Lydia, mint, urban centres.

# Sardeis Fabrikaları ve Doğu Roma Coğrafyasına Silah Temini

**Özet:** Bu makale, Roma İmparatoru Diokletianos'un bir silah fabrikası kurmak için neden Sardeis'i seçtiğini incelemektedir. Bu durum, kentin İran cephesinden uzaktaki stratejik konumu ile ilgilidir. Yazar Lydia'daki söz konusu fabrikanın, daha önce Antiocheia veya Nikomedia'da yer alıp, doğal felaketler sonucu kaybolmuş başka bir üretim yerini telafi edebileceğine inanmaktadır. Ayrıca Kuzey Kafkasya'daki Lydialılar ve Sarmatlar arasındaki eski ilişkiler ve Roma ordusunun barbarlaşması hususları, Roma Ordusu'nda yeni bir miğfer türü olan *Spangenhelm* ("dilimli miğfer")'in yaygınlaşmasını açıklayabilir. Bu miğferin formunun kökleri 1000 yıl önce Sardeis'te aranmalıdır. Bu köken, askeri bir zanaat geleneğinin devamlılığı ile darphane ve yerel bir idari teşkilatın varlığı ile açıklanabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sardeis, devlet silah fabrikaları, Roma ordusu, Spangenhelm, Lydia, darphane, Lydia kentleri.

#### **Charles Guittard**

An amazing oracle of Apollo of Claros and the question of the supreme god (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.18.20): Zeus, Hades, Helios, Dionysos, and Iaô

**Abstract:** The temple of Apollo Clarius, located in the territory of Colophon, was one of the most famous temples in the Graeco-Roman world, especially for the oracle. Taking into consideration the work of Macrobius, the *Saturnalia*, and the work of Cornelius Labeo called *De oraculo Apollinis Clarii*, we can find key passages to understand monotheistic tendencies

in ancient Greek and Roman religions. The texts are included in the long development of Praetextatus about the theology of the Sun (*sat.* 1, 17-23). Macrobius quotes two Orphic verse: identifying Zeus, Hades, Helios and Dionysos as one god (*sat.* 1, 18, 18). According to Macrobius, this verse can be explained by the authority of the oracle of Apollo Clarius, who added another name to the Sun and the supreme God: Iaô, who is Hades in winter, Zeus in spring, Helios in winter, and Iaô in autumn. This passage offers evidence for the concept of religious syncretism and theocracy in ancient paganism. Iaô can be identified here as the god of the Jews, he is integrated in the Olympian theology, and in the unifying tendency of Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism. We shall try to understand the reason and meaning of such oracles in the works and thought of Cornelius Labeo and of Macrobius.

**Keywords:** Apollo Clarius, Cornelius Labeo, Dionysos, Hades, Helios, Iaô, Macrobius, oracles, Orphic verses, Theosophia, Zeus.

Apollon Klarios'un Şaşırtıcı Bir Kâhini ve "Yüce Tanrı" Meselesi (Macrobius, Satürnalya 1, 18, 20): Zeus, Hades, Helios, Dionysos ve Iao

**Özet:** Antik Kolophon egemenlik alanı sınırları içerisinde bulunan Apollon Klarios tapınağı, özellikle kehanet açıısından Antik Greko-Romen dünyasının en ünlü tapınaklarından biriydi. Antik yazar Macrobius'un, *Satürnalya*'sını ve Cornelius Labeo'nun *De oraculo Apollinis Clarii*'sini kıstas alarak, eski Yunan ve Roma dinlerindeki tek tanrılı eğilimleri anlamak için anahtar bazı pasajlar bulabiliriz. Metinler, Praetextatus'un Güneş teolojisi hakkındaki yorumlarına dahil edilmiştir (cts. 1, 17-23). Macrobius Zeus, Hades, Helios ve Dionysos'u tek tanrı olarak tanımlayan iki Orfeus ayetinden alıntı yapar (Sat. 1, 18, 18). Macrobius'a göre bu ayet, Güneş'e ve kışın Hades'e, ilkbaharda Zeus'a, kışın Helios'a ve sonbaharda Iao'ya dönüşen Yüce Tanrı'ya bir isim daha ekleyen Apollo Klarios'un kehanetiyle açıklanabilir. Bu pasaj, antik paganizmdeki dini senkretizm ve teokrasi kavramına açıklık getirir. Iaa burada Yahudiler'in tanrısı olarak tanımlanabilir ve Olimpia dini ile Yeni Pisagorculuk ve Yeni Platonculuk'un birleştirici eğilimine entegre edilmiştir. Bu makale Cornelius Labeo ve Macrobius'un eserlerinde ve düşüncelerindeki bu kahinlerin varoluş nedenini ve anlamlarını anlamaya çalışır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Apollo Klarios, Cornelius Labeo, Dionysos, Hades, Helios, Iao, Macrobius, kehanetler, Orfeus ayetleri, Teozofi, Zeus.

#### **Enes Hançer**

An archaeological note on Saittai

**Abstract:** According to Ptolemaeus (5, 2, 21) Saittai (Σαιτται) was a *polis* in eastern Lydia, *i.e.* in Maeonia, in the rivers' triangle between the upper Hyllus (modern Demirci Çayı) and the Hermus. Thus, the city was lying between the upper reaches of the river Hermus and its tributary the Hyllus, and was part of the *Katakekaumene*. In present-day its name is Sidaskale near the village İcikler. Representations of the river gods Hyllus and Hermus are found on the coins of Saittai of the imperial period. The city was a regional centre for the production of textiles. During the Roman period the cult of the Men Axiottenus was very popular in the city. In A.D. 124, it was probably visited by Hadrianus. Saittai was also the seat of a Byzantine bishopric. Bishop Limenius signed the Chalcedon Creed, while Bishop Amachius spoke at the Council of Chalcedon. Among others, remains of a *stadium* (as well as a theatre) have survived. Also tombs and ruins of several temples were known as surface superstructures.

**Keywords:** Saittai, Eastern Lydia, architecture, urban planning, epigraphy, numismatic, Roman period, Early Byzantine period.

# Saittai Üzerine Bazı Arkeolojik Notlar

Özet: Antik yazar Batlamyus'a göre (5, 2, 21) Saittai (Σαίτται) Doğu Lydia Bölgesi'nde, yani Maionia'da, Yukarı Hyllos (Demirci Çayı) ile Hermos nehirleri arasındaki üçgen kısımda yer alan bir polis idi. Böylece kent, Hermos nehrinin üst kısımları ile onun kolu olan Hyllos arasında uzanıyordu ve Katakekaumene Bölgesi'nin de bir parçasıydı. Söz konusu örenyeri günümüzde İcikler Köyü yakınlarındaki Sidaskale'de bulunur. Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne ait Saittai kent sikkelerinde nehir tanrıları Hyllos ve Hermos'un tasvirleri bulunur. Şehir, tekstil üretimi

için bölgesel bir merkezdi. Roma Dönemi'nde Men Axiottenos kültü şehirde oldukça popülerdi. Kent İ.S. 124 yılında olasılıkla İmparator Hadrianos tarafından ziyaret edilmiştir. Saittai aynı zamanda Bizans Dönemi'nde bir piskoposunun da makamıydı. Kentin piskoposlarından Limenios, Kadıköy Antlaşması'nı imzalarken, Piskopos Amachio ises Kadıköy Konseyi'nde konuşmuştur. Kentin kalıntıları arasında, bir stadionun yanı sıra bir tiyatronun kalıntıları günümüze değin ulaşmıştır. Ayrıca birkaç tapınak ile mezar kalıntıları bilinen diğer yapılardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Saittai, Doğu Lydia Bölgesi, mimari, şehir planlama, epigrafi, nümizmatik, Roma Dönemi, Erken Bizans Dönemi.

# **Pierre-Oliver Hochard**

Historical geography of Hellenistic and imperial Lydia: the literary and numismatic evidence

**Abstract:** "The lists of the province Lydia are a puzzle as yet unsolved". Despite its age, this quote from W. M. Ramsays' *Historical geography of Asia Minor* reveals the difficulty of determining the limits of the Hellenistic and Imperial Lydia. Ancient authors didn't define this region in precise geographical terms and, throughout Antiquity, different terms (kingdom, satrapy, region...) were used to refer to it. Confusion grows when considering general agreement about topography and bioclimatic characteristics. Following Pliny, *Natural History*, V, 110-111, everyone agrees to consider the plain of Sardis as the heart of Lydia through centuries. Delimiting the border area is, on the other hand, more difficult: Lydian relief differs completely from North/North-East to the South and Lydian ecosystem changes when going inland. For example, Hyrcanian plain landscapes distinguish themselves from the ones in the *Katakekaumena*. Considering the absence of topographical coherence and administrative definition, we have to be very cautious and thorough when determining the outlines of Hellenistic and Imperial Lydia. Therefore, by analysing literary sources and excavation coins, this communication proposes to describe the limits of Lydia as a geographical area during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, possibly distinguishing a "Great Lydia" from a "Lydia *stricto sensu*".

**Keywords:** Lydia, Historical geography, numismatic, literary sources, Hellenistic period, Roman period.

Hellenistik ve İmparatorluk Dönemleri'nde Lydia'nın Tarihi Coğrafyası Üzerine Antik Tarihi ve Nümismatik Kaynaklar

özet: "Lydia Bölgesi'nin (piskoposluk) listeleri henüz çözülmemiş bir bilmecedir". Oldukça geçmiş tarihli olmasına rağmen, W. M. Ramsay'in Historical geography of Asia Minor'dan alınan bu alıntı, Hellenistik ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Lydia'sının sınırlarını belirlemenin zorluğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Antik yazarlar bu bölgeyi keskin coğrafi terimlerle tanımlamadılar ve Antik Çağ boyunca, ona atıfta bulunmak için krallık, satraplık ve coğrafi bölge gibi farklı terimler kullanıldı. Bölgenin topografik ve biyoklimatik özellikleri hakkında ise kafa karışıklığı daha da büyümektedir. Plinius'un Doğa Tarihi V. Kitap, 110-111'deki bahsinden sonra herkes Sardeis Ovası'nı Lydia Bölgesi'nin yüzyıllar boyuncaki kalbi olarak görmeyi kabul eder. Öte yandan bölgenin sınırlarını belirlemek daha da zordur: Lydia Bölgesi kuzey / kuzeydoğu kısımları ile güney kısmında tamamen farklılık gösterir ve ekosistemi iç bölgelerde daha da değişkendir. Örneğin, Hyrkanis Ovası'nın (Ύρκάνιον πεδίον) düzlükleri Katakekaumena Bölgesi'ndeki topografyadan oldukça farklıdır. Topografik tutarsızlılık ve idari tanımın yokluğu göz önüne alındığında, Hellenistik ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Lydia'sının sınırlarını belirlerken çok dikkatlı ve olmalıyız. Bu makale Antik tarihi kaynakları ve kazılarda elde edilmiş sikkeleri inceleyerek, Lydia'nın sınırlarını Hellenistik ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemleri'nde coğrafi bir alan olarak tanımlamayı önermekte ve muhtemelen "Büyük Lydia" Bölgesi sınırlarını "Lydia stricto sensu"dan ayırır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lydia, tarihi coğrafya, nümismatik, Antik tarihi kaynaklar, Hellenistik Dönem, Roma Dönemi.

### Erik Hrnčiarik, Lucia Nováková

Anatolian koine of burial practices: transformation of elite burials

**Abstract:** Tumuli, whose tradition dates back to the Bronze Age at the latest, are among the most widespread monumental tombs. The tradition of subterranean burial seems to have been deeply rooted in Anatolia, despite the fact that with the arrival of foreign ethnicities, the variety of tombs and burial customs had expanded. As the sixth century B.C. advanced, tumulus burials seemingly became the most popular form of monumental funerary architecture. In western Anatolia – where the local architecture had been the inspiration for the construction of various sepulchral monuments whose owners belonged to the ruling royal, aristocratic or civic elite – transformation of elite burials may be understood in the wake of political settlement. Traditional Lydian burial customs were part of this process as well. Lydian type of burial mounds can be seen to have extended into the Ionian, Carian and Lycian border areas, while an enhancement of the local tumuli type is attested in Ionia, Caria and Lycia.

Keywords: burial, Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Lycia, tumuli.

Eski Anadolu'da Ölü Gömme Uygulamaları: Üst Tabaka Sınıfa Ait Mezarların Dönüşümü

**Özet:** Kökenleri en geç Bronz Çağı'na kadar uzanan tümülüsler, en yaygın anıtsal mezarlar arasında yer almaktadır. Yabancı etnik grupların gelişiyle birlikte mezarların ve ölü gömme çeşitliliğinin artmasına rağmen, ölü gömme töreni geleneği Anadolu'da derin bir şekilde kökleşmiş görünüyor. İ.Ö. 6. yy.'da tümülüs tarzı mezarlar anıtsal mezar mimarisinin en popüler formu haline geldi. Yerel mimarinin, iktidardaki kraliyet, aristokrat veya sivil seçkinlere ait çeşitli mezar anıtlarının inşası için ilham kaynağı olduğu Batı Anadolu'da, üst tabaka sınıfa ait mezarların dönüşümü bazı siyasi olgularla açıklanabilir. Geleneksel Lydia ölü gömme adetleri de bu sürecin bir parçasıydı. Lydia tipi tümülüslerin komşu Ionia, Karia ve Lykia bölgelerine uzandığı görülürken, Ionia, Karia ve Lykia'da yerel tümülüs tipinde bir artış olduğu bu makale ile kanıtlanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ölü gömme geleneği, Ionia, Karia, Lydia, Lykia, tümülüsler.

#### Liviu Mihail Iancu

"Who is Gyges?" once again: assessing the Carian connections of the first Mermnad king of Lydia

**Abstract:** Based on hints provided by Joseph Wells nearly a century ago, an ample review of the sources concerning the life of Gyges, the renowned usurper who established the Mermnad dynasty of Lydia, is undertaken in order to assess his foreignness. The review reveals strong connections with Carians and with the ethnically mixed lower valleys of the rivers Maeander and Kaystros. Therefore, Gyges might be envisaged either as a Carian mercenary serving in the royal bodyguard of Lydia before his usurpation, or, more probably, as a Lydian aristocrat coming from the aforementioned region and eventually having strong kinship ties to Carians.

**Keywords:** Gyges, Lydia, Caria, ethnicity, Maeander valley, warfare, mercenaries, kinship, Mermnads.

Bir Kez Daha "Gyges Kimdir?" Sorusu: Lydia'nın İlk Mermnand Hanedanlığı Kralnın Karia Bağlantıları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme

**Özet:** Bu makale yaklaşık bir asır önce Joseph Wells'in verdiği bilgilere dayanarak, Lydia'nın Mermnand Hanedanlığı'nı kuran meşhur Gyges'in hayatıyla ilgili kaynakların kapsamlı bir incelemesi, onun "yabancılığı" konusunu yeniden değerlendirmek için yapılır. İnceleme, Karialılarla ve Maiandros ve Kaystros nehirlerinin etnik olarak karışık halkların yaşadığı alt vadileriyle güçlü bağlarını ortaya koyuyor. Bu nedenle Gyges, ya Lydia'nın kraliyet korumasında görev yapan bir Karialı paralı asker olarak, ya da daha büyük olasılıkla yukarıda belirtilen bölgeden gelen ve sonu nda Karialılarla güçlü akrabalık bağları olan bir Lydialı aristokrat olarak tasavvur edilebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Gyges, Lydia, Karia, etnik kimlik, Maiandros vadisi, savaş, paralı askerler, akrabalık, Mermnand Hanedanlığı.

#### Maria Kantirea

Building inscriptions from Roman Lydia

**Abstract:** The paper examines some characteristic building inscriptions from Roman Lydia from a financial and administrative point of view. Special attention is paid on the use of the magistrates' *summa honoraria*, the administrative procedures involved and how special officials, the *epimeletai* and the *ergepistatai*, were appointed when the city, the emperor or professional corporations sponsored building projects.

**Keywords:** Building inscriptions, constructions, *epimeletai*, *ergepistatai*, *katoikia*, monuments, professional corporations, *summa honoraria*.

# Lydia'da Roma Dönemi'ne Ait Yapı Yazıtları

**Özet:** Bu makale, mali ve idari açıdan Roma Dönemi Lydia'sından bazı karakteristik yapı yazıtlarını incelemektedir. Makalede magisteradların kullanımına, ilgili idari prosedürlere ve *polis*, imparator veya profesyonel şirketlerin inşaat projelerine sponsorluk yaptığında özel görevliler ile *epimeletai* ve *ergepistatai*'nın nasıl atandığına dikkat çekilmektedir. Tanıtılan yazıtlar mali ve idari açıdan Roma Dönemi Lydiası'nın bir takım belediye yazıtlarıdır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yapı yazıtları, yapılar, *epimeletai*, *ergepistatai*, *katoikia*, anıtlar, meslek kuruluşları, *summa honoraria*.

## Tamás Péter Kisbali

Influencing Lydia: the "Kybele Shrine" from Sardis in its Near Eastern and Greek contexts

**Abstract:** The so-called "Kybele Shrine" (S 63.51, Archaeological Museum of Manisa, acc.. no. 4029) was found in 1963 during the excavations of the Sardis Synagogue. Dating to *c.* 550-540 B.C., it has been regarded as a highly innovative and unique piece of Lydian sculpture, uniting Greek, Anatolian and Near Eastern influences. The piece extends the established Anatolian iconography of the goddess in her temple to a three-dimensional building model with Ionic half-columns. The sideand back walls are decorated with figurative relief panels in three horizontal zones. This rich ornamentation led scholars to emphasize the high level of Near Eastern or Mesopotamian influence on the "Kybele Shrine", quoting mostly the Ishtar Gate at Babylon as a prototype.

However, the nature and workings of this influence are not elaborated in detail. My aim in this paper is to provide formal and structural comparanda for the "Kybele Shrine". I will expand on evidence that has been mentioned before in connection with this monument, and introduce new relevant materials. Direct familiarity of Lydians with Mesopotamian monumental architecture is very likely, but it seems important to shift the focus also to "lesser", more transportable, and intermediary forms (coming from Assyrian, Neo-Hittite and Neo-Babylonian backgrounds) that could have inspired the "Kybele Shrine". Questions of iconography (e.g. the interpretation of the "mythological" panels etc.) lay outside the scope of this paper. Contemporary architectural practices at Sardis influenced the creation of the "Cybele Shrine". Already Hanfmann suggested that the "Shrine" had represented an existing Alyattan or Croesan building (possibly the temple of Cybele burned by the Persians in 499 B.C.) - although this hypothesis remains under debate. The sixth century B.C. was a highly innovative time for architectural decoration both in terracotta and stone. This is best exemplified by the columnae caelatae of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a Croesan dedication. Points raised in discussions of such innovations can inform the study of the "Cybele Shrine". The case for Mesopotamian influences is indeed strong. As possible "blueprints" for the inclusion of figurative reliefs on walls and other architectural elements scholars generally refer to Assyrian and Neo-Hittite orthostats, but the arrangement of panels on the "Kybele Shrine" follow a different scheme. Alongside the aforementioned similarity with the Ishtar Gate, there is a high structural convergence between the "Kybele Shrine" and the Assyrian hammered bronze bands used, for example, on the Balawat gates (c. 848 B.C.). Near Eastern metal objects were brought to Greece, used, reused, and even displayed at sanctuaries (e.g. the bronze fragments found in Olympia), and their circulation in Lydia is also possible. Further, I compare the "Cybele Shrine" with two Neo-Hittite pieces found in the

vicinity of Maraş (ancient Gurgum). The first one (Archaeological Museum of Hatay, acc. no. 17915) is identified as a grave stele, while the second is identified as a votive altar (Orthmann Maraş B/24). They can be regarded as architectural models (with stepped pinnacles pointing to Assyrian influence). The Hatay stele features a procession of female figures on three sides of the block, heading towards the "façade". The B/24 altar (?) expands on the architectural associations by adding a false door (or a frame akin to the "woman at the window" type known from Near Eastern ivories). These features are, in general, atypical for Neo-Hittite stelae, but comparable to the "Cybele Shrine". These and similar Neo-Hittite works could have played an important role in the transmission of Near Eastern ideas, as an intermediary stop on the road towards the West, and to Lydia. Historical evidence points to strong links between the Lydians and the Neo-Babylonian Empire in the sixth century B.C. The contacts between Lydia and the various states of South-Eastern Anatolia and Syria are harder to trace due to a lack of sources, but their geographical proximity makes them a likely candidate for generation and/or transmission of ideas. Thus, the "Cybele Shrine" shows that Lydia, on the one hand, was a region of development of archaic East Greek art, but, on the other hand, had its own contacts with the Mesopotamian cultures, and could work from an independent source of eastern influences.

**Keywords:** Kybele, shrines, Ancient Near Eastern cultures, Ist millennium B.C., intercultural relationships.

Lydia'yı Etkilemek: Yakın Doğu ve Antik Yunan Sanatları Açısından Sardeis'deki "Kybele Sunağı"

özet: "Kybele Sunağı" (S 63.51, Manisa Arkeoloji Müzesi, env. no. 4029) 1963 yılında Sardeis Sinagogu kazıları sırasında bulunmuştur. Yaklaşık İ.Ö. 550-540 yıllarında, Antik Yunan, Anadolu ve Yakın Doğu etkilerini birleştiren son derece yenilikçi ve eşsiz bir Lydia eseri olarak kabul görmüştür. Söz konusu fragman, naiskos içinde tanrıçanın tasvirlenmesi şeklindeki Anadolu'ya has ikonografisini, Ionik yarım sütunlu, bir üç boyutlu yapı modeline doğru genişletiyor. Yan ve arka duvarlar, üç yatay bölgede figüratif kabartma panellerle süslenmiştir. Bu zengin süsleme, bilim adamlarını, bir prototip olarak çoğunlukla Babil'deki İştar Kapısı'ndan alıntı yaparak "Kybele Sunağı" üzerindeki yüksek düzeyde Yakın Doğu veya Mezopotamya etkisini vurgulamaya yöneltti. Ancak, bu etkinin işleyişi ayrıntılı olarak açıklanamamıştır. Bu yazıda amacım "Kybele Sunağı" için tipolojik ve yapısal bir karşılaştırma sağlamaktır. Bu sunakla ilgili olarak daha önce sunulan hipotezleri gözden geçireceğim ve konu ile ilgili yeni ilgili malzemeleri tanıtacağım. Lydialılar'ın Mezopotamya anıtsal mimarisine doğrudan aşinalıkları oldukça olasıdır; ancak daha çok Assur, Yeni Hitit ve Yeni Babil kökenli bazı ara formlar "Kybele Sunağı" na ilham vermiş olabilir. Bazı ikonografik sorunlar (örneğin "mitolojik" panellerin yorumu vb.) bu yazının kapsam alanı dışındadır. Sardeis'teki o dönemin mimari uygulamaları "Kybele Sunağı"nın kurgusunu etkilemiştir. Hanfmann bu "Sunak"ın mevcut bir Alyattes veya Kroisos Dönemi binasını (olasılıkla İ.Ö. 499'da Persler tarafından yakılan Kybele tapınağı) temsil ettiğini öne sürmüştür; ancak bu hipotez hala tartışılmaktadır. İ.Ö. 6. yy.'da hem pişmiş toprak, hem de taş mimari dekorasyon için son derece yenilikçi bir dönemdi. Bunun en iyi örneği, bir Kroisos adağı olan Ephesos'daki Artemis Tapınağı'nın columnae caelatae'ıdır. Bu tür yeniliklerle ilgili tartışmalarda ortaya çıkan noktalar, "Kybele Sunağı"nın oluşturulması hakkında bilgi verebilir. Sunakta Mezopotamya etkileri oldukça güçlüdür. Figüratif rölyeflerin duvarlara ve diğer mimari unsurlara dahil edildiği Asur ve Yeni Hitit ortostatları belki de sunağa ilham vermişlerdir; ancak "Kybele Sunağı" üzerindeki panellerin düzeni farklı bir şemayı izler. İştar Kapısı ile yukarıda bahsedilen benzerliğin yanı sıra, "Kybele Sunağı" ile örneğin Balawat kapılarında (İ.Ö. 848) kullanılan Yeni Assur Dönemi'ne ait bronz bantlar arasında büyük bir benzeşme vardır. Yakın Doğu'dan metal objeler Yunanistan'a getirilmiş, kullanılmış, yeniden kullanılmış ve hatta kutsal alanlarda sergilenmiştir (örneğin Olympia'da bulunan bronzlar) ve bunların Lydia'da dolaşımı da mevcuttur. "Kybele Sunağı"nı Kahramanmaraş (eski Gurgum) civarında bulunan iki Yeni Hitit kabartması ile karşılaştırıyorum. Bu iki fragmandan birincisi (Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi, env. no. 17915) mezar steli, ikincisi ise adak sunağı (Orthmann Maraş B / 24) olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu iki örnek Assur etkisine işaret eden basamaklı üst kısımlarından ötürü Sardeis'deki sunak için birer mimari model olarak kabul edilebilirler. Hatay steli "cepheye" doğru uzanan bir kadın figürü alayına sahiptir. B / 24 sunağı (?) ise, bir kapı (veya Yakın Doğu fildişlerinden bilinen "penceredeki kadın" tipine benzer bir çerçeve) ekleyerek mimari açıdan

benzerliklerin sayını arttırır. Bu özellikler, genel olarak, Yeni Hitit stellerine özgü değildir, ancak "Kybele Sunağı" ile karşılaştırılabilicek bir altlık oluşturur. Bu ve benzeri Yeni Hitit eserleri, Yakın Doğu fikirlerinin Batı'ya giden yolda bir ara durak olarak Lydia'ya aktarılmasında önemli bir rol oynayabilirdi. Tarihsel veriler, Lydialılar ile Yeni Babil İmparatorluğu arasında İ.Ö. 6. yy.'da güçlü bağlar olduğuna işaret etmektedirler. Lydia ile Güneydoğu Anadolu'nun çeşitli bölgeleri ve Suriye arasındaki temasların izini sürmek, kaynak yetersizliği nedeniyle daha zordur, ancak coğrafi yakınlıkları onları üretme ve / veya fikir aktarımı için olası bir aday coğrafya haline getirmektedir. Nitekim "Kybele Sunağı", Lydia'nın bir yandan Arkaik Dönem Doğu Yunan sanatının gelişim bölgesi olduğunu, ancak diğer yandan Mezopotamya kültürleriyle kendi bağlantılarının olduğunu ve bağımsız bir kaynaktan çalışabileceğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kybele Sunağı, dini anıtlar, Eski Yakın Doğu kültürleri, I. Binyıl, kültürlerarası iliskiler.

# Oğuz Koçyiğit

A preliminary report on the Roman pottery from Tabae

Abstract: Tabae ancient city or modern Tavas is located at southwestern of Lycus valley in the southern side of ancient Lydia. According to Strabo, the city was situated at the Phrygian border of antique Caria and founded by Alexander the Great. It shows a continuous habitation since its foundation in the Hellenistic period and minted silver coins in his name in the Roman period. Also, it entered the bishopric lists in the Byzantine period and became one of the most important cities of Menteşe Emirates by taking of the name of Kale-i Tavas and preserved this importance during the Ottoman period. The first archaeological excavations at Tabae were started in 2007 by Professor Bozkurt Ersoy and many significant results were gathered about the city's ancient history with its architectural buildings, until recently. A Roman bath, fountains, and some cisterns with their findings were significant among them. A building with niche carved in the rock, probably built in the Roman period and used in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods was also another important building in Tabae. But the most important archaeological buildings are definitively the Roman cisterns for storage of the water with their elaborated architecture. These Roman cisterns at Tabae, excavated during the 2011 and 2012 excavation seasons and many Roman pottery finds were discovered. Among them, especially 'cistern I' and 'cistern III' give us significant results on the Roman pottery. These pottery finds were uncovered in the filling of cisterns as a group in the context and demonstrate the variety of Roman fine wares and table wares. These are also specific materials due to their qualitative characteristics. Between the pottery finds of the Roman period from cisterns, single and double handled jugs are common with red slip bowls and plates, identified by Hayes as the B1 and B2 groups of the Eastern Sigillatas. Besides, the bag-shaped, wide-mouthed and narrow necked jugs, which can be defined by their basket handles as basket handled jugs, another important ceramic finds group but they are all less known because of their shapes. A few tableware made of jugs and oinochoes are also among the Tabae's rich Roman table ware pottery repertoire. The pottery finds uncovered from these two cisterns, which both functioned at the same time, must belong to mid first and second century. Today, many of these pottery artifacts are preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Denizli and in this short paper will be discussed their typological aspects. Also, together with their chronology, the importance for the region's local pottery production process will be discussed. These pottery finds will present important social and economical contributions to the Roman period in Tabae and at the same time it will contribute to the study of Roman pottery in general terms.

**Keywords:** Tabae, pottery finds, cisterns, stratified contexts, Roman period.

## Tabai'den Roma Dönemi Seramik Buluntuları Üzerine Bir Ön Rapor

**Özet:** Tabai antik kenti (günümüzde Denizli-Tavas), Antik Lydia'nın güney kısmında, Lykos Vadisi'nin güneybatısında yer almaktadır. Strabon'a göre kent Antik Karia'nın Phrygia sınırında yer almaktadır ve Büyük İskender tarafından kurulmuştur. Kent Hellenistik Dönem'de kuruluşundan bu yana kesintisiz bir yerleşim gösterir ve Roma Dönemi'nde kendi adına gümüş

sikkeler bastırır. Ayrıca Bizans Dönemi'nde piskoposluk listelerine girmiş; sonrasında Kale-i Tavas adını alarak Mentese Emirliği'nin en önemli sehirlerinden biri haline gelmis ve Osmanlı Dönemi'nde de bu önemini korumuştur. Tabai'de ilk arkeolojik kazılar 2007 yılında Prof. Dr. Bozkurt Ersoy tarafından başlatılmış ve yakın zamana kadar mimari yapıları ile kentin antik tarihi hakkında pek çok önemli sonuç elde edilmiştir. Kentin başlıca yapıları arasında özellikle Roma hamamı, çeşmeler ve bazı sarnıçlar bulunmaktadır. Olasılıkla Roma Dönemi'nde inşa edilen, Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Dönemleri'nde de kullanılan kayaya oyulmuş nişli bir yapı da Tabai'deki bir diğer önemli yapısıdır. Ancak kentin en önemli arkeolojik yapıları, ayrıntılı mimarileri ile su depolaması için Roma Dönemi'nde inşa edilmiş sarnıçlardır. Tabai'deki bu sarnıçlar, 2011 ve 2012 yılları kazı sezonlarında kazılmış ve burada birçok Roma çanak-çömlek buluntusu ele geçmiştir. Özellikle "Sarnıç I" ve "Sarnıç III" Roma çanak-çömlekleri hakkında bize önemli sonuçlar vermektedir. Bu çanak-çömlek buluntuları, grup halinde sarnıçların dolgusunda ortaya çıkarılmıştır ve Roma ince ve kaba kaplarının çeşitliliğini göstermektedir. Bunlar aynı zamanda bazı özelliklerinden dolayı önemli malzemelerdir. Sarnıçlardaki Roma Dönemi'ne ait çanak-çömlek buluntuları arasında, J.W. Hayes tarafından Doğu Sigillatası B1 ve B2 grupları olarak tanımlanan kırmızı astarlı kaseler ve tabaklarla, tek ve çift kulplu testiler yaygındır. Ayrıca kulpları ile "sepet kulplu testiler" olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz torba şeklinde, geniş ağızlı ve dar boyunlu testiler bir diğer önemli seramik buluntu grubudur; ancak ünik tipolojilerinden dolayı daha az bilinirler. Sürahi ve oinochoelerden oluşan sofra takımları da Roma Dönemi'nde Tabai'nin zengin çanak-çömlek repertuarındadır. Her ikisi de aynı anda işlev gören bu iki sarnıçtan ele geçen çanak-çömlek buluntuları İ.S. 1. ve 2. yy.'ın ortalarına ait olmalıdır. Bugün, bu çanak-çömlek eserlerin birçoğu Denizli Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde korunmaktadır ve bu kısa yazıda bu seramiklerin tipolojik yönleri tartışılacaktır. Ayrıca makalede seramik buluntuların bölgenin yerel çanak-çömlek üretimindeki önemi tartışılacaktır. Bu çanak-çömlek buluntuları, Tabai'de Roma Dönemi'ne önemli sosyal ve ekonomik katkılar sunan ve aynı zamanda genel anlamda Roma çanak-çömleği çalışmalarına katkı sağlayan niteliktedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tabai, çanak-çömlek buluntular, sarnıçlar, stratigrafik konteks, Roma Dönemi.

### **Guy Labarre**

The cult of Men in Lydia

**Abstract:** The inscriptions concerning the god Men have been gathered by E.N. Lane which also offered a commentary. Since the 1970s, many documents have been discovered and several articles and summaries have been published. This paper proposes to make a focus on our current knowledge about the cult of Men in Lydia and its peculiarities. The publication in 2016 of a Lydian coin showing, on the reverse, a crescent with a legend including the name of a Lydian Moon God (*SNG* Yavuz Tatış), asks questions about the origin and the diffusion of the cult of Men in this region.

Keywords: Men, Moon God, regional particularism.

# Lydia Bölgesi'nde Men Kültü

**Özet:** Greko-Roman tanrısı Men ile ilgili yazıtlar E.N. Lane tarafından derlenmiş olup, kendisi konuyu bir de genel olarak yorumlamıştır. Bu konuda 1970'lerden bu yana birçok yeni yazıtlar keşfedilmiş ve çeşitli makaleler ve bildiriler yayınlanmıştır. Bu makale, Lydia'daki Men kültü ve özellikleri hakkında mevcut bilgilerimizi derlemeyi amaçlamıştır. Arka yüzünde Lydia ay tanrısının adının geçtiği ve bir hilalin mevcut olduğu bir Lydia sikkesinin 2016 yılında *SNG Yavuz Tatış* sikke kataloğunda yayımlanması, bu bölgedeki Men kültünün kökeni ve yayılımı hakkında bazı soruları da beraberinde getirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Men, Ay Tanrısı, bölgesel tikelcilik.

## Ergün Laflı, Maurizio Buora

Replicating the Lydian treasure from a Turkish perspective

**Abstract:** In this brief paper the so-called Lydian treasure in the Museum of Uşak in western Turkey and its associated history has been presented. The collection is alternatively known as the Karun Treasure, a name given to a collection of 363 valuable Lydian artifacts dating from the seventh century BC and originating from the province of Uşak in western Turkey. This collection was the subject of a legal battle between Turkey and the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1987–1993 and was returned to Turkey in 1993 after the Museum admitted it had known the objects were stolen when they had purchased them.

**Keywords:** Lydian treasure, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum of Uşak, replicating, counterfeit antiquities.

# Lydia Hazinesi'ndeki Sahte Eserlere İlişkin Bir Türk Bakış Açısı

**Özet:** Bu kısa bildiride, Uşak Müzesi'nde sergilenen Lydia hazinesi ve bu hazinenin bazı parçalarının kopyalanma hikayesi tanıtılmaktadır. Bahsi geçen hazine aynı zamanda Karun Hazinesi olarak da bilinir ve bu isim İ.Ö. 7. yy.'a ait olan ve Uşak İli'nden gelen, Türkiye ile A.B.D. arasında bir hukuk savaşına konu olan 363 değerli Lydia eserinden oluşan kolleksiyona verilen isimdir. 1987-1993 yılları arasında New York'taki Metropolitan Museum of Art'de saklanan eserler, Müze'nin eserleri satın aldıklarında çalındığını bildiğini itiraf etmesinin ardından, 1993 yılında Türkiye'ye geri iade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lydia hazinesi, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Uşak Müzesi, sahte eser üretimi, replikalar.

# Ergün Laflı

Recent archaeological discoveries in Lydia and in the Upper Cayster Valley

**Abstract:** In this paper recent archaeological discoveries in Lydia and in the Upper Cayster Valley are presented which were compiled through juristic expertise within the territories of the ancient region of Lydia as well as Tire, Ödemiş, Kiraz and Bayındır between 2003 and 2022. The chronological range of these discoveries varies between the Lydian period, i.e. seventh-sixth century B.C. and Late Byzantine period, i.e. 12th century A.D.

The article consists of 14 sections with miscellaneous discoveries title of which are as follows: 1. New finds on the tumuli in western Lydia and the Upper Cayster Valley; 2. A tumulus site near Tire in the Upper Cayster Valley and its reuse during the Roman period; 3. Lydian painted ware and Lydia in the Museums of Ödemiş, Afyonkarahisar and Marmaris; 4. A Roman aqueduct or dam construction near Sardis; 5. A Roman marble monument with Centaurs or Dioscuri from Kula in central Lydia; 6. Recent archaeological discoveries in Hermokapeleia in northwestern Lydia; 7. Höyük sites, rural settlements and their necropoleis in Roman Lydia; 8. Hellenistic and Roman small finds from the necropoleis of the Upper Cayster Valley and Lydia; 9. Roman and Early Byzantine stone quarries near Bayındır in the Upper Cayster Valley; 10. Late antique and Early Byzantine farming homesteads in Lydia; 11. Recent archaeological discoveries in the eastern Upper Cayster Valley during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods; 12. Excavations of an Early Byzantine basilica in Salihli near Sardis; 13. Architectural plastic elements and their spolia in Byzantine, Late Medieval and Ottoman Lydia; and 14. Catalogue of the reused stone elements at Tapduk Emre *türbesi*.

**Keywords:** Archaeological finds, Manisa, Upper Cayster Valley, Lydian period, Hellenistic period, Roman period, Byzantine period.

# Antik Lydia Bölgesi ve Yukarı Küçük Menderes Vadisi'ndeki Son Arkeolojik Keşifler

**Özet:** Bu yazıda, Antik Lydia bölgesi sınırları içinde 2003 ve 2022 yılları arasında hukuki bilirkişilik keşifleri sırasında derlenen bazı arkeolojik bulgular tanıtılmaktadır. Bu bulguların kronolojik aralığı, Lydia Dönemi, yani İ.Ö. 7.-6. yy. ile Geç Bizans Dönemi, yani İ.S. 12. yy. arasında değişmektedir. Makale, muhtelif buluntuların tanıtıldığı 14 farklı bölümden oluşmaktadır; bu bölümlerin başlıkları şöyledir: 1. Batı Lydia ve Yukarı Kaistros Vadisi'ndeki tümülüslerdeki

yeni buluntular; 2. Yukarı Kaistros Vadisi'nde, Tire yakınlarında bir tümülüs alanı ve bu tümülüsün Roma Dönemi'nde yeniden kullanımı; 3. Ödemiş, Afyonkarahisar ve Marmaris Müzeleri'nde bulunan Lydia boyalı kapları ve lydionörnekleri; 4. Sardeis yakınlarında bulunan ve Roma Dönemi'ne ait bir su kemeri veya barajı; 5. Orta Lydia'daki Kula'dan Kentauroi veya Dioskouroi'lu bir Roma Dönemi mermer anıtı; 6. Kuzeybatı Lydia'da bulunan Hermokapeleia örenyerindeki son arkeolojik keşifler; 7. Roma Dönemi Lydia'sında höyük yerleşimleri, kırsal yerleşimler ve nekropoller; 8. Yukarı Kaistros Vadisi ve Lydia nekropollerinden Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi'ne ait küçük buluntular; 9. Yukarı Kaistros Vadisi, Bayındır İlçesi yakınlarındaki Roma ve Erken Bizans Dönemleri taş ocakları; 10. Lydia'da Geç Antik ve Erken Bizans Dönemi çiftlikleri; 11. Geç Antik ve Bizans Dönemleri'nde Yukarı Kaistros Vadisi'nin doğusundaki son arkeolojik keşifler; 12. Sardeis yakınlarındaki Salihli'de bir Erken Bizans bazilikasının kazıları; 13. Bizans, Geç Ortaçağ ve Osmanlı Lydia'sında mimari plastik elemanlar ve devşirmeleri; ve 14. Tapduk Emre Türbesi'ndeki yeniden kullanılmış taş elemanların kataloğu.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Arkeolojik buluntular, Manisa, Yukarı Küçük Menderes Vadisi, Lydia Dönemi, Hellenistik Dönem, Roma Dönemi, Bizans Dönemi.

## Katarzyna Maksymiuk

The relation of Priscianus of Lydia to Byzantium during the wars of Justinian I with the Sasanid empire

**Abstract:** Priscianus was one of the last Neoplatonists to study at the Academy when Damascius was its head. When Justinian I "closed" the school in 529, Priscianus, together with Damascius, Simplicius, and four other colleagues, was forced to seek asylum at the court of the Persian king Xusrō I Anōšīrvān. By 533 they were allowed back into the Byzantine empire after Justinian and Xusrō had concluded a peace treaty, in which it was provided that the philosophers would be allowed to return. Priscianus's reluctance towards Justinian resulted in one of the last Neoplatonic treatises – *Solutionum ad Chosroem*.

Keywords: Priscianus of Lydia, Byzantium, Iran, wars, philosophy, Xusrō, Late antiquity.

I. Ioustinianos'un Sasani Imparatorluğu ile Savaşları Sırasında Lydialı Priskianos'un Bizans Devleti ile İlişkisi

**Özet:** Priskianos, Damaskios tarafından yönetilirken Atina Akademisi'nde okuyan son Yeni Platoncular'dan biriydi. I. Ioustinianos İ.S. 529 yılında okulu "kapattığında" Priskianos, Damaskos, Simplicius ve diğer dört meslektaşıyla birlikte Pers kralı Xusrō I Anōšīrvān'a sığınma talebinde bulunmak zorunda kaldı. İ.S. 533'te, Ioustinianos ve Xusrō aralarında, bahsi geçen bu filozofların geri dönmesine izin verilecek bir barış anlaşması imzaladıktan sonra, bu kişilerin Bizans İmparatorluğu'na geri dönmelerine izin verildi. Priskianos'un Ioustinianos'a karşı isteksizliği, son Yeni Platoncu incelemelerinden biri olan *Solutiones ad Chosroen* (Chosroes'e Yanıtlar) adlı eseri ile sonuçlandı.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lydialı Priskianos, Bizans İmparatorluğu, İran, savaşlar, felsefe, Xusrō, Geç Antik Dönem.

#### **Julia Cecile Martin**

The use of fired Roman bricks in Lydia and neighbouring regions

**Abstract:** During the Roman imperial period fired bricks were introduced into several cities in the Roman province of Asia. At the Lydian city of Sardis they are detected approximately from the turn of the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. onwards. Comparing the use of fired Roman bricks observed at Sardis with pieces of evidence known from neighbouring cities, such as Ephesus and Pergamon, can provide some ideas of the different ways in which the new building material was adopted in western Turkey, whether directly from Rome or possibly from a more "local" prototype.

Keywords: Sardis, bricks, architecture, Roman period, Ephesus, Pergamon, adaptation processes.

# Lydia ve Komşu Bölgelerde Roma Dönemi'nde Tuğla Kullanımı

**Özet:** Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde tuğla kullanımı Asia eyaletindeki çeşitli şehirlerde yoğundu. Bu kullanım Lydia'nın başkenti Sardeis'te yaklaşık olarak İ.Ö. 1. yy.'ın başlarında mevcuttu. Sardeis'te gözlenen Roma Dönemi tuğla kullanımı Ephesos ve Pergamon gibi komşu şehirlerdeki örneklerle karşılaştırıldığında, doğrudan Roma'dan gelen örneklerin yanında, yerel örneklerin de olduğu anlaşılır. Bu malzeme Anadolu'nun batısında bu yeni yapı malzemesinin farklı şekillerde uyarlanmasına ilişkin bazı fikirler sağlayabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sardeis, tuğla, mimari, Roma Dönemi, Ephesos, Bergama, uyum süreçleri.

## **Annalisa Paradiso**

Diodorus and the Halys oracle

**Abstract:** Diodorus (9.31) gives the hexameter oracle that forecast to Croesus the destruction of a great empire, if he crossed the Halys River. The response may be derived from Ephoros and the latter, possibly, drew upon Xanthos of Lydia.

Keywords: oracle, Croesus, Lydian period.

# Diodoros ve Halys Kehaneti

**Özet:** Diodoros *Bibliotheca historica*, 9.31'de Halys Nehri'ni geçmesi halinde Kroisos'a büyük bir imparatorluğun yıkılacağını öngören altı vezinle uyarlanmış bir kehaneti iletir. Yanıt Ephoros'tan alınmış olabilir ve ikincisi muhtemelen Lydia'lı Xanthos adına yazılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kehanet, Kroisos, Lydia Dönemi.

## Annick Payne, David Sasseville

Malis: a new Lydian goddess

**Abstract:** The authors will present a new edition of a Lydian-Greek bilingual inscription from the Temple of Athena at Pergamon (LW 40). This badly weathered inscription can now be fully deciphered for the first time since its discovery. As has long been suspected, the inscription records the Lydian name of the Greek goddess Athena, although not in the word so far identified as variants of 'Athena' but in a previously undeciphered word.

The Lydian goddess carries the name of Malis. This divine name is also attested in Greek transmission as  $M\alpha\lambda i\varsigma$ , where it refers to an obscure deity. It is found in Greek poetry, such as in Hipponax of Ephesus, Theocritus and in a fragment of a Lesbian poem. From an Anatolian perspective, Malis can be equated with the Luwian goddess Malija found in Hittite transmission in the second millennium B.C., and also in Lycian inscriptions of the classical period. The new readings of the Lydian-Greek bilingual and, consequently, the discovery of a new Lydian goddess offer a significant contribution to our understanding of Lydian religion. Furthermore, it demonstrates the perpetuation of the ancient Anatolian goddess Malija in Classical Lydia, and provides both background and context for the name Malis in Greek sources.

**Keywords:** Pergamon, epigraphy, Lydian religion, Lydian pantheon, ancient Greek religion, Hittite pantheon, linguistics.

# Yeni Bir Lydia Tanrıçası Malis

**Özet:** Bu makalenin yazarları, Pergamon Athena Tapınağı'nda bulunan Lydçe-Yunanca iki dilli bir yazıtın (LW 40) yeni bir transkripsiyonunu sunmaktadırlar. Bu oldukça yıpranmış yazıt, keşfedildiğinden bu yana ilk kez bu makalede tümüyle okunmuştur. Uzun zamandır şüphe edildiği üzere, söz konusu yazıtta geçen ismin "Athena" isminin farklı bir versiyonu olarak tanımlanmaması ve daha önce çözülmemiş bir kelimeyle tanımlanmış olmasına rağmen, yazıtta Yunan tanrıçası Athena'nın Lydçe ismi geçmektedir. Bu isim de Lydia tanrıçası Malis'in adını taşır. Bu tanrısal isim aynı zamanda yazıtın Yunanca kısmında belirsiz bir tanrıya atıfta bulunan "Mαλίς" formu ile de görülmektedir; söz konusu isim Ephesos'lu Hipponax ve Theokritos gibi Yunan şairlerin şiirlerinde ve Lesbos'tan bir şiir fragmanında da bulunur. Malis, İ.Ö. I. Bin Anadolu dilleri ve dinleri açısından bakıldığında, İ.Ö. II. Binyılda Hitit geleneğindeki Luwi

tanrıçası Malija ve ayrıca Klasik Dönem Lykçe yazıtları ile özdeşleştirilebilir. Lydçe-Yunanca bu iki dilli yazıtın bu son transkripsiyonu ve sonuç olarak yeni bir Lydia tanrıçasının keşfi, Lydia dinini anlamamıza önemli bir katkı sunmaktadır. Dahası bu durum, Eski Anadolu tanrıçası Malija geleneğinin Lydia Bölgesi'nde devam ettiğini gösterir ve Yunan kaynaklarında Malis isminin hem arka planını, hem de sonraki durumunu anlamamızı sağlar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Pergamon, epigrafi, Lydia dini, Lydia panteonu, Antik Yunan dini, Hitit panteonu, dilbilim.

## Yanis Pikoulas (†)

Some remarks on the Royal Road (Herodotus, 5.52–54)

Abstract: Based on my former, for many years, research on ancient road network, I discuss the well-known Royal Road described by Herodotus (5.53: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιληίη), which led from Ephesus on the Aegean coast to Sardis, the capital of the kingdom of Lydia, and then, crossing central Asia Minor, ended at Susa, the western capital of Achaemenid Empire. The exact course of the Royal Road as well as the precise date of its construction are still until today disputed. I focus especially on the technical features of this road, as it was definitely a wheel-cart one.

Keywords: Royal road, Herodotus, historical geography, western Asia Minor, Lydian period.

Kral Yolu Hakkında Bazı Gözlemler (Herodotos, 5.52–54)

**Özet:** Bu eski yol ağına ilişkin uzun yıllardır yaptığım araştırmaya dayanarak bu makalede, Ege kıyısındaki Ephesos'tan Lydia Krallığı'nın başkenti Sardeis'e değin uzanan, Herodotos'un 5.53'de "ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιληίη" olarak tanımladığı Kral Yolu'nu tartışıyorum. Söz konusu bu yol Lydia ve sonra da Orta Anadolu'yu geçerek, Akhamenid İmparatorluğu'nun batıdaki başkenti Susa'da sona ermekte idi. Kral Yolu'nun kesin seyri ve inşaasının kesin tarihi günümüze kadar hala tartışılmaktadır. Bu makalede, kesinlikle tekerlekli arabaların geçtiği bu yolun özellikle teknik özelliklerine odaklanıyorum.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kral Yolu, Herodotos, tarihi coğrafya, Batı Anadolu, Lydia Dönemi.

# **Alexandar Portalsky**

Chronology of the Lydian dynasties

Abstract: My paper comments on the three known Lydian dynasties, time of their rule, cultural-historical significance of the first two legendary dynasties and the history of the latest. The first dynasty (of Atyads (Tantalids) – successors of Atys, who led his lineage from Manes) presents the minds of Greek authors of kinship or proximity between peoples of Thracians, Phrygians, Lydians, Etruscans and others. The main authors are Herodotus and Dionysios of Halicarnassos. I accept that their idea expresses the understanding of the authors of the presence of a Palaeobalkan-Westanatolian Commonwealth – this term is descriptive, but it is neutral and most appropriate in this case. Second Dynasty (of Heraclids or Tylonids – descendants of Heracles and Omphale in the Greek tradition) probably contains also historical not only mythological information. If my chronological calculations are correct, Lydian ruler's home can be traced back to the time of the Trojan War. I renew the question how the last Heraclid was called – Myrsilos or Kandaules. The Mermnad dynasty is best shown of all. The chronology of their reign, however, causes disputes. The reason is that the Lydian own chronology is rarely analyzed. I presume that a Lydian royal list exist and Herodotus used it, and I suggest a chronology of the rulers with the minimal controversy at this time.

Keywords: Lydian dynasties, Herodotus, Dionysios of Halicarnassos, Lydian period.

#### Lydia Hanedanlarının Kronolojisi

**Özet:** Makalem, bilinen üç Lydia hanedanını, hükümdarlık zamanlarını, ilk iki efsanevi hanedanın kültürel-tarihsel önemini ve son dönem tarihini yorumlamaktadır. İlk hanedanlık olan Atyatlar'ı (Tantalitler) soylarını Manes'ten alan Atys'in halefleri oluşturmuş olup, bu hanedanlık için Yunan yazarları tarafından Trakyalılar, Phrygler, Etrüskler ve diğer halklar ile akrabalık

bağı kurulmuştur. Bu konuda bizleri bilgilendiren başlıca Antik yazarlar Halikarnassoslu Herodotos ve Dionysios'tur. Söz konusu bu yazarların burada eski bir Balkan ve Batı Anadolu "ortak" halk topluluğunu kastettiklerini kabul ediyorum – "ortak" terimi açıklayıcıdır; bu durumda tarafsız ve en uygun terimdir. İkinci hanedanlık Heraklitler veya Tylonitler'dir ki bu topluluğun Antik Yunan geleneğindeki karşılığı Herakles ve Omphale'nin torunları olduğudur. Bu hanedanlığın geleneği muhtemelen sadece mitolojik bilgileri değil, aynı zamanda tarihsel bilgileri de içermektedir. Kronolojik hesaplamaların doğruysa, Lydia hükümdarlarının ilki Troia Savaşı zamanına değin gitmektedir. Son Heraklit'in nasıl adlandırıldığı sorusunu burada yenileyeceğim: Myrsilos veya Kandaules. Mermnand hanedanlığı en iyi bilinen hanedanlıktır. Ancak saltanatlarının kronolojisi tartışmalara neden olur. Nedeni, Lydia kronolojisinin az çalışılmış olmasındandır. Bir Lydia kraliyet listesinin var olduğunu ve Herodotos'un da bu listeyi kullandığını varsayıyorum. Bu makalede en az tartışmalı olan hükümdarların kronolojisini önermekteyim.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lydia hanedanları, Herodotos, Halikarnaslı Dionysios, Lydia Dönemi.

## Giorgio Rizzo

Ephesian amphorae in Rome in the imperial period

Abstract: During the imperial period the ancient region of Lydia was part of the Roman province of Asia. Several amphora types were primarily produced in the region of ancient Ephesus and in the Caystrus and the Maeander valleys, but also in other centers such as Pergamon, Kos, Aphrodisias, and Sardis. Ancient written sources mention Ephesian wine: they refer to wine produced in the valley of the river Caystrus, between the Tmolos and Messogis mountains. The "Ephesian" amphorae of the early and middle imperial period have only one handle: in the archaeological literature they are "one-handled jars", or "micaceous jars" because of their characteristic fabric. In the Late Roman period, the two-handled versions were the most widespread of the series (Late Roman Amphora 3). The "Ephesian" amphorae are commonly found in all the Mediterranean area. They also reached Rome and Ostia, one of its ports, where they were shipped to, perhaps together with other goods – marble? terra sigillata vessels? – from the harbour of Ephesus (and Smyrna?).

**Keywords:** Rome, transport amphorae, Ephesian amphorae, pottery, Roman period, Late Roman period.

Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Roma'ya İntikal Etmiş Ephesos Amphoraları

Özet: İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Antik Lydia bölgesi, Roma'nın Asia eyaletinin bir parçasıydı. İlk olarak Antik Ephesos çevresinde ve Küçük ile Büyük Menderes Vadileri'nde ve aynı zamanda Pergamon, Kos, Aphrodisias ve Sardeis gibi diğer merkezlerde birkaç ticari amphora tipi üretilmiştir. Eski yazılı kaynaklar Ephesos şarabından bahsetmekte ve Tmolos ile Messogis Dağları arasındaki Kaistros Nehri Vadisi'nde üretilen şaraba atıfta bulunmaktadırlar. Erken ve Orta İmparatorluk Dönemleri'nin "Ephesos" amphoralarının yalnızca bir kulpu vardır. Bu tipoloji arkeoloji literatürde özgün dizaynından dolayı "tek kulplu kavanozlar" veya "mikalı kavanozlar" olarak tanınır. Geç Roma Dönemi'nde bu kabın iki kulplu versiyonları üretimlerinin en yaygın olanıydı (=Geç Roma Amphorası tip 3). "Ephesos" amphoraları tüm Akdeniz coğraflarında yaygın olarak bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Roma Dönemi'nin başlıca limanlarından biri olan Roma ve Ostia'da, belki de diğer ithal mallarla birlikte (mermer ya da terra sigillata?), Ephesos (ve Smyrna?) limanından gönderilmiş olarak bulunurlar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Roma, ticari amphoralar, Ephesos amphoraları, çanak-çömlek, Roma Dönemi, Geç Roma Dönemi.

## **James Roy**

The poet Pindar and Lydian Pelops

**Abstract:** Although by the fifth century B.C. the myth of Pelops was very well-known among Greeks, and especially in the Peloponnese, versions of the myth differed on where he came

from, and in archaic and classical Greece he was most often said to be Phrygian. Nonetheless the poet Pindar, in the odes that he wrote for victorious athletes, repeatedly refers to Pelops's importance at the great religious sanctuary of Olympia and describes Pelops as Lydian. This paper will consider what contemporary views of Lydia and the Lydians may have led Pindar to his identification of Lydian Pelops, taking account of the widespread belief in Lydian wealth and also of the rich dedications made at Delphi, the other great religious sanctuary in Greece, by Lydian kings. Reference will also be made to the cult of Pelops at Olympia and to beliefs about Pelops's father Tantalos and his sister Niobe (who was closely attached to Lydia).

**Keywords:** Pindar, Pelops, Classical mythology, Classical mythological sources, Lydian period, Classical period.

# Şair Pindaros ve Lydialı Pelops

özet: İ.Ö. 5. yy.'da olmasına rağmen. Pelops efsanesi Antik Yunanlılar arasında çok iyi biliniyordu ve özellikle Peloponnessos'da, bu mitin farklı versiyonları geldikleri yerlere göre farklılıklar gösteriyordu. Bu mitin Arkaik ve Klasik Dönem Yunanistan'ında daha çok Phrygia kökenli olduğu söyleniyordu. Yine de şair Pindaros, şampiyon olmuş sporcular için yazdığı öykülerinde, Pelops'un Olympia'daki tağınağında önemine defalarca atıfta bulunur ve Pelops'u Lydialı olarak tanımlar. Bu makale, Lydia ve Lydialılar'ın çağdaş görüşlerinin, Pindaros'un Lydia'yı tanımlamasına neden olmuş olabileceği olasılığını ele alacaktır. Pelops, Lydia'nın zenginliğine olan yaygın inanç ve ayrıca Yunanistan'ın diğer büyük tapınağı Delphi'de Lydia kralları tarafından yapılan zengin adakları da dikkate alarak, Olympia'daki Pelops kültüne ve Pelops'un babası Tantalos ve (Lydia'ya yakından bağlı olan) kız kardeşi Niobe hakkındaki inançlara da atıfta bulunmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Pindaros, Pelops, klasik mitoloji, klasik mitolojik kaynaklar, Lydia Dönemi, Klasik Dönem.

#### Diether Schürr

Lefs: a Greek god in Lydian disguise – Ζευσις: a Lydian god in Greek disguise, and some Luwian gods too.

Abstract: Gods cross borders easily, taking their names with them, and the Lydians became fond of Greek gods, one of whom was Zeus. The way he was adopted into the Lydian language (and inscriptions, of course), as Lews and then Lefs, reveals something of Lydian phonology. Scholars writing in late antiquity preserved some knowledge of the Lydian language, and one scrap of this, recorded by Hesychios, is another Lydian name of Zeus: Zeusis, probably from  $\delta iw$ -, the Lydian word for 'god'. John Lydus reports that Zeus was born on Mt. Tmolos near Sardis, at a place called Deusion. This was probably derived from the same Lydian designation for Zeus, but from its Proto-Lydian form instead, before \*diw- was altered to δiw-. Because Lydian inscriptions are attested from ca. 700 B.C., this must have occurred earlier. The late mention of Deusion thus gives a brief glimpse into early relations between Lydians and Greeks and into the development of the Lydian language. The sense of \*diwsis > \*δiwšiš was probably 'deity', designating a rain-bringing god on Mt. Tmolos and otherwise unattested. The settlement of Troketta, located, like Deusion, west of Sardis, could perhaps preserve his name, being that of the Anatolian weathergod, as a loan from the late 'Hittite' or Luwian kingdom of Tabal, along with a group of other theonyms and together with his consort: She reappears as Hipta - or, rather, Ipta - in Greek inscriptions east of Sardis and in the Orphic hymns, which connect her with Mt. Tmolos. These Late Luwian gods were adopted by the Lydians probably before c. 700 B.C., i. e. in a Proto-Lydian form. So the name of the goddess *Kubabas* was probably adapted as \**Kubábs*, then adopted by the the Greeks as  $Kub\bar{a}b\bar{a}$  > Ionian Kuβηβη, before \* $Kub\acute{a}bs$  mutated to Lydian Kuwaw[ and Kufaw(s).

Keywords: Lydian language, Lydian pantheon, Greek pantheon, Luwian pantheon, Tabal.

Lefs: Gizlenmiş Bir Lydialı Yunan Tanrısı – Ζεῦσις: Gizlenmiş Bir Yunanlı Lydia Tanrısı ve Aynı Zamanda Bazı Luwi Tanrıları

**Özet:** Eskiçağda tanrılar isimleri ile beraber sınırları kolayca aştılar ve bu dönemde Lydialılar aralarında Zeus'un da bulunduğu Yunan tanrılarına düşkün oldular. Lydia dilindeki (ve tabii ki

yazıtlarındaki) "Lews" ve sonraları "Lefs" olarak benimsenen bir isim formu, Lydia fonolojisine iliskin bir ayrıntıyı acığa çıkarır. Gec Antik Dönem yazarları Lydia dili hakkında bazı bilgileri günümüze aktarmışlardır ve bunun bir örneği İskenderiyeli Hesychios tarafından kaydedilen, Zeus'un Lydia'daki başka bir adıdır: Zeusis. Bu isim olasılıkla Lydia'da "tanrı" anlamına gelen δiw- kökünden kaynaklanmaktadır. Lydialı Ioannes (ya da Ioannes Laurentios Lydos) Zeus'un Tmolos Dağı yakınındaki Sardeis yakınlarında, Deusion denilen yerde doğduğunu aktarmaktadır. Bu isim olasılıkla Zeus isminin Lydia'daki versiyonundan türetilmiştir ya da isim \*diw- δiw- olarak değistirilmeden önceki Proto-Lydia formundan alınmıstır. Cünkü Lydia yazıtları yaklaşık İ.Ö. 700'lere aittir; ancak bu durum bu daha önceleri vuku bulmuş olmalıdır. Deusion'ın bu kadar geç dönemlere değin anılması, Lydialılar ve Yunanlılar arasındaki erken dönem ilişkilerine ve Lydia dilinin gelişimine bir bakış sağlamaktadır. \* Diwsis> \* δiwšiš kavramı olasılıkla bir "tanrı" ydı ve Tmolos Dağına'na yağmur getiren ve daha önce bilinmeyen bir tanrıyı ifade etmekte idi. Deusion gibi Sardeis'in batısında bulunan Troketta isimli yerleşim, birçok tanrı isminde olduğu gibi, Anadolulu bir hava tanrısının adını, Geç "Hitit" veya Luwi Krallığı olan Tabal'dan almış olup, bu isim bir yerleşim ismi olarak korunabildi: söz konusu bu isim Sardeis'in doğusundaki Antik Yunanca yazıtlarda ve onu Tmolos Dağı ile bağlayan Orpheus ilahilerinde "Hipta" – ya da daha doğrusu "Ipta" – olarak yeniden görünür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lydia dili, Lydia panteonu, Antik Yunan panteonu, Luwi panteonu, Tabal.

#### **Werner Seibt**

The Early Byzantine province of Lydia based on sigillographic evidence

**Abstract:** Early Byzantine seals attest a number of civil officials of the province of Lydia, only sometimes in connection with other (neighbouring) provinces. We know two *archontes*, Thalassios (with the title of *Stratelates*, early eighth century) and Maurianos (early eighth century), and two *Dioiketai*, Theodoros (later eighth century) and Michael (first third nineth century). There is still more information about *Kommerkiarioi*: Ioulianos ἀπὸ ὑπάτων was γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος Λυδίας in 687/688, Kyriakos ἀπὸ ὑπάτων was γενικὸς λογοθέτης ἀποθήκης Καπατιανῆς καὶ Λυδίας in 696/697, Ioannes ὕπατος was γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης Έλλησπόντου καὶ Λυδίας in 721/722, Theophanes πατρίκιος β. πρωτοσπαθάριος was γενικὸς λογοθέτης καὶ κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης Έλλησπόντου καὶ Λυδίας in 727/728, and Theoktistos ὑπατος was also γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης Έλλησπόντου καὶ Λυδίας in 729/730. Immediately afterwards not single *Kommerkiarioi* but the office of the imperial *Kommerkia* sealed, still using imperial busts. We know such seals of the imperial *Kommerkia* of Lydia for the year 731/732, of Bithynia, (Phrygia) Saloutaris, (Phrygia) Pakatiane, and Lydia for the year 733/734, and again of Lydia (alone) for the year 736/737. In an addendum a further lead seal is mentioned, with a bust in profile to the left and the inscription ΛVΔ/IAC, dating from late antiquity.

**Keywords:** Early Byzantine provincial administration, Early Byzantine Lydia, Early Byzantine sigillography, *Kommerkiarioi*, Asia Minor.

# Sigillografik Kaynaklar Işığında Erken Bizans Dönemi'nde Lydia Eyaleti

**Özet:** Erken Bizans Dönemi kurşun mühürleri, bizi bazen diğer (komşu) bölgelerle bağlantılı olarak, Lydia Bölgesi'nin bazı sivil memurları konusunda aydınlatmaktadır. Bu mühürlerden iki archontes (İ.S. 8. yy.'ın başlarında "Stratelates" adıyla Thalassios ve yine 8. yy.'ın başlarında Maurianos) ve iki dioiketai (8. yy.'ın sonlarında Theodoros ve 9. yy.'da Michael) tanımaktayız. Kommerkiarioi hakkında ise daha fazla bilgi mevcuttur: Ioulianos ἀπὸ ὑπάτων 687/688 yıllarında γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος Λυδίας idi. Kyriakos ἀπὸ ὑπάτων 696/697 yıllarında γενικὸς λογοθέτης ἀποθήκης Καπατιανῆς καὶ Λυδίας idi. Ioannes ὕπατος 721/722 yıllarında γενικὸς κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης Έλλησπόντον καὶ Λυδίας idi. Theophanes πατρίκιος β. πρωτοσπαθάριος 727/728 yıllarında γενικὸς λογοθέτης καὶ κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης Έλλησπόντον καὶ Λυδίας idi. Bu dönemin hemen ardından sadece Kommerkiarioi değil, imparatorluk Kommerkia makamı hala imparatorluk büstleri kullanılarak mühürlenmiştir. Lydia Kommerkiası'nın 731/732 yılları, Bithynia'nın (Phrygia) Saloutaris, (Phrygia) Pakatiane ve Lydia'nın 733/734 yılları ve yine Lydia'nın (tek başına) 736/737 yılları için bu tür mühürlerin sahibi olduğunu biliyoruz. Bu

makalenin ek kısmında, sol profilden bir büst ve  $\Lambda V\Delta$  / IAC ibaresiyle birlikte basılmış bir Geç Antik Çağ mühründen bahsedilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Erken Bizans Dönemi taşra yönetimi, Erken Bizans Dönemi Lydia'sı, Erken Bizans Dönem sigillografisi, *kommerkiarioi*, Anadolu.

## Ayşen Sina

The Artemis Cult in Lydia and The Lydian Girls' Choir: A Political Evaluation

Abstract: Artemis, who was named after the places she was worshipped, reflects substantial differences in terms of features and the characteristics of her cults in Greece and Anatolia. When huntsmanship was replaced by agriculture in human history, the importance that women earned in economic and social areas brought about the matriarchal structure of society. Thus, it resulted in the embodiment of religious beliefs in the form of Mother Goddess concept which represented woman who possessed qualities such as nature dominance, creativity, nutritiousness and protectiveness. Artemis is another display of universal woman (matriarchal) attributes in the prehistoric Anatolian societies in her capacity as "Mother of the Gods," "Great Mother," and "Mother Goddess." Not restricted to a particular area or time, Artemis was worshipped in Lydia as Koloene, Kordaka, Tmolia and Leukophryene. Artemis who was worshipped in Lydian cities such as Sardis, Magnesia on the Maeander, Koloe and Tmolos, which is the eponym of the mountain, resembles Artemis Ephesia in character. Although Artemis was not "divine mother" of the sovereigns as the representative of her political sovereignty, she helped Ionians and Lydians get together to celebrate the annual Ephesia festivities. The core of myths, which keeps collective memory alive and passes on to future generations lies in hymns. Hymns which are stories about gods are designed to praise, to remind and benefit oneself. Hymns are the communication tool between society and god. On the one hand, their aim is to gain the appreciation of god and be praised by the addressed community, but on the other hand, they intend to give both a social and political message through participation and hymn texts. From this point of view, Lydian girls' choir, who dance and sing hymns at the festivities held in honour of Artemis of Ephesus, attract considerable attention. Thus, in this study the roles of Artemis - a symbol of faith association between Lydians and Ionians-and Lydian girls' choir in the relationship between the aforementioned two areas have been discussed in terms of literary, mythological, epigraphic and archaeological sources, and their reflection on the association of myths, cult and politics has been examined.

**Keywords:** Artemis, cult of Artemis, cults in Lydia, "girls' choir", Artemis Ephesia, Classical mythology, politics.

Lydia'da Artemis Kültü ve Lydialı Kızlar Korosu: Siyasi Açıdan Bir Değerlendirme

Özet: Genellikle tapıldığı yerlerin adlarını alan Artemis, Yunanistan ve Anadolu'da nitelikleri ve kültlerinin özellikleri bakımından son derece farklılıklar içermektedir. İnsanlık tarihinde avcılığın yerini tarıma bırakmasıyla kadının ekonomik ve sosyal alanda kazandığı önem, toplulukların matriyarkal yapıda biçimlenmesini beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu doğrultuda dinsel inançların doğaya egemen, yaratıcı, besleyici, koruyucu gibi özelliklere sahip olan kadının şahsında temsil edilen Ana Tanrıça kavramı üzerine şekillenmesine sebep olmuştur. Eskiçağ Anadolu toplumlarında "Tanrılar Anası", "Büyük Ana", "Ana Tanrıça" gibi sıfatlarıyla evrenselleşmiş olan kadın karakterinin (matriyarkal) bir başka görüntüsü Artemis'tir. Belirli bir bölge ve zamanla sınırı olmayan Artemis'e Lydia'da Koloene, Kordaka, Tmolia ve Leukophryene sıfatlarıyla tapınılmıştır. Lydia kentleri Sardeis, Magnesia epi Maiandros, Koloe ve dağı ile aynı ismi taşıyan Tmolos'ta tapınım gören Artemis, karakter bakımından Artemis Ephesia'ya benzemektedir. Siyasi egemenliğinin temsilcisi olarak, egemenlerin "tanrısal anası" ya da eşlikçisi" biçiminde olmasa da, yıllık Artemis Ephesia şenliklerini kutlamak amacıyla Ionialılar" ve Lydialılar'ın bir araya gelmelerine vesile olmuştur. Toplumsal belleği canlı tutan ve gelecek nesillere aktaran tanrı öyküleri olan mitosların özü ilahilerdir. Tanrılar hakkında öyküler olan ilahiler övmek, hatırlatmak ve kendine yarar sağlamak amacıyla tasarlanmışlardır. İlahiler, toplum ile tanrı arasında bir iletişim aracıdır. Bir yandan tanrının takdirini kazanmak ve hitap

edilen topluluğun övgüsünü toplamak diğer yandan ise katılım ve ilahi metinleri vasıtasıyla toplumsal ve siyasi mesaj vermek amacı taşımaktadırlar. Bu bakımdan birçok edebi kaynakta geçen Ephesoslu Artemis adına kutlanan şenliklerde dans edip ilahiler söyleyen Lydialı Kızlar korosu son derece dikkat çekmektedir. Bu doğrultuda bu çalışmada, Lydialılar ile Ionialılar arasındaki inanç ortaklığının bir simgesi olan Artemis'in ve Lydialı Kızlar Korosu'nun edebi, mitolojik, epigrafik ve arkeolojik kaynaklara dayanarak, söz konusu iki bölge ilişkilerindeki rolleri ele alınmakta; mitos, kült ve siyaset eksenine yansımaları irdelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Artemis, Lydialı kızlar korosu, kült, siyaset.

### **Daniele Tinterri**

Trade from Chios and Phocaea (fourth-seventh century A.D.) between written and archaeological sources: a methodological approach

**Abstract:** The trade network originating from Chios and Phocaea between the fourth and the seventh century A.D. will be used as a case study to analyze the many differences between data provided respectively by written and archaeological sources in the field of history of trade. Evidence provided by the two disciplines appear to be complementary under many points of view. Therefore, in a methodological perspective both sets of data have to be used, in order to obtain a clearer description of trade in a given period of time.

Keywords: Chios, Phocaea, trade, Late antiquity, written sources, archaeology, methodology.

Yazılı ve Arkeolojik Kaynaklar İşığında Sakız Adası ve Phokaia'nın İ.S. 4.-7. Yy.'lar Arasındaki Ticareti Üzerine Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım

özet: İ.S. 4. ve 7. yy.'lar arasında Sakız Adası ve Phokaia'nın arasındaki ticaret ağı, ticaret tarihi alanında sırasıyla yazılı ve arkeolojik kaynaklar tarafından sağlanan veriler arasındaki birçok farklılığı analiz etmek için bu makalede konu edilecektir. İki disiplin tarafından sağlanan bilgiler, birçok bakış açısından birbirini tamamlayıcı gibi görünmektedir. Bu nedenle, metodolojik bir perspektifte, belirli bir süre içinde ticaretin daha net bir tanımını elde etmek için hem tarihsel, hem de arkeolojik veriler bir arada kullanılmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sakız Adası, Phokaia, ticaret, Geç Antik Çağ, yazılı kaynaklar, arkeoloji, metodoloji.

## Hüseyin Üreten, Ömer Güngörmüş

Remarks on imperial cult of Lydian Philadelphia based on classical textual sources

Abstract: The most important city among the places that were founded by Pergamon (Bergama) in Western Anatolia during the Hellenistic period was Philadelpheia (Alaşehir [Φιλαδέλφεια]), which was named by Attalos II Philadelphos after his name. In modern day occupied by the town of Alaşehir, the site of ancient Lydian Philadelpheia was located on the southwest side of the Kogamos valley and 40 km southeast of the merging point of Hermos (Gediz) and Kogamos rivers. The acropolis was founded on a projected mound of the Tmolos (Bozdağlar) range; the settlement was partly situated on the slopes and partly on the flat ground of the valley. The city, being close to the volcanic area of Katakekaumene (Burned Land), was in constant danger because of many earthquakes. Strabo relates that buildings in the city were destroyed many times and the danger was so great that residents generally preferred to live in the country around the city. Despite, Philadelpheia flourished to a great extend and in the course of time acquired a broad realm that contained many villages. The city had a public organization that issued her own coins following the foundation by Attalos and prospered under the Roman rule. In this context, the aim of this study is to find an answer tho the question of whether or not the city of Philadelpheia in Lydia obtained the title of neokoros according to ancient sources. In addition will be revealed which criteria would be determinant to the granting of the right to have an imperial.

Keywords: Hellenistic period, Attalos II Philadelphos, Lydian Philadelpheia, neokoros.

Klasik Metinlere Dayanarak Lydia'daki Philadelphia Kentindeki Roma İmparatorluk Kültü Üzerine Değerlendirmeler

özet: Hellenistik Dönem'deki Batı Anadolu'da Pergamon'un kurduğu kentler arasında en önemlisi, II. Attalos Philadelphos'un kendi adını verdiği Philadelpheia (Φιλαδέλφεια; bugünkü Alaşehir) kenti idi. Alaşehir İlçesi'nin altında kurulu olan Antik Philadelpheia kenti, Kogamos Vadisi'nin güneybatısında, Kogamos İrmağı'nın Hermos ile bitişme noktasının yaklaşık 40 km güneydoğusunda yer almaktadır. Kentin Akropolis'i, ırmak seviyesinden yukarıda yükselen Tmolos (Bozdağlar) silsilesinin ileri çıkıntılı bir burnu üzerinde kurulmuştur; Antik yerleşim ise kısmen yamaçlarda, kısmen de aşağıda, düz arazide yer almakta idi. Öte yandan, kent volkanik Katakekaumene ("Yanmış Ülke") bölgesine yakın olduğu için, sayısız deprem yüzünden sürekli olarak yıkılma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Strabon'un aktardığına göre, kentin evleri sık sık yıkılmış ve tehlike öylesine büyük olmuştur ki, halkın çoğu çevrede açık arazide yaşamayı tercih etmiştir. Bununla beraber, Philadelpheia hızla gelişen bir kent olmuştur. Zamanla pek çok köyü içine alan geniş bir egemenlik alanı elde etmiştir. Attalos tarafından kuruluşundan hemen sonra, kent kendine özgü sikkeler darp eden bir kamu örgütüne sahip olmuş ve Romalılar'ın yönetimi altında oldukça zenginleşmiştir. Bu bağlamda bu makalenin kaleme alınmasındaki amaç; Antik kaynaklar ışığında, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Anadolu'sunun Lydia Bölgesi'ndeki Philadelpheia kentinin herhangi bir neokoros unvanı alıp, almadığı sorusunu cevaplandırmak olacaktır. Bunun yanı sıra, kentin imparatorluk kültü almaya hak kazanmasında hangi kriterlerin belirleyici olduğu durumu da açıklığa kavuşturulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hellenistik Dönem, II. Attalos Philadelphos, Philadelpheia, neokoros.

### Étienne Wolff

Lydia in proverbs, idiomatic expressions, and exemplary Latin stories

**Abstract:** Lydia occupies an important place in Graeco-Roman mythology and in the history of Asia Minor. It is therefore logical that this importance is reflected in proverbs, idiomatic expressions, and exemplary Latin stories, in which we find Croesus, the Pactolos, the Tmolos, Sardis, etc. I examine these proverbs, idiomatic expressions and exemplary stories, relying in particular on the *Adagia* compiled by Erasmus, which form an irreplaceable directory on the subject. This gives some insights into the picture drawn of Lydia.

**Keywords:** Lydia, mythology, history, proverbs, Erasmus.

Latin Atasözlerinde, Deyimsel İfadeler ve Hikayelerinde Lydia

**Özet:** Lydia, Greko-Romen mitolojisinde ve Anadolu tarihinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu önemin içinde Kroisos, Paktolos, Tmolos ile Sardeis gibi meşhur kavramların rolü vardır ve bundan dolayı Lydia'nın Antik dönem atasözlerinde, deyimsel ifadelerinde ve örnek Latin hikayelerinde yansıtılması mantıklıdır. Bu atasözleri, deyimsel ifadeler ve örnek hikayeler özellikle Erasmus tarafından derlenen ve konu hakkında yeri doldurulamaz bir rehber oluşturan Adagia'da mevcuttur. Bu kaynak bize Lydia'nın o dönemdeki imaji hakkında bazı fikirler vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lydia, mitoloji, tarih, atasözleri, Erasmus.