

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LYDIA, FROM GYGES TO ALEXANDER

In *The Archaeology of Lydia, From Gyges to Alexander*, Christopher H. Roosevelt provides the first overview of the regional archaeology of Lydia in western Turkey, including much previously unpublished evidence and a fresh synthesis of the archaeology of Sardis, the ancient capital of the region. Combining data from regional surveys, stylistic analyses of artifacts in local museums, ancient texts, and environmental studies, he presents a new perspective on the archaeology of this area. To assess the importance of Lydian landscapes under Lydian and Achaemenid rule, roughly between the seventh and fourth centuries BCE, Roosevelt situates the archaeological evidence within frameworks established by evidence for ancient geography, environmental conditions, and resource availability and exploitation. Drawing on detailed and copiously illustrated evidence presented in a regionally organized catalogue, this book considers the significance of evidence of settlement and burial at Sardis and beyond for understanding Lydian society as a whole and the continuity of cultural traditions across the transition from Lydian to Achaemenid hegemony.

Christopher H. Roosevelt is an Assistant Professor of Archaeology at Boston University. A member of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Research Institute in Turkey, the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, he is the recipient of a National Science Foundation grant for a project titled "Environmental and Cultural Dynamics in Central Lydia, Western Turkey." He has contributed to the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the *Journal of Field Archaeology*, and other journals and edited volumes.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LYDIA, FROM GYGES TO ALEXANDER

CHRISTOPHER H. ROOSEVELT

Boston University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521519878

© Francis S. Connelly 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012
Reprinted 2013
First paperback edition 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Connelly, Frances S., 1953– author.

The grotesque in Western art and culture : the image at play / Frances S. Connelly,
University of Missouri, Kansas City.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-01125-0 (hardback)

1. Grottesque. 2. Grottesque in art. I. Title.

BH301.G74.C66 2012

700'.415—dc23 011047470

ISBN 978-0-521-51987-8 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-62983-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

List of Figures	page ix
List of Tables	xiii
Preface	xv
1 Introduction	1
Regional Archaeology	4
Material Culture and Cultural Change	7
Overview of this Study	9
2 The Cultural and Historical Framework	11
Lydian Origins, Language, and the Early Lydian Period (Through the Late Eighth Century)	13
<i>Biological, Linguistic, and Historical Evidence</i>	13
<i>Classical Sources for the Early Lydian Period</i>	19
<i>Archaeological Evidence</i>	20
The Middle Lydian Period (Early Seventh through Mid-Sixth Centuries)	22
The Late Lydian (or Achaemenid) Period (Mid-Sixth through Late Fourth Centuries)	26
3 Lydian Geography and Environment	33
The Natural Landscapes of Lydia	34
<i>Central Lydia: The Heartland of the Mermnad Kingdom</i>	34
<i>The Boundary Zones of Greater Lydia</i>	36
<i>Mountains</i>	41
<i>Rivers and Plains</i>	41
<i>Lakes</i>	44

 Contents

	<i>Areas of Interest for Subsequent Discussion</i>	45
	Geology	46
	Climate and Vegetation	47
	Resources	49
	<i>Agriculture and Animal Husbandry</i>	49
	FIELD CROPS, VITICULTURE, AND TREE FRUITS	50
	LIVESTOCK AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS	53
	<i>Area-Specific Resources</i>	54
	The Richness and Diversity of Lydian Landscapes	58
4	Settlement and Society at Sardis	59
	The Geography and Development of Sardis	60
	<i>Major Excavation Sectors</i>	61
	<i>Historical Development</i>	64
	Lydian Houses and Domestic Economy	66
	Small-Scale Craft Production and Exchange	70
	Large-Scale Craft Production and Exchange	73
	Royal, Administrative, and Public Buildings	77
	Cults and Cult Places	80
	Sardis and Lydian Society	85
5	Settlement and Society in Central and Greater Lydia	91
	Central Lydia, the Immediate Hinterland of Sardis	93
	<i>Evidence for Settlement and Other Activities in Central Lydia</i>	93
	<i>Bin Tepe, Tumulus Groups, and Settlement Areas in Central Lydia</i>	99
	<i>Diachronic Changes in the Settlement Patterns of Central Lydia</i>	101
	Greater Lydia, the Distant Hinterland of Sardis	102
	<i>Evidence for Settlement and Other Activities in Greater Lydia</i>	103
	<i>Tumulus Groups in Greater Lydia</i>	109
	<i>Diachronic Changes in the Settlement Patterns of Greater Lydia</i>	110
	Settlement Structure and Estates	112
	Settlement Concerns	115
	<i>Subsistence and Communication</i>	115
	<i>Territorial Control</i>	117
	<i>Resource Control and Procurement</i>	121
	Sacred Landscapes and Cult Places	123
	Lydian Settlement Patterns and Regional Interaction	129
6	Burial and Society	135
	Regional Burial Types	136

 Contents

<i>Pits</i>	136
<i>Sarcophagi</i>	137
<i>Chamber Tombs</i>	139
Graveside Markers and Funerary Imagery	151
<i>Phallic Markers</i>	153
<i>Symbolic Door Stelae</i>	153
<i>Anthemion Stelae (With and Without Inscriptions)</i>	155
<i>Figural Stelae</i>	156
BANQUETS	157
SEATED FEMALES	158
STANDING FIGURES	160
MOUNTED RIDERS, HUNTS, ANIMAL FRIEZES, AND A BATTLE	161
<i>Freestanding Statues (Lions and a Lion-Griffin)</i>	165
<i>Other Funerary Imagery</i>	172
<i>Overview</i>	173
Grave Assemblages and Funeral Ceremonies	176
Burial and Lydian Society	183
7 Conclusions: Continuity and Change at Sardis and Beyond . . .	185
Developments in the Material Record	186
Material and Historical Synthesis: Continuity and Change	191
<i>The Early and Middle Lydian Periods</i>	191
<i>The Late Lydian Period</i>	194
<i>Persians and Persianisms at Sardis and Beyond</i>	198
Some Final Conclusions and Prescriptions for the Future	201
CATALOGUE OF SITES AND FINDS IN CENTRAL AND GREATER LYDIA	205
1. Central Lydia	207
2. Middle Hermus River Valley (West of Central Lydia)	214
3. Nymphaeum Valley	218
4. Mt. Sipylus (Manisa Dağ)	219
5. Middle Hermus River Valley (North of Mt. Sipylus)	222
6. Hyrcanian Plain	223
7. Middle Phrygius River Valley	225
8. Lycus Valley	228
9. Upper Caicus Valley	230
10. Middle Hermus River Valley (East of Central Lydia)	233
11. Lower Cogamus River Valley	234
12. Middle Cogamus River Valley	236

Contents

13. Upper Cogamus River Valley	240
14. Northern Lydia	240
15. Northeastern Lydia	243
16. Eastern Lydia	244
17. Tmolus Range	249
18. Cilbian Plains	250
19. Cayster Valley	252
20. Southeastern Lydia	255
21. Bergama Museum (İzmir)	255
22. İzmir Archaeological Museum	255
23. Manisa Museum	255
24. Ödemiş Museum (İzmir)	256
25. Tire Museum Directorate (İzmir)	256
Notes	259
Works Cited	279
Index	299

List of Figures

1.1. The Acropolis of Sardis.	<i>page</i> 3
1.2. The middle Hermus River valley in central Lydia.	5
2.1. Stele with Lydian inscriptions found at Sardis.	14
2.2. Simplified diagram of Lydian and other Anatolian dialects.	15
2.3. Late Bronze Age western Anatolia.	15
2.4. The Lydian Kingdom and Empire.	25
3.1. Map of central Lydia showing its main topographical features.	35
3.2. The Pactolus River valley.	36
3.3. Modern geography of greater Lydia.	37
3.4. Ancient geography of greater Lydia.	39
3.5. The western middle Hermus River valley and Mt. Sipylus.	42
3.6. The Castolus Plain in eastern Lydia.	43
3.7. Greater Lydian areas for discussion.	45
3.8. Averaged monthly temperature and precipitation values.	49
4.1. Plan of Sardis.	61
4.2. Reconstruction drawing of Sardis acropolis.	63
4.3. Reconstruction drawing of Lydian fortifications at Sardis.	65
4.4. Reconstruction of a Middle Lydian house at Sardis.	67
4.5. Comparative plans of Lydian houses at Sardis.	67
4.6. Melon-shaped glass bead from Sardis.	71
4.7. Rock-crystal lion figurine from Sardis.	71
4.8. Common forms and decorations of Lydian ceramics.	73
4.9. Reconstruction drawing of the metal refinery at Sardis.	75
4.10. Archaic statue from Sardis.	76
4.11. Ashlar masonry at Sardis sector ByzFort.	77
4.12. Marble stylobate at Sardis sector ByzFort.	79
4.13. Plan of the Lydian Altar (LA) in the Artemis Precinct at Sardis.	81
4.14. Reconstruction drawings of the Altar of Cybele at Sardis sector PN.	83

List of Figures

4.15. The so-called Cybele Naiskos from Sardis.	84
4.16. A ritual “puppy dinner” assemblage from Sardis.	85
5.1. Map of central Lydia and site types.	94
5.2. Map of central Lydia and site dates.	95
5.3. Plan of the partially excavated house at Ahlatlı Tepecik.	99
5.4. Map of greater Lydia and site types.	108
5.5. Map of greater Lydia and site dates.	109
5.6. The east face of Şahankaya.	118
5.7. Plan of Şahankaya.	119
5.8. The Persian-style fire altar at Şahankaya.	121
5.9. The Gygaean Lake and Bin Tepe.	123
5.10. The double-lion statue from Hypaepa in the Ödemiş Museum.	127
6.1. Two stone-lined pit graves at Sardis.	137
6.2. Lydian bathtub sarcophagi at Sardis.	138
6.3. Rock-cut chamber tombs at Sardis.	139
6.4. The so-called Pyramid Tomb at Sardis.	141
6.5. The sculpted pediment of a freestanding tomb at Sardis.	141
6.6. Rock-cut tomb in the Kahraman neighborhood of Gelenbe.	142
6.7. The landscape of Bin Tepe from Sardis.	143
6.8. The tumulus of Alyattes (Kocamutaf Tepe).	143
6.9. Drawings of the tomb chamber of the tumulus of Alyattes.	144
6.10. Drawings of the tomb chamber of the BT 63.2 tumulus.	145
6.11. Drawings of the tomb chamber of the Kızılbel tumulus in Elmalı.	147
6.12. Map of Bin Tepe and its tumuli.	148
6.13. A tumulus in the middle Phrygian River valley.	149
6.14. Graph of the construction dates of Lydian tumuli.	151
6.15. Diagram of chamber-tomb complex types in Lydia.	152
6.16. Phallic markers at Sardis.	153
6.17. Drawing of the marker on top of the tumulus of Alyattes.	153
6.18. Symbolic door stelae from İkiztepe, Sardis, and Ertuğrul.	154
6.19. Anthemion stele in the Ödemiş Museum.	155
6.20. Funerary relief from Ödemiş in the Cayster River valley.	156
6.21. Funerary relief from Hayallı in eastern Lydia.	157
6.22. Funerary relief in the Manisa Museum.	158
6.23. Funerary relief with inscription from İncesu.	159
6.24. Funerary relief from Haliller in the Cayster River valley.	159
6.25. Funerary relief from Gökçeler (near Şahankaya) in northern Lydia.	161
6.26. Funerary relief from Musacalı.	161
6.27. Funerary relief in the Manisa Museum.	162
6.28. Funerary relief from Manisa in the Bergama Museum.	163

List of Figures

6.29. Funerary relief in the Tire Museum.	164
6.30. Funerary relief in the Manisa Museum.	164
6.31. Recumbent lion statue from Kula in eastern Lydia.	165
6.32. Recumbent lion statue from Birgi in the Cayster River valley.	166
6.33. Seated lion statue from the middle Phrygius River valley.	167
6.34. Small lion statue from Soma.	167
6.35. Small lion statue from Turgutlu.	168
6.36. Small lion statue from Sivrice.	168
6.37. Small lion statue from Beyoba.	169
6.38. Lion-griffin statue from Kula in eastern Lydia.	170
6.39. Unfinished small lion statue from the Lale Tepe tumulus.	171
6.40. Stylized lion heads from northern Lydia.	171
6.41. Drawing of the kline in the Aktepe tumulus in Güre.	172
6.42. Drawing of the wall paintings in the Aktepe tumulus in Güre.	173
6.43. Wall-painting fragments from the Harta tumulus.	174
6.44. The painted walls and ceiling of the Lale Tepe tumulus.	175
6.45. Benches within a rock-cut chamber tomb at Sardis.	177
6.46. Freestanding kline within the BT 05.58 tumulus tomb chamber.	179
C.1. Appliqués and jewelry from a sarcophagus burial in Kendirlik.	210
C.2. Grave goods from a sarcophagus burial in the Büyükbelen Valley.	211
C.3. Small lion statue from Temrek.	217
C.4. View of the "Tomb of St. Charalambos" or the "Tomb of Tantalus."	220
C.5. Small lion statue from Manisa.	221
C.6. Small lion statue from Manisa.	221
C.7. Partial grave assemblage from a sarcophagus burial in Tekeliler.	223
C.8. Assorted finds recovered from Gölarmara.	225
C.9. Frontal view of the small lion statue from Beyoba.	226
C.10. Small lion statue from Akhisar.	228
C.11. Small lion statue from Selçikli.	229
C.12. Monuments in the Kahraman neighborhood of Gelenbe.	232
C.13. Bronze fibula and orange stone bead from Altınlı, Soma.	232
C.14. Selection of Middle Lydian pottery from Yeşilkavak.	235
C.15. Stele with Aramaic inscription from Kemaliye.	236
C.16. Small lion statue from Alaşehir.	237
C.17. A (fake?) Croesid half-stater and a Type III siglos from the Girelli Hoard.	238
C.18. Selection of Middle and Late Lydian pottery from Tilki Höyük.	239

List of Figures

C.19. Gold jewelry from a sarcophagus burial in the Tilkitepe tumulus.	239
C.20. Partial grave assemblage(s) from Gökçeler, below Şahankaya.	241
C.21. Sling bullet of Tissaphernes recovered from Kayacık.	242
C.22. Stele with Aramaic inscription from Kenger.	245
C.23. Small lion statue from Kula.	246
C.24. Selection of sigloi from the "Treasure of Körez" from Ortaköy.	248

List of Tables

2.1. Chronological phases in Lydia.	<i>page</i> 12
3.1. Areas devoted to cultivation in İzmir, Manisa, and Uşak.	51
3.2. Geographic distribution of area-specific resources in Lydia.	55
4.1. Lydian chronological phases correlated to Sardis.	62
5.1. Dates and types of sites in central Lydia, excluding Sardis.	96
5.2. Chronological phasing of narrowly dated sites in central Lydia.	101
5.3. Dates and types of sites in greater Lydia.	104
5.4. Chronological phasing of narrowly dated sites in greater Lydia.	110

Preface

After twenty years of excavations at Sardis, G. M. A. Hanfmann, the founder of the Sardis expedition, wrote:

The most urgent need is for more information about Lydia as a region. Through the work of the present Harvard-Cornell expedition and the previous American effort, something has become known about Sardis, capital of Lydia; yet we need excavations at other key sites – both those cited by ancient authors and inscriptions such as Hypaepa and Karoura; and those as yet nameless but known from preliminary archaeological explorations. . . . (Hanfmann 1978, 24)

With the excavations at Sardis now just past their fiftieth year, regional understanding of the archaeology of Lydia is, only recently, gaining clarity. Dispersed excavations of the type Hanfmann advocated remain an ideal to which we can and should aspire. In their absence, however, evidence stemming primarily from surface investigations can tell us quite a lot, especially when juxtaposed with data recovered from the long-term excavations at Sardis.

This book has grown from regional research conducted for my doctoral dissertation at Cornell University (2003) on the subject of settlement in greater Lydia. That research is supplemented by the results of an ongoing project called the Central Lydia Archaeological Survey (CLAS), which, since its first season in 2005, has aimed to elucidate the archaeology of the immediate environs of Sardis surrounding the Gygaean Lake. It is my continuing hope that additional surveys and, perhaps, excavations will be initiated soon to address Hanfmann's thirty-year-old yet still urgent call for archaeological work outside Sardis; such work has great potential to broaden in scope and detail, if not to correct, the introduction that this book aims to provide to the vastly rich archaeology of Lydia.

My introduction to and interest in the archaeology of Lydia came from my studies at Cornell University and were happily perpetuated during

Preface

fieldwork at Sardis. To past graduate mentors at Cornell (especially A. and N. Ramage, P. I. Kuniholm, and K. Clinton) and to Sardis teams past and present (especially former and current field directors C. H. Greenewalt, jr., and N. D. Cahill, as well as C. S. Alexander, E. Gombosi, K. Keifer, P. T. Stinson, C. Şentürk, and T. Yalçinkaya), many profuse thanks for your stimulating intellectual encouragement and often heroic help.

For permissions to conduct fieldwork and museum research in Turkey and to publish the same, and for assistance in acquiring permissions and in conducting research, I am extremely grateful to the following institutions and individuals: the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums of Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism (especially M. Ayaz, T. Selçuk, and A. Usta); the U.S. Embassy in Ankara (E. McKay, Z. Sıncıl, S. Taşkın, and A. Turgay); the Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC (O. Ersoy and Z. Yavuzkan); the American Research Institute in Turkey (N. Leinwand, G. K. Sams, and B. Yıldırım); the British Institute at Ankara (R. Matthews and L. Vandeput); the Manisa and Uşak Museums (M. Tosunbaş, S. Atukeren, and E. Torunlar, as well as K. Akbıyıkoglu, S. Alpaslan-Arça, H. Arça, B. Aydın, H. Dedeoğlu, S. Doğan, U. Hoşgören, and M. and N. Önder, formerly of these museums); the Bergama Museum (M. A. Sarioğlu and S. Soyaker); the Ödemiş Museum (S. Çetin and, formerly, Y. Akkan); and the Tire Museum (E. Üçbaylar). For additional assistance with illustrations and publication permissions, I thank the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis (especially N. D. Cahill, E. Gombosi, and K. Keifer); the Austrian Archaeological Institute (R. Risy); R. A. Bridges, Jr.; H. Malay; İ. Özgen; F. Ünal; and the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University (S. T. Kenfield).

Research for this book was by no means a solo effort. I would like to acknowledge and thank the many generous sponsors of my research in central and greater Lydia, including the National Science Foundation (grant number 0649981), the American Research Institute in Turkey, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, the Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation, the Humanities Foundation and the Special Program for Research Initiation Grants at Boston University, a Graduate Summer Research Fellowship and the Wilde, William, and Mary Fellowship at Cornell University, and many anonymous donors.

For their hard work and enumerable contributions, I am indebted also to the participants of and consultants for the 2001 tumulus survey and the 2005–2008 Central Lydia Archaeological Survey seasons (C. Luke, H. Alkan, E. P. Baughan, M. R. Besonen, M. T. Boulanger, N. D. Cahill, K. C. Cooney, Ç. Çilingiroğlu, M. Glascock, C. H. Greenewalt, jr., S. T. Karacik,

Preface

N. P. Özgüner, A. Ramage, M. L. Rautman, N. Y. Rifkind, C. Runnels, M. N. Sneeringer, D. Sullivan, B. R. Vining, C. A. Wait, and N. P. Wolff), as well as to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism representatives for the same (J. Dedeoğlu, N. İşci, E. Yılmaz, E. Özçelik, and F. Ünal of the Aya Sofya, İsparta, Samsun, Eskişehir, and Bursa Museums, respectively). Although never listed as formal participants in most research projects, I thank also the many local villagers, farmers, and shepherds whom we encountered in areas spread throughout Lydia; to those strangers who often wander across their paths, they have always shown most congenial hospitality in offering access to land and in sharing local perspectives on the history and archaeology of the region.

Additionally, for encouragement and support on the wide range of research topics that inform this book and/or for other research and logistical assistance, I am thankful to T. Bakır-Akbaşoğlu, H. Aksakal, T. Asena, S. Ateşlier, R. L. and U. Bengisu, A. Çiligirolu, R. Dinç, E. Doğer, C. Draycott, E. Erlat, A. Goldman, R. G. Gürtekin-Demir, İ. Kayan, F. S. Kleiner, E. Kohler, T. Kor, O. Muscarella, G. Polat, D. Stronach, T. Şare, C. Tanrıver, and R. Tekoğlu.

This book has benefited greatly from the instructive and essential comments of readers of earlier drafts. I extend a very special thanks to these readers (including N. D. Cahill, E. R. M. Dusingberre, P. I. and E. Kuniholm, and C. Luke), as well as to the reviewers solicited by Cambridge University Press, and to the readers of earlier drafts of particular sections or chapters (including S. Aro, R. L. Bengisu, A. E. Crawford, K. Januszkiewicz, D. A. Nieciecki, and N. P. Özgüner). Although their suggestions have done much to improve the book, I take full responsibility for any errors of fact or problems of interpretation that may remain.

Finally, I am extremely grateful for the strong support, encouragement, and understanding patience of my family – both extended and nuclear. Heartfelt thanks to all, especially to Christina and the boys, without whom this book would have been far less enjoyable to research or write.