Lords of Asia Minor: An Introduction to the Lydians. By Annick Payne and Jorit Wintjes. Philippika, vol. 93. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016. Pp. x + 144, illus. €29.80 (paper).

The Lydians stand at the threshold of Western historiography thanks to Herodotus's judgment (1.5) that the Persian Wars began with Croesus's reduction of Asiatic Greeks to tributary subjection. Nonetheless they have not always attracted the attention that their status as a pre-Persian regional power in Anatolia arguably warrants. Much of Radet 1893 has been superseded, but the enterprise in which he was engaged has not been matched in the modern era, notwithstanding Pedley's catalogue of literary sources (Pedley 1972), other volumes arising from the Sardis Expedition's activities, Roosevelt's *Archaeology of Lydia* (Roosevelt 2009) or works by Balcer (1984) and Dusinberre (2003, 2013) on Achaemenid Lydia and its antecedents. The glory days of the Lydian kingdom remain an elusive prequel to the arrival of Iranian power on the shores of the Aegean. This is the gap that Payne and Wintjes seek to fill.

Chapter one (pp. 5–45) introduces the written non-documentary sources (largely Greek literary texts), describes the geography of Lydia, and notes the mismatch between Herodotus's implicit chronology and the anchorage provided by Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts. On this last matter the authors are rightly not drawn into the complex discussion of the chronographic tradition's treatment of Lydian dynastic dating. The description of Lydia's geography is useful (though the cartography is poor), but the idea raised earlier (pp. 5–6) of a problematic tension between Lydia as geopolitical entity and Lydia as the area where Lydian was spoken is not pursued here or elsewhere. Perhaps it is, after all, a non-problem, but, in framing it, the authors have not acknowledged recent approaches to ancient geography and ethnography (Skinner 2013, Almagor and Skinner 2013).

This section also sits awkwardly within a historical overview: the material would more naturally belong separately and earlier. The bulk of the chapter has six sections, dealing with prehistory (1.5), three royal dynasties—Atyad (1.6), Heraclid (1.7), Mermnad (1.8–1.9)—and post-Lydian Lydia (1.10). The last gallops through four centuries in under two pages (incidentally, the statement on p. 55 that Achaeus was the son of Antiochus III is startling), while the first concludes that the Lydians' relation to the Maeonians of Greek texts or the Luwians of Anatolian linguistics and the circumstances of their emergence as a distinct ethno-linguistic group remain unclear.

In between, the authors rehearse the contents of written sources. They are well aware that these are increasingly mythical as one goes back in time, that in the long run people were more interested in Croesus than his predecessors, and that no surviving text set out to write the history of pre-Achaemenid Lydia. They present what material there is, but the presentation is not accompanied by much sophistication in the reading of literary sources or historical myth-making.

The treatment of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is particularly worrying: the innocent reader will not readily grasp that, although both Herodotus and Xenophon may be tricky witnesses about mid-sixth-century Anatolia, *Histories* and *Cyropaedia* are not entirely comparable literary confections. Meanwhile, an introduction should explain more about the nature and contents of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts and their contribution to tying down Mermnads and Cimmerians, and more could have been squeezed out of Xanthus: there is, e.g., no treatment of 765 F4, on which light has been cast by Lydia Matthews (2015)—with implications for our understanding not only of eunuchs but also of Xanthus.

The second chapter deals with "Sardis and the Archaeology of Lydia" (pp. 47–62). Organized archaeological exploration of Sardis began over one hundred years ago, and Europeans had intermittently engaged with the site since the Middle Ages. That engagement is outlined in "Lydia Rediscovered" (2.2), which offers interesting material not found in Roosevelt's 2009 monograph. His monograph is, however, much in evidence in the presentation of Sardian and Lydian archaeology in 2.3–2.4, for which it serves as virtually the sole point of reference. Perhaps there is no harm in that: Roosevelt's book *is* an authoritative and well-documented guide.

But in any event, as the authors stress, archaeological information is limited. Although it far surpasses surviving textual evidence in quantity, it represents a tiny sample because of the comparative lack of material from sites outside Sardis and restricted coverage of Sardis itself. As to the latter, the authors report that "only around 1% of the area of ancient Sardis has actually been properly excavated":

this misquotes Roosevelt (2009: 59), who speaks of less than 1% of "Lydian Sardis" and is himself summarizing Cahill's more precise report (2008: 116) that about "3% of the area of Sardis" and "0.7% of the roughly 108 ha area enclosed by the Lydian and Roman fortifications" have received attention. Of course, all of these are very small figures. It is strange that the authors do not comment on why the resources available for Lydian archaeology have been so heavily focused toward a tiny part of a single site. More seriously, we miss reference to important remarks about the location of the city at different periods and the consequences of the Persian takeover in Cahill 2008.

Chapter three, "The Lydian Language" (pp. 62–71), starts with Lydian's relationship to other Anatolian languages, i.e., Hittite, Palaic, and Luwic (Luwian, Lycian, Carian, Sidetic, and Pisidian)—a question that remains controversial (p. 62). Lydian grammar is reasonably well understood, even though many forms are unattested, but vocabulary is limited by the small size of the extant text corpus, and the semantics of the language are far from clear. Sections 3.2–3.4 offer basic information about Lydian phonology, morphology, and syntax—too basic for the serious Anatolian linguist but useful for ordinary readers trying to relate a transliterated Lydian text to an existing translation. (As non-linguists we cannot comment on its accuracy.)

This brief chapter is succeeded by a longer one (chap. four, pp. 73–86) that addresses the epichoric epigraphic documents—though not before reporting on the history of Lydian language scholarship and presenting the Lydian alphabet, topics that might properly have figured in chapter three. Perhaps the two chapters could have been combined, but arguably basic facts about the epigraphic corpus—size, distribution, chronological range—should have been a prelude to the account of what scholarship has wrested from it by graphic and linguistic analysis. This is all the more so since, when we reach the inscriptions, we get just three samples (LW 20, LW 54, and LW 1).

The wish to illustrate the dedications and funerary inscriptions that dominate the corpus is understandable, and the role of the Aramaic-Lydian bilingual LW 1 in the decipherment of Lydian makes its inclusion natural but, since the authors cannot limit themselves to the Lydian Kingdom era (all three items are of Achaemenid date, as are most Lydian texts), the unusual pair of Mitridastas inscriptions (LW 23–24) might have been worth advertising. But any sampling of this sort inevitably seems random.

The translation of LW 54 produces a strange protective curse which does not stipulate the punishment for a future tomb-violator: Dusinberre's translation (2003: 232) does not have this feature, but the authors do not explain why this is impossible. The comment on provenance of texts (p. 81) should draw explicit attention to the remarkable discovery of a Lydian inscription at the Phrygian satrapal capital Celaenae (Ivantchik and Adiego 2015, miscited on p. 77 as Adiego-Ivantchik 2015, one of several bibliographic glitches).

With chapter five (pp. 87–115) we reach "The Lydian Civilisation," which turns out to consist of money, religion, and burial customs—not unreasonable choices, as there are distinctively Lydian phenomena here, and their presentation offers further exposure to archaeological and (especially) epigraphic material. But the impression created is rather cold. The contemporary Greek sense of the kingdom's association with beautiful, grand, or luxurious things and people (Sappho frr. 16, 39, 98, 121, 132, Hipponax frr. 42, 104, Alcman fr. 16, Xenophanes fr. 3) deserves full acknowledgment as evidence about Lydian civilization, and the intensity of Greco-Lydian cultural interaction could be further foregrounded as one of its characteristics. Hipponax, incidentally, quoted Lydian words (fr. 92) and knew what Payne and Sasseville (2016) now reveal in LW 40: that Lydian Athena was called Malis (fr. 40). On a different ethno-religious front, Zeus Baradates is *not* Ahura Mazda (p. 104): see Briant 1998.

A slight final chapter touches on reception (pp. 117–19). Croesus is important as a symbol of wealth (but the trope began with Gyges: Archilochus fr. 19), but there is also room for Gyges's ring and the titillating possibilities of Candaules's wife. Keiser's excellent *Croesus* is rightly mentioned (not just "still occasionally performed today" but magnificently recorded by René Jacobs), and the final exhibit is "Sardis," a five-movement symphony commissioned by C. H. Greenewalt. All of which is fun, but merely a colorful *envoi* for a book that has no more serious-minded conclusion.

That is appropriate, since this *Introduction to the Lydians* does not offer particularly deep insight into Lydian history. Still, it records some recent results of Lydian scholarship (and the associated bibliography) and will be useful as a starting point for those new to the subject.

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Von Meroe bis Indien: Fremdvölkerlisten und nubische Gabenträger in den griechisch-römischen Tempeln. By HOLGER KOCKELMANN and ALEXA RICKERT. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion, vol. 12. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG, 2015. Pp. x + 357, 6 pls. €128.

Der vorliegende Band vereint zwei Untersuchungen, die im Projekt "Der Tempel als Kanon der religiösen Literatur Ägyptens" entstanden sind. Der erste Teil stammt aus der Feder von Holger Kockelmann und setzt sich mit "Die Fremdvölkerlisten in den Soubassements der ptolemäisch-römischen Heiligtümer. Feindnamen und Feindvernichtungsrituale im Tempel zwischen Tradition und Wandel" (S. 3–144) auseinander. Der sich anschließende Beitrag von Alexa Rickert trägt den Titel "Ein Blick nach Süden: Die Prozessionen der nubischen Städte und Regionen in Philae" (S. 145–292). Angeschlossen sind eine Bibliographie (S. 293–334) und ein Index (S. 335–57), der Quellen, Objekte und Wörter beinhaltet.

Kockelmann beginnt seine Untersuchung mit einer generellen Einleitung zum Thema Feindwesen und deren Vernichtung sowie einer Hinführung zu den behandelten Fremdvölkerlisten (S. 3–6), deren Anbringungsorte danach beschrieben werden (S. 7–8). Im Folgenden werden die verschiedenen Textzeugen der Fremdvölkerlisten, die aus den Tempeln von Xois (Saḫā), Kumir, Isnā und Kūm Umbū stammen, umfassend behandelt und nach ihrer äußeren Gestaltung, ihrer Datierung und ihren Inhalten betrachtet (S. 9–25). Die Ikonographie bzw. deren Darstellungskonvention kann in Ägypten bereits bis