

THE CAMPAIGN OF CROESUS AGAINST EPHEBUS: HISTORICAL & ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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SUMMARY

This paper will reconsider the archaeological excavations of the Artemision and the City of Ephesus. Uncovered fragments of Greek and Lydian inscriptions indicate that Croesus made offerings to the sanctuary. Considering the Lydian inscription, we can suggest a new interpretation in light of the works dealing with the Lydian kings' onomastic. This paper will also reconsider the results of excavations of the Archaic City, for which no defensive wall has ever been uncovered so far. Thus, the comments of Herodotus and even Polyaeus cannot find any archaeological confirmation. Moreover, it appears that the story of the rope linking the Artemision to the City of Ephesus has probably been a fictional tale written by Herodotus in his *Histories* (then repeated by Polyaeus). Eventually, it seems that Croesus never besieged the city, because Ephesus surrendered to the Lydian king without any conflict.

Keywords: Croesus, Ephesus, Herodotus, Polyaeus, Artemision, Lydian Kingdom.

INTRODUCTION

In the Lydian *logos* of his Book I, Herodotus relates that the Lydian king Croesus began his reign with a succession of military campaigns against the Greek cities of Asia Minor (Herodotus I, 26). Ephesus, controlled by its tyrant Pindar,¹ was the first Greek city he attacked.

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¹ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* III, 26 and Polyaeus, *Stratagemata* VI, 50.

During the struggle for the Lydian throne between Croesus and his half-brother Pantaleon (Herodotus I, 92) the Ephesus' tyrant was on Pantaleon's side. That's why the campaign of Croesus against Ephesus (as well as the campaign against Glaucias, who sought refuge in Sidene) (Strabo XIII, 1, 42) can be considered as vengeance campaigns just after the last Mermnad seized the power.

In this paper, attention will be placed on Ephesus. So that the reader may better understand the following pages, we will first analyze the location of the City of Ephesus during the archaic period.

LOCATION OF THE ANCIENT CITY

The location of Ephesus during the archaic period cannot be attributed to one specific location.² In view of the archaeological excavations (Fig. 1), one first area of occupancy dating from the archaic times was found on the Ayasoluk Hill (overlooking the Artemision, east of the Panayır Dağ). Two more areas were found (Fig. 1): the first was west, between the Panayır Dağ (ancient Mount Koressos) and the Bulbul Dağ; and the second was north of the Mount Koressos (under the Hellenistic *Tetragonos Agora*).

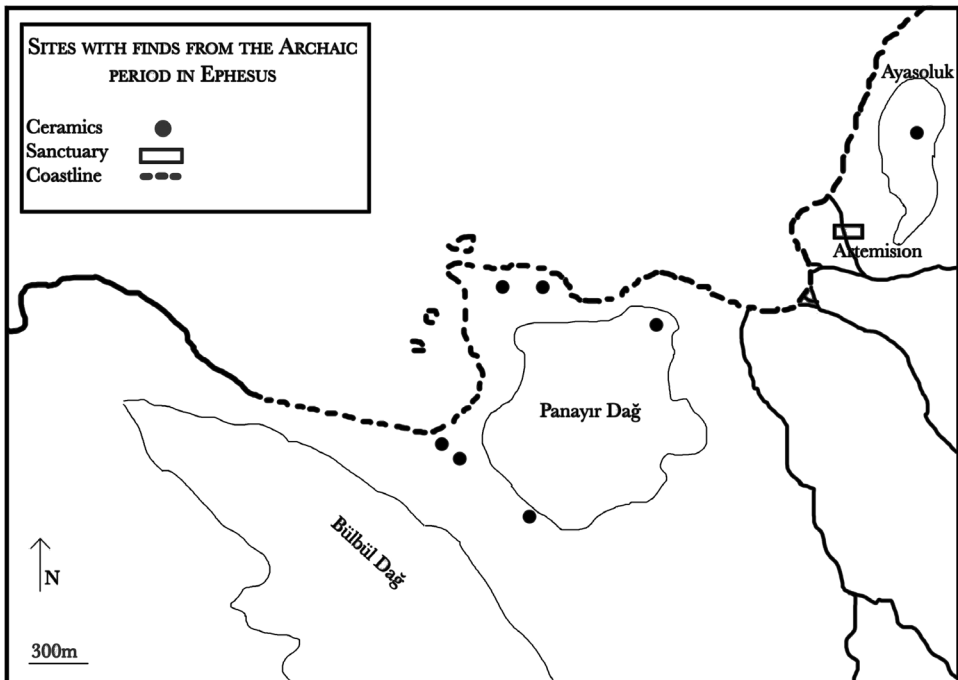


Fig. 1. Sites with finds from the archaic period in Ephesus. Map of the author on the basis of Kerschner et al. 2008: pl. 51-52.

² One of the main reasons is the drastic change of the landscape linked to the modification of Cayster River's course. See Kraft et al. 2007; 2011, p. 27-36.

On the other hand, a fortification system from the Hellenistic Period was also uncovered on the Ayasoluk Hill (Kerschner 2016: 346-348). This area would have been occupied continuously from the Bronze Age (the Apaša of the Hittites) to the Hellenistic Period. According to the Archaeologist Mustafa Büyükkolancı, Ayasoluk was the settlement of the Archaic Ephesus, until the hypothetical population displacement organized by Croesus.³ More recently, because of the archaeological discoveries, Michael Kerschner has stated that the *παλαιὰ πόλις* mentioned by Herodotus (I, 26) should be localized on the Ayasoluk Hill (Kerschner 2016: 341-346).

Between the Panayır Dağ and the Bulbul Dağ, an entire area has been uncovered, the occupation of which was continued from the 8th century BC. Moreover, on the northeast flanks of the Panayır Dağ, a fortification wall has been unearthed. Before the excavation campaigns of 2008/2009 led by Michael Kerschner, the archaeologists thought that this wall dated back to 500 BC and belonged to a refuge or shelter fortress (this fortress would have encompassed a wide 9 hectares area),⁴ but we now know that this fortification wall can be dated around 400 BC (Kerschner 2016: 340). The terrace zone located north of the Panayır Dağ was already occupied since the second half of the 7th century BC (Vergnaud 2012: 68-69; Kerschner 2016: 340).

In a nutshell, during the Archaic times, Ephesus would have been organized around three zones: the first on the Ayasoluk Hill (the *παλαιὰ πόλις*), the second on the northwest of the Panayır Dağ, under the *Tetragonos Agora*, and the third on the Panayır Dağ (Kerschner 2016: 343-344). Anyhow, it is important to highlight that it seems that the city wouldn't have had any fortified walls before the Hellenistic times (Vergnaud 2012: 69-70).

According to Herodotus (I, 26), we learn that Ephesus was located at seven stadiums (around 1300 meters)⁵ from the Artemision. Yet, the terrace occupied since the 7th century BC on the Panayır Dağ, is indeed located at seven stadiums from the Artemision (following the archaic shore). Similarly, the area under the *Tetragonos Agora*, north of the Koressos is also situated at seven stadiums (as the crow flies).⁶

³ For Ayasoluk see especially Büyükkolancı 2000: 39-43; 2007: 21-26. On the Archaic remains identified in *Smyrna* area, see Kerschner et al. 2000: 45-53. On the Geometric and Archaic occupation in the sector of Panayır Dağ, see Kerschner et al. 2008 and 2016. See also F. Stock et al. 2014: 33-66.

⁴ Kerschner et al. 2008, The city of Ephesos from the late Bronze Age to its re-foundation by Lysimachus, <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/settlement-archaeology-and-urbanism/ephesos-pre-hellenistic-settlement-history/> (visited 20/09/2018).

⁵ One stadium amounts 600 feet. There were several standards of foot length during Herodotus' times. Indeed, 1 Attic foot is worth 29.6 cm, the Olympic foot 32 cm and the Doric foot 32.7 cm. Thus, 1 stadium can be worth between 177.6 meters, 192 meters and 196.2 meters. See Geus 2012: 151. Henceforth, the distance of seven stadiums would correspond to a distance of 1243.2 meters, 1344 meters or 1373.4 meters.

⁶ From the Artemision, the Ayasoluk Hill is located before the seven stadiums mentioned by Herodotus. See Kraft et al. 2007: 130. The area north of the Koressos, under the *Tetragonos Agora*, is situated at 7 stadiums from the Artemision as crow flies. At the times of Herodotus, the coast had receded. Thus, the distance as the crow flies was the same as following the coast, unlike the distance between the temple and the terrace zone,

But given the *παλαιὰ πόλις*, besieged by Croesus, was located on the Ayasoluk Hill, it seems likely that the distance of seven stadiums mentioned by Herodotus, is a symbolic number like Robert Wallace pointed out (Wallace 2016: 171; Kerschner 2016: 344). As we will see below, only Herodotus gives a distance between the Artemision and the *παλαιὰ πόλις* of Ephesus.

THE CROESUS' CAMPAIGN

Let's begin the analysis of the episode by remembering what the ancient sources tell us about this event.

According to Herodotus (I, 26):

The first Greeks whom he [Croesus] attacked were the Ephesians. These, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs [stadiums] away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged.⁷

Aelian, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD tells us more in details:

When his [Pindar] maternal uncle Croesus was conquering Ionia and had sent envoys to Pindar to demand that Ephesus submit to him, the request was refused and Croesus began a siege of the city. When one of the fortification towers was destroyed – it was known as *The Tower of Treason* – and he could see disaster looming, Pindar advised the Ephesians to attach cords from the city gates and towers to the columns of the Temple – as if they were consecrating the city to Artemis. He hoped by this means to ensure that Ephesus would not be captured [...]. Croesus is said to have laughed and accepted the stratagem in good part, allowing the Ephesians unmolested freedom, while he ordered Pindar to leave the city [...].⁸

where the traveller could not walk in a straight line until the sanctuary, the see moving inland. See the maps de Kerschner et al. 2008: 50-53.

⁷ Herodotus I, 26: “ὅς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρότοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάμαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι.” (Godley. Loeb).

⁸ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* III, 26: “Ἐπεὶ γὰρ Κροῖσος ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ θεῖος καταστρεφόμενος τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πίνδαρον πρεσβείαν ἀπέστειλεν ἀξιῶν Ἐφεσίους ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπέισθη, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν Κροῖσος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τις τῶν πύργων ἀνετράπη ὁ κληθεὶς ὕστερον Προδότης, καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρα τὸ δεινόν, συνεβούλευεν ὁ Πίνδαρος Ἐφεσίοις ἐκδήσαντας ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῶν τειχῶν θώμιγγας συνάψαι τοῖς κίοσι τοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεώ, οἰοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀνάθημα ἑῶντας εἶναι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἀσυλίαν διὰ τούτων ἐπινοῶν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ [...]. Προβαλλομένων δὲ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν τῶν Ἐφεσίων γελάσαντά φασι τὸν Κροῖσον καὶ δεξάμενον πρῶως τὸ στρατηγηθὲν τοῖς μὲν Ἐφεσίοις συγχωρῆσαι τὴν μετ’ ἐλευθερίας ἀσφάλειαν, τῷ δὲ Πινδάρῳ προστάξει τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. [...].” (Wilson. Loeb).

Polyaenus, in his *Stratagemata* dedicated to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (2nd century AD) relates that:

Croesus the Lydian was besieging Ephesus, when one of the towers, the one called "traitor", fell down, and the fear of capture was in their eyes. Pindaros, the tyrant of the city, advised the Ephesians to tie strings from the towers and the walls to the columns of the temple of Artemis, as though dedicating the city to the goddess. Honoring the goddess, Croesus spared the city as a dedication and made a treaty with the Ephesians leaving them their freedom.⁹

Thanks to these historians from different periods, we know that at the beginning of Croesus' reign, the tyrant Pindar was at the head of Ephesus. Pindar, Greek by his father, was the nephew of Croesus since his mother was one of Alyattes' daughters (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* III, 26). It should be noted that family bounds between Ephesus' tyrants and the Mermnads dated back to Gyges, for he gave his daughter in marriage to Melas "the Elder", forebears of Melas "the Younger", father of Pindar (Nicolas of Damascus F 63. The nickname "the Younger" is given by Gustave Glotz. See Glotz 1925: 273).

During his time, Georges Radet described the several family links between these two families: Miletos, grandson of Melas, son-in-law of Gyges, had married one of Ardys' daughters (Lyde, sister and future wife of Sadyattes)¹⁰, as Melas the Younger had married one of Alyattes' daughters.¹¹

A hypothesis would be that Melas the Younger had also offered to Alyattes one of his daughters (or sisters)¹² who would be Pantaleon's mother, in order to

⁹ Polyaenus, *Stratagemata* VI, 50: "Κροΐσου τοῦ Λυδοῦ πολιορκουόντος Ἐφεσον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν πύργων τις, ὁ προδότης κληθεὶς, ἔπεσε καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἦν, Πίνδαρος ὁ τυραννεύων τῆς πόλεως συνεβούλευσε τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῶν τειχῶν θώμιγγας συνάψαι τοῖς κίοσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ὥσπερ ἀνατιθέντας τῇ θεᾷ τὴν πόλιν. Κροῖσος τιμῶν τὴν θεὸν ἐφείσατο τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ ἀναθήματος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο." (Krentz & Wheeler).

¹⁰ The name of Lyde is given by Xenophilos *FGrH* 767 F1: Λύδη. ταύτην φησὶν Ξενοφίλος ὁ τὰς Λυδικὰς ἱστορίας γράψας γυναῖκά τε καὶ ἀδελφὴν εἶναι Ἀλυάττω τοῦ Κροΐσου προπάτορος. [...], "Lyde, according the words of Xenophilos, who has written histories about Lydia, is the wife and the sister of Alyattes, ancestor of Croesus [...]".

¹¹ Radet 1893, p. 82-83, 134. Radet relies on Nicolaus of Damascus, F 63: "Ὅτι Σαδυάττης ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς, Ἀλυάττω παῖς, ἦν μὲν τὰ πολέμια γενναῖος, ἄλλως δὲ ἀκόλαστος. καὶ γὰρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν, γυναῖκα Μιλήτου ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου, καλέσας ἐφ' ἱερὰ βία ἤσχυεν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὴν ἴσχει γυναῖκα. Ὁ δὲ Μίλητος ἦν Μέλανος τοῦ Γύγου γαμβροῦ ἀπόγονος. δυσανασχετῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, φεύγων ὄχρετο εἰς Δασκύλιον. Σαδυάττης δὲ κάκειθεν αὐτὸν ἐξέωσεν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Προκόνησον. Σαδυάττης δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἔγημεν ἐτέρας δύο γυναῖκας ἀλλήλαις ἀδελφάς, καὶ ἴσχει παῖδας ἐκ μὲν τῆς Αττάλην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἄδραμυν νόθους, ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς γνήσιον Ἀλυάττην."

¹² Like the intermarriage between the Medes and the Lydians (where Aryenis married Astyages and Alyattes to Cyaxares' daughter), we know that type of wedding was common among

strengthen the bounds between those two families. That would explain why Pindar had supported Pantaleon's faction during the struggle for Alyattes' succession, and why Croesus attacked directly the Ephesians once he seized the throne.

Concerning the capture of the City of Ephesus, we will note that, according to Aelian, Croesus undertook the siege after Pindar refused to surrender, despite the dispatch of an embassy (πρεσβείαν). During this campaign, a tower (later called the "Traitor") collapsed. And, facing this fright, Pindar would have advised the Ephesians to link a cable from the city walls to the neighboring Artemision, in order to ensure the city's consecration and thus the goddess' protection. Thank to this stratagem, the Ephesians would have forced Croesus to spare the city but the Lydian king ordered his nephew to leave the city. It seems, furthermore, that Ephesus was the home to a mixed population of Greeks and Anatolians including Lydians (continuously since the first settlements of the Greeks communities in Asia Minor) (Crielaard 2009: 55-57).

It seems that, without this trick that endowed Ephesus a sacred dimension, Croesus would have destroyed the city, like Alyattes who had wrecked the city of Smyrna (Herodotus I, 26; Strabo XIV, 1, 37. For the archaeology, see Cook 1985: 25-28). Furthermore, this subterfuge would have also led Croesus to negotiate with Pindar, to spare even the population as well as the city.

These are the circumstances that would have brought Croesus to make his first treaty (συνθήκας) with the neighboring Greeks (Polyaenus VI, 50).

Now, let's focus on the Artemision of Ephesus that played an important part during this conflict.

The Artemision of Ephesus

According to Herodotus, Aelian and Polyaenus, the Ephesians would have tied the temple of Artemis to the city walls with a cable. Let's now examine, by means of archaeology, what the condition of the building was during the campaign of Croesus.

Thanks to the different archaeological excavations led since 1863 by the British and the Austrians archaeologists (Greaves 2010: 24), we do know that from the Geometric Period (even from the Mycenaean times), there was worship to Artemis at the location of the Archaic and Classical temple (Bammer 1990: 142). We already know that the Lydians paid special attention to the Artemis temple: Lydian coins from the late 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries BC were found (Bammer 1990: 150; Kerschner 2017: 53-54). More, the Lydians from Sardis used to worship Artemis in Sardis, for archaic inscriptions in Lydian testified the existence of one Artemis temple in the Lydian capital (Dusinberre 2003: 229-230: inscriptions B. 23; F. 23; B. 24; F. 24). Moreover, in Sardis, Artemis was designated by *Sardiane* or *sfardak*

the Oriental kingdoms: See Briant 1996: 35; Leloux 2016. That kind of wedding between Greeks and Anatolians was already frequent during the settlement of the Greeks on the Anatolian coast (Herodotus I, 146; Pausanias VII, 2). See Roebuck 1959: 30-33.

in Lydian language.¹³ Finally, Lydian priestesses used to profess in the Artemision of Ephesus during the fifth century BC (Aristophanes *The Clouds*, v. 598-600). We defend the idea that the presence of the Lydian priestess in Ephesus could date back to ancient times, before the time of Croesus, when the Lydian kings and the authorities of Ephesus kept up cordial relations (Hanfmann 1975: 10-11; Kerschner 2010: 261; Kerschner 2017: 55-56).

On the basis of all these facts gained from both the archaeological evidence and the literature regarding the time, we can deduce that the Ephesians and the Lydians had friendly relationships until Pindar's fall. The place was considered by both sides to be the most favorable for meetings and trade, as there were Greek and Lydian workshops close to the Artemision (see Kerschner 2010: 259-261; Kerschner 2017: 55). After the city fell under the Lydian influence, the strategy undertaken by Croesus was different.

According to some scholars, on the strength of Strabo (Karwiese 1995; Bammer 1990; Bammer 1991; Muss 2008: 49; Bammer–Muss 1996: 42-44; Kerschner 2016: 345-346), Croesus ordered the population (nothing is said about their ethnic origin), who was established on the hills, to go down in order to settle near the temple of Artemis:

Now Ephesus was thus inhabited until the time of Croesus, but later, the people came down from the mountainside and abode round the present temple until the time of Alexander.

Moreover, according to the same scholars, after he took the city, Croesus decided to destroy all the previous sacred buildings (like the monumental Archaic altar [previously called Hecatompodon], the Northern altar and the temples B and C) (Bammer 1991: 83; Knibbe 1995: 143-144). With this radical strategy, and the "synoecism"¹⁴ that followed, the old aristocratic clans and their designated places of worship would have vanished (Bammer-Muss 1996: 42-44; Muss 2008: 49).

The Lydian king would have then initiated the construction of a new temple, to which he had dedicated most of the columns, still according Herodotus (I, 92).

More recently, according to the Austrian archaeologist Michael Kerschner (Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 101-107; Kerschner 2017: 49-51), Anton Bammer

¹³ The Archaic temple of Sardis is still uncovered. It is likely that it was encompassed in the *Lydian Altar*, dating to end of the 6th century BC: See Roosevelt 2009: 80; Kerschner 2008: 225; Greenewalt 2010: 234; *The Altar of Artemis. The Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Digital Resource Center*. <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/about-lydian-altar> (Visited 20/09/2018); Kerschner 2017: 55-56.

¹⁴ For Bammer et Muss, this population displacement from the Koressos to the Artemision, would be a synoecism. See Bammer-Muss 1996: 42–44. A synoecism is a merger a one or several sovereign cities (*poleis*) in order to constitute only one city. The most famous case is Athens, made, by tradition, by Theseus (Thucydides II, 15, 2), in fact, more likely achieved during the 7th century BC. Others cases are attested by literary sources: Elis in 471 BC (Diodorus Siculus XI, 54, 1; Strabo VIII, 3, 2), Rhodos in 408 BC (Diodorus Siculus XIII, 75, 1), etc. About synoecisms and sympoliteia, see Morgan 2003: 171-176; Giovannini 2007: 244-245.

would be totally wrong. Actually, Croesus would have never decided to destroy all the prior sacred places by building the new temple of Artemis. More, the proposals of Anton Bammer are based on no literary or epigraphic sources (Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 95-96). In fact, it seems that the construction of the new temple of Artemis would have started around 580-570 BC,¹⁵ well before Croesus ascended to the throne.¹⁶

The Kroisostempel, would have replaced an "intermediate" building of moderate size, likely without *peristasis* (without columns) (Kerschner 2017: 57-58). The second *sekos* would not have been completed before the beginning of the archaic temple building (Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 82-84). Without going into details, we should note that Greeks and Lydians were known to work side by side during the construction (Kerschner 2010: 257; Kerschner 2017: 59).

Therefore, when Croesus, succeeded his father and offered the columns engraved with his name to the temple, the latter was under reconstruction. Furthermore Strabo's testimony, stating the population displacement proceeded by Croesus (Strabo XIV, 1, 21), encounters no archaeological confirmation: no other building was uncovered around the Artemision (Kerschner et al. 2008; Vergnaud 2012: 68-69 and 294).

The temple excavations uncovered four fragments with Greek inscriptions (Fig. 2) and one fragment with Lydian inscription (Fig. 3). These inscriptions are recognized to be the dedication of Croesus during the temple's consecration.¹⁷ The Greek fragments came from marble columns and can be read, by the editors, as "King Croesus dedicated this"

1. [Βασιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν]
2. [Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέ]θηκ[εν]
3. Βα[σιλεὺς Κροῖσος] ἀν[έθηκεν]
4. [Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκ]εν¹⁸

¹⁵ He relies on the works of the archaeologist Aenne Ohnesorg who dated, with convincing arguments, the beginning of construction of the temple by Croesus during the years 570 BC. See Ohnesorg 2007: 128.

¹⁶ Since Croesus would have reigned from ca. 560 to 547 BC according to the generally accepted chronology. *Contra* Wallace 2016: Alain Duplouy (Duplouy 1999) has proved that the meetings between Croesus and Miltiades, Croesus and Solon and Croesus and Alcmaeon were only but imagined tales with political purposes; the use of the P.Oxy 2506 is problematic because it is too fragmentary to draw conclusions (Mosshammer 1981: 150-151); the use of the *Marmor Parium* is also problematic because it has many chronological mistakes concerning the archonships of Solon and Anacharsis as well as Peisistratos (Balcer 1972: 110). These are the reasons why we have chosen the traditional chronology.

¹⁷ Herodotus I, 92. Those inscriptions are all dated from the 6th century BC. See Buckler 1924: 65-66; Umholtz 2002: 265; Kerschner 2010: 256-257.

¹⁸ London, British Museum, B 16. Umholtz 2002: 265; M. Kerschner 2010: 256-257.



Fig. 2. One of the four fragments (from the top of a marble column) with Greek inscriptions that can be read as "King Croesus dedicated (this)". London, BM 1872,0405.19. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

The Lydian inscription is more problematic (Fig. 3), because it is only a small fragment of a marble drum also from the archaic temple.



Fig. 3. Top of a marble column-drum with a Lydian inscription from the Artemision of Ephesus. London, BM 1874,0710.121. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

This inscription can be read:

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀... : ...*is inl* ¹⁹

This would mean "... dedicated this". The linguist Enno Littmann thinks that the "...*is*" is the abbreviation of a longer word and suggests to read:

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀 [𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀 𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀]: *Kroisos Aluatalis inl* or even

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀 [𐤎𐤎𐤎𐤎𐤎𐤎 𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀]: *Kroisos qdwellis inl*

Those would mean: "Croesus, Alyattes' son, dedicated this" (Hanfmann 1975: 10; Kerschner 2010: 256-257).

However, we know that the Lydian name of Alyattes can be reconstructed with the words "Walwel" (that means Lion) and the suffix "-atta" (that means "father") and so put together it could be something close to Walwattas 𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤀.²⁰ The Lydian name of Croesus (according to Onofrio Carruba and Michael Kearns: Kearns 1997: 23-28; Carruba 2003: 154), should likely be "Krowiśas" (noble Karos) 𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀𐤀 or "K(a)rwijassi" 𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀 (the Carian, from his Carian origin). On those reconstructions, it's possible to make a new hypothesis for the Lydian dedication:

This one could be so:

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀 [𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤀 𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀𐤀]: *Krowiśas Walwattis inl* or

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀 [𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤀 𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀]: *K(a)rwijassi Walwattis inl*

"Croesus, Alyattes's son dedicated this"; or directly

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀 [𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀𐤀]: *Krowisis inl* or

𐤎𐤌𐤁𐤀𐤀 [𐤎𐤀𐤎𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀]: *K(a)rwijassis inl* "Croesus dedicated this".

So we see that Croesus, as Herodotus said (I, 92), seems in fact to have sponsored the reconstruction of the Artemision (began under Alyattes), by offering most of the columns, as the Greek and Lydian dedications attest it. This flattery from Croesus

¹⁹ London, British Museum, B 136. Littmann 1916: 66; Buckler 1924: 65-66. The Lydian verb -𐤎𐤀, - 𐤎𐤀𐤀: *in-* (*ina-*), means "to do". "in- (*ina-* ?)", in Gusmani 1964: 133-134.

²⁰ Wallace 1988: 206; Ratté 1994: 159-160; Browne 2000: 172; Yakubovich 2008: 118; Kroll 2010: 146; Dale 2015. In Luwian, language related to the Lydian, lion is said *walw(i)*. See the Luwian Corpus on line: Luwian Corpus: *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Text*. http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/index.php?interface_language=en (Visited 20/09/2018). Some Luwian elements were still present in Lydia. See Carruba 2003: 158; Högemann 2008: 860. On the Hittite background of the Mermnad dynasty, see Forlanini 1999: 22-23; Carruba 2003; Högemann 2008: 860; Yakubovich 2008: 109.

(but also a sign of appropriation)²¹ should have occurred only after the capture of the City, just after he became king, around 560 BC.

Another explanation for this act of dedication can be attributed to the Lydian king's desire to seize the sanctuary of Artemis, extra-muros, which had been in continuous use by the Anatolians since the Protogeometric Period. The presence of the Greeks was more and more imposing in this meeting and trading place between Greeks and Anatolians (Crielaard 2009: 66-68; Greeks and Lydians used to live side by side in Ephesus: see Kerschner 2010: 261).

According to C. Morgan (Morgan 1993: 18-44) the Ionians would have appropriated the sanctuary of an Anatolian goddess and would have assimilated her to Artemis in order to claim their cultural identity in this Oriental world (Brenk 1998: 164; Crielaard 2009: 66-68; Kerschner 2017: 9). This is why Croesus would have desired to affirm the Lydian, and thus Anatolian, prominence at this place.

Nevertheless, we see that neither the testimonies of Herodotus nor those of Polyaeus and Aelian have archaeological confirmations. Indeed, as we said above, no 6th century BC city walls were ever discovered. The most ancient fortification found dates back only to 500 BC, well after the time of Croesus.

Moreover, no vestige of a tower or a gate from the archaic period has been found, until now, in Ephesus (Vergnaud 2012: 165-170). Let's note that we do not yet know if the fortifications of the Ayasoluk Hill (the *terminus ante quem* for the construction being the beginning of the 4th century BC) were already built during the 6th century BC (Kerschner 2016: 348). In any event, this settlement, unlike the settlement of the Panayır Dağ, was not seven stadiums from the Temple of Artemis.

Furthermore, we need to underscore that Herodotus doesn't finish the story of the siege of Croesus with the episode of the cable between the city walls and the Artemision. He simply says:

These [the Ephesians], being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs [stadiums] away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged.²²

The campaign of Croesus against Ephesus is the only one mentioned by the historian of Halicarnassus, and we have to wait for the tales of Polyaeus and Aelian to know the outcome. Thus Herodotus surely wanted to be focused on the main subject of his *Histories*: the Persian Wars, being less talkative to what came before (Lateiner 1989: 60-67).

²¹ Croesus appropriate the temple building started under his Alyattes ca. 580-570 BC. It is possible that he gave the golden cows and most of the columns (Herodotus I, 92), that were not already made. The same idea can be observed in Athens for the temple of Olympian Zeus, whose the construction started under Peisistratus and was finished under the Roman Emperor Hadrian.

²² Herodotus I, 26: "Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος." – (Godley. Loeb)

Anyhow, it seems that the City of Ephesus did not have any city walls before the end of the 4th Century BC. To explain this case, one may state the good relations maintained between the Mermnads and the authorities of Ephesus. Due to this peaceful atmosphere, Ephesus did not fear any attack from the Lydians. Thus, the city did not need to build any fortification (Verghnaud 2012: 255). Furthermore, the Artemision was undergoing reconstruction during the campaign of Croesus.

Thereupon, it seems that this episode of the cable linking the temple to the city walls of Ephesus is only but an imagined story,²³ a more recent ritual practice projected into the past, or illustrated by the case of Rhenea dedicated to the Delian Apollo by Polycrates of Samos (Thucydides III, 104, 2), and added to the Ephesian campaign of Croesus.²⁴ When Herodotus relates this story, we get the feeling that this episode was already famous to his Greek audience. It is hard to know by what means this tale became such a legend.

However, it has to be noted that, at that time, it was a rare event for a city to dedicate itself to a goddess. As Adalberto Giovannini has pointed out (Giovannini 2007: 112-113), legally, a dedication of a whole city to a goddess is not of the same nature as one of a land or an estate. Indeed, the city inhabitants cannot leave all to the god, as the city cannot forget its taxes and privileges. It cannot be, as the sanctuary and its treasures could be, the property of the goddess.

So this is a religious act that was supposed to have two advantages. First, those who recognized the new status of a consecrated city were committed to not wage war against it and make sure that their troops could not damage its territory. Secondly, those one promised to sue their citizens who could seize any goods or persons on the territory recognized as inviolable. In the case of Ephesus, only the first advantage should be considered: Croesus, by recognizing the inviolable status of Ephesus, pledged that he wouldn't wage war anymore against the city and he prevented his troops to commit any damage on the city territory.

It remains that consecrating cities to goddesses are more common during the Hellenistic period (Giovannini 2007: 109-110). Here it would be rather a continuation of the sanctuary's inviolability to the city by their connection.

It is our opinion that Ephesus had already established its inviolability status before the campaign of Croesus. We do know that since the 7th Century BC, Artemis was the Ephesian most revered goddess (Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 100; Kerschner 2017: 4-6). It is likely that the city sought her protection during this period, while Lydians and Ephesian authorities had friendship relations (*ξενία*). The Lydian kings would have also recognized this sacred status. So, regarding the military campaign, we have no archaeological findings to prove that Croesus made any siege whatsoever on Ephesus (Verghnaud 2012). The verb *ἐπιχειρέω* used by Herodotus

²³ De Libero 1996: 370, n. 25; Kerschner 2016: 341.

²⁴ One other famous episode with a cable linked to a sanctuary is the case of Cylon of Athens, winner at the Olympic Games ca. 632 BC. This episode is known by Herodotus (V, 71) and Thucydides (I, 126) but Plutarch (*Solon* XII, 1, 2) add the anecdote of the cable. Thus, the details are very late.

does not necessarily point to a military outcome). Croesus would most likely have ordered his nephew Pindar, grandson of Alyattes, to then leave Ephesus.

Moreover, it's challenging to believe this story when you examine the technical details.²⁵ First, how could they make a 1300 meters rope in rush (σχοινίος)? Then, how could they stretch it between the temple and the city walls? We know that the temple was still under construction, having yet to complete all its columns,²⁶ and we still have no archaeological proof that the city walls ever existed. If we are to believe the story of the rope, we are to believe that the Ephesians somehow met these technical challenges all while being besieged by the Lydian troops

CONCLUSION

In our point of view, the tale of the rope linking the City of Ephesus to the Temple of Artemis during the siege of Croesus is a fictional tale, designed as an *aition* to enable the city to claim that its inviolable status had already been established in the past. The campaigns of Croesus against the Greeks of Asia Minor, and the order given to Pindar to leave the city would have been the perfect pretexts to create this story of the consecration of the city to the goddess Artemis. This is this version that Herodotus had written, more than a century after the fact occurred.

On the strength of our developments, this etiological story of Ephesus' *asylia* could have been created only before the writings of Herodotus. We think that one scenario could explain its appearance:

After the sack of Sardis by the Greeks (ca. 499 BC) during the Ionian revolt (Briant 1996: 160), the Ephesians would have developed this story while the Ionian troops were pushed back to the City of Ephesus, chased by Persian troops. Thanks to their subterfuge, the Ephesians were able to claim the inviolable and sacred status already granted to their city by Croesus and thereby were able to use this status to try and spare their city during the "Battle of Ephesus" (Herodotus V, 101-102).

This is the version of the tale that Herodotus would have known. And it is possible that Aelian and Polyaeus, using a source different from Herodotus, retold this tale from history, perhaps even including Croesus' nephew Pindar, and adapted it for their own literary purposes.

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²⁵ De Libero 1996: 370, n. 25.

²⁶ It may be recalled that the second *sekos* previous to the *Kroisosstempel* had no column. See Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 82-84.

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KREZOV POHOD NA EFEZ: POVIJESNA I ARHEOLOŠKA RAZMATRANJA

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SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad revidira arheološka iskopavanja na području Artemizija i grada Efeza. Otkriveni ulomci grčkih i lidijskih natpisa ukazuju na to da je Krez prinio žrtvu svetištu. U slučaju lidijskih natpisa moguće je predložiti novo čitanje bazirano na radovima koji se bave onomastikom lidijskih kraljeva. Također, rad preispituje rezultate iskopavanja u potrazi za gradom iz arhajskog perioda za čije obrambene zidine još uvijek ne postoje jasni dokazi. Posljedično, Herodotovi i Polijenovi komentari ne nailaze na potvrdu u arheološkoj građi. Nadalje, čini se da je epizoda o užetu koje je povezivalo Artemidin hram i grad Efez izmišljena priča ubačena u Herodotovo djelo *Povijest* (i kasnije prepričana od strane Polijena). Naposljetku, čini se da Krez nikada nije opsjedao grad te da se Efez predao lidijskom kralju bez direktnog sukoba.

Ključne riječi: Krez, Efez, Herodot, Polijen, Artemizij, lidijsko kraljevstvo.