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Trevor R. BRYCE-Jan ZAHLE, *The Lycians. A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great*. Vol. I T.R. BRYCE, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*. Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press (24 cm., vi+273 pp.). ISBN 87 7289 023 1. DKR 300,— (cloth).

This is the first of two volumes that aim to give a comprehensive treatment of Lycian civilisation and history. There has been no such treatment since Treubner's *Geschichte der Lykier* of 1887. The second volume, which is to appear in one or two years, will treat the history of the discoveries, geography, archaeology and coinage, and the Lycian ruling class and Lycian culture. The period under consideration ends with Alexander the Great, when the country was almost completely Hellenised. Foreign influence, Persian but notably Greek, was there since the beginning of the historical period, but it is only towards the end of the period under consideration that Greek influence becomes really strong. Before that time Lycia had its own distinctive civilisation. Unhappily, the documents in Lycian start only late (after 500 B.C.).

The first chapter discusses 'The Anatolian predecessors of the Lycians'. The Lycians are 'Anatolian' in the linguistic sense of the word, for Lycian belongs with Hittite to the so-called Anatolian branch of the Indo-European languages. It is therefore legitimate to look for the Lycians at the time of the Hittites. They are generally recognised as the *Lukka* mentioned in Hittite documents since the XVth century. They are also mentioned in Egyptian texts. The *Lukka* were plundering Alašia (Cyprus) and Egypt, and were among the Sea Peoples. This means that they must have lived near the coast. Where the *Lukka* must be situated is rather uncertain. They seem to have lived near Millawanda, and as this is probably Miletos, the *Lukka*

may have lived in that region. The author stresses that we do not hear of *Lukka* kings, so there does not seem to have been a state.

The second chapter discusses the oldest Greek literary traditions on the Lycians, i.e. their part in the Trojan War, the story of Bellerophon and the story about the Termilae. — It is surprising that the Lycians were the strongest allies of Troy in the Iliad considering the enormous distance from Troy to (classical) Lycia. Further it is remarkable that there is no archaeological evidence for occupation of Lycia in the Bronze Age, though this could well be accidental (until shortly Çatal Hüyük and Beyçesultan were unknown). Bryce proposes that the tradition of an alliance between Troy and the Lycians goes back to the Bronze Age, when the Lycians = *Lukka* lived in Western Caria, east of Miletos. (We have a Hittite text mentioning alliances in Western Anatolia in which the *Lukka* took part). This solves the difficulty of the distance, and perhaps explains why the Lycians were the strongest ally of Troy. The proposal seems to me so obvious that it must be correct. It implies, of course, that the *Lukka* moved into Lycia later, perhaps after the end of the Bronze Age.

The Bellerophon story suggests early Greek connections with the *Lukka*. Various interpretations are possible, however.

Greek tradition has it that the Termilae came from Crete to Lycia. The Lycians call themselves in their own language *Trîmîli*. It is hard to imagine that the Lycians, who were of Indo-European descent, took over their name from Cretan immigrants. Bryce leaves the possibility of a Cretan element in Lycia open. I would think that the story might be a reminiscence of the arrival of the *Lukka* in Lycia by sea (a possibility considered by Bryce), but the connection with Crete is to my mind unhistorical (Egypt is also mentioned). — It may be noted that the Solymians in eastern Lycia, with whom the Lycians were often in conflict according to the traditions, may have been (one group of) original inhabitants of Lycia (then called Milyas?).

Chapter III treats the Lycian inscriptions. These inscriptions, about 175, date from between 500 and 330 B.C. and are written in an alphabet which is of Greek origin but has a few additional signs. Most inscriptions are sepulchral. There are a few bilingual texts, and a trilingual text (with a Greek and an Aramaic version) found in 1973 near the sanctuary of Leto (the Letoon) south of Xanthos. The close relation of Lycian with (cuneiform and hieroglyphic) Luwian within the Anatolian group is illustrated, but the presentation is quite non-linguistic (letters are discussed but not their value, the sounds; what are called numerals are in fact numbers, and so on). A large selection of texts with translation is given, but here again, the absence of any linguistic explanation renders it rather useless to give the original texts. (The best introduction to the inscriptions remains Houwink ten Cate's *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden 1961). The sepulchral texts mostly repeat the same phrase, and deviations are largely ununderstandable. Though for comparative linguistics Lycian is becoming of some interest, our knowledge of the language and of the content of the inscriptions is very poor, not much better than of Etruscan.

Chapter IV gives the historical background. About 540 Lycia lost its independence to the Persians. We know of

local 'dynasts' who reigned under Persian authority (there is no list of these rulers). There was only a short interlude when the Lycians were a member of the Athenian confederacy. — Bryce stresses the fact that 'Lycia' was little more than the Xanthos valley, Telmessos in the West and Phaselis in the East being outside Lycia. — This chapter might have been a little more explicit. Facts which many readers will not have ready in their minds are only alluded to.

Chapter V is called 'Customs and Institutions'. First the burial practices and the titles of officials are discussed. Then comes the question whether Lycian society was matrilineal, as Herodotos and other sources state. The epichoric inscriptions show a patrilineal organisation, but there seem to be a few cases of maternal identification. Bryce believes that this supports Herodotos' account. He also believes that there were matrilineal marriages, but the evidence is tenuous. In any case, as far as we can see, the deviations from patrilineal structure were marginal — and perhaps no more than normal with ancient patrilineal societies. — Finally there is a discussion on the question of whether there was a Persian and a Greek element in the population (a problem that does not fit well into this chapter). All relevant names are discussed (which could better have been done in a separate article). The result is as could be expected: there is very little evidence for Persians, some evidence for Greeks, but the great majority of the population were Lycians.

Chapter VI is on gods and oracles. The (probable) names of gods are discussed. The best known is *ēni mahanahi* 'the mother of the gods', etymologically identical with Luwian *annis massanassis*. She was later identified with Leto. *Trqqas* is identical with Luwian *Tarhunt*. We have no idea whether there was an organised pantheon. We do have the term *māhāi huwedri* 'gods...', but the second word is unknown. The trilingue is about the cult of the 'Lord of Kaunos' (in Caria).

We have several references to oracles in Lycia, the best known being that of Patara, at the mouth of the river Xanthos. The association with Apollo is late, and in general the tradition of these oracles goes back to the times before Greek influence.

The final chapter (VII), The Greco-Roman View, is less uniform. Pp. 203-207 give historical remarks, which could better have been integrated into chapter IV. Mention is made of the foundation legends of the Lycian cities, but no details are given (except that as founder of Xanthos a certain Arnos is mentioned, a name that must be the same as the Lycian name of the city, *Arīna*). It is stressed that the information of Greek and Roman writers is incidental and anecdotal, and often distorted. I must say that, after reading this volume, the overall impression is that we know extremely little about these people.

There follow registers of classical authors, place names and personal names mentioned by these authors (all with a short statement of the subject matter), which are extremely useful. There is an index of the Lycian texts, and an extensive bibliography. (There are, however, no indexes to the book).

Though I have made a few critical remarks, we must be grateful to the author(s) for this very useful handbook. We hope that the second volume will appear shortly.

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