



EDITED BY

SHARON R.
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≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**ANCIENT
ANATOLIA**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

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ANCIENT ANATOLIA

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10,000–323 B.C.E.

Edited by

SHARON R. STEADMAN
AND GREGORY McMAHON

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To Girish and Mindy, without whom none of this would have been possible

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CHAPTER 27

ANATOLIA: THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.E. IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

G. KENNETH SAMS

THE END OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE

The collapse of the Hittite Empire ca. 1200 B.C.E. marked a major turning point for the history of Anatolia. The fall was unquestionably connected at least remotely with other events transpiring in the eastern Mediterranean in the later thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E., including the end of Mycenaean civilization in mainland Greece, the destruction of Troy (VIIa) and Ugarit (Ras Shamra), and the attempted invasion of Egypt on two occasions by the "Sea Peoples" (Sandars 1985; see Beal, chapter 26 in this volume). In central Anatolia and beyond, the prosaic, mass-produced but professional pottery of the Hittite Empire ceases to be made, no doubt because the state organisms that oversaw the production were no longer there (Genz 2003). Similarly, cuneiform script in Hittite (Nesite) and other languages, as known primarily from the Hittite capital at Hattuša, is never again attested for Anatolians, with the exception of Urartu in the far east. In many parts of Anatolia, a reversion to subsistence economy in humble settlements, with no powerful polity looking on, seems to have been the rule. The local people involved were Anatolians, that is, those who survived the fall of Hittite and other Late Bronze Age powers. The continuity is seen primarily in the first millennium B.C.E. language groupings across Anatolia. Luwian hieroglyphic script, as had been used in the time of the Empire as a writing system secondary to cuneiform, survives. In central Anatolia, it is found above all in Tabal, an Iron Age land lying generally to the south and southeast of the

Hittite homeland of Hatti (Aro 1998; Hawkins 1982:376, 2000:425–28). Further to the southeast, the script and language survived in Cilicia and north Syria, the latter having had in the time of the Empire a Hittite viceroy seated at Carchemish on the Euphrates River (Hawkins 1982:383–84, 2000:73–76; see Beal, chapter 26, and Yakubovich, chapter 23 in this volume). The royal house there in fact seems to have survived the downfall of the Empire as a whole and to have established a branch line in Melid (Arslantepe-Malatya) to the north (Hawkins 1988, 2000:282–86). At the latter site, a member of that line active in the decades around 1100 B.C.E., PUGNUS-Mili by name, shows himself and his gods very much in the style of empire figures, such as those seen at Yazılıkaya near Hattuša in the thirteenth century B.C.E. (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pls. 103–5). He also refers to himself as "king," using the same hieroglyphic sign found with rulers of the Empire, but he omits the sign that would have made him "Great King," the regular title for his imperial forebears; presumably he did so because of subservience to Carchemish. That title is claimed by four early, post-Empire kings of Carchemish (Hawkins 1988), but by the late tenth century B.C.E. the "Neo-Hittite" rulers of the city have abandoned both the royal title and much of the artistic style of the Empire. Further to the east, the language of Urartu also seems to have survived from the Bronze Age. Although not found in written form until the ninth century B.C.E., Urartian is linguistically so close to Hurrian, a second millennium B.C.E. language of northern Syria and northern Iraq, that the two tongues apparently developed side by side in the course of the second millennium (Zimansky 1995, and chapter 24 in this volume).

CONTINUITY INTO THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.E.

The languages of first millennium B.C.E. western Anatolia, including Pisidian, Lycian, Carian, Lydian, and probably Mysian, are, like Hittite (Nesite) and Luwian, members of the so-called Anatolian Group of Indo-European languages (Bryce 2003:93–127; Melchert 1995, and chapter 31 in this volume). The implication is that these tongues survived from the Bronze Age into the Iron along with at least some of their speakers. Place-names also survived. The "Lukka Land" of Hittite imperial texts is surely Lycia (Greek: Lukia), whereas a Bronze Age city there, "Wine Land," is probably none other than the later city of Oenoanda (with the same meaning in a conflation of Greek and Anatolian). Similarly, Hittite Ikkuwaniya becomes Ikonion/Iconium in south central Anatolia (carrying on today as Turkish Konya), and the Bronze Age city of Parḫa survives as Perge in Pamphylia on the southern coast. On the Aegean coast to the west, the names of the renowned later Ionian Greek cities of Ephesus and Miletus mean nothing in the Greek language because they survive as

the once Anatolian (and probably Luwian-speaking) centers of Apaša and Millawanda, respectively, as known again from Hittite imperial sources.

Thus the fall of the Hittite Empire did not bring with it anything like a devastating cessation of life in Anatolia. The first millennium B.C.E., rather, surely represents a continuum, albeit one that is not well understood historically or archaeologically. A number of sites report continuity in material culture, primarily pottery, from Bronze to Iron, one such being Boğazköy (Genz 2004a:24–28, 36–50). Despite evidence for continuity, the curtain that eventually rises on early first millennium B.C.E. Anatolia shows a cultural veneer that is considerably different from that of the Bronze Age. The evidence is largely archaeological, supplemented by a variety of written sources. No longer is a great body of internal texts available for gaining a firsthand view of events and activities, since the concept of maintaining records on clay tablets, in any language or script, ceased in Anatolia with the end of the Hittite Empire. However, record-keeping on lead strips in hieroglyphic Luwian is attested (Hawkins 1987, 2000:503–13; see Yakubovich, chapter 23 in this volume). Otherwise, the internal epigraphic evidence consists primarily of inscriptions on stone, pottery, and other materials. Greatly supplementing these local sources are the extensive records of Assyria, particularly those of the Assyrian Empire of the ninth to seventh centuries B.C.E. Already in the thirteenth century, Assyrian rulers were making expeditions into what was to become the kingdom of Urartu in far eastern Anatolia (Zimansky 1995, and see Zimansky, chapter 24, and Radner, chapter 33 in this volume), and from the later twelfth century B.C.E. on they made serious inroads into north Syria (Hawkins 1982:380–82). It was not until the ninth century that an Assyrian king (Šalmaneser III) on expedition “discovered” central Anatolia, namely, the land of Tabal (Hawkins 1982:394, 2000:426–28). In the latter half of the eighth century, rulers of that land, north Syria, and Cilicia were paying tribute to Assyria. By the early seventh century B.C.E., many of the centers of north Syria and Cilicia had become annexed by Assyria, their populations presumably resettled, as was Assyrian practice (Hawkins 1982:424).

As indicated, in the early first millennium B.C.E. peoples of Tabal, Cilicia, and north Syria maintained links with the Late Bronze Age past through language (Luwian) and script (hieroglyphic; see Yakubovich, chapter 23 in this volume). A new component in these regions, however, is West Semitic, as witnessed by a number of Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions carved in an alphabetic script. The nature of the epigraphic evidence in these areas tends to be site-specific: hieroglyphic Luwian at centers such as Carchemish, Malatya, and Tell Tayinat in the Amuq Plain; Phoenician and Aramaic alphabetic inscriptions at Zincirli-Sam'al in İslahiye, not far from either Carchemish or Tell Tayinat (Hawkins 1982:375–76). The great exception is Azatiwataya-Karatepe in northeastern Cilicia, where public documents in stone were inscribed as bilinguals in both hieroglyphic Luwian and alphabetic Phoenician (Çambel 1999; Hawkins 1982:429–31). The discovery of the inscriptions allowed great strides toward the decipherment of hieroglyphic Luwian. West Semitic speakers had probably moved into the areas sometime soon after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. How they may have mingled with the Luwian-speaking population

is unclear and puzzling. A 9th century ruler at Zincirli-Sam'al put up a public inscription in Phoenician, yet his name, Kilamuwa, is Luwian! Luwian personal names survive in southern Anatolia into the Hellenistic period of the later 4th to 1st centuries B.C.E. (Houwink ten Cate 1961).

NEWCOMERS TO ANATOLIA

Although cultural continuity from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age did occur, new elements also came into play. In west central Anatolia, the land of Phrygia emerged in the centuries following the collapse of the Hittite Empire, with its early capital at Gordion (see Voigt, chapter 50 in this volume). For Phrygia and other westerly Anatolian lands of the Iron Age, a new source of testimonial information comes with Greek literature. In the case of Phrygia, for example, Greek sources relate that the Phrygians originally lived in the Balkans, as a people known as the Bryges, and at some point in time migrated to Anatolia (Brixhe 1994a; see Roller, chapter 25 in this volume). The tradition finds both archaeological and linguistic support. The earliest post-Hittite levels at Gordion, dating perhaps as early as the late twelfth century B.C.E., yield handmade pottery with Balkan, more specifically Thracian, affinities, and later elements of Phrygian culture suggest continuing links with southeastern Europe (Sams 1988; see Roller, chapter 25 in this volume). The language of the Phrygians, as known through inscriptions, is Indo-European, but it is not closely related to the Anatolian Group mentioned earlier. Instead, Phrygian seems to belong to an Indo-European subset that includes Greek and the poorly attested Thracian language, as was spoken in southeastern Europe (Brixhe 1994a; see Roller, chapter 25 in this volume). The Phrygians and other west Anatolians find their way into the earliest work of Greek literature. Homer in the *Iliad* (eighth–seventh century B.C.E.) has the Phrygians as allies of Troy in the Trojan War (II.824–77), as also, among other Anatolians, the Lycians, Carians, Mysians, and Lydians (called by him the Maeonians). Hecuba, the wife of King Priam of Troy, was herself a Phrygian from the banks of the Sangarius River, where Gordion is in fact located. Phrygians shared with Greeks an alphabetic writing system derived from West Semitic script but with the addition of vocalization (see Harl, chapter 34 in this volume). It is likely that the two peoples were making the move to literacy somehow in tandem because of certain shared characteristics in the use of Semitic letters (Brixhe 1994b; DeVries 2007:96–97). Phrygian writing is in place by around the middle of the eighth century B.C.E., about the same time the first Greek inscriptions occur. The above-mentioned peoples of western Anatolia who spoke languages belonging to the Anatolian Group of Indo-European came to adopt the same basic alphabetic script, picking it up perhaps from the Greeks or possibly the Phrygians.

Also new to the Anatolian Iron Age scene are the Greeks, who had begun to establish permanent settlements on the Aegean coast by the eleventh century B.C.E.

(Cook 1962:23–35; Kerschner 2006; Harl, chapter 34, and Greaves, chapter 21 in this volume). They had certainly been familiar with the territory earlier, in the Late Bronze Age, by way of commercial and political interests, and perhaps even trading posts, but now they came to stay. In the case of such settlements as Miletus and Ephesus, as implied, the Greeks chose the sites of former Anatolian cities of prominence. By the end of the seventh century B.C.E., Greeks had established themselves at several points along the shores of the Sea of Marmara (Propontis) and the Anatolian coast (plus other coasts) of the Black Sea (Cook 1962:50–59). On the southern coast, the traditions regarding Greek settlement are several and sometimes seemingly contradictory. Phaselis in far western Pamphylia was said to have been founded by Rhodes, and Side, on the Pamphylian–Cilician border, by Cyme in Aeolis. Yet both cities also get caught up in the broader tradition that these parts were settled by a mixed group of wandering Greeks after the Trojan War (Bean 1968:21–24). Be the Trojan War myth or not, the fact remains that Pamphylian Greek is closely related to the Greek of Late Bronze Age Linear B in Greece. The language of Side, Sidetic, appears to belong to the Anatolian Group of Indo-European (Melchert 1995), while Perge, as seen, is with little doubt Hittite Parḫa. Thus any Greeks coming as early as the twelfth century B.C.E. to the area would have found a local Anatolian population already in place. One of the leaders of those wandering Greeks was Mopsus. His name has been equated with Muksas (Luwian)/MPŠ (Phoenician), known from the Karatepe bilingual inscriptions as the eponymous ancestor of the royal house of Adana in Cilicia (Hawkins 1982:430). In the southwest, Lycia had no Greek settlements, even though it did come to be strongly under the influence of Greek artistic culture (Akurgal 1961:122–49).

ASSYRIANS IN ANATOLIA

The Assyrian Empire had two major phases of strength. The first came under Aššurnāṣirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.) and continued under his son, Šalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.E.). Following a period of relative weakness, Assyria saw a resurgence of empire beginning with Tiglatpileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) that lasted at least through the reign of Aššurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.). Within this span of empire arose and subsided a major Anatolian power to the north, the kingdom of Urartu centered around Lake Van, with its capital at Tušpa. Although the Assyrians made numerous offensive campaigns into Urartu, the land, perhaps because of its rugged, mountainous location, never came under direct Assyrian control (Zimansky 1995; and Radner, chapter 33 in this volume).

Already before the time of the Assyrian Empire, Neo-Hittite dynasties had become established in a number of centers. At Arslantepe, the PUGNUS-Mili cited earlier belonged to a dynasty of at least four rulers active in the later twelfth and early eleventh centuries B.C.E. (Hawkins 1988, 2000:283). In his reliefs at the Lion

Gate (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pls. 103–5), he makes libation and sacrifice to a number of deities, including the gods of cities that may well have been under his sway. The Suhis dynasty at Carchemish, the last before submission to Assyria, had at least four rulers spanning from the late tenth into the early ninth century B.C.E. They (especially the last two dynasts, Suhis II and Katuwas) appear to have been responsible for most of the impressive architectural complexes and sculptural programs uncovered there before World War I (Hawkins 1982:383–84, 2000:77–78). Among these is the so-called Long Wall of Sculpture, which documents in script and relief the restoration to Carchemish of the gods of the city (i.e., images) after they had been stolen by an enemy (Hawkins 2000:87–91; Orthmann 1971:500–503; and see Harmanşah, chapter 28 in this volume). It is an odd fact of Carchemish that the rulers' names found on local inscriptions, as in the case of the Suhis dynasty, do not occur in Assyrian sources, while the names of rulers given in Assyrian records are not epigraphically attested on local documents. The latter is the case with the ruler Sangara, who paid tribute to Šalmaneser III beginning in 858, as did a number of other Neo-Hittite rulers (Hawkins 1982:395). At Zincirli, the Kilamuwa mentioned earlier was active around 830 B.C.E. and thus a contemporary of Šalmaneser III. Yet in his Phoenician inscription, set into a wall of his palace, he provides a genealogy for his line that could well take his dynasty back to the late tenth century B.C.E. (Hawkins 1982:397). This is also a reasonable stylistic date for the relief sculptures of the Outer Citadel Gate at Zincirli, which bear several affinities with the sculptures of the Suhis dynasty at Carchemish (Orthmann 1971:538–43).

In 838 B.C.E., when Šalmaneser III became the first Assyrian ruler to penetrate central Anatolia, the king encountered the land of Tabal, where he received submission from at least twenty kings (Hawkins 1982:394). Although details are sparse, the implication is that Tabal had for some time existed as a sophisticated polity with a system (federation?) to coordinate the activities of its some twenty rulers. The archaeology for Tabal in the ninth century B.C.E. and earlier is limited. Pottery from sites such as Kültepe (Özgüç 1971:85–93) and Alişar (von der Osten 1937:350–52) probably goes back to the ninth century B.C.E., especially a distinctive style of painted pottery often characterized by silhouette animals (Sievertsen 2004). At Kültepe the Iron Age levels are badly disturbed by later settlement. A sculpted orthostat from the citadel depicts a falconry god in a style paralleling that of the Suhis dynasty at Carchemish; it and a fragment of a stylistically related griffin orthostat that probably came from the citadel are perhaps the strongest indicators of monumental, that is, state-controlled building in a ninth century (or earlier) context in Tabal (Özgüç 1971:80–83 and pls. XI.1 and XIII.2). Boğazköy, to the northwest of Tabal and seemingly not in its immediate orbit, also has a ceramic sequence that covers the ninth and earlier Iron Age centuries B.C.E. (Genz 2004b; and see Kealhofer and Grave, chapter 18 in this volume).

Further west, in Phrygia and beyond the reach of Šalmaneser's campaign, Gordion in the ninth century B.C.E. was home to an impressive citadel replete with monumental buildings that only a well organized and powerful state could have commanded (Voigt, chapter 50 in this volume). The large-scale construction may

have begun already by the end of the 10th century. Most of the structures are of megaron type and, as such, may look back to an architectural tradition of the Late Bronze Age in western Anatolia, as represented at Beycesultan and especially in the Troy VI citadel (Blegen 1963:111–46; Lloyd 1972). Connections with the east and southeast are evident in a series of fragmentary sculpted orthostats that, like the example from Kültepe, show stylistic affinities with those of the Suhis dynasty at Carchemish (Voigt, chapter 50 in this volume). The burial of royalty under colossal mounds of earth or tumuli had already begun in the course of the ninth century B.C.E. Tumulus burial is not attested earlier in Anatolia. The tradition may well have been part of the cultural baggage that Phrygians brought with them from southeastern Europe; it continued for important people in Anatolia into the Roman period. The citadel at Gordion succumbed to a violent fire around 800 B.C.E. The absence of people or weaponry in the extensive level of destruction may imply an accidental conflagration, as does the fact that rebuilding of the citadel began soon after the disaster (Voigt, chapter 50 in this volume). A comparison might be made with the gruesome scene of carnage found at Hasanlu in northwestern Iran after an Urartian sack that took place at just about the same time (Zimansky 1995).

The eighth century saw the resurgence of the Assyrian Empire under Tiglatpileser III. In the decades before his time, however, rulers at Carchemish tell of an interesting episode through the so-called Royal Buttress, which relates in word and picture the establishment of Yariris as regent of the city until the young Kamanis can assume the throne (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pls. 119–23, where Yariris is referred to as Araras, an outdated reading; Hawkins 1982:406–7, 2000:78–79, 123–29). Details are dim, but the need was felt to portray and label family members, as though to legitimate the entire line. Again, the names are known only from internal documentation. Kamanis does appear to have eventually become the king. Succeeding him or coming soon after was Pisiris, who paid his first tribute to Tiglatpileser III in 738 B.C.E. Known only through Assyrian records, he was the last king of Carchemish in a series of events that led to the demise of the Neo-Hittite states of Syria. Among the contemporaries of Pisiris was Bar-Rakib of Zincirli/Sam'al, who, as his father before him, was installed on his throne by Tiglatpileser III. Ruling from the late 730s B.C.E. on, Bar-Rakib seems to have been responsible for major building activity at Sam'al, namely, a complex of palaces (*bit hilani*) connected by colonnades (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:fig. 23). The style of the accompanying sculptures is typical of the time for Neo-Hittite art, showing strong influence from Assyrian work. In a famous relief orthostat from one of his palaces, Bar-Rakib is shown resplendent on a throne, much in the manner of Assyrian kings, with an attendant (scribe?) standing before him (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pl. 131). His name is given in a short Aramaic inscription at the top. Pro-Assyrian, Bar-Rakib openly pronounced his subservience to Tiglatpileser III.

Šalmaneser III in the ninth century B.C.E. had merely raided Tabal. Tiglatpileser III brought the land under Assyrian control (Hawkins 1982:412–13). Here, another local ruler of the time, Warpalawas (Assyrian Urballu) of Tuwana is perhaps best known for his rock relief at İvriz, which shows him standing in splendid attire before

a much larger figure of the storm god Tarhunzas (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pls. 24 and 140; Hawkins 2000:427–28). Warpalawas first paid tribute to Tiglatpileser III in 738 B.C.E.; he was still active in 710 B.C.E., receiving mention in a letter Sargon II sent that year to his governor in Cilicia. The capital of Tuwana appears to have been the mound of Kemerhisar, where excavation has not taken place. Not far to the north, the mountaintop fortress of Göllüdağ may have been connected to Tuwana (Schirmer 1993). Portal lions there in good Assyrianizing style could date to the time of Warpalawas or later (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pl. 136).

PHRYGIANS AND LYDIANS

To the west, in Phrygia, still beyond Assyrian reach, the new citadel at Gordion (to replace the old one destroyed by fire) was probably under construction during much of the eighth century B.C.E. Around 740 B.C.E., work crews may have been diverted from the task, on the occasion of the death of a Phrygian king, for the construction of his tumulus, the largest at Gordion (Voigt, chapter 50 in this volume). Traditionally known as the Midas Mound, the tomb was definitely not that of the Midas known to Sargon II later in the century. Nonetheless, the occupant, in his sixties when he died, was possibly the grandfather or even father of Midas. Unlike the Neo-Hittite states, Phrygia has no internal or Assyrian documentation that allows the construction of royal genealogies for this period. When Greek sources mention Midas, he is usually referred to as the son of Gordias.

Midas of Phrygia appears as Mita of Muški in the annals of Sargon II from 718 until 709 B.C.E. (Hawkins 1982:417–22). In one of the earliest references, Sargon accused Pisiris of intrigue with Midas. As a result, Carchemish was taken, its population was dispersed, and the site became the center of an Assyrian province. Other states of the region suffered similar ends at the hands of the Assyrians, to the point that few seem to have survived intact into the seventh century B.C.E. (Hawkins 1982:424).

A notable exception may lie with the site of Karatepe, on the Ceyhan (Classical Pyramus) River in northeastern Cilicia. In the bilingual (hieroglyphic Luwian and alphabetic Phoenician) inscriptions found built into the gateways here we are told that Azatiwatas, a somehow prominent Cilician, founded the city and named it after himself, Azatiwataya (Hawkins 1982:429–31, 2000:45–70). The inscriptions are accompanied by sculpted orthostats that individually show a mix of early and Assyrianizing Neo-Hittite styles, thus complicating the date of the foundation (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pls. 142–50; Çambel and Özyar 2003). The suggestion has been made, independently by two scholars, that Azatiwatas be equated with the Cilician ruler Sanduarri, who was put to death by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon in 676 B.C.E. (Hawkins 1979:153–57; Winter 1979). Azatiwatas would thus have been active in the first quarter of the seventh century B.C.E. The date may explain the

somewhat debased style of the Assyrianizing sculptures, as though they were the last breath of Neo-Hittite art (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962:pl. 142).

To return to Midas of Phrygia, by 709 B.C.E. he had become an ally of Assyria, after years of intrigue in Tabal and Cilicia, having even annexed cities of the latter (Hawkins 1982:420–21). This Midas was probably the same figure who, according to the Greek historian Herodotus (I.14), was the first non-Greek to offer a dedication to the god Apollo at Delphi in central Greece. Midas may thus have been the first eastern potentate with whom the Greek world came in contact. A Midas was said to have married a Greek princess from the city of Cyme in Aeolis, but more than one Anatolian ruler bore the name (Berndt-Ersöz 2008).

In the last decade of the eighth century B.C.E., a group of migrant raiding people, the Cimmerians, appear in Urartu (Ivanchik 1993). Through a combination of Assyrian and Greek records, we know that they penetrated Anatolia, eventually reaching as far west as Ionia in the seventh century B.C.E. Sargon II dies in battle in 705 B.C.E., probably in Tabal, and perhaps at the hands of a Cimmerian force (Hawkins 1982:422, 2000:427–28). The Cimmerian presence may in part explain why, only a few years earlier, Midas had become a friend of Assyria. The extent of Cimmerian devastation in Anatolia is clearer from the ancient sources than it is from archaeology. One Greek tradition states that Midas died when the Cimmerians invaded his land in the early seventh century B.C.E. In 679 B.C.E., the Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon led an expedition against them in Tabal. His son and successor, Aššurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.), early in his reign received an appeal from Gyges king of Lydia for support against the Cimmerians. Aid was apparently given, yet in the mid-seventh century B.C.E. Gyges was killed when the Cimmerians took his capital Sardis (Mellink 1991:644–48; see Greenewalt, chapter 52 in this volume). The destruction level has been identified in a sounding (Hanfmann et al. 1966:10–12). It remained for a later king of Lydia, Alyattes (ca. 610–560 B.C.E.), to finally subdue the marauders.

With Gyges and Lydia, as with Midas and Phrygia, we have the benefit of both Assyrian and Greek testimony; the latter are considerably more abundant for Lydia than for Phrygia, with Herodotus being a principal source. Like Midas before him, Gyges made sumptuous offerings to Apollo at Delphi (Herodotus I.14), in this case in gratitude for the Delphic sanction granted him and his line, the Mermnad dynasty. In a bloody coup of around 675 B.C.E., he had killed the last ruler in the previous Heraklid dynasty. Gyges had diplomatic connections not only with Assyria but also with Egypt. He also took or attempted to take Greek cities of neighboring Ionia, setting a precedent for his successors, who take us down to the mid-sixth century B.C.E. and the Persian conquest of Anatolia. The fact that Gyges, instead of a Phrygian king, established diplomatic ties with Assyria may imply a Phrygia weakened by the Cimmerians. Certainly by the early sixth century B.C.E. Lydian hegemony has extended into central Anatolia and Phrygia (see Roller, chapter 25 in this volume). The process may have begun considerably earlier. At Gordion, excavated tumuli of the seventh century B.C.E. are considerably less grand in size and content than those of pre-Cimmerian times. Lydians came to take on the tradition

of tumulus burial for important people, perhaps under Phrygian influence. Of three especially large tumuli near Sardis, one surpasses Tumulus MM at Gordion in size; on the strength of Herodotus, it is identified as the tomb of Alyattes (Hanfmann et al. 1983:56–58).

The Assyrian Empire came to an end near the close of the seventh century B.C.E., brought down by a coalition of Babylonians and the Medes, a people centered in western Iran. By this time the kingdom of Urartu had also expired, from unknown causes (Zimansky 1995). Vacuums of power were thus created, and soon filled. Babylon took over much of the territory of the Assyrian Empire south of Anatolia, including Syria and the former Neo-Hittite centers. In Anatolia, the Medes were able to gain control as far west as the region of the Kızıl Irmak (Classical Halys River), that is, what had been the heartland of the Hittite Empire. Although the Medes were geographically verging on Phrygian territory, the defensive interests they primarily aroused were those of the Lydians, by now the controlling force of Anatolia west of the Kızıl Irmak. Under Alyattes of Lydia, war was waged against the Medes, ending in a battle that was halted on May 28, 585 B.C.E., by a solar eclipse; rulers of Babylon and Cilicia helped negotiate the truce (Mellink 1991:649).

Alyattes was no stranger to warfare, having already taken the Greek city of Smyrna around 600 B.C.E. He also fought with other Greek cities and in Caria. Under Alyattes, if not earlier, the Lydians made a profound contribution to economic history through the invention of coinage, initially electrum and then, probably under Croesus, gold and silver (Cahill and Kroll 2005). It was probably also in the reign of Alyattes that the Lydians fortified Sardis with an enormous circuit wall (Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1994:13–21; Roosevelt 2009:64–65). Alyattes was succeeded around 560 B.C.E. by his son Croesus, who carried on his father's policies against the Greek cities of the Aegean coast. He was also to be the last king of Lydia. Croesus came to be known for his fabulous wealth. He made contributions (presumably significant) to the construction of the enormous temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Following the precedent set by his ancestor Gyges, he courted Delphi with gifts so lavish that only a potentate could have offered them (Herodotus I.50–51). Although the palace complex of these Lydian kings has not survived, large terrace walls of finely cut stone on the acropolis at Sardis no doubt attest to an architectural grandeur fitting for these rulers (Roosevelt 2009:77–80). Some buildings in Sardis at this time were distinguished by having terra cotta tiled roofs and brightly colored revetment plaques that display a variety of abstract and figural designs (Ramage 1978). The architectural concept was Greek in origin.

In central Anatolia, Phrygian cultural life seems not to have diminished under the Lydian hegemony. In fact, if an account by Herodotus (I.35) can be accepted, a Phrygian royal house with names including Midas and Gordias was still in place in the time of Croesus (Berndt-Ersöz 2008:1–2; Mellink 1991:624); the implication may be that Lydia maintained a *laissez-faire* attitude toward well-behaving central Anatolians. Phrygian expansion (at least the language) to the east is documented by inscriptions on stone and pottery within the bend of the Kızıl Irmak, including one on a stepped altar of generally Phrygian type (Brixhe

and Lejeune 1984:223–51; Brixhe and Summers 2006). Elaborate rock-cut building façades in the Phrygian Highlands between Eskişehir and Afyon may in part belong to the sixth century B.C.E., no later than the Lydian hegemony, although the chronology has for long been contested (DeVries 1988; Berndt-Ersöz 2006:89–142). The most famous, the Midas Monument, is so called because a dedicatory inscription bears the name of Midas (which one we do not know) as leader of the people and king (Berndt-Ersöz 2006:72).

At Gordion, still an important center in the time of Alyattes and Croesus, signs of the Lydian connection are rife in the archaeological record. A hoard of electrum coins, no doubt minted at Sardis, shows the spread of the Lydian economic system to central Anatolia (Bellinger 1968; Mellink 1991:649). Similarly, a number of buildings of the rebuilt Phrygian citadel came to bear architectural terra cottas in types and styles generally paralleling those at Sardis, very likely in a transfer of technology from Lydia to inner Anatolia (Glendinning 1996; Mellink 1991:650). Furthermore, much Lydian pottery had made its way to Gordion by the mid-sixth century B.C.E., as part of a much broader pattern of distribution in central and western Anatolia (Gürtekin-Demir 2007). Lydians were also present. An elevated mudbrick fortress (the Küçük Höyük) to the south of the citadel contained such a preponderance of Lydian pottery that it surely housed a Lydian garrison, very likely as an outpost against advances from the east (Mellink 1991:653; R. S. Young 1953).

THE RISE OF PERSIA

Around the middle of the sixth century B.C.E., a power shift occurred in Iran, the Medes giving way to their neighbors the Persians under Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian Empire. In Anatolia, what had been Median territory east of the Kızıl Irmak quickly became Persian, and Anatolians to the west found themselves once again facing an Iranian threat. In the 540s B.C.E., Croesus led his forces against Cyrus in the territory of the Kızıl Irmak. Herodotus (I.76) relates that the Lydian ruler took and enslaved the main city of the region of Pteria. Archaeological candidates for the settlement include Boğazköy (Bossert 2000:166–74) and Kerkenes Dağ (Summers 1997). Thereafter, the Lydian and Persian forces clashed in the same region. The battle was a stalemate, and Croesus returned to Sardis, not realizing that the Persian leader was right behind him. Sardis was taken, and, according to the Greek tradition, Cyrus spared the life of the Lydian monarch (Mellink 1991:651–53). With Lydia secure, the annexation of the Greek cities of the Aegean coast, and also Caria, followed soon thereafter. So too Lycia, which had been outside the reach of Croesus, came under Persian domination with the taking of Xanthus, the leading city of the land, around 540 B.C.E. (Bryce 1986:99–114; Mellink 1991:655–62). Vivid testimony of the fall of Sardis lies in destroyed houses, well furnished, just inside the massive fortification wall; the datable material, primarily pottery, extends no later

than the mid-sixth century B.C.E. (Cahill 2002; Greenewalt and Rautman 1998:471–74; Greenewalt, chapter 52 in this volume). At Gordion, the above-mentioned Lydian fortress was destroyed at roughly the same time, again according to datable pottery. Persian involvement seems evident, even though the taking of Gordion is not attested in ancient sources (Mellink 1991:653; R. S. Young 1953).

For over 200 years, Anatolia remained under Persian rule. With relatively few Persian documents available to elucidate the period, we continue to rely most heavily on Greek sources. Local inscriptions, however, can provide colorful details. As elsewhere in the empire, Anatolia was divided into a series of administrative districts or satrapies, each with a governor (satrap) answerable to the royal court in Persia (Mellink 1988:211–16; T. C. Young 1988:87–91; and see Harl, chapter 34 in this volume). Sardis became the capital of the satrapy of Lydia (Roosevelt 2009:26–31), and Dascylium to the north, a Mysian city that had both Lydian and Phrygian connections, was seat to the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (Bakır 2001; Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997; Mellink 1991:644; Roller, chapter 25 in this volume). A third important satrapal center was at Celaenae (modern Dinar), which became the capital of Greater Phrygia (Roller, chapter 25 in this volume). The Persian Royal Road, as described by Herodotus (V.52–53), extended from Susa to Sardis; it and its branches no doubt followed earlier Anatolian highways (French 1998; Mellink 1988:216–17). The roads would have been busy in all directions, with couriers (as made famous by Herodotus [VIII.98] and the U.S. Postal Service), troops, emissaries, craftsmen, and artisans.

Darius I (522–486 B.C.E.) boasted of using Ionians, Carians, and Lydians (among other peoples of his empire) in the construction of his palace at Susa (Olmstead 1948:168). He was the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, which remained an unbroken succession of rulers until the death of its last in 330 B.C.E. Persian rule was indeed *laissez faire* for those who paid tribute, supplied fleets and troops for campaigns, and caused no trouble. The paradigm of a harmonious Persian commonwealth of nations is eloquently set forth in the relief sculptures on the great apadana at Persepolis, begun by Darius I and completed under his son Xerxes I (486–465 B.C.E.) (Wilber 1989). The upsetting of that paradigm, however, could prove disastrous. In 499 B.C.E., Miletus initiated the five-year Ionian Revolt against the empire, beginning with the sacking of Sardis (Roosevelt 2009:28). The uprising was quelled, and in retaliation the Persians destroyed Miletus; what was left of its population was enslaved and deported to Persia (Herodotus VI.19–20), in an action recalling earlier Assyrian practice.

Although the Persians did not force their very different culture on the land, their presence and participation in the life of Anatolia are nonetheless witnessed in a variety of ways. Inscriptions in Aramaic, the diplomatic language of the empire, are found in Cilicia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Lycia (Hanson 1968; Lipiński 1975:146–71; Roosevelt 2009:113, 128). They may occur on stone as grave or boundary markers, or in small format on seals and coins. As though to give official sanction to local activities, multi-lingual inscriptions including Aramaic also occur: with Lydian in Lydia (Roosevelt 2009:155, 200), and with Lycian and Greek in a trilingual document from

Xanthus-Letoon in Lycia (Bryce 1995:1166; Keen 1998:10). In a wise economic move, Cyrus the Great continued to have minted the gold and silver issues of Croesus. Yet by the end of the sixth century B.C.E. they were replaced by coins bearing the image of the Persian king, in the distinctive style of his court (Kraay 1976:30–34); the new money would have been a widely circulated reminder of who the authority now was. A hybrid artistic mode with varying combinations of Anatolian, Greek, and Persian elements (often referred to by the questionable term “Greco-Persian”) developed in western Anatolia. It is represented by seals and sealings, coins, wall paintings, and relief sculpture, the last two primarily in connection with the grave (Boardman 2000:150–202). The Persians brought their religion with them (Bivar 2001), and evidence exists, especially in the west, for a degree of cultic interplay among Persians, Greeks, and Anatolians (Hornblower 1994:230; Roosevelt 2009:128).

From the information we have, satraps in Anatolia were normally Iranian. An important exception lay with the Hecatomnid dynasts of Caria, who were granted satrapal status by Artaxerxes II beginning early in the fourth century B.C.E. (Hornblower 1994:209). The most famous of these native satraps was Mausolus (377–353 B.C.E.), who is a good representative of the politicocultural interflux of the time. He forsook the traditional inland capital of his dynasty at Mylasa in favor of the old Greek harbor city of Halicarnassus (birthplace of Herodotus), which he fortified and populated with Carians, and where he built a gleaming palace of brick and marble that was known to the Roman architectural writer Vitruvius (Bean 1971:78–90; Vitruvius II.10). From his new capital, Mausolus controlled a large swath of southwestern Anatolia that extended to Pamphylia and Pisidia and deep into Ionia, if not further north. His domain even included Rhodes and other Greek islands (Hornblower 1994:226–27). Perhaps before his death in 353 B.C.E. Mausolus had a role in the planning of his tomb, even though the credit was given to Artemisia, his sister, wife, and successor. Classed in antiquity as one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the Mausoleum was a massive structure in which Greek architectural elements were applied to an Anatolian type of built tomb, as had already been done on a much smaller scale in Lycia. Greek architects were responsible for the design, and leading Greek sculptors were among those who provided figural embellishment (Bean 1971:81–82; Hornblower 1994:231; Jeppesen 1989, 2002).

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Before Alexander III of Macedon changed the course of the ancient world, the Spartan king Agesilaus had campaigned against the Persians in western Anatolia. In 395 B.C.E., he took Sardis. Before that, he had led his troops as far inland as Gordion, where he carried out an unsuccessful siege thanks to the prowess of the local Persian commander (Xenophon, *Agesilaus* I.6–38; Oxyrhynchus Historian XXI.6). Agesilaus was cut short in his operations in Anatolia by a recall to Sparta on other

business. Some sixty years later, in the spring of 334 B.C.E., Alexander began his conquest of the Persian Empire (Bosworth 1994). He crossed into Anatolia at the Dardanelles and gained a major victory over the Persian forces waiting for him. He then moved in a counterclockwise manner south into Lydia and down to the Aegean coast, east into Lycia and Pamphylia, and north onto the central plateau and Phrygia (see Harl, chapter 34 in this volume). Resistance ran from nil (Sardis) to prolonged siege (Halicarnassus). Like Agesilaus, Alexander came to Gordion, where additional troops joined him. It was also here where, one way or another, he undid the legendary Gordian knot; whoever did so was to become master of Asia. After moving further east into central Anatolia, he turned south to Cilicia to meet, and defeat in 333 B.C.E., the last Persian king, Darius III, near the city of Issus (Kinet Höyük). After Alexander's victories in Anatolia, Asia did indeed lie before him.

When Alexander died in Babylon in 323 B.C.E., his empire extended from Greece to the Indus Valley. Yet it was to be an empire of one man, since he had no effective successor. The remainder of the fourth century B.C.E. saw warrings among his would-be successors, with the result that the one-time empire came by the third century B.C.E. to be divided into a series of kingdoms, several with Macedonian Greek dynasties (Welles 1970:49–95). Anatolia lay open to two such Macedonian monarchies. The Seleucids, based at their new capital of Antioch in northern Syria, controlled much of central and parts of westerly Anatolia; they left their names in such newly founded cities as Stratoniceia and Laodiceia in Caria, and another Antioch in Pisidia. The Ptolemies, ruling from Alexandria in Egypt, were lords over most of the southern and western coasts of Anatolia. In Bithynia and at Pergamon in Aeolis, Anatolians founded monarchies. In the east, dynasts of Iranian stock ruled over what had been the satrapy of Cappadocia, whereas in the former Urartu arose the kingdom of Armenia. Throughout, borders were fluid, and regions and cities were lost and gained as these dynasts fought among themselves. In their bloody disputes, one monarch (Nicomedes of Bithynia) in 278 B.C.E. brought into Anatolia for mercenary purposes the Gauls, a fearsome, wandering group of west Europeans who had long been on an eastward move. Their journey stopped in Anatolia; what had been old Phrygia was to become Galatia.

Far more than political geography changed the face of Anatolia in the aftermath of Alexander. Native Anatolian identities come to be obscured through the process of Hellenization. Even though Anatolians no doubt continued to speak their own tongues, Greek became the primary language for inscriptions, even in what had previously been non-Greek areas; put another way, there were now Greek speakers where Greeks had not earlier been. At places such as Gordion, Greek personal names (sometimes oddly spelled) are incised on pots, and cults of Greek deities are attested. Old ways of drinking and dining disappear in favor of ceramic inventories that echo those of a Greek household (Sams 2005:13–14). With the exception of certain continuing pottery techniques, precious little is left that says Phrygian. It is generally fair to say that Anatolia as we know it before Alexander to a great extent slipped from view in this new and very different world of Hellenistic culture.

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