

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

SUPPLEMENT 40

CITIES AND CITADELS IN TURKEY: FROM THE IRON AGE TO THE SELJUKS

Edited by

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Scott REDFORD	
City and Citadel at Troy from the Late Bronze Age through the Roman Period	7
Carolyn Chabot ASLAN & Charles Brian ROSE	
The Neo-Assyrian Citadel City and the Walled City as Theme in the Visual Representation of Imperialism.	39
Mehmet-Ali ATAÇ	
An Intervening Phenomenon in a Non-Urban Environment: Iron Age Cities in Eastern Anatolia	67
Özlem ÇEVİK	
The Urartian City and Citadel of Ayanis: An Example of Interdependence .	81
Altan ÇİLİNGİROĞLU	
Landscapes of Power: Neo-Hittite Citadels in Comparative Perspective . . .	97
Timothy P. HARRISON	
The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş)	115
Aslı ÖZYAR	
The Kale at Kerkenes Dağ: An Iron Age Capital in Central Anatolia	137
Geoffrey D. SUMMERS & Francoise SUMMERS	
Gordion as Citadel and City	161
Mary M. VOIGT	
Sinope and Byzantine Citadels and Fortresses on the Black Sea	229
James CROW	

The Blachernai Palace and Its Defense	253
Neslihan ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER	
The Citadel of Byzantine Constantinople	277
Ruth MACRIDES	
<i>Mamālik</i> and <i>Mamālīk</i> : Decorative and Epigraphic Programs of Anatolian Seljuk Citadels	305
Scott REDFORD	

THE KALE AT KERKENES DAĞ:
AN IRON AGE CAPITAL IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA

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INTRODUCTION

Kerkenes Dağ, a low granitic mountain in the center of Turkey, was the chosen location for the foundation of a new Iron Age Capital in the later seventh century BCE (**Fig. 1**). The city is very probably to be identified with ancient Pteria.¹ Recent work has demonstrated the thoroughly Phrygian character of the city, including inscriptions and graffiti in Old Phrygian; cult images in the form of large semi-iconic idols of well-known Phrygian type, one of which was set up on a built stepped monument; architectural traditions of freestanding two-roomed buildings provided with gabled, thatch-covered roofs; and a wide variety of material culture.² Dramatic evidence has been recovered pertaining to the looting of the city and its deliberate destruction by fire, presumably during the course of events connected with the conflict

¹ Summers 2006, pp. 166–167, with references.

² Brixhe and Summers 2006; Draycott *et al.* 2008; Summers 1997, 2006; Summers and Summers 2007.

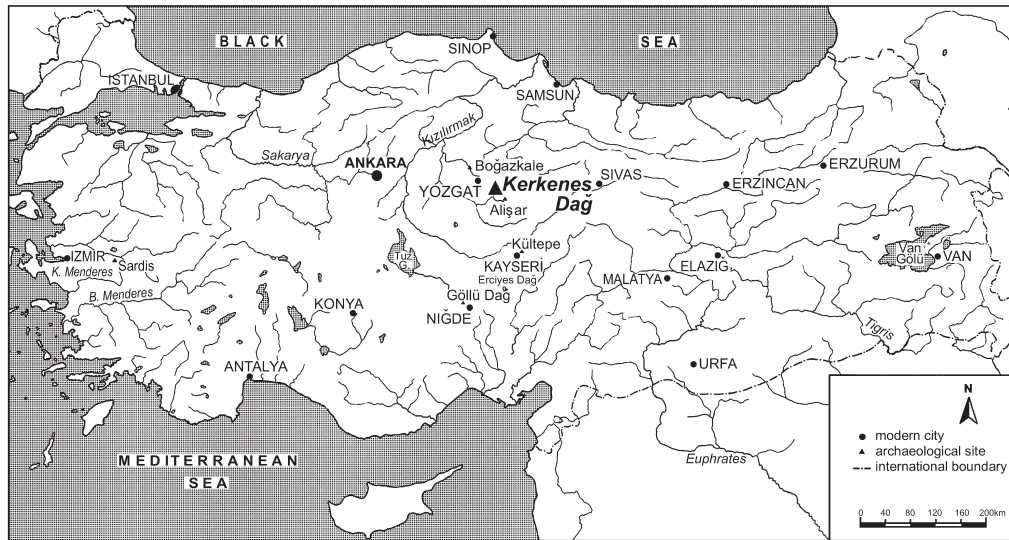


Fig. 1 Map showing the location of Kerkenes. Source: Kerkenes Archive.

between Croesus, King of Lydia, and the ultimately successful conquest of Anatolia by Cyrus the Great of Persia in the 540s BCE. Thus at Kerkenes there was a new, late Middle Iron Age capital,³ culturally Phrygian, that may have thrived for no more than 100 years before its violent destruction and abandonment. It may therefore have been a late Middle Phrygian “ideal city.” The layout of the urban infrastructure displays clear indications of considerable centralized planning. Seven kilometers of strong city wall, pierced by seven gates positioned to accommodate the major routes leading to and from the city rather than providing access to local agricultural lands, follow the natural topographic divide around the rim of the mountain (Fig. 2, 3).

Three things surprise: firstly, the high, imposing, exposed situation that was chosen for the location of this new capital; secondly, the extent of the stone-walled city, the largest known in pre-Hellenistic Anatolia (Fig. 4, 5); and thirdly, the density of occupation within the defenses that has been demonstrated by geophysical survey.⁴ In subsequent periods, only two relatively small areas of the city were re-occupied: the citadel or acropolis, called Kale (Castle); and the Kiremitlik, the “Place with Pottery,” on the high southwestern extremity (Fig. 3).⁵

³ Terminology and periodization are fraught with inconsistencies; for one view see Summers 2008.

⁴ For overviews of recent work, see Summers 2009, Summers and Summers 2010.

⁵ The Kiremitlik is at a slightly higher elevation than the Kale, but it is not so dominant or imposing and does not afford such stunning panoramas of the surrounding territory.



Fig. 2 The Kerkenes Dağ from the manned Cloud 9 hot air balloon in 1993, with the Iron Age city stretching 2.5 km from north to South; at its southernmost end, center top, the Kiremitlik lays over the Iron Age defenses; tumuli sit on ridge tops to the west of the city. Source: Kerkenes Archive.

ORIGINS

There is no indication of settlement that predates the foundation of the Iron Age city. However, an important Imperial Hittite city at Kuşaklı Höyük sits in the valley of the Eğriöz Su some 8 km to the north-northwest of the northern tip of the city on the Kerkenes Dağ (**Fig. 6**). It may therefore be supposed that the bare granite tor of Kerkenes Dağ, comprising in the second-millennium fingers of naked rock rising dominant above the wooded upper slopes of the mountain, would have been one or other of the Hittite sacred mountains associated with the nearby city (**Fig. 7**). Gurney has assembled textual evidence that strongly points towards an identification of Kuşaklı with Zippalanda and, thus, Kerkenes Dağ with the Hittite Mount Daha.⁶ New research at Kuşaklı directed by Mazzoni makes further discussion premature.⁷

⁶ Gurney 1995. Ronald Gorny came to the same conclusion in his doctoral thesis; see Gorny 1997. His more recent attempt to equate Zippalanda with Çadır Höyük and Mount Daha with the low hill on the other side of the valley has no substance; see Gorny 2005.

⁷ Mazzoni 2009.

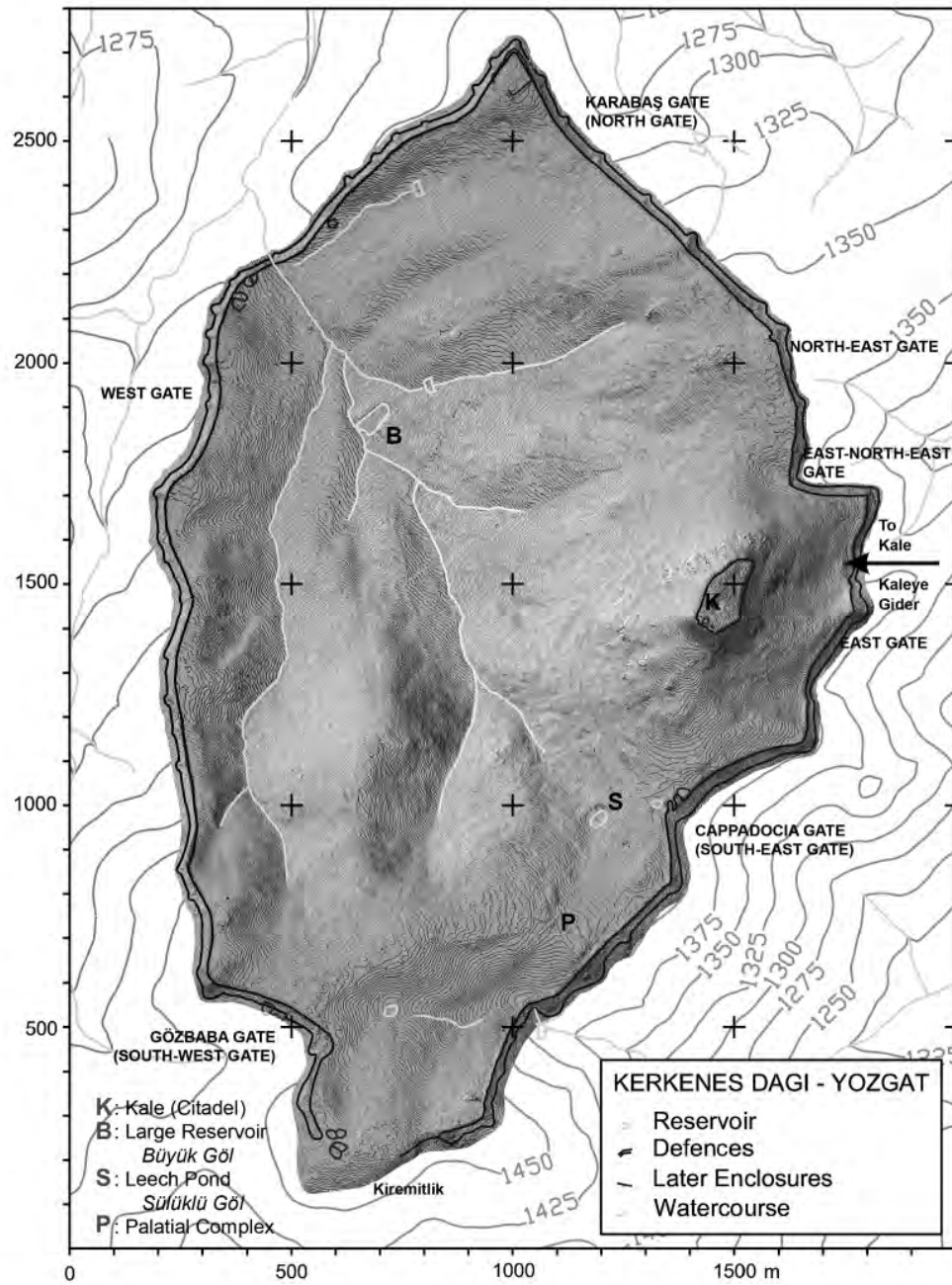


Fig. 3 Relief map of the city on the Kerkenes Dağ; the Digital Terrain Model (DTM) was produced by İşlem GIS using ERDAS Imagine, from the GPS survey of the site. Source: Kerkenes Archive.



Fig. 4 Kerkenes from the manned Cloud 9 hot air balloon in 1993, with the Iron Age city covering 2.5km² of built-up area, enclosed by 7 km of defenses. The citadel (Kale) is left of center at top. The dark patch directly below the Kale is the Büyük Göl, a reservoir created by the construction of a massive bank. Source: Kerkenes Archive.



Fig. 5 Digital Terrain Model of the surviving remains of the ancient city, with the Iron Age defenses digitally reconstructed. Source: Kerkenes Archive.



Fig. 6 The citadel of Kerkenes under snow with the mound of Kuşaklı beyond trees lining the Eğriöz Su. Source: G. D. Summers.



Fig. 7 The citadel at Kerkenes in winter, from the northeast.
Source: G. D. Summers.

In the second millennium BCE, the mountain would have looked quite different from the rather barren appearance that it has today. Hill slopes across the entire region of the upper Kanak Su basin, including the Kerkenes Dağ, would have been wooded with oak and conifer. Remnant forest is still extant on the rockier slopes, unsuitable for vineyards and orchards, where the roots of the oaks can work their way deep into the fissures in the granite to reach water (Fig. 8, 9). An astonishing amount of timber was used in the construction of the Iron Age city. Not only were the walls and roofs of buildings timber-framed, but the seven-kilometer-long stone defenses also contained many beams set into the wall faces. It might be imagined that, when in the second millennium the Hittite Great King undertook festival tours, he would have followed a road cut through the forest to the foot of the dramatic weathered outcrops of granite that formed the summit. Here he would have celebrated the mountain at some cult installation, very possibly a stele, no longer extant. Thence he would have proceeded southeastwards in the direction of Çadır Höyük and, beyond, to Alishar Höyük. The latter site is generally equated with Hittite Ankuwa on the basis of a small number of texts from the Assyrian Colony Period that were discovered there. In the Iron Age a broad, leveled road led out of what we have called the Cappadocia Gate in precisely this direction. Today this road is plainly visible, and, were it not for the trees, it could still be driven along (Fig. 10, 11). We would like to suggest that in origin this is the Hittite road along which the Great King traveled in a chariot or wagon during the Spring Festival.

Whatever may have been built or set up on the sacred mountain in the second half of the second millennium, by 600 BCE, a little under 600 years after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, little or nothing would have been obvious except, perhaps, the road and doubtless sources of cool fresh water adequate to quench the thirst of passing travelers.

How then are we to understand this new foundation at Kerkenes? The culture of the newcomers was, as already alluded to, Phrygian. There seems little alternative to the hypothesis that there was a large migration of people from Phrygia — that is, from somewhere in western Central Anatolia. Their leader or leaders had the extraordinary vision to select this prominent tree-covered mountain with its springs and streams as the site of their new capital. The number of newcomers was sufficiently substantial for the course of the city walls to enclose 2.5 km², none of which appears to have been left unoccupied or unused. Without a doubt, the existing inhabitants of the region were coerced in some way into providing labor, animal power, materials, and other resources for the construction of this bold physical statement of strength, permanence and domination. But, as we will argue below, there is no evidence of a subject population dwelling inside the walls and at least circumstantial evidence for homogeneity of the urban population.



Fig. 8 Remnant oak forest on a rocky tor of the Kerkenes Dağ.
Source: G. D. Summers.



Fig. 9 A granite tor on Kerkenes Dağ, indicating how the citadel may have appeared before the foundation of the Iron Age capital. Source: G. D. Summers.



Fig. 10 The road (arrowed) leading to the Cappadocia Gate.
Source: G. D. Summers.



Fig. 11 The upper end of the road to the Cappadocia Gate.
Source: G. D. Summers.

This new capital can then be thought of as an “ideal city.” The location was obviously considered to be ideal, or at least it was the best available in a large and varied territory, although the broad strategic location of Kerkenes would have played an important part in the choice. The founders sought an elevated location with sufficient, if not over-abundant, water. Within the city walls the citadel is by far the most prominent natural feature of the urban landscape, and it is to this feature that we now turn.

THE KERKENES URBAN STRUCTURE

The Citadel in Relation to the Street Network

In his ongoing GIS study of the streets and transportation, Branting has produced a series of predictive models of ways in which people probably moved around inside the city.⁸ He was able to do this in part as a consequence of the quality of data obtained from a ten-year-long remote sensing survey that employed balloon photography, a geophysical survey with a fluxgate magnetometer, and close-contour differential GPS survey. Combined, these techniques provide both three-dimensional simulations of the surface and remarkably detailed maps of buried structures.⁹ Looking at the streets themselves, their interconnections and their inclinations so as to estimate traffic volumes, the models are based on modern studies of urban pedestrians in Cambridge, UK. A range of estimates can be made for different portions of the urban population based on such factors as age and gender. This innovative study also looks at origins as well as destinations, where people were coming from and where they were going. Branting’s work has also permitted models to be made of urban zones or perhaps urban quarters based on predicted traffic flows. These models are of course restricted to pedestrian traffic but, while similar predictions for wheeled carts and animals await further study, the street plan of Kerkenes is robust. Among the many things this study provides are insights into the urban structure. It is immediately striking that none of the streets appear to lead directly to the citadel. Rather, they seem to skirt around it, serving a zone of evidently public structures on the high southern ridge, urban blocks or compounds around the steep lower slopes on the western side, and enclosures and structures squeezed onto small terraces between rock outcrops at the north end (Fig. 12, 13). There were springs at the foot of the steep eastern side, which probably account for the course taken by the stone defenses. The line of the eastern defenses follows the topographic divide so as to embrace these water sources, making the best possible use of a rocky knoll in the design of the strong East Gate,

⁸ Branting 2004.

⁹ Branting and Summers 2002, Summers 2009. For selected maps of Branting’s predictive models, see Summers and Summers 2010.

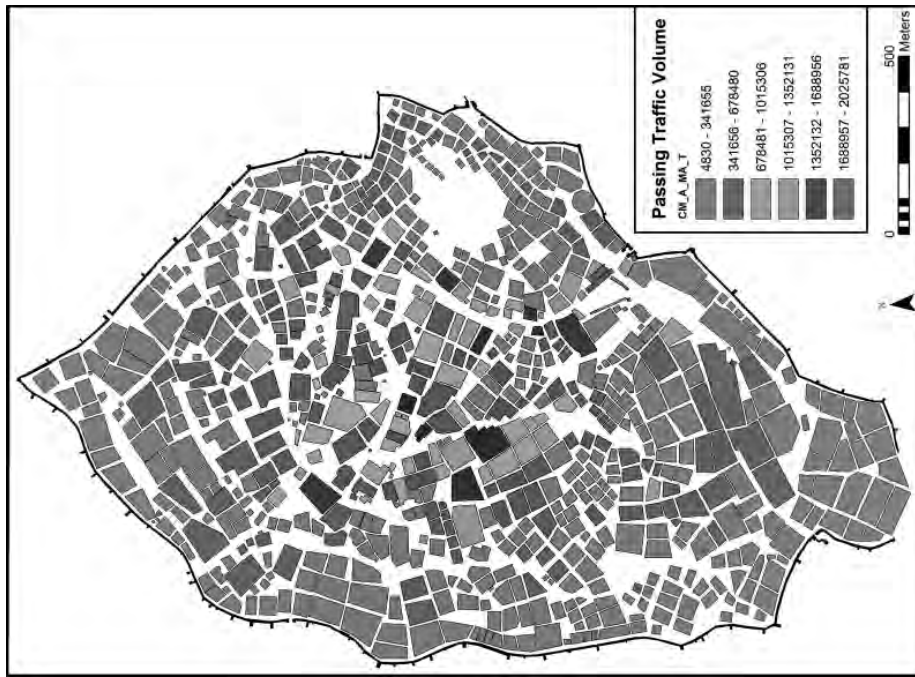


Fig. 13 The citadel, at center right, in relation to the urban blocks. Source: S. A. Branting.

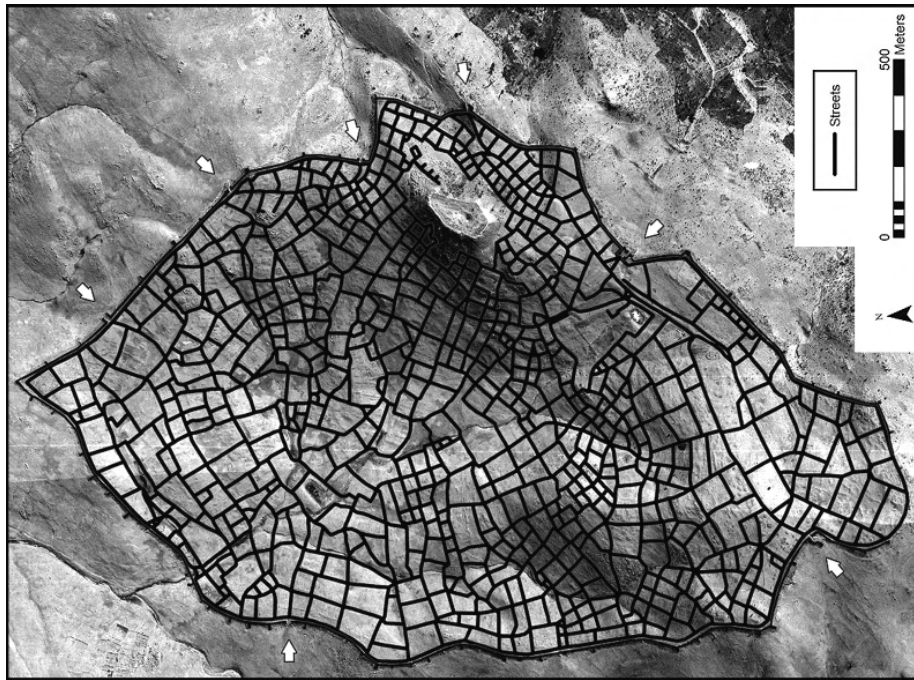


Fig. 12 Branting's model, suggesting that little pedestrian traffic approached the citadel. Source: S. A. Branting.

rather than taking the stronger, more defensible line across the acropolis itself (Fig. 14, 15).¹⁰

As a result of later, Byzantine, fortification of the peak it is unclear how many paths led up to the citadel in the Iron Age. This problem is compounded by the uncertainty of evidence for the date of pre-Byzantine defenses, of which more below. In the Iron Age the easiest way to the top of the citadel from within the city would have been at the northern end where small natural and partially artificial terraces are apparent, at least some of which contained structures. Additionally, it can surely be suggested that there would also have been access from the south, approximately where the Byzantine path leads up to the single gateway into the medieval castle. It is from this southwestern corner that the peak could be most easily reached from three of the seven city gates — the East Gate, the Cappadocia Gate, and the Gözbaba Gate — as well as from the zone of public structures located along the high southern ridge, from the base of the citadel to the western stretch of the defenses.¹¹

The Earliest Citadel Defenses

The citadel was provided with strong stone defenses before the construction of the Byzantine castle. These defenses comprise substantial walling, presumably towers, composed of rectangular stone blocks. Only small portions, perhaps foundations of the front faces of the towers, are visible beneath the white lime-mortared Byzantine construction. The building of these dry stone walls went hand-in-hand with modification to and modulation of the top. Running against the outer side of this walling is a stone-faced rampart that apparently extends around the entire circuit of the Kale, forming the steep and even slope that would be difficult to ascend. The date of these citadel defenses, which involved a considerable input of labor, is unclear. A few years ago it was argued that they should perhaps be dated to the Achaemenid period. This suggested dating was based on the observation of several smaller elevated sites with defensive walls and towers protected by very similar stone-faced ramparts which appear to have formed part of an integrated system of territorial control. One of these sites, Tilkigediği Tepe, yielded a substantial amount of pottery that is probably to be dated to the Achaemenid period.¹² Another site within this system is the great tumulus at Gözbaba, the highest point on the Kerkenes Dağ situated at the end of the ridge some 4 km to the west of the southwestern corner of the city.¹³ This tumulus is surely to be

¹⁰ Çayırtepe 2006.

¹¹ Summers 2001.

¹² Summers *et al.* 1996, Summers 2001, Kealhofer *et al.* 2010.

¹³ Recently, in 2008 and 2009, treasure-seekers have dug long tunnels into this tumulus. No burial chamber seems to have been found, but this illegal damage has confirmed that this entire mound is indeed artificial, unlike some other so-called tumuli in the region which are built around natural rock outcrops.



Fig. 14 An oblique from the Cloud 9 hot air balloon shows how the city wall follows topographic divides: it takes a line which encloses the Kale, possibly to include springs on the far side. Source: Kerkenes Archive.



Fig. 15 The Kerkenes citadel in the middle distance, looking along the southeastern stretch of the city wall from the Kiremitlik. Source: G. D. Summers.

associated with the Iron Age capital. Therefore, the stone foundations of what appears to be a tower on its summit, the stone facing of the steep slopes which run against the tower base, and associated features would only have been constructed after the destruction of the capital but, if pottery sherds found on the surface are a reliable guide, before the Hellenistic period — that is, sometime in the Achaemenid period. These stone facings to earth and rubble banks that run to the base of defensive walls are quite different in character from the stone glacis that strengthens the city defenses and supports the towered structure on the southern ridge, although they do continue a tradition that is seen at Boğazkale, stretching through time from the impressive second-millennium Yerkapı to the smaller-scale Südburg of Middle Iron Age date. Whether or not the citadel was provided with defenses during the lifespan of the Iron Age capital (*i.e.*, approximately the first half of the sixth century BCE) is unknown. Resolution of this question, while desirable, has no significant bearing on reaching an understanding of the broad function of this “Phrygian” citadel in relation to its urban context.

THE FUNCTION OF THE KERKENES CITADEL

Although the citadel was a waterless tor completely unsuited to settlement and occupation without modification on a scale presumably too extensive to have been undertaken when the city was founded, it would come as no surprise were a cult installation of some kind to be discovered on the summit. Indeed, it might not be too far-fetched to postulate a revived or continued veneration of a local weather god.¹⁴ It should be obvious that this citadel at Kerkenes, regardless of whether or not it was provided with defenses before the destruction of the capital, should not be seen as a focus of everyday urban activity. One of its principal roles would have been that of a place of refuge, should the city walls have been breached — somewhere for inhabitants to flee in a final bid for survival (Fig. 16).

This function as a refuge was not, as we shall see, that of a traditional Ancient Near Eastern or Anatolian citadel. But before placing the Kerkenes Citadel in a wider context, it will be necessary to determine where within the city the public buildings were located and to examine briefly their physical relationships within the urban fabric.

¹⁴ A Phrygian shrine with an inscription is found on the peak of Kalehisar, close to Alaca Höyük. It is tentatively suggested that this monument, and indeed the Old Phrygian inscriptions on earlier unfinished lion sculptures at Alaca Höyük itself, were contemporaneous with or slightly later than the capital at Kerkenes. For Kalehisar, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006; for the inscriptions, see Brixhe and Lejeune 1984. For the Alaca Höyük lion sculptures, see Baltacıoğlu 1996, with references to earlier studies. Baltacıoğlu argues, correctly, for an Imperial Hittite date.



Fig. 16 The Kale, possibly a refuge of last resort, with the Cappadocia Gate in the foreground. Source: G. D. Summers.



Fig. 17 The southern ridge (with the Field, the Leech Pond and the Palatial Complex) stretches from the foot of the citadel (Kale), at left, to the Gözbaba Gate in the re-entrant at top right. Source: G. D. Summers.

THE ZONE OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

An elevated ridge extends from the foot of the Kale westwards to what we call the Gözbaba Gate (Fig. 17). It is here that the major public buildings of the capital were situated, affording views over the city to the north and southwards across the Cappadocia Plain, to the snow-capped peak of Mount Erciyes some 80 km away. The most prominent feature within this zone is the stone-faced glacis at the eastern end of our “Palatial Complex.” Stratigraphic evidence demonstrates that this was the earliest (surviving) structure in this portion of the city. Its defensive character is self-evident while similarities with the double towers at the front of the Cappadocia Gate are surely significant. It seems reasonable to suggest that this *castellum*-like structure was built as a stronghold when the city was founded. In any event, it was soon modified in such a way that only its visually impressive eastern side was fully retained. The urban block to the west was extended to conjoin the northern side, and the inclined paved entrance on the south was buried beneath stone terraces. In this second phase an “audience hall” and other elaborate and embellished buildings were erected. In a final phase, a monumental entrance flanked by colossal platforms and adorned with sculpture was completed not long before the fire.¹⁵ There are several pertinent points. At the Palatial Complex, there was a series of remodeling activities, each of which added grandeur and each of which expressed development from a structure that was primarily defensive in character to a scheme that exuded opulence and confidence, with only lip service paid to defense.¹⁶ If our interpretations of the geophysical evidence are correct, we also see a development from an urban block that, although on the large size, is not obviously different from many other large urban blocks within the city, to a complex containing monumental palatial structures, notably the Audience Hall and the Ashlar Building with its faced granite ashlar and grand sandstone surround. Finally, neither this Palatial Complex, nor any portion of the zone of public buildings within which it is located was provided with defenses (Fig. 18). Thus, the rulers felt no threat from the urban population from which they saw no reason to isolate themselves in any particular way. If there was some cultic installation to a protective deity built on the citadel when the Monumental Entrance to the Palatial Complex was constructed, such divine protection would seem to have been largely transferred to the showy entrance court with its large semi-iconic stone idols.¹⁷ These observations have clear implications for understanding the dynamics of power and socio-economic developments at Kerkenes, which go beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁵ Draycott *et al.* 2008. Elaborate architectural elements carved from soft sandstone appear to have been in pristine condition when they were smashed and burnt.

¹⁶ Summers and Summers 2008.

¹⁷ A semi-iconic idol atop a built stepped monument and one entirely aniconic idol have been found at the Cappadocia Gate. It might also be thought that some and perhaps all of the large halls spread across the city could have been temples. In 2010, Branting excavated part of one such building.

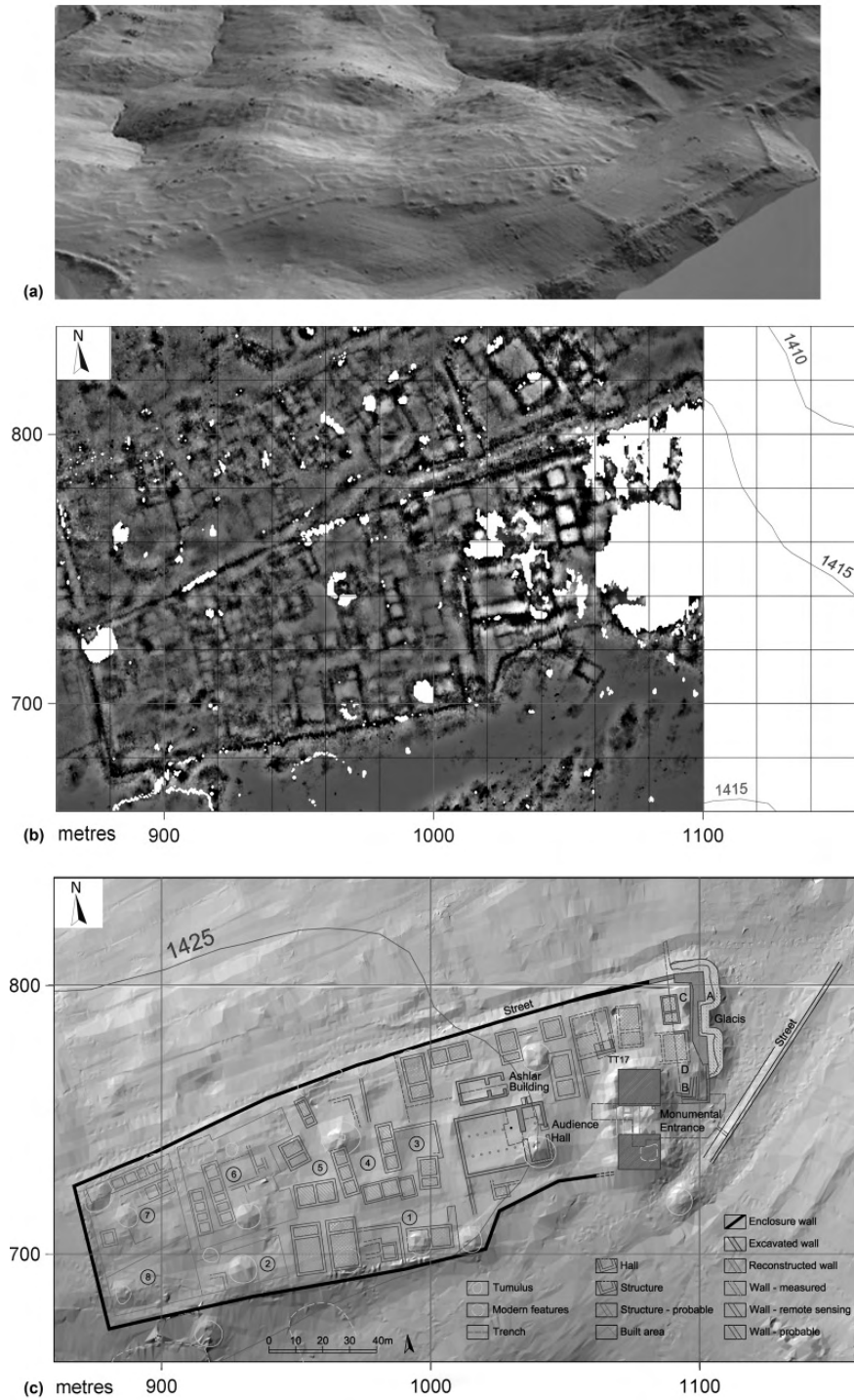


Fig. 18 The Palatial Complex at the time of destruction, tentatively reconstructed from remote sensing data; neither the Monumental Entrance nor the enclosure wall were designed for defense. Source: After Summers and Summers 2008.

PARALLELS

In order to place Kerkenes and its citadel in wider perspective, we have made a small but representative selection of other cities with citadels. We begin in the Late Bronze Age and end with a single Hellenistic example.

Hattuša

Superficially Kerkenes may be thought to resemble the Hittite capital of Hattuša, which lays only 50 km to the north-northwest. There are however substantial differences, and these are probably of greater significance than the apparent similarities. Firstly, of course, Hattuša was not a new foundation, but a pre-Hittite city that, having been selected as the Hittite capital, proceeded to expand in a series of stages.¹⁸ Secondly, one among several reasons for the choice of Kerkenes as a capital was its physical dominance over the surrounding territory, in contrast to Hattuša, which cannot be seen from any great distance, but rather lies hidden and somewhat sheltered. Thirdly, the citadel at Hattuša was provided with strong defenses that protected the residence of the Great King and other state buildings.

Ankara

It is unfortunate that we know so little about Ankara in the Phrygian period. According to Pausanias, Ankara was founded by Midas, son of Gordios.¹⁹ Archaeology has revealed some evidence of Phrygian occupation beneath the core of the Roman city, but nothing is known of Ankara's Kale in the Phrygian period.²⁰ This absence of known Phrygian material from the andesite peak of the Ankara Kale may not, perhaps, reflect low archaeological visibility, but rather be indicative of close similarities between Phrygian Ankara and Kerkenes. Here, however, we are in the realm of speculation.

Gordion

Voigt discusses Phrygian Gordion in this volume, but it behooves us to comment here that in regard to urban concepts there is little in common between Gordion and Kerkenes. The same holds true for architectural embellishment, but not for ceramics,

¹⁸ At its apogee Hattuša approached the size of Kerkenes. While the date and nature of the growth of Hattuša have been revised in recent years, there were clearly many stages in its development and expansion.

¹⁹ *Description of Greece* 1.4.5.

²⁰ What little is known of the Phrygian settlement has been briefly summarized in Metin 2007; for the Phrygian tumuli at Ankara, see Tuna 2007.

semi-iconic idols, tumulus burials and so forth. However, Gordion was not founded as a capital, but grew into one, falling under Lydian hegemony, presumably under Croesus, perhaps no more than a few decades after the foundation of Kerkenes.

Midas City

In the context of this paper, Midas City turns out to be something of a red herring. Most and probably all of the monumental architectural façades at Midas City itself and more generally in the Phrygian Highlands are to be dated to the Lydian period, while such occupation as was recovered by excavation on the flat-topped hill should be dated to the Achaemenid period.²¹ In any case, Midas City seems never to have been a “city,” let alone a capital, with an urban population.

Göllü Dağ

Like Midas City, Göllü Dağ was a cultic site and most certainly not a city. It does however provide some ideas of what a Neo-Hittite capital on the Central Anatolian Plateau might be expected to look like. Centralized rectilinear planning is evident where the topography was suitable.²² Here, we venture to suggest, is another close link between the Neo-Hittite and Imperial Hittite worlds. Göllü Dağ was a sacred mountain dedicated to the weather god Tarhun who dwelt there, and a place where the King of Tuwarnuwa and his entourage celebrated at festival time on a sacred Neo-Hittite citadel, here exceptionally located outside the capital city. Göllü Dağ was probably abandoned a few decades before the foundation of Kerkenes, although the circumstances surrounding the demise of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Tabal are unknown.

Sardis

The Lydian capital offers the most striking parallels to Kerkenes.²³ An enormous, massively defended city, not significantly smaller and much wealthier than Kerkenes, was dominated by a very impressive, high and waterless citadel. Great stone-clad platforms on the lower arms of the citadel are in some ways reminiscent of the stone-clad

²¹ For the date of the Midas monument, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006, p. 130. See also Munn 2006, pp. 77–79, 143–145. For the inscription, see Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, M-01 a, pp. 6–9. The complex chronology of Phrygian kings with the name Midas has been discussed in Berndt-Ersöz 2008. The argument by Strobel (2009) that the Midas Monument must date to the time of the great King Midas himself flies in the face of all other evidence.

²² Schirmer 2002.

²³ Illustrations of the acropolis at Sardis have been collected in Greenewalt *et al.* 2003, *passim*. See also Cahill 2009, pp. 113, 119–121. For Sardis in general, with many illustrations, see Cahill 2010.

platforms to either side of the Monumental Entrance to the Palatial Complex at Kerkenes.²⁴ Recent discovery of architectural terracottas on the citadel presumably indicates the existence of a cultic structure,²⁵ but the palaces of the Lydian kings appear to have been at much lower elevations, whether or not associated with the platforms just alluded to.

During the Ionian Revolt, the satrap Artaphernes was able to hold out on the citadel which the Greeks were unable to take.

Priene

Hellenistic Priene was blessed with a military acropolis called Teloneia, designed by military architects as a place of refuge. Here, too, was a shrine to the protective deity, but not the main buildings of the state.²⁶ Priene stands as the most dramatic example of this type of Hellenistic citadel or acropolis within the borders of modern Turkey.²⁷

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, at Kerkenes we have the foundation of a new, “ideal” capital. At first, it would appear, the planned apportionment of urban space into larger or smaller rectilinear blocks displays a certain egalitarianism. This was to change over three or four generations, with the ruling elite constructing opulent buildings that projected wealth, power and confidence. The city walls provided the defense for the entire city which they encircled, while the citadel — whether it was walled or not — provided possibilities for refuge should the confidence in the stone defenses turn out to have been misplaced. The tor itself could perhaps have been apportioned, or have retained from earlier times, protective cultic properties, even if these were to be diluted as the rulers added cultic imagery to their entrance to the Palatial Complex. These conclusions set Phrygian Kerkenes apart from the Neo-Hittite and Urartian centers discussed in this volume. If Ankara does indeed provide a parallel, Gordion does not. Kerkenes then looks to the west, towards Sardis, and not to the late Hittite world or to the citadels of the Ancient Near East.

²⁴ These astute observations have been made in Cahill 2009.

²⁵ Preliminary notice in Greenewalt 2009, pp. 195, 204, fig. 15. In a personal communication, Nicholas Cahill reported that they may post-date the Persian conquest.

²⁶ Striking images are to be found in Ferla 2006, pp. 51, 55, 58, 182–183.

²⁷ For the function of the Hellenistic acropolis in general, see Lawrence 1979, pp. 126–136; Priene is discussed on p. 134. Winter (1971, p. 31, with n. 64) states: “Where an acropolis did exist, it would usually serve only as the scene of a last stand after the outer walls had been carried.”

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