

SPEAR-WON LAND

Sardis from the King's Peace
to the Peace of Apamea

Andrea M. Berlin
and Paul J. Kosmin

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Edited by

Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin

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To all the members of the
SARDIS EXPEDITION

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ABBREVIATIONS

References to classical authors are according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition); references to epigraphic sources follow the abbreviations listed in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG). In addition:

- AD* Sachs, Abraham, and Hermann Hunger. 1988–96. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vienna.
- BCHP* Finkel, Irving, and Bert van der Spek. 2012. *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*. Published online at www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chronoo.html.
- IGUR* Moretti, Luigi. 1968–90. *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*. 4 vols. in 5 parts. Rome.
- IvE* Wankel, H., R. Merkelbach et al. 1979–81. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, I–VII*. IGSK Band 11–17. Bonn.
- IvP* Fränkel, Max. 1890–95. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. 2 vols. *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8. Berlin.



1

INSIDE OUT

Sardis in the Achaemenid and Lysimachean Periods

Nicholas Cahill

THE TITLE OF THIS BOOK, *Spear-Won Land*, reflects the fundamental importance of the changing relationships between the city of Sardis and the various empires it inhabited. Sardis is famous as the capital of the Lydian kingdom. Under native kings, from Gyges to Croesus, the city grew from a local kingdom to an imperial capital encompassing most of western Anatolia, the largest and most powerful empire of the earlier Iron Age. After its fall to Cyrus the Great, it became a satrapal capital of the Achaemenid empire and remained one of the central powers in the relationships and conflicts between Persians and the west.

We understand relatively little about Roman and late Roman Sardis, and much, much less about Lydian Sardis, but the most problematic eras in Sardis's long history are, oddly, the Hellenistic and the preceding Persian periods. Apart from the temple of Artemis, these are archaeologically much less well attested than either the Lydian or the Roman period. And yet they are critical eras during which Sardis made some of its most important transitions as an urban center, as a node in regional networks of power and exchange, and as a culturally diverse capital with ever-expanding connections. How did Sardis make these great transitions from Lydian imperial capital to satrapal capital to Greek polis? How were dramatic political changes reflected in the urban, rural, and cultural landscapes of the city?

The urban topography of Sardis has naturally been one of the major foci of archaeological research at the site over the past fifty-eight years. In his magisterial synthesis of 1983, George Hanfmann argued that the core of Lydian and Persian Sardis lay along the Pactolus, where Herodotus describes the agora in 499 BCE. There Hanfmann had excavated several sectors, including the gold refinery at PN, settlements at PC, and the "Lydian Trench" at HoB, where occupation dates back to the late Bronze Age (fig. 1.1). Hanfmann's settlement continued up the Pactolus to the sanctuary of Artemis, and then up to the acropolis.¹ He argued that the lower city was a rather ragtag assemblage of mud-brick and thatch houses, as described by Herodotus, while the palace was on the acropolis. He suggested that in the early Hellenistic period, Sardis expanded from its Lydian and Persian core along the Pactolus into new regions in the east, including the theater and

1. Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 1–108, esp. 68–75; Hanfmann 1980.

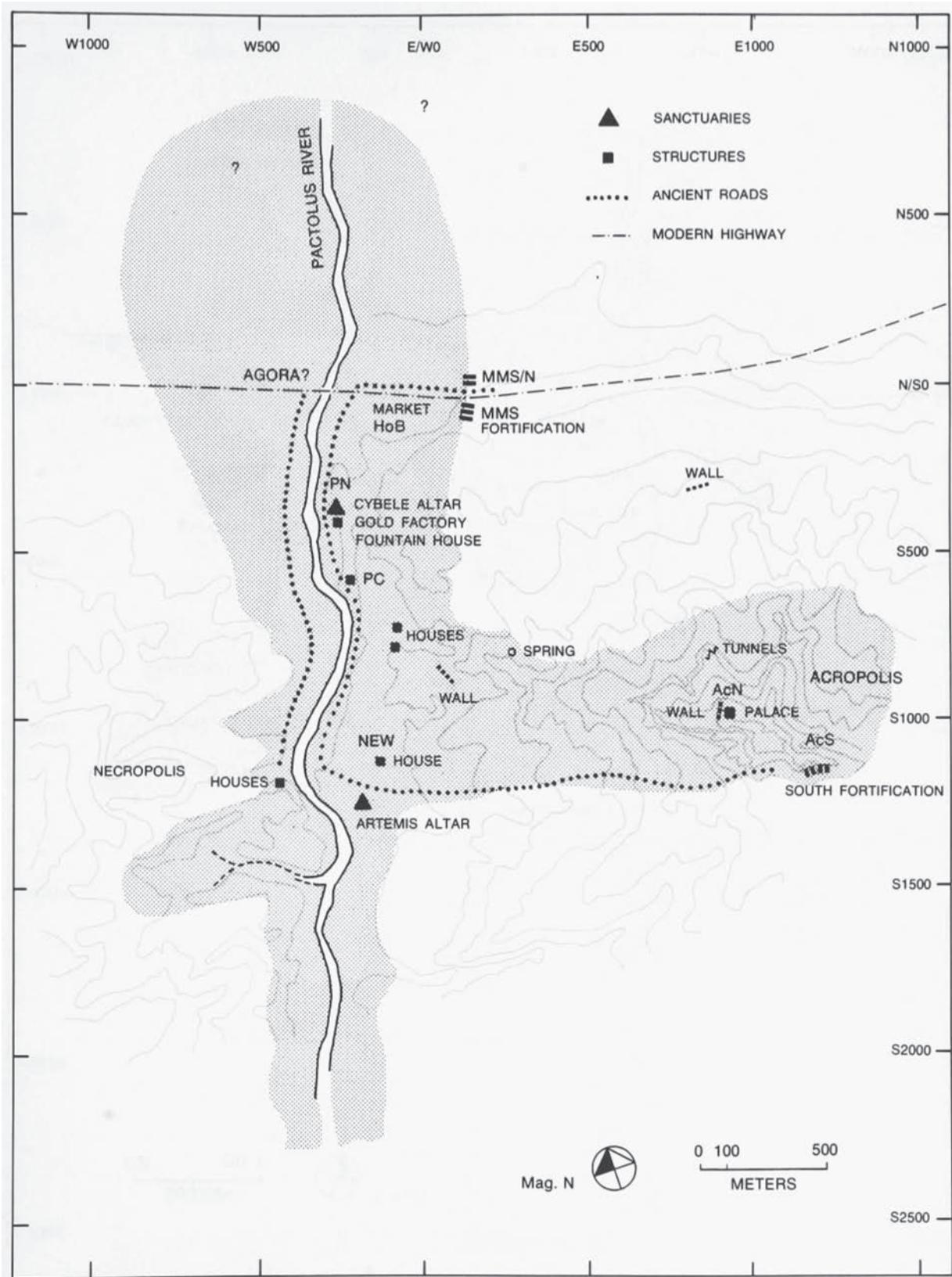


Fig. 1.1. Plan of Sardis in the Lydian era, according to Hanfmann (Hanfmann and Mierse 1983). (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

the (presumably nearby) gymnasium and other Greek civic buildings. He proposed that the early Hellenistic rulers continued to occupy the Lydian palace that had been taken over by Persian satraps. His early Hellenistic city was larger than either the Hellenistic and early Roman city, or the late Roman city, or indeed the Lydian city.

The discovery in 1963 of the Hellenistic letters of Antiochus III made a profound impression on Professor Hanfmann, and he came to believe that King Antiochus's siege of the city (215–213) was one of the turning points in Sardis's history.² He identified destruction levels at PN and elsewhere as belonging to this event and argued that after the destruction, the western portions of the city, including the ancient city core, were abandoned, and that occupation moved decisively east, to the location of the Roman and late Roman cities.³ The old Lydian and Persian city center became a graveyard, until it was finally resettled in the late Roman period. These inscriptions are our first testimony regarding Sardis as a polis, and in his publication of the documents, Philippe Gauthier argued that the brief window of Attalid control in the late 220s would have been a suitable moment for the conversion of Sardis into a polis.⁴ In a more general way, Hanfmann saw the transition from a Lydo-Persian, Oriental capital to a western, Hellenistic polis as the main transformative event in the urban history of Sardis.

This was the assumption, too, in Crawford Greenewalt Jr.'s wonderful article "Sardis in the Age of Xenophon," which blamed our lack of knowledge of Persian Sardis on "the chance of survival and recovery."⁵ His Persian Sardis was basically a continuation of Lydian buildings and institutions, and he stressed the continuity visible in its fortifications, sanctuaries, and graves. And this fits well into our general picture of Achaemenid tolerance; Christopher Tuplin describes the Achaemenids as "relatively favourable to diverse political-administrative arrangements and maintenance of the status quo."⁶ We have therefore expected to find a basic similarity between Lydian and Persian eras, and, from our western viewpoint, we expect to find the great transformation at the moment when Sardis was converted from an eastern royal or imperial or provincial capital into a Hellenistic Greek polis.

When Hanfmann wrote this synthesis, the expedition had just discovered and begun to excavate the Lydian fortification at Sector MMS. It was not until some twenty years later that we finally realized that we had the city inside out. MMS was not the east wall of a city along the Pactolus, as Hanfmann had suggested, but the west wall of a city lying under the later Roman city. The areas that Hanfmann had believed were the Lydian and Persian city center were in fact outside the Lydian city (pl. 2).⁷ This has, obviously, led to profound reevaluations of many of our earlier conclusions, a process that is still ongoing.

LYDIAN SARDIS

The major feature of Sardis in all stages of the city's history is the sheer acropolis, whose siege by Antiochus III in 214–213 was one of the most dramatic events in that history (pl. 3). Almost nothing remains today of

2. Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 110: "Unquestionably the single most important discovery for the Hellenistic history of Sardis was epigraphic."

3. Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 117; Rotroff and Oliver 2003, Deposit 1, on which see chapter 2 in this volume, by Andrea M. Berlin.

4. Gauthier 1989, esp. 151–70.

5. Greenewalt 1995.

6. Tuplin 2009.

7. Cahill 2008b.

the Hellenistic and earlier fortifications and buildings on the citadel, thanks to continued use and spoliation during the Byzantine era and extensive erosion, but the impression is certainly consistent with Polybius's description of this citadel (8.20) as "the strongest place in the world" (ὄχυρώτατος τόπος τῆς οἰκουμένης).⁸

The lower city in the Lydian period was ranged along the north slopes of the citadel, following ridges on the east and west of the acropolis as natural defenses; the easternmost of these is probably the "Saw," famous from Polybius's account (7.15–18) of Antiochus III's siege (pl. 22). The Lydians reinforced and revetted these spurs with masonry, which supported a wall 10 meters thick rising high atop the western ridge. Where the spurs ended at the Hermus Plain, the Lydians doubled the thickness to fully 20 meters, almost on the scale of the natural ridges themselves, ringing the city with the largest fortification in Anatolia (fig. 1.2).⁹ One gate, built in gleaming ashlar masonry, opened to the west, toward Smyrna; an ashlar structure on the north side of the city is probably another gate leading out to the Hermus Plain (pl. 2, nos. 63 and 74; fig. 1.2).¹⁰

We know little about the houses, streets, neighborhoods, and other buildings within these walls. By the first half of the sixth century, the western edge of the city at least was densely packed, with houses wedged into spaces between earlier-built houses.¹¹ But early remains are so deeply buried under Roman and Hellenistic strata that it is impossible to get a coherent plan of even a small region of the Lydian city through excavation or geophysics.

A major elite complex occupied natural spurs of the acropolis at the center of the city. Two of these spurs, Field 49 and ByzFort, had been enclosed in the seventh century or earlier with massive terrace walls, creating a precinct of some 6 hectares or more (pl. 4). The Lydian structures on these terraces have been largely demolished, but the terrace walls, reused blocks of limestone and marble architecture, molded and painted terracotta roof tiles, and luxury objects such as jasper for tableware, fragments of ivory furniture, weapons and armor, and a seal, suggest to me that these two hills, and probably the flattish area behind and between them, formed the palatial center of the Lydian city (fig. 1.3).¹²

These hills were linked to the palatial complex on the acropolis excavated by Hanfmann at AcN by a tunnel winding up within the cliff (figs. 1.4–5).¹³ The date of the tunnel is unknown, but it makes better sense as a Lydian feature linking two elite complexes than as a later, post-Lydian one, because this was the one period when these two regions of the city shared a common, elite function.

Lydian Sardis extended well beyond its walls. The first Lydian sectors excavated by the present expedition turned out to be outside the city walls, near the banks of the Pactolus River. Upstream from the well-known PN and HoB, Lydian remains are found in Northeast Wadi, Kagirlik Tepe, and opposite the temple of Artemis on the west bank of the Pactolus.¹⁴ Settlement extended at least 600 meters north of the Lydian

8. Excavations on the Acropolis in the 1960s recovered impressive terrace walls and a few other traces of occupation, but most has been lost.

9. Greenewalt 1992, among many preliminary publications; Cahill 2010a.

10. MMS/N and MD2 (Ratté 2011, 108–13).

11. At Sector MMS-I, where earlier and later domestic assemblages are found in earlier and later houses (Cahill 2010b).

12. ByzFort terrace wall: Ratté 2011, 102–7. Field 49 terrace: Greenewalt et al. 1985, 64–67. More recent excavations: Cahill 2011, 359–60; 2012, 213–14; 2013, 147–48; 2014, 124–26; 2015, 419–21; 2016, 154–55.

13. Acropolis North: Hanfmann 1977; Ratté 2011, 99–102, with previous bibliography. Tunnel: Hanfmann 1963, 36–37.

14. Northeast Wadi and Kagirlik Tepe: Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 118–28; Greenewalt 2007, 746. Opposite temple of Artemis: Cahill and Greenewalt 2016, 493–94.



Fig. 1.2. Plan of Sector MMS in the Lydian and Persian periods. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

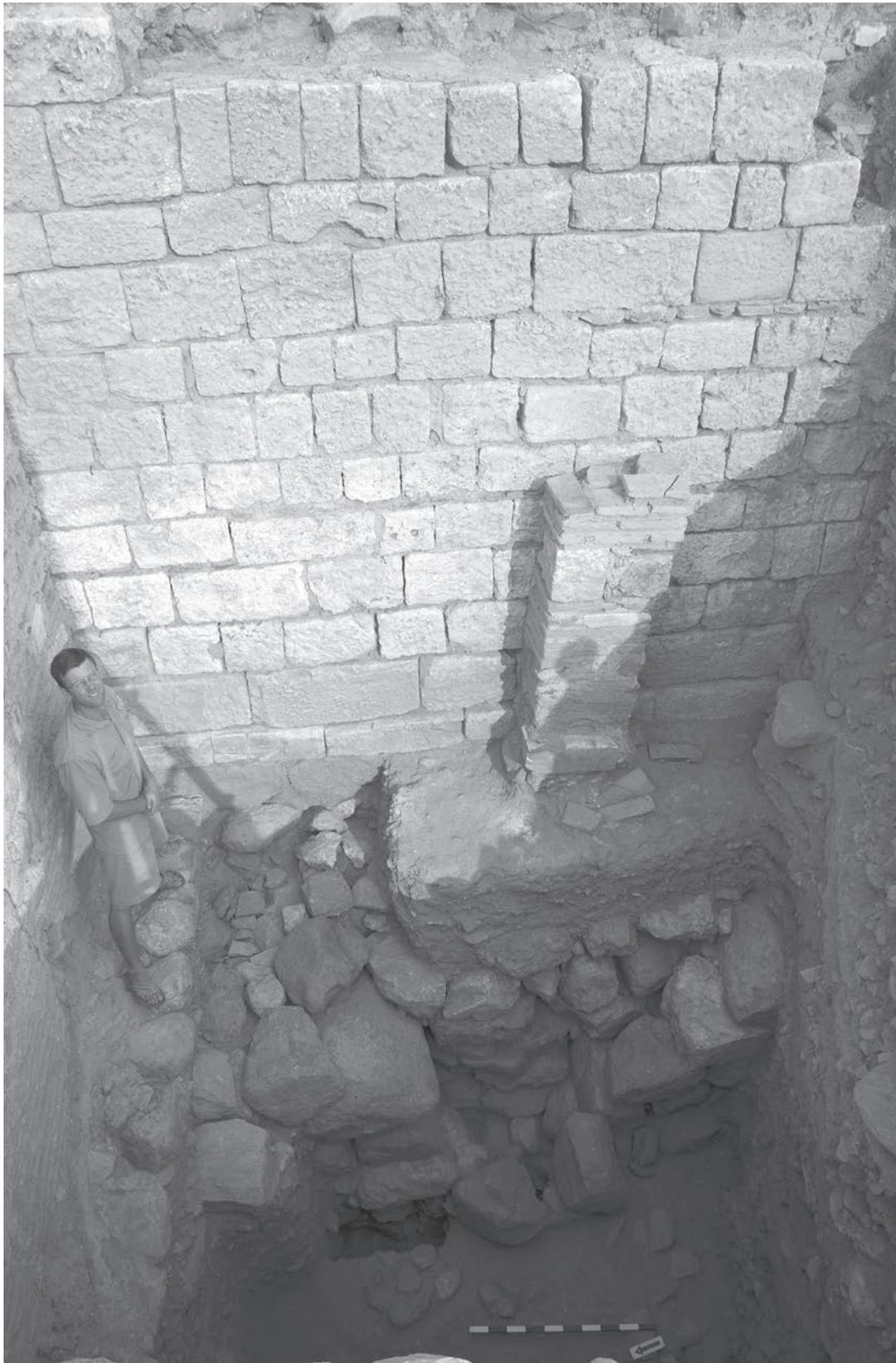


Fig. 1.3. Terrace walls of Field 49, southern trench. Above, the early Roman phase; below, two limestone and two sandstone courses of the sixth-century Lydian terrace wall. This in turn was constructed on an earlier phase built of massive boulders. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)



Fig. 1.4. Lydian terrace walls at Acropolis North. Traces of an external staircase show that these are not part of the defenses of the acropolis but probably supported elite buildings. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)



Fig. 1.5. The tunnel leading from the base of the acropolis above ByzFort and Field 49 up to the area below the terrace walls at Acropolis North, thus joining the city's two probable palatial regions. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

fortification, as we know from deep corings and a well that produced a vast quantity of Lydian pottery.¹⁵ It may well have continued out onto the plain, but cores show that even the Roman-era remains lie under more than 15 meters of sediment.¹⁶ Although the fortifications enclosed about 108 hectares, the extramural settlement would have roughly doubled this area.

Among the questions we might ask, then, are: How did we get the Lydian city inside out? And how can we avoid getting our urban topography quite so wrong in the future? Some answers can be found by looking at Sardis in the Persian era. We are in a much better position to distinguish Lydian Sardis from Persian Sardis than Hanfmann was because we now have the fixed marker of the Persian destruction in a number of sectors, which he had never identified securely, and we understand the pottery before and after this event much more clearly.

THE PERSIAN CAPTURE

The capture of Sardis by Cyrus the Great in about 547 was a catastrophe for the Lydians. The city ceased to be an imperial capital and instead became a regional node incorporated into the much larger Achaemenid satrapal system (pls. 1 and 5). Elspeth Dusinberre's "Spotlight: Sealstones from Sardis, Dascylium, and Gordion" in this volume illustrates Sardis's elevated place within that system.

One remarkable aspect of this catastrophe is that it is archaeologically so well preserved and attested throughout the site. Where we have reached these levels—inside the western fortification at Sectors MMS, MMS/N, MMS/S, in the city center at Sector ThSt and probably Sector F49, and at the northern and eastern fortifications at Sectors MD₂ and CW6—excavations have revealed burned and demolished houses and other buildings, with casualties of battle and smashed pottery on the floors, soldiers bearing battle wounds, weapons and armor, and other dramatic evidence of destruction (fig. 1.6).¹⁷ The Lydian fortification was systematically demolished and buried, and the houses left as smoldering ruins. Although Cyrus boasted of his gentle treatment of Babylon, he seems to have dealt harshly with Sardis.

Sardis was sacked by other adversaries and damaged by natural disasters. The Cimmerians captured the lower city in the seventh century and killed King Gyges. The Ionians burned Sardis in 499; Antiochus III sacked the city in 214, after a year's siege, leaving a rich historical and epigraphic record. In 17 CE an earthquake caused immense damage to a dozen cities in western Asia, of which Sardis was the worst hit. Hanfmann and other scholars have seen the last two events especially as turning points in the urban history of Sardis, catastrophes that led to fundamental shifts in the organization of the city and its transformation into a Hellenistic polis and then a Roman metropolis. However, no archaeological traces remain of these catastrophes themselves: no ruined buildings or piles of collapsed masonry as witnesses to cataclysm. The destruction level originally identified as that of Antiochus III has proven to be earlier, and not actually a destruction level at all; the effects of the earthquake are visible in new building programs around the site, but the Hellenistic buildings it destroyed have rarely if ever been identified with any certainty. The widespread archaeological remains of the Persian sack point less to the severity of destruction, therefore, and more to the lack of cleanup afterward.

After the destruction, the section of the wall at Sector MMS was rebuilt on the stub of the old (see fig. 1.2). The new wall was a mere 5–6 meters wide, rather than 20 meters, and built in phases. The first phase

15. Greenewalt 1978, 65–66. The pottery contains nothing that need be later than the mid-sixth century.

16. Greenewalt and Rautman 2000, 679.

17. Greenewalt 1992, 1997; Cahill 2010c.



Fig. 1.6. The theater of Sardis. Above, fill of the second century BCE, creating a cavea more than 100 meters in diameter. Directly below this, the destroyed remains of a Lydian house are being drawn by Cathy Alexander. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

was not long after the Persian destruction; the later, in the late fifth or early fourth century. It was extended by a new glacis, and the area inside the wall was at least partly graded into another glacis.¹⁸ This seems like continuity, but at this time the western gate of the city was blocked off, closing the main artery through Sardis. This road had been in use since at least 700, and during the Roman period was again the main thoroughfare through Sardis, spanned by one of the largest Roman arches in the world.¹⁹ By the late Hellenistic period, the road seems to have been in use again, to judge by graves of the late second–early first centuries along its course in HoB. But for some unknown length of time during the Persian period, the avenue was blocked, completely changing traffic patterns in and out of the city.

We have evidence of settlement just inside the fortification: garbage pits of the early fifth century, and deposits and walls of the fourth century (e.g., pl. 7).²⁰ In most of Sector MMS, however, there are very few strata between Lydian and Hellenistic levels, and one gets the impression of scattered low-density habitation rather than the very closely packed houses that characterized this neighborhood in the mid-sixth century. The situation is similar just inside the northern gate of the city at Mound 2, where we have pottery and lamps from the fifth and fourth centuries, but no buildings or other architectural features.

PERSIAN SARDIS: SUBURBS

Hanfmann was correct in observing a broad continuity of occupation between the Lydian and Persian periods in the areas west of the city where he excavated, and in concluding, based on his sample, that Persian Sardis continued many of the same traditions as Lydian Sardis. This is probably best illustrated at Sector PN (see “Spotlight: Life outside the Walls before the Seleucids,” by William Bruce).

PN shows a real continuity from the Lydian period through the Persian one, interrupted by a number of man-made and/or natural catastrophes between about 600 and 300. But in the early third century, three centuries of occupation here came to an end, houses were abandoned, and the inhabitants presumably moved elsewhere.

Sector HoB shows a somewhat similar pattern of occupation (fig. 1.7). Hanfmann argued that the area was abandoned after the Ionian Revolt of 499 and identified a burned layer as the destruction of Antiochus III, the same major events that he saw shaping PN. Restudy of the material has changed that interpretation; it now seems that Building C and the neighboring “Stone Circle” were built around the mid-fifth century and remained in use through the later fourth century, with the area being essentially abandoned by the early third century.²¹ A remarkable feature here is a layer of burned debris outside Building C, the so-called Stone Circle, which contained debris from a workshop including fragments of a furnace, investment mold fragments, bowl crucibles, props, and other remains from casting a life-size bronze figure, datable to the fifth century.²²

The extramural neighborhoods seem to have been quite active in the fifth century, but further up the Pactolus the picture was not so rosy. Neighborhoods that had flourished during the Lydian period were

18. Greenewalt, Ramage, et al. 1983, 1–8; Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1994, 18–20.

19. Early levels: Greenewalt, Rautman, and Ratté 1995, 12; Greenewalt and Rautman 1998, 493–94. Arch: Cahill 2016, 157–58.

20. Greenewalt, Cahill, and Rautman 1987, 25–26; Dusinberre 1999, Deposits 1–3.

21. I emphasize that these conclusions should be taken with some caution, since the excavation of these areas did not follow the stratigraphy, and our experience has been that it takes a lot of care and concentration to distinguish different building phases and their associated fills.

22. Carol Mattusch is studying this deposit; it is mentioned (although incorrectly dated) in Hanfmann 1962, 7.

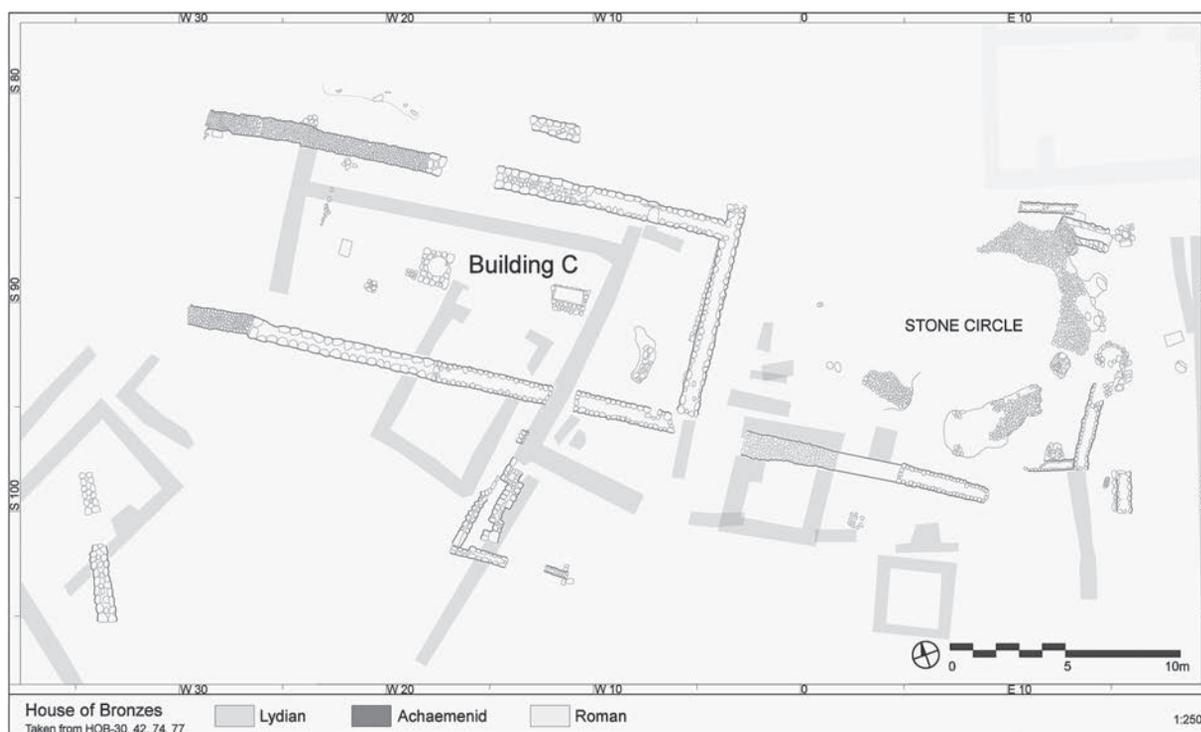


Fig. 1.7. Plan of Sector HoB in the “late Lydian” or Achaemenid period, showing Building C and the “Stone Circle” containing the detritus from casting a life-size bronze statue in the fifth century. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

abandoned in the Persian era (pl. 2). This can be seen quite distinctly at Northeast Wadi and across the Pactolus, where destruction deposits dating to the mid-sixth century were found, and no trace of subsequent occupation; the habitation area west of the Pactolus was converted into a cemetery.²³ North of the modern highway, a well was found with Lydian pottery of the first half of the sixth century, and none from the fifth or fourth centuries, attesting some kind of occupation here until the beginning of the Persian period, but not into it. Lydian occupation strata have been found underneath a number of Persian-period tombs along the Pactolus Valley, again suggesting a transition from habitation in the first half of the sixth century to cemetery in the Persian era.²⁴

It is dangerous to generalize from such tiny samples, but a general pattern seems to emerge: a widespread suburban settlement in the Lydian period, which shrinks in the Persian period to a more focused core around PN.

PERSIAN SARDIS: THE CORE

Seen from the point of view of the suburbs, life at Sardis appears to have contracted but to have continued without much change, with mixed dwellings and craft production in both PN and HoB. We could easily

23. Cahill 2012, 214.

24. E.g., Tombs 76.1 and 77.1; Greenewalt 1979, 8, 19.

believe that life as an Achaemenid satrapal capital was fundamentally similar to life as a Lydian capital, though perhaps on a smaller scale. One might expect to find life continuing unchanged in the city center and in the former Lydian palace. Years ago, we expected that if only we could excavate in the center of Lydian Sardis, we might find the Persian palace of Cyrus and Tissaphernes, maybe an apadana, or reliefs like those at Persepolis and Susa. But excavations in the center of the Lydian city have suggested a very different scenario.

We have now excavated to Lydian levels in four sectors in the center of the city, and recently with this specific question of the Persian-period occupation in mind. In all these areas we have found a distinctive gap in occupation between the Persian destruction of 547 and the Hellenistic period. From 2006 to 2010 we excavated in the Roman theater, which was built over its Hellenistic predecessors of the third and second centuries BCE (see chapter 2, “The Archaeology of a Changing City,” by Andrea M. Berlin, and chapter 7, “The Hellenistic City Plan,” by Philip Stinson). What we did not expect was to find the remains of another Lydian house, again with the same destruction debris from the middle of the sixth century, about halfway up the cavea.

Knowing as we do that this was near the center of Lydian Sardis, it was not a surprise to find occupation here. What was striking was that the house lay almost directly under the fill of the Hellenistic theater. It was covered by the melted remains of its own mud-brick walls, which were eroded to a thin, laminated crust by centuries of exposure (see fig. 1.6). A robber’s trench had removed some of the stones of its walls. It was filled in in the early third century, the source of the terracotta figurines of Kybele discussed by Frances Gallart Marqués in chapter 5 in this volume. But between c. 547 and the early third century, a span of about 250 years, we have no signs of occupation in this area.

On ByzFort, a nearby hill, occupation began perhaps as early as the Early Iron Age, and by the sixth century this was a focal point of Lydian Sardis: a magnificent limestone terrace wall that once stood some 12 meters high, part of that palatial complex. There was no sign of the Persian destruction here, but the occupation stops about the mid-sixth century. Here too we find a gap in occupation until the late fourth or early third century, the same era as the first signs of occupation near the theater (see chapter 2).

This possible gap in occupation during the Persian period was very much on my mind in 2009, when we restarted excavation on the hill between ByzFort and the theater, called Field 49. Our goal was to understand the long history of this central hill of downtown Sardis, and over the past nine years this sector has produced the most complete sequence of occupation of any sector, from the early Lydian through the early Byzantine eras, including multiple Hellenistic phases, rich early Roman remains unattested elsewhere, and an early Medieval cemetery. The work is very slow, with deep trenches that take years to excavate, and every year our understanding changes in important ways.

The Lydian remains are sadly damaged, but we can see traces of the Persian destruction even here: one clear burned floor running between two Lydian walls, with three arrowheads on it; elsewhere, strata of burned earth with pottery of the mid-sixth century; human bones of at least two individuals; weapons, including more than thirty arrowheads of both two-bladed and three-bladed types; part of a suit of iron scale armor. This may not be conclusive, but is consistent with the evidence for destruction elsewhere in the site.

Yet despite careful excavation and analysis, the Persian period on this hill remains quite indistinct. At the north end of the hill is a fill dating to the fifth and fourth centuries. Although it contained a fair amount of diagnostic Achaemenid material, this is not an occupation stratum, but something else, perhaps associated with the robbing of some nearby feature. Elsewhere on the hill we do not even find this quantity of Achaemenid material, nor any unmixed strata, walls, or floors that can be dated to this period. Nor is there

much residual material that can be dated to the Persian era. The situation here contrasts completely with excavations at the edges of the city and in the suburbs, where we find buildings and stratigraphy clearly datable by well-preserved pottery and lamps of the fifth and fourth centuries. This could change with future excavation, of course: every year brings some new surprise. But so far our basic hypothesis that there is a gap in occupation in the city center between the Persian destruction and the Hellenistic period has stood up pretty well.

In every case where the stratigraphy is preserved (and this is admittedly a small number of sectors), significant Lydian public buildings and houses in the center of the city were apparently destroyed during the Persian capture c. 547, and that destruction was followed by a period of either abandonment or, at most, greatly reduced presence without clear signs of occupation. And again, it is the contrast between the archaeology in the center and that in the suburbs that is so striking.

Archaeologists like to connect the dots. We will never have a statistically significant archaeological sample of any large city like Sardis, so we base our stories on available evidence, and we use that evidence and the questions it raises to direct further research and find more useful dots. Hanfmann based his story on what turned out to be a very biased sample in the suburbs of the city. In trying to rectify that bias, some of our new evidence has turned out to be negative, such as an absence of pottery and stratigraphy in parts of the city. This kind of evidence—like Sherlock Holmes's dog that didn't bark in the night—is harder to work with but it is nonetheless essential.

This shift from monumental occupation in the center of the Lydian city to small-scale occupation along the banks of the Pactolus makes better sense of Herodotus's description (5.101) of Sardis in 499 as an undistinguished collection of small reed and mud-brick houses along the riverbanks, not a monumental city of terraces and palaces. Had Herodotus (or his sources) seen limestone terraces and 20-meter-thick fortifications at Sardis, he surely would not have described it as a city of reed houses.

I would therefore argue that the Persian period represents a profound discontinuity in the urban history of Sardis. I further suggest that the population was more dispersed in the Persian era, both at Sardis and in Anatolia more generally, a phenomenon reflected in the increased number of rural tumulus groups and small settlements and the decline of major urban centers such as Sardis, Miletus, Smyrna, and Kerkenes Dağ. It is a complex process, here and everywhere, but where Hanfmann and others saw the great shift in Sardis's urban history as the transition from Oriental, Lydian-Achaemenid capital to Greek polis, I see the major discontinuity in Sardis's long history in the transition from Lydian capital to Achaemenid satrapal center, which may not have been properly a city at all. This conjecture is strengthened by the wording of the Aramaic text of a bilingual funerary inscription found at Sardis, which refers to *bsprd byrt'*, "in Sardis, the fortress," rather than "in Sardis, the city."²⁵ This may be parallel to the Akkadian terminology used to describe Sardis, the determinatives "kur" in 281 and 274 and "uru" in 254, discussed by Paul J. Kosmin in chapter 3, "Remaking a City."

PERSIAN SARDIS: SANCTUARIES

While Sardis may not have been a nucleated, fortified city during the Persian era as it had been in the Lydian, its sanctuaries seem to have flourished, providing a striking contrast to the treatment of the urban core.

25. Buckler 1924, no. 1; Cowley 1921; Kahle and Sommer 1927; Briant 1993, 21–23. Deep gratitude goes to Jeremy Hutton, who offered detailed thoughts on the use of these words.

The Lydian altar to Kubaba at PN remained in use into the Persian period, but this sanctuary is probably not the one burned by the Ionians in 499.²⁶ William Bruce has shown that the old idea that the Lydian altar was converted into a fire altar is unlikely on both archaeological and historical grounds (see his “Spotlight: Life outside the Walls,” and also chapter 5 by Gallart Marqués).

Kubaba’s main sanctuary, however, was probably somewhere near the late Roman synagogue. Fragments of her temple and dedications from the sanctuary were found reused in this late Roman building; they represent the greatest number and concentration of Lydian and Persian sculptures from Sardis.²⁷ They include sculptures of the goddess, a multitude of lions, an inscription in an unknown Anatolian language, and the famous inscriptions of Antiochus III, which were inscribed “on the *parastades* of the temple which is in the sanctuary of the Mother” (see my “Spotlight: The Metroön at Sardis”).²⁸ These blocks are so concentrated in this late Roman building that we conclude that the sanctuary must have been somewhere nearby, probably outside the Lydian walls, and that it probably remained in use, or at least somewhat intact, until the synagogue was constructed in the fourth or fifth century CE. The spolia date from both before and after the Persian sack, suggesting that a Lydian sanctuary continued and flourished under Achaemenid rule.²⁹ Presumably this was the one visited by Themistocles, where he saw the statue he had dedicated in Athens (Plut. *Them.* 31).

If Themistocles saw a temple—and Plutarch’s account does not specify that he did—it was not the one whose antae bore the famous inscriptions of Antiochus III that so excited Hanfmann. The texts of these inscriptions are of the utmost importance in our understanding of Hellenistic Sardis; I will leave that discussion to others, but the blocks themselves are not uninteresting (see “Spotlight: The Metroön at Sardis”).

The major Hellenistic monument of Sardis is, of course, the temple of Artemis (fig. 1.8). Fikret Yegül treats the Hellenistic temple in chapter 6 in this volume; I wish here to recall the earlier history of the cult and sanctuary, for the temple was not built *ex novo* in the third century. Remains *in situ* of the pre-Hellenistic phase of the sanctuary are sparse, but they are more plentiful than is sometimes recognized (fig. 1.9). The “Lydian Altar” LA1 is well known; its date is unclear, but somewhere in the later sixth or fifth century.³⁰ Howard Crosby Butler recognized that the sandstone “Basis” in the center of the cella was another early structure predating the temple. It was dated by Hanfmann and others to the Hellenistic period because of two Hellenistic coin hoards. But these are later additions, dropped into vertical joints between stones. The only coin found between horizontal joints is a silver croeseid, probably of the later sixth or early fifth century, compatible with the architectural features of the Basis.³¹

These two Persian-era structures, the altar and the basis, set the stage for the design of the Hellenistic temple, which was arranged to accommodate these earlier buildings. The superstructures of these or other buildings in the sanctuary must have been taken down, and many were apparently incorporated into the Hellenistic building, which includes large and beautifully cut spolia blocks of marble, sandstone, and limestone in its walls and foundations, demonstrating that there were substantial ashlar buildings here in the Persian era, even if they do not survive.³²

26. Contra Berndt-Ersöz 2013.

27. Mitten and Scorziello 2008.

28. Gauthier 1989.

29. Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, nos. 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 26, 32, 33, 39, 272; Gauthier 1989.

30. Ratté 2011, app. 3, 123–25; Cahill and Greenewalt 2016.

31. Hellenistic hoards: Franke 1961; Le Rider 1991. Croeseid: Bell 1916, no. 223; in general, see Cahill and Greenewalt 2016, 495.

32. Cahill and Greenewalt 2016, 497–98.



Fig. 1.8. The temple of Artemis, showing the altars of Artemis in the foreground. The later altar (LA2), with restored stairs, encloses the earlier, square altar (LA1). Two rows of stele bases flank the approach to the temple. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Building Q, at the entrance to the sanctuary, may also predate the Hellenistic temple. Although Hanfmann believed it was late Roman, its roughly hewn marble walls and the Lydian inscription on one corner block suggest that it could be much earlier than that.³³ It has been extensively repaired and maintained, of course, but it is at least a candidate for a Persian building.

Among the first things a visitor to the sanctuary would encounter are two rows of stele bases (see fig. 1.8). Some of these bases carried Lydian stelae, fragments of which were found still dowelled into their sockets with lead. Three stelae bearing texts in Lydian were found in the area, one of them “directly in front of one of these bases, and lying flat, face downward, on a level with the top of it” (fig. 1.10).³⁴ Two of these bear inscriptions in Lydian recording that Mitridastas the son of Mitratas established the sanctuary and donated property to it, and calling down curses on transgressors. Other stelae were set on bases around and in front of the Lydian altar LA2. The stelae are difficult to date, as both the Lydian language and Iranian names continue to

33. Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 61; Cahill and Greenewalt 2016, 495–97.

34. Visible in many photographs in the Butler archives at Princeton University. Quotation: Butler 1922, 66; the stele described is Gusmani 1964, no. 22; the other two are nos. 23–24; see Schürr 1997; Yakubovich 2017.

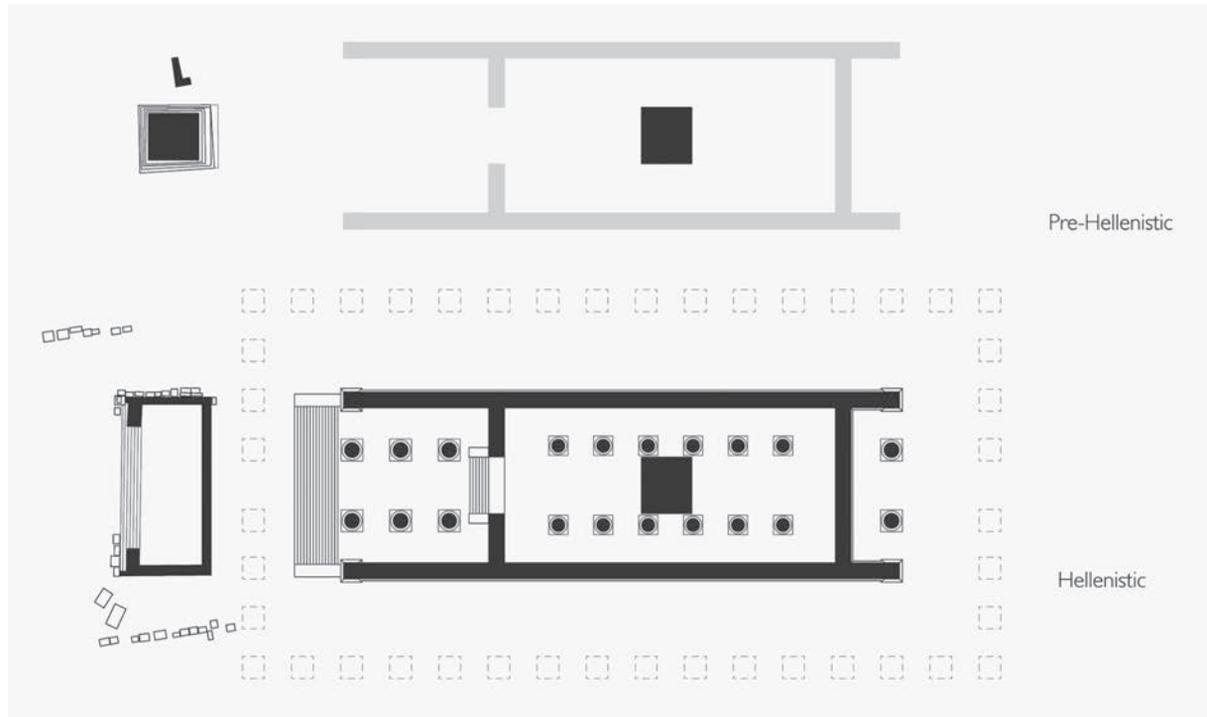


Fig. 1.9. Plan of pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic phases of the temple of Artemis. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

be used into the Hellenistic period, but it is hard to imagine that these Lydian inscriptions bearing Iranian names refer to the new Hellenistic Greek sanctuary. Rather, they should refer to this earlier phase of the sanctuary in the Persian period.

One inscription (Gusmani no. 23) records that the sanctuary was dedicated by Mitridastas to both Artemis and $\text{Q}\lambda\delta\alpha\tilde{n}$ s, naming $\text{Q}\lambda\delta\alpha\tilde{n}$ s first. $\text{Q}\lambda\delta\alpha\tilde{n}$ s was once identified as Apollo, but this suggestion was made because of the association of Artemis with Apollo in Greek mythology, and because Artemis and $\text{Q}\lambda\delta\alpha\tilde{n}$ s are associated in this and other Lydian inscriptions.³⁵ However, this identification has recently been rejected. Alfred Heubeck long ago linked the name to $\text{ko}\alpha\lambda\delta\delta\tilde{\alpha}\nu$, translated by Hesychios as the Lydian word for “king”; and a recent study by Annick Payne suggests that this shadowy figure could be a royal title rather than a name, parallel to the Carian “*xñtawati xbidēñni*, Greek βασιλευς καννίος, the ‘King of Caunus.’”³⁶ Could this male figure associated with Artemis be distantly related to the Zeus Polieus who is described as sharing a sanctuary with Artemis in an inscription of 1 BCE?³⁷ This association of Zeus and Artemis in the sanctuary has been the subject of some controversy and probably misunderstanding over the years, but it should not be forgotten.³⁸ These stelae were rather extraordinarily long-lived. Hanfmann suggested that they

35. Payne and Wintjes 2016; Gusmani 1964, 188; Hawkins 2013, 189–90.

36. Heubeck 1959, 21–30; see also Hawkins 2013, 188–90; the comparison and quotation are from Payne (forthcoming), who discovered that earlier transcriptions of Hesychios had mistakenly emended the entry for $\text{ko}\alpha\lambda\delta\delta\tilde{\alpha}\nu$.

37. Buckler and Robinson 1932, no. 8, lines 133–34.

38. Butler looked in vain for the sanctuary of Zeus on the north side of the temple (Butler 1922, 114, 123–25; Buckler and Robinson 1932, nos. 8, 22). Hanfmann believed that the two-cella plan dated to the Hellenistic era, and that one

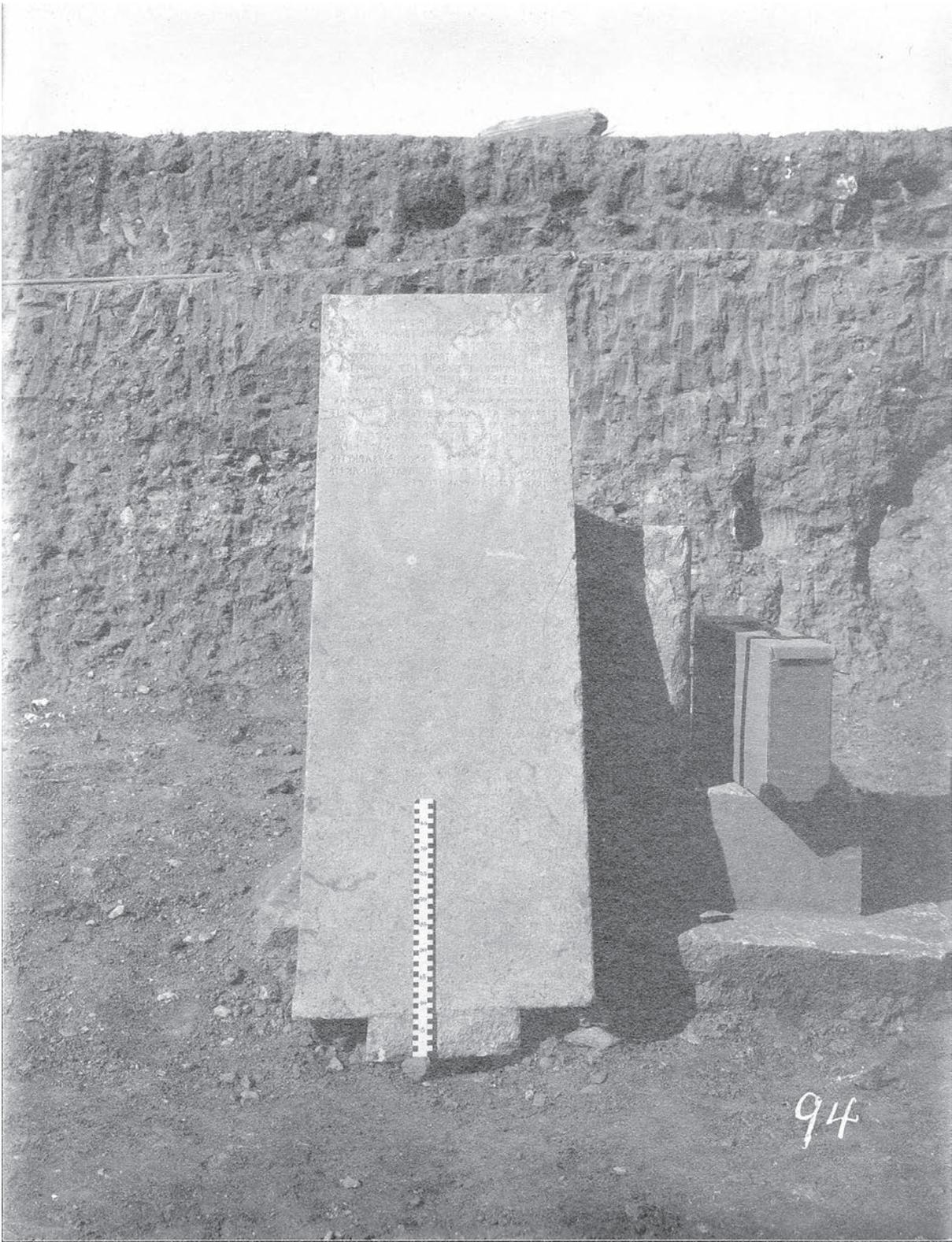


Fig. 1.10. Lydian stele no. 22, found toppled from its base. (Howard Crosby Butler Archive, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University)

were set up only in a late Roman reorganization of the sanctuary, but although the ensemble has been rearranged, maintained, and added to over the years, and its current state reflects a major rearrangement in 1970, some of these bases may well date back to the Hellenistic period or earlier. They are set on an axis different from that of the temple, but aligned with that of Building Q, which, as I already suggested, predates the temple, and with that of a building preserved only in a fragment within the perimeter wall of LA2, which seems to predate LA1. And even if the bases were set up here during the imperial period, it is significant that they bore stelae preserved from a much earlier period. And they were still leaded into their original bases when the western part of the sanctuary fell out of use, perhaps in the fourth or fifth century CE. They document the continued interest in and emphasis on the antiquity of the cult of Artemis here, an interest that probably began as early as the Hellenistic period and continued throughout antiquity.

A final question about the Artemis sanctuary in the Persian period is whether it contained a statue or some other sort of representation of the goddess. While the only representation of the deity found at Sardis itself, so far, appears on Roman coins, a recently discovered Hellenistic gravestone, found in the 2008 excavations of the Sirkeci metro stop in Istanbul, offers tantalizing new information. The stele, which according to Eva Christof belonged to a priestess of Artemis Sardiane, seems to depict the cult statue or represent her cult image in some form.³⁹ The image, which is also depicted on imperial coins with the cult image of Artemis of Ephesus, indicates that the Sardian Artemis was a nonanthropomorphic composite of a draped stool with feet, a pillow, a pyxis with a female head, and torches. Christof dates the stele to the second half of the second century BCE, and one wonders how far back this representation extended. Was this the goddess whose cult in Sardis was instituted by Mitridastas? Sardis never fails to surprise and confound.

RETURN TO THE CITY CORE

Upon Alexander's arrival at Sardis in 334, he was met by two delegations: one from the Persian garrison on the acropolis, and one from the Lydian elders of the lower city, reflecting, as Pierre Briant and others point out, the bifurcated nature of Sardis at this time.⁴⁰ I am tempted to interpret Alexander's decision to allow the Lydians to use their ancient laws as leading, eventually, to the resettlement of the ancient Lydian city center, which had lain more or less fallow since the Persian sack of 547. Indeed, the date of the earliest true Hellenistic settlement in the city center remains unresolved. In chapter 2 Berlin points out the marked paucity of ceramics of the last quarter of the fourth century and the very early third, whereas buildings and ceramics are found in abundance from the second quarter of the third century on. At ByzFort, the theater, and Field 49, we have distinctive deposits that postdate Alexander's arrival by a couple of generations, but little or nothing from the period immediately following the Macedonian conquest. The archaeological evidence at present suggests that occupation in the city center was at best sporadic until the consolidation of Seleucid control.

In what follows I present a preliminary reading of new excavation results from the heart of the city. I am deliberately cautious about connecting remains with specific people or events, because in the past overeager associations between archaeological phenomena and historical events have led to mistaken conclusions that, as we have seen, influenced the course of research and interpretation for many years.

of the colossal heads was that of Achaëus (the only bearded Seleucid in Asia Minor) in the guise of Zeus (Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 75–76; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 104–5, no. 102).

39. Christof 2013.

40. Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.3–6; Briant 1993, now republished in Briant 2017, 499–517.

Moreover, good deposits and comprehensible buildings of the fourth and earlier third centuries are frustratingly rare. On Field 49, floor levels for many of the Hellenistic (and Lydian) phases were above the preserved surface of the hill, so all that remains are foundations cut into earlier levels. Stones were robbed from one wall and rebuilt into another, sometimes more than once, and walls and foundations were dismantled and rebuilt on the same lines, destroying stratigraphy that would offer dates for earlier phases. After almost a decade of excavation, we have fewer than half a dozen patches of floors, and mostly foundations of walls without preserved floors. Each year our interpretations are quite different from the previous year's, as new information emerges.⁴¹ We can make a few general observations, though.

At both Sector Field 49 and ByzFort, there was frequent and intense building activity through a good part of the Hellenistic period, much of it large in scale and very probably elite in nature. The first Hellenistic resettlers found very different situations on these two hills. The Lydian terrace on ByzFort probably survived to a considerable height, and its limestone façade continued in use into the Roman period. Here,



Fig. 1.11. Hellenistic cobbled pavement on ByzFort. The top of the sixth-century Lydian limestone terrace wall can be seen at the left; this stood through the Hellenistic and Roman periods and was only robbed in the nineteenth century. The Hellenistic wall of the room on the right was overbuilt by a late Roman wall. The view of the lower city, and Bin Tepe and the Gygean Lake in the distance, illustrates the desirability of this high region of the city. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / President and Fellows of Harvard College)

41. For these reasons, the preliminary reports in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* have been brief and general. These reports are accessible on the Ministry of Culture website (<http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,44760/kazi-sonuclari-toplantilari.html>) and on our own (<http://sardisexpedition.org/en/publications/kst>).

the earliest post-Lybian occupation is represented by pebbled surfaces at the northeast corner of the hill, built against the Lybian terrace wall and probably dating to the late fourth or early third century (chapter 2). Later Hellenistic surfaces belonging with this wall were more substantial (fig. 1.11). The very top of the hill was graded or eroded in the Roman period, and most earlier remains were lost; only a part of one later Hellenistic building survives here.

On Field 49, the earliest Hellenistic phases may just now be coming into focus. In the southern trench, a massive wall or foundation built of rough limestone blocks underlies a later Hellenistic foundation built of fieldstones on the same line (see pl. 16, Phase 1; fig. 1.12). Pottery associated with this earlier phase, however, was scant and not closely datable; the foundation is post-Lybian but cannot be assigned to a particular date. Two conclusions may be drawn, however. First, the wall is oriented to the Lybian terrace, and although no Hellenistic phase of the terrace wall survives, it was probably rebuilt in the earliest Hellenistic phase as well as later in the Hellenistic era. Second, even the earliest post-Lybian buildings were massive and well organized and followed the earlier Lybian alignments of the hill—which, indeed, established the structure



Fig. 1.12. A maze of walls in the southern trench on Field 49. The round oven in the center belongs to the early Roman period. Immediately under it, running east-west (parallel to the meter stick and just above it) is a late Hellenistic wall; this cuts earlier Hellenistic foundations running north-south, which in turn were built over a large wall or foundation of limestone blocks, on which the meter stick and arrow are set. The date of this latter wall cannot be determined precisely, but it represents the earliest phase of post-Lybian occupation in this trench, perhaps the earliest of the pre-Seleucid era. In the gap in front of this limestone wall, a mud-brick wall encased in burned debris (now excavated away) belongs to the final Lybian phase, a wall of the palace of Croesus. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)

of the hill for the rest of its occupational history. In contrast, the mud-brick wall belonging to the final Lydian phase was smaller in scale and not oriented to the terrace.

In a later phase (see pl. 16, Phase 2), a series of loosely built but massive subterranean foundations seem to have been constructed to stabilize and raise the level of the hill. A set of limestone stairs at the very edge of the trench led to a building in the unexcavated area to the south; in this area we encountered only a floor, perhaps that of an open court.

At least two phases of monumental Hellenistic walls are preserved further north, in the central trench on the hill (figs. 1.13–14). Both reused limestone blocks from earlier Lydian buildings, the earlier phase including finely worked faceted moldings and wall blocks of very hard limestone distinctively trimmed with a flat chisel, a type of masonry not found in other Lydian spolia from Sardis. The Hellenistic walls continue the line of the Lydian terrace wall to the south, but remains of occupation immediately outside, from both the Lydian and the Hellenistic periods, show that at this area the outer terrace wall stood further west, and



Fig. 1.13. Aerial view of the central trench on Field 49. Running across the trench from right to left is the Hellenistic platform or internal terrace, built of limestone blocks reused from earlier Lydian buildings; the right-hand part was robbed out in the Roman era. The blocks of the upper phase (Phase 3 in pl. 16) are smaller, probably cut down to size at least twice, and are set with schist shims to adjust the coursing; they run over an earlier Lydian wall made of massive schist blocks. The phase below (Phase 2 in pl. 16) lacks those shims and is built of larger stones; it turns a corner as it meets the Lydian wall. In the foreground is another Lydian wall, built of finely cut limestone blocks. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)

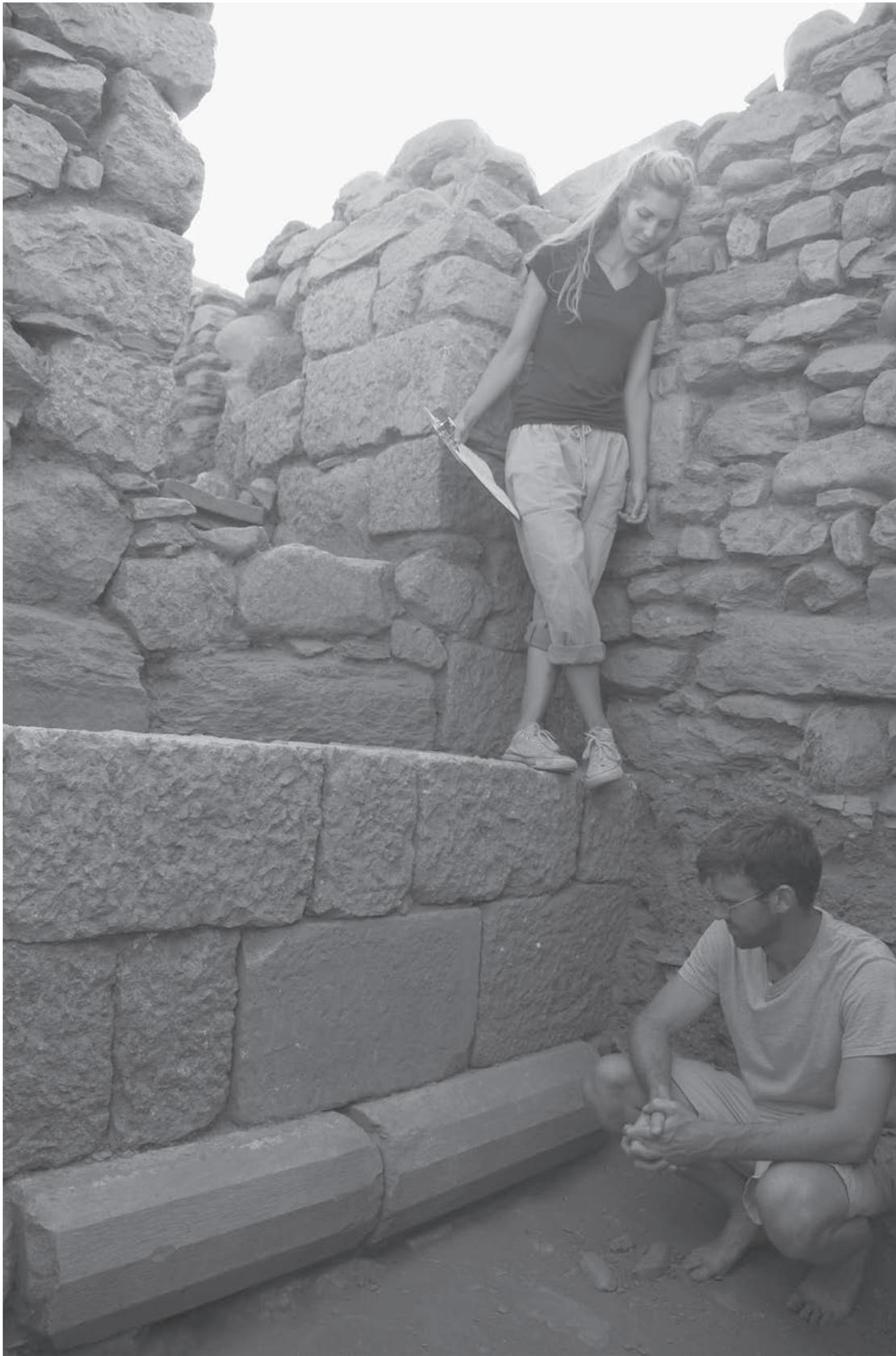


Fig. 1.14. The north wall of the earlier (Phase 2) Hellenistic limestone platform, which here included finely worked faceted wall moldings, spolia from the Lydian palace. Above it is a later Hellenistic wall and door. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)

the Hellenistic walls formed an internal terrace or platform, rather than a terrace per se. Pottery from the foundation trench of the lower Hellenistic phase dates it to the first half of the third century (see chapter 2).

A peculiar feature is a colossal, roughly square foundation, about 2.2 by 2.0 meters in area and 1.6 meters high, built of enormous reused limestone blocks (fig. 1.15). This structure also has two phases. In both phases, thick fieldstone wall foundations were built around the limestone pier. The earlier phase of the pier is likely to be contemporary with the first phase of the platform. Outside the structure, a series of floors of the first half of the third century probably belong with the earlier phase; pottery and a coin of Seleucus I suggest a date in the second quarter of the third century (fig. 1.16; and cf. pl. 17, from a slightly later floor, but belonging to the same phase).

As in the southern trench, the scale of construction here is massive, oriented to the earlier Lydian terrace, and repeatedly rebuilt on similar lines. The complexity and scale of Hellenistic remains on this hill and, to a lesser extent, ByzFort stand in striking contrast to the almost complete absence of remains here from the previous centuries of Persian control.



Fig. 1.15. A massive but somewhat mysterious pier or foundation built of enormous limestone blocks. Those of the lower phase at least are reused, with nonmatching clamp cuttings and anathyrosis on an outside, non-joining face. The more roughly set blocks of the upper phase were also a subterranean foundation and indicate a much higher floor level in this phase than is preserved. (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)



Fig. 1.16. Artifacts from a floor belonging with, but outside, the earlier Hellenistic limestone platform or terrace: Atticizing black-glazed handleless lekanis, ca. 300–250 (P17.083); terracotta draped woman (?) (T17.012); terracotta die (T17.007); coin of Seleucus I, 281–280 (2017.0039). From the foundation trench of the earlier phase of the platform: tableware jug (P17.066). (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)

The major question, however, is the date of the earliest Hellenistic settlement in the city center. At ByzFort, the theater, and Field 49, we have few or no structures or closed deposits from the period immediately following the Macedonian conquest, but significant, large-scale buildings and fine pottery from the second quarter of the third century onward. Does the almost total lack of structures and deposits from the first couple of generations after Alexander's arrival imply that vigorous occupation only returned later? The majority of archaeological evidence at present suggests that occupation in the city center was at most sporadic until the consolidation of Seleucid control.

However, in the earliest of our identified Hellenistic phases in the central trench, we find not only reused Lydian blocks (i.e., datable by their workmanship to the first half of the sixth century or earlier), but also large numbers of post-Lydian roof tiles dumped into the foundation trenches for the "platform" (see fig. 2.6), and distinctive limestone blocks with anathyrosis and swallowtail clamps with iron staples, reused in that mysterious colossal foundation (fig. 1.15). The roof tiles are very similar to later Hellenistic roof tiles but cannot be dated closely. In their technical features the limestone blocks are similar to those reused in the temple of Artemis, but likewise cannot be dated more closely without datable local parallels. These roof tiles and blocks could thus belong to either the later Achaemenid period or the earlier Hellenistic one, and they document one or more monumental buildings, presumably on or near this hill. Some ceramics of the late fourth and early third centuries come from this trench, but all are from later contexts, with no architecture or strata in situ. Somewhere in the unexcavated part of this hill, there may be structures of this period that were demolished in the Seleucid phase. This phase remains mysterious, and at present we can only keep it in mind as a problem yet to be solved, and not to be forgotten.

As Kosmin shows in chapter 3, the decades between Alexander's arrival and the Seleucid consolidation of control after 281 were particularly chaotic at Sardis, even for this period of upheaval and conflict. Some of the chaos of the archaeology of early Hellenistic phases here may be due to unfinished projects begun by short-lived rulers and their representatives at Sardis during this period. Yet the dearth of ceramics or other material, especially from Field 49, where we have studied the pottery more intensively than anywhere else, argues against an extensive building program during these decades. Following the Seleucid conquest, however, the former Lydian city center was again a bustling zone of large, high-status buildings, inheriting and reusing the ruins of the Lydian palace. And the almost frenetic pace of building and reconstruction hardly ceases until the first century BCE.

The other side of the coin is seen in the region along the Pactolus, which had become one focus of settlement at Sardis during the Persian period. In the early third century, occupation seems to come to an end in Sector PN. The destruction level of units XIX and XX, recently redated by Andrea M. Berlin from 214 to the early third century, need not represent a widespread, historical destruction as was originally suggested.⁴² Rather, the inhabitants seem to have abandoned these houses, salvaged roof tiles and stones from the buildings, leaving piles of broken tiles and areas of destruction debris, and filled in wells. This area then became a cemetery during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Like the Persian destruction of 547, the preservation of assemblages in units XIX and XX points to a shift in occupation rather than (or in addition to) a historical destruction: nobody cleaned up the mess. A similar pattern is seen at HoB.

This mirror image of settlement inside and outside the ancient city walls during the Lydian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods is undoubtedly oversimplified, but it is consistent with the archaeological data in the city core and provides a model for future investigations. The return may help us understand what Alexander intended when he allowed the Lydians to use their ancestral customs. This shift from nucleated core to scattered, unfortified settlement and back again gives new significance to the Hellenistic period at Sardis. It represents not simply a process of transformation of this capital city into a Greek polis but a more fundamental return to an urban status that had apparently been lost during the centuries of Persian control. But the archaeological evidence so far suggests that this shift does not begin with Alexander but some generations later—perhaps, as Kosmin suggests in chapter 3, as part of a deliberate revival as the Seleucids remade the ancient Lydian imperial city as their own western capital.

A CAUTIONARY AFTERWORD

Archaeologists and historians work long and hard to understand the vast quantities of pottery, inscriptions, coins, stratigraphy, and ancient texts that form the raw data of our research; yet after decades of research we often achieve only the most patchy understanding of our subject. The Hellenistic Sardis Project of Paul J. Kosmin and Andrea M. Berlin is a welcome opportunity to stand back from our leaves and twigs and look to the forest, connecting objects and places in time and space to create a vivid, four-dimensional, populated story.

Excavations since *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* was published in 1983 have produced well-stratified occupation levels in many different parts of Sardis, and our understanding of the ceramics and other material culture of Hellenistic Sardis has changed dramatically since Hanfmann wrote his synthetic account, making possible the current reevaluation of the city and its history. One goal of this volume is to

42. Berlin 2016 and chapter 2.

extract every conclusion we can from the evidence, revisiting the archaeology and history of the Hellenistic city from various points of view. However, we should keep in mind the limitations of that evidence. Remains of Hellenistic reoccupation are often fortunate but accidental byproducts of trenches aimed at exploring the Lydian fortification on the outskirts of the city, at Sectors MMS, MD2, and elsewhere, and monumental Roman and Lydian building complexes in the city center, at Sectors ByzFort, F49, and F55. We have not conducted a general campaign to understand, for instance, the history of the street system of the lower city. This is a pressing need, and when we do undertake such a campaign, I hope and expect that our views of the urban development of Sardis will be expanded and changed, perhaps dramatically. Until then, we should realize that our conclusions are, like Hanfmann's characterization of the Lydian city based solely on excavations outside the city walls, very likely to be revised.

It is healthy to consider how we come to know what we know, how we achieved those dots in time and space that this book tries to connect, and what we were trying to achieve, rather than just what we actually discovered. Like most long-term archaeological excavations, the history of the Sardis Expedition is replete with carefully planned excavation projects with specific goals and results, but also with chance finds, unexpected setbacks that sometimes turned into opportunities, long-held misapprehensions or misidentifications that were corrected only after many years, and cherished beliefs that directed—and sometimes misdirected—campaigns and publications. We archaeologists ought always to remember the tale of the blind men and the elephant and recognize that we too may draw rational, well-supported, but ultimately mistaken conclusions, as we rely—perhaps inevitably—on too little data about something that is so large and unpredictable.