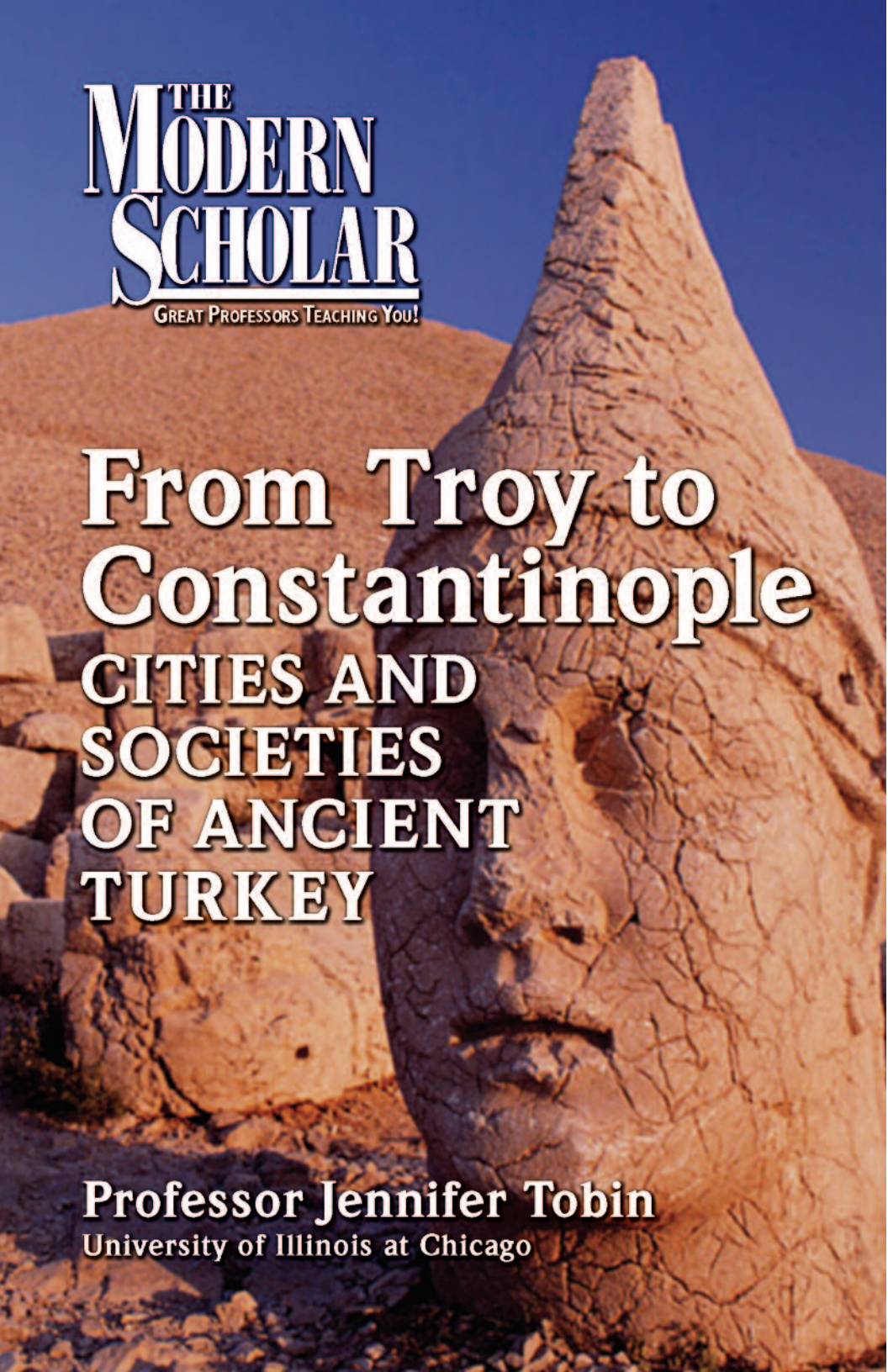
THE MODERN SCHOLAR
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From Troy to Constantinople
CITIES AND SOCIETIES OF ANCIENT TURKEY
Professor Jennifer Tobin
University of Illinois at Chicago

From Troy to Constantinople:
Cities and Societies of Ancient Turkey

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Course Syllabus

From Troy to Constantinople:
Cities and Societies of Ancient Turkey

Photo courtesy of Jennifer Tobin

About Your Professor

Jennifer Tobin

Jennifer Tobin is an associate professor of classical archaeology at the University of Illinois at Chicago, where she has taught since 1999. Professor Tobin is the author of *Black Cilicia: A Study of the Plain of Issus during the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (British Archaeological Reports, 2004) and *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens: Patronage and Conflict under the Antonines* (J.C. Gieben, 1997). She has participated in excavations in Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey and leads educational tours of archaeological sites in and around the Mediterranean basin.

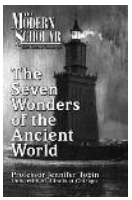
The Modern Scholar offers these other courses by Professor Tobin:

The Glory That Was Greece: Greek Art and Archaeology

No ancient society has exerted greater influence on the development of Western culture than the ancient Greeks. Over two thousand years ago these people gave birth to the institution of democracy, to scientific investigation and philosophical dialogue, to poetry, both epic and personal, to historical narrative, and to comic and tragic theater. Their intensely creative spark also manifested itself in the arts: in architecture with the creation of temples for the gods, theaters for assembly and entertainment, and tombs for the dead, in sculpture that depicted the divine ideal and human frailty, and painting that illustrated the simple patterns of daily life, the poignancy of death, and the fickleness of the gods.

The Grandeur That Was Rome: Roman Art and Archaeology

Common perceptions of Ancient Rome are plentiful, whether they take the form of crazy emperors hosting lavish feasts, scenes of chariot races and gladiatorial combat, or processions of conquering armies. But that is only half the story. In this enlightening lecture series, Professor Jennifer Tobin presents a sweeping portrait of Rome, including the lofty developments of senatorial government, historical writing, stunning art and architecture, and even the origins of long-lived customs such as the Roman tradition of carrying a bride over the threshold.



The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World

Esteemed professor Jennifer Tobin leads a compelling series of lectures on the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. Examining the historical and social context of each wonder, Tobin answers such questions as, Why was it built? and What can it tell us about the people who built it? From the Great Pyramid at Giza to the Colossus of Rhodes and the Pharos of Alexandria, the course provides a 360-degree view of these enduring marvels of human achievement.

The larger-than-life sculptures at the tumulus of Nemrud Dağ.

Introduction

Throughout history, Turkey has connected Europe and Asia, serving as a destination for settlement for a diverse array of peoples. A region of rich archaeological and historic significance, Turkey (or "Anatolia") proves an enlightening field of study for anyone interested in world culture—and in its continuing influence on the world today.

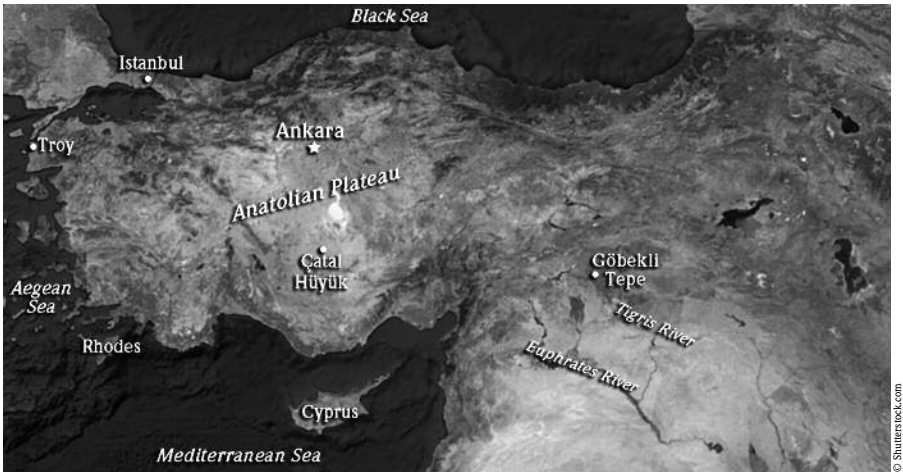
An esteemed professor in the field of classical archaeology, Jennifer Tobin examines the extraordinary heritage of societies such as those of the Hittites, Phrygians, Persians, and Carians. Conducting this well-researched survey from the Old Stone Age through the Later Roman Empire, Tobin also brings into the discussion notable personages including Helen of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Constantine.

Lecture 1

Palaeolithic and Neolithic Turkey

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 1, "Anatolia: A Land-Bridge in History."

The landmass known today as Turkey is a broad peninsula running east to west, stretching from Asia to Europe, incorporating a variety of climates and geographical zones. At its heart is the Anatolian Plateau, an expanse of steppe-land rising between 3,000 to 5,000 feet above sea level. To its north, the Pontus Mountains separate the plateau from the shores of the Black Sea, and to the south stands the mighty Taurus Range. Stretching along the entire length of the Mediterranean shoreline, with peaks rising over 12,000 feet high, the Taurus Mountains acted as a barrier between the inland and the sea, with only a few natural passes connecting the two regions. Mountains also occupy Eastern Turkey, home to the sources of both the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. These begin as small streams that build in strength as they flow south into Syria through the arid southeastern section of Turkey, a region associated with biblical Harran. The varied landscapes and natural barriers within Turkey encouraged the development of a number of unique societies in antiquity. The fact that Turkey is a land bridge connecting Europe and Asia also meant that from time immemorial peoples from north and south, east and west, have immigrated into the region and settled. This course is the story of the diverse societies that inhabited the Turkish peninsula from roughly 10,000 BC to AD 330. Because the Turks themselves did not enter the region until the twelfth century AD, I will not be using the modern and anachronous name for the region but will use the ethnically neutral term that most archaeologists use for ancient Turkey: Anatolia, simply meaning "the East."



One hundred thousand years ago humans lived a nomadic life, hunting wild animals and gathering wild fruits, nuts, and grains for sustenance, constantly on the move, following the herds and availing themselves of seasonal plants. Over the millennia, termed the Palaeolithic, or Old Stone Age, by archaeologists, humans endured several ice ages, the last one ending around 12,000 BC, and here our story begins. In Eastern Anatolia a site has recently been excavated that provides a remarkable window into the lives of these hunter-gatherers. Göbekli Tepe (or Potbelly Hill) is located just twenty miles from the Syrian border in a region that is home to wild wheat, gazelle, and a variety of birds. Here, millennia before the domestication of plants and animals, long before settled communities and the invention of pottery and writing, were created a number of monumental buildings, today considered the world's first temples. German excavator Klaus Schmidt has been investigating the hill for the past ten years and has cleared four round temple structures. Ground penetrating radar has indicated that at least sixteen more still lie below the surface. These share the same basic plan, with two T-shaped stone pillars encircled by other T-shaped pillars linked together by a coarsely built wall. Some of the circles are large, measuring sixty-five feet across, while others are smaller. The pillars, some as tall as seventeen feet and weighing as much as fifty tons, were carved at a quarry located a quarter mile away. The organized manpower needed to construct these buildings is unprecedented in human history. Schmidt suggests that nomadic bands from hundreds of miles came together to build these structures, with the design of worshiping as a community. Excavation makes clear, however, that there was no permanent settlement at Göbekli Tepe, although feasting did take place at the temples, as evidenced by the butchered bones of wild cattle, wild pig, and gazelle.

The remarkable finds at Göbekli Tepe question the traditional assertion that humankind first began domesticating their plants and animals, then

T-shaped pillars in the round temple structure at Göbekli Tepe in 2008.

lived in settled communities, and finally built large structures for organized, communal religion. Schmidt suggests that it was the basic desire to worship together that compelled large numbers of humans to work as one, ultimately leading to a settled, communal lifestyle where people grew their own crops and raised their own animals.

The nature of the worship is unclear, although there are some clues. Half of the more than fifty T-shaped pillars have carvings. Some are abstract symbols, but the majority are realistic renderings of animals, those that would have been hunted (wild boar, cattle, lions, foxes, leopards, water birds), and others of a threatening nature (snakes, scorpions, spiders, fanged monsters). One pillar depicts a vulture looming over a headless body and a few pillars have schematic human features: arms bent at the elbows ending in fingers. Schmidt has interpreted the temples as a cult spot for the dead, the carved pillars perhaps protecting the deceased ancestors.

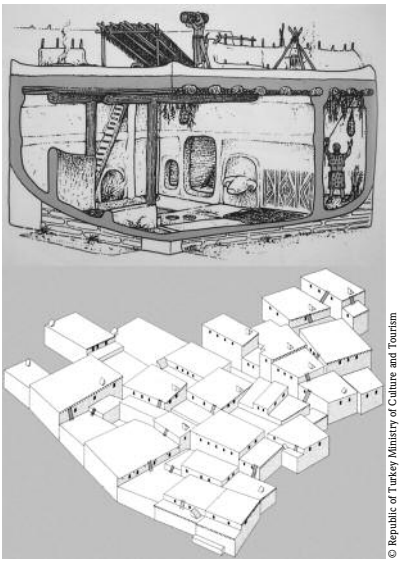
An example of one of the carved pillars at Göbekli Tepe.

The first of the circular temples was constructed perhaps as early as 11,000 BC, but by 8000 BC all the temples had gone out of use, intentionally buried under mounds of earth. It may be no coincidence that around the same time humans began to settle in villages, where local collective worship was possible. Perhaps with a new communal identity, this supra-regional type of worship was no longer deemed necessary. This new lifestyle was part of the slow transition to what archaeologists call the Neolithic era, or the New Stone Age, where humans abandoned a nomadic existence and settled in permanent communities, raising their own crops and animals to ensure a stable supply of food.

Three hundred miles to the west of Göbekli Tepe is the site of Çatal Hüyük, whose excavations have revealed a fascinating example of a Neolithic village. Located on the semi-arid Anatolian Plateau, the site originally was surrounded by marshlands. The inhabitants practiced agriculture in fields distant from the village, but they could hunt and fish closer to home. We do not know its ancient name; Çatal Hüyük means “fork mound” in Turkish because in the last century a path forked at the location of the site. The site actually consists of two artificial mounds, created from countless repairs and renovations of the mud brick houses of the ancient inhabitants. When a house was deemed uninhabitable the walls would be demolished, the building filled in, and a new house built atop the old one. Over time the settlement rose in elevation. Today the larger of the two mounds

of Çatal Hüyük is seventy feet high. James Mellaart, who first excavated the site in the 1950s and 1960s, identified fourteen levels, dating roughly from 7500 to 5700 BC, containing one hundred and sixty buildings. Since 1993, Ian Hodder of Stanford University has been conducting further excavations on the site and has identified eighty more buildings. Even so, he estimates that only 5 percent of the ancient settlement has been exposed.

The buildings are all houses—no public structures have been identified—each consisting of a large main room where cooking, sleeping, and other household activities took place, and a small annex for food storage. No roadways have been found, so it seems that the inhabitants moved about on the flat roofs of the houses and entered the homes from above via a ladder or staircase. Most of the houses had low mud brick benches along one or more of the walls, for sleeping and other daily activities, but within these the excavators found burials, presumably the bones of deceased family members. Some grave gifts accompanying the dead include beaded jewelry, stone blades, and even an obsidian mirror. The occasional discovery of shells from the Red Sea or the Mediterranean indicates trade with the coast. These burials speak of a devotion to ancestors, a common theme in Neolithic societies. The walls of many of the houses were elaborately decorated with painted and sculpted images. Some of these relate to the hunt, evidently a practice still important in this agrarian society. Paintings depict tiny humans shooting arrows at a giant bull, or chasing down deer. Skulls of bulls encased in plaster, their mighty horns protruding, were mounted on the walls or sometimes embedded in the benches. There are also images of leopards, some giving birth. The theme of reproduction is a common one at Çatal Hüyük. Many small stone figurines of women have been found, their reproductive zones (bellies, breasts, pubic triangle) highly emphasized. The most famous of these is a female with heavy breasts, belly, and thighs giving birth on a throne created by the bodies of two panthers. She was found intentionally buried in a grain storage bin when a house was rebuilt. Without any written records (writing will not appear in Anatolia for several millennia) it is impossible to know for certain the meaning behind these images, but in general they relate to the uncertainty inherent in this new agrarian lifestyle.



An artist's cutaway drawing of how a typical home in Çatal Hüyük may have looked and a reconstruction of a section of the settlement as envisioned by archaeologists.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. For the purposes of this course, why does it make sense to refer to ancient Turkey as Anatolia?
2. What are the characteristics of the houses found at Çatal Hüyük?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Olszewski, Deborah I., and Harold L. Dibble, eds. *The Paleolithic Prehistory of the Zagros-Taurus*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1993.

Websites of Interest

1. *Göbekli Tepe: The World's First Temple* website features information about the ancient archaeological site. — http://www.gobeklitepe.info/index.html
2. A companion website to the one listed above, this website (also called *Göbekli Tepe: The World's First Temple*) features information about the award-winning documentary movie of the same name. — http://www.worldsfirsttemple.com
3. The *Çatal Höyük* website features ongoing information about the excavations, research, and other activities being conducted at Çatal Höyük, Turkey. — http://www.catalhoyuk.com

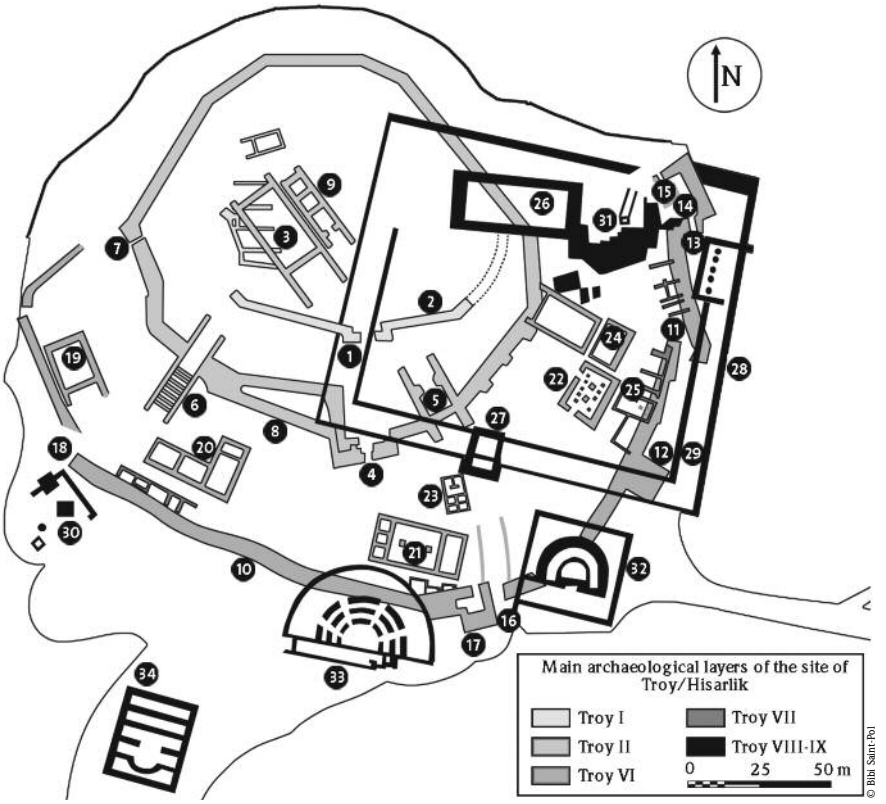
Lecture 2

Troy and the Trojan War

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 5, "The Trojan Enigma."

Three thousand years after the heyday of the Neolithic settlement at Çatal Hüyük, Anatolia could boast numerous settlements where the inhabitants not only mastered the arts of agriculture and animal husbandry, but also pottery and metallurgy. By 3000 BC, Anatolia had entered into the period archaeologists call the Bronze Age, so called because bronze was the dominant metal used for weaponry and tools. One of the greatest of these Bronze Age settlements is a place today called Hisarlik, probably ancient Troy, located near the coast at the mouth of the Dardanelles. Perhaps no tale from antiquity has enjoyed greater popularity than the story of the Trojan War. Recounted in numerous works of art and literature from the ancient world, the story is perhaps best known through the epic poem *The Iliad*, attributed to the blind poet Homer. The saga is a protracted battle between a consortium of kings from Greece who united to attack the city of Troy, ostensibly because a prince of that city, Paris, had seduced and carried away the beautiful Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. After ten years of fighting before the walls of Troy, the Greeks finally managed to take the city by pretending to return home to Greece and leaving behind a giant wooden horse as an offering to the gods. The Trojans, celebrating their enemy's departure, dragged the horse within their walls, but during the night Greeks hidden inside the horse emerged and destroyed the city, killing or enslaving the inhabitants. According to later varying Greek traditions, these events took place sometime within a one-hundred-fifty-year period, around 1334 to 1184 BC.

A view of some of the ruins of ancient Troy.



Plan of Troy

1: Gate
2: City Wall
3: Megarons (Great Halls)
4: Gate
5: Gate
6: Gate and Ramp
7: Gate
8: City Wall
9: Megarons (Great Halls)
10: City Wall
11: VI. Gate
12: VI. Tower
13: VI. Gate
14: VI. Tower
15: Well—Cistern
16: VI. Dardanos Gate
17: VI. Tower
18: VI. Gate
19: VI. House
20: VI. Palace-Storage House
21: Pillar House
22: VI. House with columns
23: VI. House
24: VI. House
25: VII. Storage
26: Temple of Athena
27: Entrance to the Temple (Propylaeum)
28: Outer Court Wall
29: Inner Court Wall
30: Holy Place
31: Water Work
32: Parliament (Bouleuterion)
33: Odeon
34: Roman Bath

Up until the nineteenth century most scholars believed the story of the Trojan War to be pure fiction and the city of Troy to be a fantasy, even though the ancient tradition clearly stated the city's location in northwestern Anatolia, on the shores of the Mediterranean near the Dardanelles. Specifically the city was said to have stood on a great plain between two rivers, the Scamander and the Simois. In 1863, however, an Englishman, Frank Calvert, began to investigate a small mound called Hisarlik, or in Turkish, "the place of the castle." Its location matched that described in the ancient texts and when Calvert dug into the mound he discovered many layers of ancient habitation. He declared Hisarlik to be the site of ancient Troy but did not have the financial means to continue his investigations. A few years later the wealthy German businessman Heinrich Schliemann picked up the gauntlet and reopened the excavations at Hisarlik, digging on and off for the next twenty years.

Schliemann was at best an amateur archaeologist, at worst a treasure hunter. In his day the science of archaeology was in its infancy and he was totally untrained. He excavated a massive trench one hundred thirty feet wide and over fifty feet deep that ran from the top of the mound straight down to its earliest level, tearing through the remains of a temple and various palaces in the process. He found stone walls at the bottom of the mound and interpreted them as remains of the Troy described by Homer. Although he didn't know it at the time, his trench demonstrated that Hisarlik had been continuously inhabited for nearly four thousand years. His assistant and ultimate successor to the excavations, the gifted architect Wilhelm Dörpfeld, later identified nine discrete habitation levels, the earliest dating to around 3000 BC and the latest to the eighth century AD. As was the case with the houses at Çatal Hüyük, each level lay upon the ruins of its predecessor, thus creating the mound of Hisarlik. These levels, recorded from the bottom up, have the designation of Troy followed by a Roman numeral (that is, Troy II, Troy VII). Excavations in the twentieth century were able to subdivide these nine phases further, identifying subphases of occupation, designated with small letters (for example Troy IIa, Troy VIIc).

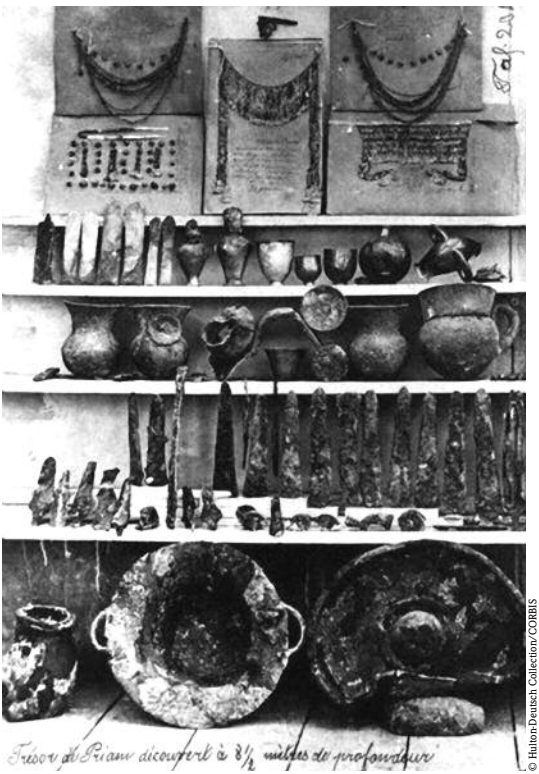
The earliest level, called Troy I, was a village consisting of a series of long houses encircled by a rough stone wall. The inhabitants practiced agriculture, stockbreeding, and

View of the East Gate at the Troy VI level.

fishing, and they used a rough, handmade type of pottery. Excavations of contemporaneous settlements in the vicinity indicate that Troy I was part of a culturally unified group found through northwestern Anatolia. By the subsequent period (Troy II, around 2600 BC), Hisarlik had become the headquarters of a prince or king living within a strongly built citadel. The fortification walls consisted of stone foundations with a mud-brick superstructure; two ramped gates led into the southwestern and southeastern sections of the settlement. Even with such protection Troy II was destroyed by fire at least twice. During his excavations Schliemann uncovered several caches of treasure within the burnt debris of the city, vessels and jewelry of gold and bronze. He immediately identified these objects as the "Treasure of Priam," the king of Homer's Troy, but later Schliemann came to realize that these treasures dated around 1250 years earlier than the time of the Trojan War.

The subsequent three layers of occupation at Hisarlik were a series of insignificant settlements, but the level known as Troy VI was anything but that. Dating from around 1700 to 1250 BC, the remains from this level indicate that this settlement was once again the seat of a king. Huge stone fortification walls, punctuated by massive tours, ringed a citadel occupied by large rectangular buildings, some two stories high. Streets equipped with covered drainage canals led outside the walls through three great gateways. Scholars agree that there must have been a palace on the highest point of the settlement, within the heart of the citadel, but a later temple to the goddess Athena, constructed on the same spot a thousand years later, has destroyed any remains of the royal residence.

The last building phase in this level, Troy VIh, seems to have been destroyed by earthquake around 1250 BC. Its successor, Troy VII, was a less impressive place, with numerous small buildings crammed into the citadel area and a great deal of space occupied by large storage vessels sunk into floors of the homes. The



"Priam's Treasure" on display, ca. 1880s

earliest phase of this settlement (Troy VIIa) was destroyed by fire around 1150 BC. Over the next century human occupation at Hisarlik can be characterized by poor-quality handmade pottery and shabby building construction. Then the site was all but abandoned and only reoccupied in the eighth century BC.

In the light of this wealth of archaeological information, the question still remains: Is Hisarlik the location of Troy? Unfortunately, the ancient inhabitants of Hisarlik left no written records. Centuries later, in Greek and Roman times, the town occupying the upper levels of Hisarlik (Troy VIII and Troy IX) was called Ilion, an alternative name for Troy. Nevertheless, today some scholars are skeptical that Hisarlik is Troy, citing geographical and topographical problems with the identification. Careful scientific exploration, however, has put some of those doubts to rest. For example, in the *Iliad*, Troy seems to have been located directly on the sea, but Hisarlik is nearly four miles from the coast. Recent geophysical studies of the region have determined that over the centuries silt carried by the rivers that run past Hisarlik to the sea has created a new coastline farther from the mound. During the level of Troy VIh, around 1300 BC, Hisarlik would have been no more than a mile from the water. If the Trojan War took place sometime around 1334 to 1184 BC, as the Greeks believed, then those dates would correspond with two levels at Hisarlik, Troy VIh or Troy VIIa. Scholars have pointed out that the population of both settlements was restricted to the citadel and consequently not very large, whereas Homer describes Troy as a vast city. However, investigations undertaken by Manfred Korfmann of the University of Tübingen during the 1980s uncovered traces of a large lower town, also heavily fortified, to the south of the citadel, dating to the period of Troy VI. Dr. Korfmann has estimated a population of over seven thousand, making the Troy VI city, citadel, and lower town combined, the largest settlement in western Anatolia in the second millennium BC. So if Hisarlik is indeed Troy, was it destroyed by a Greek attack? Troy VIh was badly damaged by an earthquake, after which the inhabitants rebuilt, albeit on a more crowded scale. Troy VIIa was destroyed by fire, so it may be a better candidate for Homer's Troy. But at the time of its destruction, 1150 BC, the great palatial centers of Greece were themselves under attack by unknown assailants, so they hardly seem to have been in a position to mount a massive invasion force.

These are questions still hotly debated among scholars, and they still have no definitive answer. The ruins at Hisarlik represent a vibrant society that came to a violent end at the end of the second millennium BC. Was it due to Greeks trying to regain a beautiful woman, or is it a symptom of broader trouble in the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East? Answers may lie in a study of another group of people in Anatolia, the Hittites.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What evidence suggests that Hisarlik is indeed Troy?
2. What is the problem associated with Hisarlik's proximity to the sea?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Latacz, Joachim. *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Trans. Kevin Windle and Rosh Ireland. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2005.

Recorded Books

Cline, Eric H. *Archaeology and the* Iliad*: The Trojan War in Homer and History*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2006.

Websites of Interest

1. Tübingen University (Germany) website provides information on the ongoing excavations in Hisarlik. — www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/eng/index.html
2. The University of Cincinnati and the National Endowment for the Humanities in partnership with the Troia Project provides the *Troy* website, which includes a timeline, facts, legends, and images of the region. — http://www.cerhas.uc.edu/troy

Lecture 3

The Hittites

The Suggested Readings for this lecture are Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 3, "The Quest for the Hittites," and chapter 4, "Suppiluliumas and the Hittite Empire."

Around the time that Schliemann was excavating Troy, archaeologists were beginning to explore central Anatolia. References in ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts to the "Land of Hatti" led scholars to ruins near a Turkish village called Boğazkoy. Here, excavations in the early twentieth century uncovered thousands of cuneiform tablets written in several languages. One was Akkadian, a Semitic language that was the diplomatic language used throughout the Near East during the second millennium BC. The Akkadian texts could be translated and they related that the city was called Hattusha and that its kings were major players in international affairs. The other language of the tablets was Nesite, an Indo-European language, which only later came to be translated. Because of a biblical tradition that calls the occupants of the Land of Hatti Hittites, early scholars gave that name to the new civilization, even though it is now known that the Hittites never referred to themselves as such.

Scholars are only now piecing together the origins of the Hittites. As early as the end of the third millennium BC central Anatolia was occupied by a variety of people speaking a variety of languages: the Hattians, the Luwians, and the Nesites, to name the most significant groups. Whereas the Hattians were possibly indigenous to the region, the Luwians and Nesites spoke

Indo-European languages, indicating that they had entered into Anatolia either from Europe to the west or from the Caucasus to the north. Although the precise date of their arrival cannot be determined, it has been suggested that their entrance into Anatolia might be reflected in the destruction levels seen at Troy II, which took place around 2200 BC. Hittite history is usually divided into two periods, the Old Kingdom (1650 to 1400 BC) and the New Kingdom (1400 to 1200 BC). The Old Kingdom began with a man named Hattushili, who around 1650 BC united members of these varied ethnic groups to form a kingdom. His capital was at Hattusha, where there was already a small settlement that Hattushili aggrandized, fortifying it with walls and building a palace. The location was favorable: abundant water, arable land and forests, and a rocky outcropping to serve as a defensible acropolis. Although our knowledge of Old Kingdom history is still rather vague, it is clear that there were no formal rules regarding the royal succession, which led to palace intrigue. Hattushili's sons revolted against him, prompting him to name his grandson Murshili as his heir. When Murshili became king he mounted a lightning raid on the great city of Babylon in 1595 BC, some eight hundred miles away. Although his attack was successful, Murshili was murdered by a relative upon his return to Hattusha, an event that plunged the Old Hittite Kingdom into centuries of turmoil and weakness.

Recovery began around 1400 BC with the period archaeologists designate as the New Hittite Kingdom. In general the New Kingdom was one of great expansion and prosperity, when the Hittites took a leading role in global politics. No figure demonstrated this better than King Suppiluliuma I, who ruled from 1344 to 1322 BC. He conquered the kingdom of the mighty Mitanni to the east, doubling the size of Hittite territory and bringing him to the attention of the Egyptians. Annals written by his son record a remarkable correspondence between Suppiluliuma and an Egyptian queen. The queen writes:

> My husband has died and I have no son. They say about you that you have many sons. You might give me one of your sons to become my husband. Never shall I pick out a servant of mine and make him my husband! . . . I am afraid!

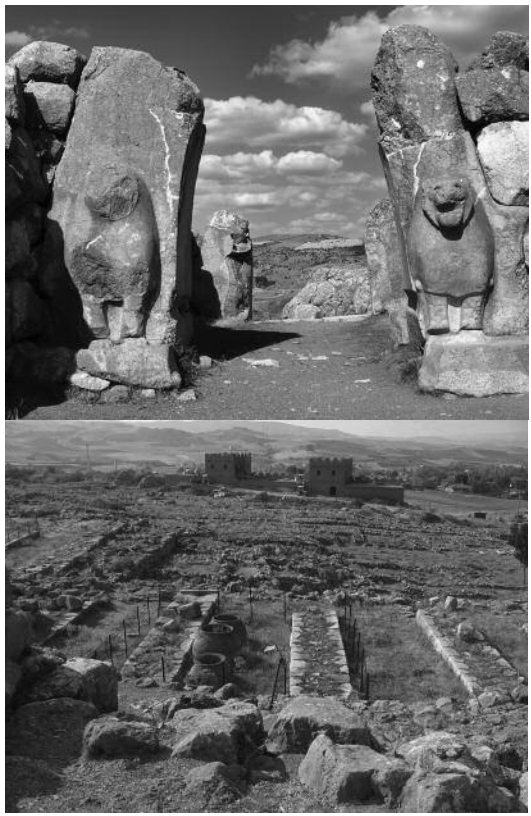
Evidently Suppiluliuma wrote back to the queen (his response is not recorded) voicing some doubts, which prompted this reply:

> Why did you say "they deceive me" in that way? Had I a son, would I have written about my own and my country's shame to a foreign land? You did not believe me and you have said as much to me! He who was my husband has died. A son I have not! Never shall I take a servant of mine and make him my husband! I have written to no other country; only to you have I written! They say your sons are many: so give me one of your sons! To me he will be husband, but in Egypt he will be King!

Most scholars agree that the unnamed queen was Ankhesenamun, the young widow of King Tutankhamun. Suppiluliuma agreed to send a son, but the youth was murdered when he entered Egyptian territory. The queen was forced to marry an aged courtier and then disappeared from history. Suppiluliuma, however, enraged by the murder of his son, attacked Egyptian holdings in Syria. Unfortunately, his returning army brought a plague back to Hattusha that decimated the population. One of the first victims was Suppiluliuma himself.

Fifty years later in 1274 BC, the Hittites again met the Egyptians on the battlefield, at a place called Qadesh in northern Syria. Pharaoh Ramses II led the Egyptian army and King Muwatalli, the grandson of Suppiluliuma, controlled the Hittite forces. Although both sides claimed victory, the Hittites actually gained more territory. A few years later a formal treaty was brokered between the two great nations, sealed by a marriage alliance.

Although Suppiluliuma I had done much to build up the city of Hattusha as a fitting center of his powerful state, the city appears to have reached its peak at the end of the thirteenth century, under the guidance of King Tudhaliya IV (1237 to 1209 BC). In his day the city encompassed around 450 acres (185 hectares) and was surrounded by massive stone fortifications around three miles in length, standing at least thirty feet in height. Towers stood at regular intervals and a few hidden, vaulted tunnels led through the fabric of the walls. Archaeologists have uncovered granaries in locations of the city, with an estimated capacity of eight thousand tons of grain, enough to feed annually tens of thousands of people. Five water reservoirs have also been found, some complete with pipes bringing water from distant springs. Three impressive



The top image is a modern view of the Lion Gate. The bottom image shows the restored city gates and storerooms of the Great Temple at Hattusha.

gateways gave entry into the city, conventionally known as the King's Gate, the Lion Gate, and the Sphinx Gate, named for the sculpture that decorated the entryways.

The southern half of the city was occupied by thirty-two temples, constructed to accommodate the many gods the Hittites, a multiethnic society, worshiped. To the north was the Great Temple, devoted to a pair of deities, the Hittite Storm God and the sun goddess Arinna. The temple was a mini-city in itself with vast storage rooms to hold offerings to the gods and lodgings for the priests and artisans that served the deities. The temple itself was a multiroomed complex surrounding a rectangular courtyard that gave access to two enclosed shrines, one for each god. At the highest point in the city, where an upthrust of rock created a natural acropolis, was the fortified palace, complete with private royal quarters, a multicolumned reception hall, and an archive, from which archaeologists have recovered thousands of cuneiform tablets. Because the Hittite kingdom was in essence a theocratic state where kingship was viewed as divine election, the palace also included a temple.

The close relationship between god and king is vividly reflected at the shrine today known as Yazilikaya (a Turkish word meaning inscribed stone), located a mile northeast of Hattusha. Here, at the end of the thirteenth century BC, Tudhaliya IV and his son Suppiluliuma II constructed a religious center that focused on two natural rocky enclosures. Carved on the walls on one of the enclosures, Chamber A, are more than sixty images of gods, all processing toward the innermost area of the enclosure, where the weather god Teshub and the sun goddess Hebat stand face to face. Present also is an image of King Tudhaliya IV. The smaller enclosure at Yazilikaya, Chamber B, was a memorial to that king, constructed by his son. Here, gods of the underworld are depicted, as well as Tudhaliya IV, embraced by his patron god. Even with the support of the Hittite gods, shortly after the completion of this shrine the city of Hattusha was burned, its occupants killed or dispersed, and the Hittite kingdom lost until its discovery in the nineteenth century.

Relief carvings at Yazilikaya depicting twelve Hittite gods of the underworld.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How did the Hittites come to be called "Hittites"?
2. What does the Yazilikaya shrine indicate about the relationship between god and king?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Bryce, Trevor. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2006.

———. *Life and Society in the Hittite World*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2004.

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Darnell, John C. *Conflicts That Shaped Pharaonic Egypt*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2010.

Websites of Interest

1. A video lecture by Northwestern University professor Ann Gunter entitled "Tracking the Frontiers of the Hittite Empire" from April 2010 is available at the *Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago* website. — https://oi.uchicago.edu/getinvolved/member/events/20100407_hittitefrontiers.html
2. *Hittites.info* is an interactive website with history, texts, essays, and forums for sharing by persons who subscribe to the site (free). — http://www.hittites.info

Lecture 4

The Phrygians

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 6, "The Kingdom of Midas."

The reasons for the destruction of Hattusha and the collapse of the Hittite Empire are still poorly understood. Palace intrigue, popular uprisings, drought, and famine have all been suggested as contributing factors. What is clear is that between the years of 1200 and 1050 BC palaces and cities throughout the Eastern Mediterranean met with waves of destruction. For example, the citadel at Hisarlik was destroyed during that time (Troy VIIa and b), as well as important centers in Greece. The Egyptian records speak of invaders, marauders whom they call "The People of the Sea," who weakened Egypt and destroyed coastal centers on the Levantine littoral. Precisely where these people came from is not known; nor do scholars agree whether these people were the cause of the havoc suffered in Greece and the coast of Anatolia, or were refugees fleeing those responsible for the destructions. In any case, when the dust settled, around 1000 BC, the political makeup of the Eastern Mediterranean had altered irrevocably: Greece entered a Dark Age, Egypt was in chaos, and with the demise of the Hittites, Anatolia was in a power vacuum.

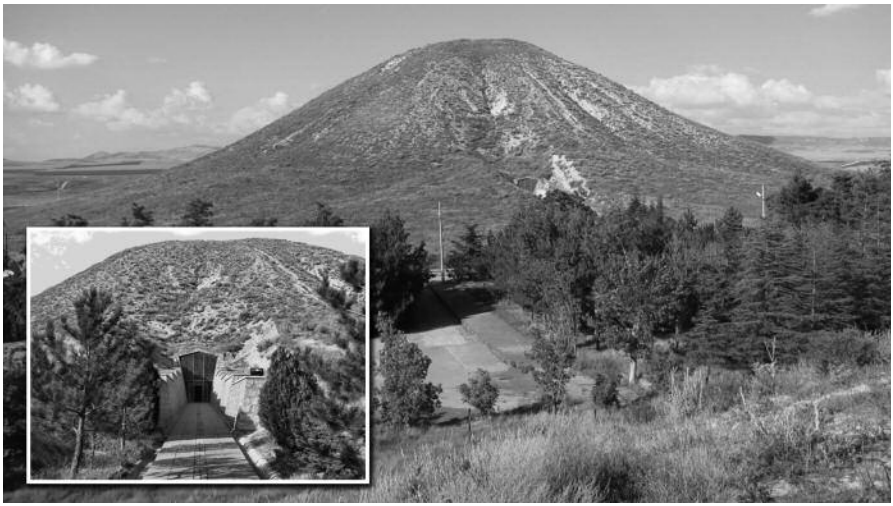
It was during this period of confusion that a new people migrated into Anatolia, the Phrygians, who entered from the west, emerging from the region that is now Bulgaria. They occupied what had been the homeland of the Hittites, and even settled in Hattusha, but their capital city was at Gordion, on the Sangarius River. Like the Hittites, the Phrygians spoke an Indo-European language. Traces survive in the form of inscriptions (writing on stone or metal), but the language is still poorly understood. Consequently, our understanding of the Phrygians comes from references to them in writings of other ancient people, such as the Greeks and the Assyrians, and especially from their archaeological remains. The society reached its peak in the eighth century BC during the rule of King Midas. Midas is known from several sources. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, Midas had contacts with Greece, sending sumptuous gifts to the god Apollo at his

The massive city gate at Gordion. (Note the photographer's shadow at the bottom left.)

sanctuary at Delphi. Myths developed about this wealthy king, including the tale of the "Golden Touch." It is clear, however, that Midas was a real person. He is mentioned in the Annals of the Assyrian King Sargon II (717–709 BC), where he is called Mita of the Mushki (either an allied tribe or an alternate name for the Phrygians). Mita allegedly threatened the western frontiers of the Assyrian Empire, causing Sargon to invade Phrygia. Peace was quickly brokered, although Midas/Mita seems to have been forced to pay a tribute to the Assyrians. Shortly thereafter, around 695 BC, a seminomadic people called the Cimmerians invaded Phrygia, burning the capital city of Gordion. According to Greek legend, Midas in despair committed suicide by drinking bull's blood. In its weakened state, Phrygia was eventually absorbed by a neighboring kingdom, the Lydians.

Much of what is known about the Phrygians comes from Gordion, where the University of Pennsylvania has been conducting excavations since 1950. Investigation of the so-called City Mound has revealed a massive fortification wall constructed sometime before 800 BC. Within the city itself are a series of long, rectangular buildings, conventionally called *megara*. The most impressive of these, perhaps a temple referred to as Megaron 2, has a decorative paving of colored pebbles laid in intricate patterns, the earliest floor mosaic in the world. Nearby, in the so-called Terrace Building, a series of eight conjoined megara, the discovery of numerous spindle whorls and loomweights has given good evidence for textile production in the city.

A distinctive aspect of the Phrygians was their mode of burial within artificial mounds, today called tumuli. Over one hundred have been identified in the environs of Gordion, twenty-five of which have been excavated. The most impressive of these is Tumulus MM, with a height of 173 feet and a



The tumulus at Gordion as viewed from an adjacent hill. The inset shows the entrance to the tomb area from the road.

diameter of nearly 1,000 feet, the largest of the Gordion tumuli. The mound contains a rectangular burial chamber of cedar and juniper wood, surrounded by gravel and soil to deter would-be looters. Within the burial chamber the excavator American Rodney Young found the body of a man in his sixties, who originally stood five feet two inches tall. He had been laid on a matting of colored textiles within a log coffin, disintegrated but still identifiable. Around him was a wealth of bronze vessels as well as fourteen pieces of wooden furniture—tables and sideboards—intricately patterned with various colors of inlaid wood. The dry and relatively stable conditions of the tomb ensured the remarkable survival of such perishable items. Recent analysis of the finds suggests a feast took place within the tomb. Traces of organic materials within the vessels indicate that the celebrants drank an alcoholic mixture of grape wine, barley beer, and honey mead and ate spicy lentils and sheep or goat stew. Although Rodney Young originally identified Tumulus MM as the tomb of King Midas, the study of the tree rings of the beams making up the superstructure of the tomb proves that the date of construction was around 740 BC, too early for King Midas, whom we know from the Assyrian texts was still active at the end of the eighth century BC. It is possible that the tomb belonged to his predecessor, King Gordias.

The Phrygians worshiped many gods but the most important was a female deity called Kybele, who was also sometimes known as Agdistis, meaning "She of the Rock." Kybele was a mother goddess, embodying the earth, associated with rocks and caverns, childbirth and wild animals. Some scholars have suggested that she is the direct descendent of the fertility goddess that was so prevalent in the Neolithic communities of Anatolia, embodied in such statuettes as the woman seated on the leopard throne from Çatal Hüyük. Phrygian statues and reliefs portray the goddess in a long, belted gown. A veil, usually tucked into the belt, drapes across her hair and shoulders, and she wears a high hat, known as a polos. A well-preserved statue of Kybele comes from the old Hittite

A reconstructed inlaid table and stool, the remains of which were discovered in the Tumulus MM at Gordion. Plexiglas was used to stabilize the remaining pieces in the best approximation of their original construction.

capital of Hattusha, in whose ruins the Phrygians had settled sometime in the eighth century BC. Here Kybele wears the customary attire and is flanked by two small children, each playing a musical instrument.

Limestone statue of the goddess Kybele from the Phrygian period on display at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.

It is likely that Kybele was worshiped in Megaron 2 at Gordion (the building with the mosaic floor), but she was more commonly venerated out of doors. Several cult centers devoted to Kybele have been identified in the hilly region west of Gordion, an area known as the Phrygian Highlands. At a placed called Aslan Tash (Lion Rock in Turkish), two enormous lions, their roaring mouths agape, are carved on a cliff face. Facing one another they stand semi-erect, their front paws balanced on a rectangular niche in which once would have stood a statue of Kybele. Nearby lie the tumbled remains of other giant lions, felled in a long ago earthquake, which must have also once protected a statue of the goddess. Perhaps the greatest center of Kybele was a place conventionally called Midas City, where a craggy plateau provided the setting for the worship of the mother goddess. The site has been named after an inscription that mentions Midas, and that king may well have had something to do with the buildup of the vast open-air sanctuary. On the rocky outcroppings on the top of the plateau the Phrygians cut altars, often reached by a flight of bedrock stairs. In some cases the altars are double, as if to accommodate a second deity, perhaps Kybele's consort Attis, a vegetation spirit. Carvings also adorn the flanks of the plateau. The most impressive of these carvings represents the front of a temple with a pitched roof complete with crossing roof beams. Its façade is intricately carved with geometric designs in shallow relief and a niche at its base would have once held an image of Kybele.

The Lion Rock at Aslan Tash.

Although the kingdom of the Phrygians comes to an end by the seventh century BC, and their homeland sunk into obscurity, they would have a long-lasting influence on later peoples through their goddess Kybele, whom later peoples, especially the Greeks and Romans, adopted for their own.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Where can be found the earliest floor mosaic in the world?
2. What was the major influence of the Phrygians on the Greeks and Romans?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Kealhofer, Lisa, ed. *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005.

Roller, Lynn E. *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Websites of Interest

1. The *King Midas and Phrygia Cultural Center* website (English version) features information on the archaeological sites in the region. — http://www.kralmidasvefrigya.org/?&Bid=294706
2. The *Ancient History Encyclopedia* website provides an overview of the Phrygian period in Anatolian history. — http://www.ancient.eu.com/phrygia

Lecture 5

The Greeks

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 8, "The Coming of the Greeks."

At the end of the second millennium BC, when the palaces at Hisarlik and Hattusha fell to destruction, so did the palatial centers that controlled regions of southern and central Greece. Although the precise cause of the destruction is still unclear, Greece was thrown into a Dark Age, with a loss of central government and a severe drop in population. Monumental buildings ceased to be created, trade with the outside world stopped, the fine arts of painting, stone carving, and writing disappeared. Although the decline in population has been explained partially by death by warfare and disease, it is clear that large-scale emigration also contributed. Between 1100 and 1000 BC waves of Greeks sailed eastward across the Aegean, abandoning the ruins of their homeland in search of a better life in the rich coastal zones of Anatolia. Those from northern and central Greece, who spoke a dialect of Greek known as Aeolic, settled in northwest Anatolia, in the region around Troy, and those from the Peloponnesus of Greece, who spoke the Doric dialect of Greek, settled in the southwest. The central Aegean coast of Anatolia, however, was colonized by the Ionian Greeks, coming from the area around Athens. Consequently this region came to be known as Ionia, destined to become a great center of learning and the arts.

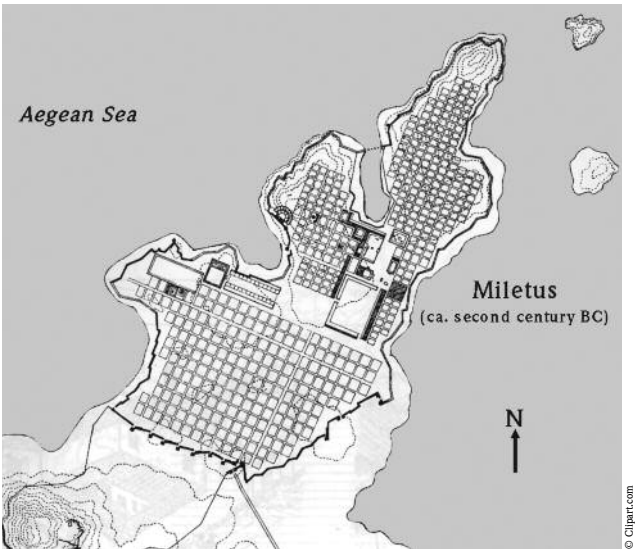
The earliest phases of these Greek settlements are poorly known, in part due to the ephemeral nature of the buildings, but also because many of these settlements were greatly rebuilt in later times, obscuring the earlier phases of habitation. Excavations undertaken at the ancient site of Smyrna (modern Izmir) have yielded the remains of a simple oval house of sun-dried brick dating to the tenth century BC, the oldest known Greek dwelling in Anatolia. To the south, at Ephesus, archaeologists have uncovered traces of a seventh-century BC temple dedicated to the Greek goddess Artemis, a simple rectangular structure of mud brick surrounded by a wooden colonnade. Unlike most Greek temples, the building opened to the west, focusing on the setting sun, which indicates that the nature of the Ephesian Artemis differed here, with

A recent photograph of the site of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus (foreground), near present-day Selçuk, Izmir Province, Turkey.

a greater focus on her powers as a goddess who brings death. Most scholars concur that the worship of Artemis may have been combined with that of a local goddess that the Greeks encountered when they arrived in Anatolia, most likely the Phrygian goddess Kybele.

Perhaps the most successful Greek settlement in Anatolia was the coastal city of Miletus. Today, the site is totally landlocked because over time the neighboring Meander River brought silt from the coastal mountains, filling in the shallow shoreline around the city. In antiquity, however, Miletus occupied a long peninsula that stretched into the Aegean Sea. Its four harbors made the city ideally suited for trade and commerce. Hittite texts of the late second millennium mention a place called Millawanda that appears to correspond to Miletus, and excavations have uncovered some remains from that period. According to Greek tradition Neleus, the son of the King of Athens, founded Miletus in the eleventh century; he and his colonists killed the male inhabitants of the town and married their widows. This myth could be a realistic representation of what happened when the Greeks migrated to Anatolia in the eleventh century BC. Certainly in later periods Miletus and Athens enjoyed close ties.

By the seventh century BC Miletus had entered into a period of great prosperity, chiefly due to the establishment of colonies throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. According to Pliny the Elder (a Roman author of the first century AD), Miletus sent out ninety colonies, mainly in the Black Sea area, but also in the Mediterranean and even Egypt. Although such colonies were independent entities with their own governments and loyalties, nevertheless they maintained close ties with the mother city and Miletus benefited from greater access to grain, metals, and other hard-to-obtain materials. The colonization movement has been associated with Thrasybulus, who ruled Miletus as tyrant in the late seventh century BC. The term "tyrant" comes from the Lydian word *tyrannos* and was a common form of government in the Greek cities of Anatolia and the



A plan of Miletus as it appeared during the second century BC.

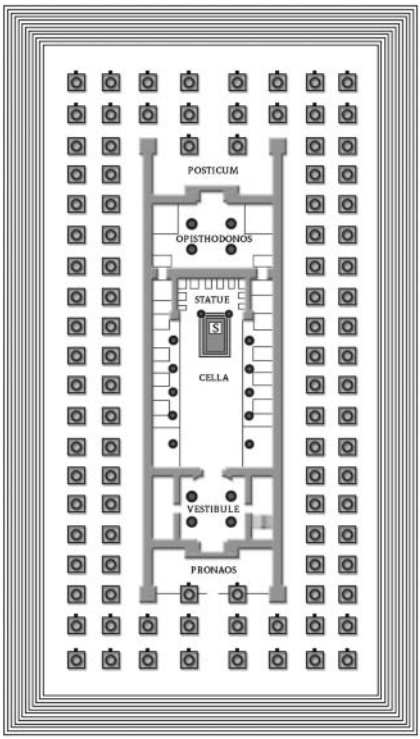
Greek mainland during the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Originally, the term was just a title, referring to a leader who ruled unconstitutionally or nonhereditarily, and indeed, some tyrants did much good for their cities. In later times, however, due to the emergence of corrupt tyrants, the term took on negative connotations. Thrasybulus not only inaugurated a period of financial prosperity for Miletus, he also successfully warded off attacks from the neighboring kingdom of Lydia. That he was nevertheless a ruthless leader, bent upon maintaining his unconstitutional position, comes clear in a story related by the Greek historian Herodotus. When asked by another Greek tyrant, Periander of Corinth, how to successfully remain in power, Thrasybulus answered by entering a wheat field and swinging a stick to slice off the tallest stalks, intimating that the best way to stay in power is to remove any potential threats.

During Thrasybulus's reign and later an important intellectual movement developed in Miletus, known today as the Milesian School of Philosophy. Often called "natural philosophers" because of their enquiries into the physical properties of the earth, water, and heavens, these men studied natural phenomena to investigate man's role in the universe. Their investigations served as a transition from myth to reason, as they explored the idea that the world was created and organized not by personal impulses of deities but by impersonal, predictable forces. Thales of Miletus was an early figure in this philosophical movement. Focusing on the science of astronomy, he successfully predicted an eclipse in 585 BC, interpreting the event as an act of nature, one not created by a vengeful god. He also pioneered in the field of atomic theory, suggesting that the universe was made up of a single substance, water. His pupil Anaximander of Miletus

A view of the ruins of the theater at Miletus looking north across the now broad plain that was once water.

created the first map of the world. He also believed the universe consisted of one neutral material, which he called "the infinite." Another Milesian, Hecataeus, composed the first history of the world and the first guidebook to Egypt and wrote openly that the myths of the gods were ridiculous. Other natural philosophers included Xenophanes of Colophon, who attacked the anthropomorphic idea of god, believing in one supreme deity, a being so different from man that humans could not comprehend its nature. Pythagoras, the father of geometry, came from the island of Samos, only a few miles from Miletus. He became one of the most influential of these philosophers, espousing the concept of the transmigration of the soul, a religious movement that lasted to the end of antiquity and beyond. Why these ideas developed in Ionia, and especially in Miletus in the sixth century, is not known. Perhaps the fact that Ionia was neighbor to non-Greeks, and that Miletus's trade networks exposed its inhabitants to a variety of societies, played a role in this intellectual revolution.

The Ionians also excelled in architecture, developing one of the major Greek building styles, the Ionic Order, which clearly arose from architectural forms used in the Levant and Babylon. During the middle of the sixth century BC huge temples were constructed in this architectural style in several Ionian cities. At Ephesus, the small seventh-century BC west-facing shrine was replaced by an enormous marble temple, also dedicated to Artemis, measuring 55.10 x 115 meters (180 x 377 feet) and containing 127 60-foot-tall columns. At Miletus, a slightly smaller temple to Apollo was constructed at Didyma, a sanctuary connected to the city by a ten-mile paved road. The cella, or inner chamber of this temple, was surrounded by more than one hundred columns and was open to the air. There, a spring, sacred to Apollo and used in oracular prophesies, flowed in front of a smaller inner temple that held a remarkable bronze statue of the god, holding his bow in one hand and a deer in the other. This temple stood for only forty years when it, along with the city of Miletus, were destroyed by the mighty army of the Persians, the topic of lecture 7.



Public Domain/After a drawing by John Turtle Wood, 1877

TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESUS

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Who, according to Greek tradition, founded Miletus?
2. According to Herodotus, how did Thrasybulus demonstrate how a ruler remains in power?

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Tritle, Lawrence A. *The Greek World in the Fourth Century: From the Fall of the Athenian Empire to the Successors of Alexander*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

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Tobin, Jennifer. *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2011.

Websites of Interest

1. The Foundation of the Hellenic World's *Walk Through Ancient Miletus* website provides a detailed interactive website with 3D imagery, maps, and a video. — http://www.ime.gr/choros/miletus/en/index.php
2. The University of Chicago *Temple of Artemis* website provides a description of the site at Ephesus and information about its destruction. — http://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/greece/paganism/artemis.html

Lecture 6

The Lydians

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 9, "The Reign of Croesus."

Although philosophy and the arts flourished throughout Ionia in the sixth century BC, during that time the region's independence was threatened by a neighbor to the east, Lydia. The origins of the Lydians are not clear, but because they spoke an Indo-European language related to those used by the Hittites, some scholars believe that the Lydians, like the Hittites, may have entered Anatolia sometime in the third millennium BC. Archaeological evidence indicates that by 1000 BC they were living in the region between the highlands of Phrygia and the coastal zone of Ionia. According to the Greeks, a dynasty descended from the hero Heracles ruled Lydia for twenty-two generations until the last king, a man called Candaules, was assassinated by a usurper. Although the connection with Heracles is a myth, Candaules seems to have been a real person. The usurper, Gyges, founder of the Mermnad Dynasty of Lydia, is also historically attested. He ruled for thirty-eight years, roughly from the 680s to the 640s BC, spending much of his time contending with raids by the Cimmerians, the nomadic horsemen from the Caucasus who had destroyed the Phrygian capital at Gordion. Gyges sent emissaries to Assurbanipal, the king of the mighty Assyrian empire to the east, asking for assistance against the marauders, and although some aid was sent, Gyges himself was killed in a Cimmerian attack in 644 BC. Over the next two generations the Mermnads contended with Cimmerian raids but also began forging a kingdom of their own. By the late seventh century BC, Lydia controlled the old kingdom of Phrygia and had begun attacking the Greeks on the west coast of Anatolia.

The fourth king of the Mermnad Dynasty, Alyattes (ca. 609–560 BC) was an able general who successfully drove away the Cimmerians for good and conquered the Greek cities in the west. The one city he did not manage to take was Miletus, but he entered into a treaty of friendship with the city's crafty tyrant Thrasybulus. But Alyattes's greatest military challenge came from the east. Shortly before he had come to the throne the Assyrian Empire, the one-time ally of Lydia, had fallen to a combined assault of the Babylonians and the Medes. The latter, a tribal nation of what is today Iran, immediately began expanding westward, threatening Lydia. A five-year war between the Medes and Lydians ended on May 25, 585 BC, when a total eclipse of the sun (predicted by the Milesian philosopher Thales) frightened the two parties into peace. They agreed that the Halys River, a broad waterway located in central Anatolia, would mark the border between their two

states, and they sealed the pact with a marriage alliance: Alyattes's daughter wedded the son of the Median king.

The capital of Lydia was the city of Sardis, located on the Pactolus River and dominated by a craggy peak that served as an acropolis. Because the city was greatly renovated in later periods, few remains of the Lydian phase of Sardis survive. On the lower flanks of the acropolis, a series of terraces, constructed from well-cut ashlar (rectangular) blocks and linked by staircases, most likely supported the Mermnad palace, the remains of which have never been discovered. A huge fortification wall, twenty meters wide and fifteen meters high, protected the lower city, which consisted of civic buildings, residences, and an industrial quarter. The discovery near the Pactolus River of a gold-refining establishment confirms the statement of the fifth-century BC Greek historian Herodotus that Lydian rivers carried gold dust in their streams (*Histories*, 1.93). Herodotus also claimed that the Lydians were the first people to mint coinage, and indeed their earliest coins were of electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver that can be found in mountains through which the Pactolus River flowed.

The great wealth of Lydia can be seen in the tombs of the elite, which, like the Phrygians (and perhaps in imitation of them), took the form of tumuli. As was the case with the Phrygian graves, the Lydian tomb chambers were covered in massive man-made earth mounds, but unlike the Phrygian examples, these often were girt by low stone walls and topped by conical, phallic stone markers. Whereas the Phrygian tomb chambers were wooden, the Lydian examples were created from finely cut stone blocks. The earliest and largest Lydian tumulus probably belonged to King Alyattes and is located at a place today called Bintepe ("One Thousand Mounds") not far from Sardis. Although the tomb was looted in antiquity the magnificence of this monument is reflected in its burial chamber of marble blocks

Source: University of Texas at Austin/Classics Department

as well as its enormous dimensions, with a circumference of about two-thirds of a mile and a height of 226 feet, almost twice that of the Statue of Liberty.

Lydia reached the height of its power under its last king, Croesus (560–547 BC), a name that even today is synonymous with wealth. Most of what is known about this king comes from the writings of Herodotus and other Greek authors, who were fascinated by the ruler. In part this was due to his patronage of Greek religious centers, such as Delphi in Greece, where he donated costly gold, silver, and bronze objects. He also helped fund the construction of the huge Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, whose columns were inscribed with his name. According to Herodotus the wise Athenian statesman Solon paid a visit to Croesus. After viewing the king's palace, including the storerooms packed with riches, Solon was asked by Croesus to name the happiest man he had ever seen. When Solon named an obscure Athenian who lived modestly, raised a family, and died defending his city, Croesus was annoyed and asked who was Solon's second happiest man. Solon named two, brothers who dutifully yoked themselves to a cart and dragged their mother to a temple during a festival, only to die on the steps of the temple, at the height of their youth and nobility. In frustration Croesus demanded to know why Solon didn't deem him the happiest man and Solon replied that one can't know how happy a life is until its end—good fortune can change in an instant. Although the story is most likely apocryphal, it does foreshadow Croesus's ultimate downfall. Around 550 BC the Median Empire, with whom the Lydians had a treaty, was toppled by Cyrus of Persia, a small tribe from southwestern Iran. Rumors that Cyrus planned to invade Lydia induced Croesus to ask advice of the Oracle at Delphi, through whom the Greek god Apollo spoke. When asked if the Lydians should cross the Halys River and attack the Persians the oracle responded that if Croesus attacked the Persians he would destroy a great nation.

Photo courtesy of Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Beverly Hills, CA.

A half-stater electrum coin of Lydian origin (ca. 550 BC or later) shows the foreparts of a lion and a bull facing one another. The reverse side has two incuse (stamped) squares.

In 547 BC, Croesus and his army traveled eastward beyond the Halys and encamped at the mighty fortress of Pteria, which he destroyed. Traces of a vast city at Kerkenes Dağ in central Anatolia have been recently identified to be those of Pteria. The city was huge, covering one square mile and surrounded by four miles of well-built defensive walls. Originally founded in the early sixth century BC it seems to have had a Phrygian population but might have been used as an outpost by the Medes. The city was destroyed

by fire in the mid-sixth century BC and the fortification walls intentionally destroyed. Excavations in one of the gates of the city have uncovered burned bones of a middle-aged woman, crushed under the debris, evidently killed while trying to escape the city.

After sacking the city of Pteria Croesus unsuccessfully engaged the Persians in battle and then fled back to Sardis. Cyrus and his army followed and after a two-week siege took the Lydian capital and captured Croesus. Legend has it that Cyrus sentenced Croesus to death by burning and as the Lydian king on his pyre was engulfed with smoke he called out the name of Solon. Cyrus, intrigued by this, asked for an explanation, and Croesus told him of the Athenian sage's admonition that no life can be considered happy until it is at an end. In pity, Cyrus spared Croesus's life and maintained him as an advisor. Excavations at Sardis provide ample proof of the destruction of the city by Cyrus but the actual fate of Croesus is not clear. Although Cyrus did have a reputation in antiquity for clemency toward the vanquished, a Babylonian text that chronicles the career of the Persian king states that he "marched against the country of Lu[dia], killing its king." Although the complete name of the country does not survive, only the first syllable—Lu or Ly, which has been restored as Lydia—many scholars believe this version of the story over the tale told by the Greeks. That Croesus's tale of misfortune resonated strongly among the Greeks is demonstrated by a red-figure vase created in Athens fifty years after the Lydian king's death, depicting Croesus on his pyre, calmly accepting his unexpected reversal of fortune.

An amphora showing King Croesus of Lydia sits, enthroned—garlanded with laurel, holding his sceptre, and making a libation from a phiale (ceramic or metal vessel) on a high pyre stoked by his servant Euthymos. Conquered by Cyrus the Great and condemned to die on the pyre; Croesus was reprieved after relating his story of Solon.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why are there few remains of the Lydian phase of Sardis?
2. What were the different characteristics of Lydian and Phrygian tomb chambers?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Roosevelt, Christopher H. *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Websites of Interest

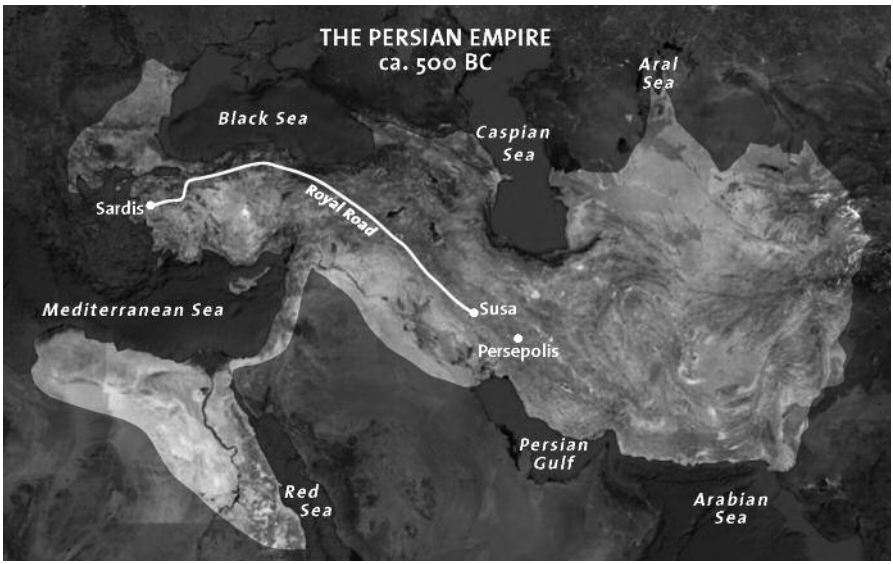
1. The *Greek Mythology Link* website by Carlos Parada provides an in-depth account of the life of Croesus in an article entitled "Croesus: Between Legend and History." — http://www.maicar.com/GML/Croesus.html
2. The *Livius* website features a history of the Lydian kingdom with links to personalities and other sites associated with its past. — http://www.livius.org/lu-lz/lydia/lydia.html

Lecture 7

The Persians

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 11, "The Persian Empire."

When Cyrus defeated the Lydians and captured Croesus, he had been at the helm of a new empire for only three years. He was from Persia, a small kingdom located in what is now southwestern Iran, which had been controlled by the Medes since the fall of the Assyrian Empire in 612 BC. Cyrus ascended the throne of Persia around 559 BC and over the next ten years consolidated his forces and ultimately overthrew his Median overlords and took the crown for himself, thereby gaining control of what is today northwestern Iran and eastern Turkey. He conquered Lydia in 547 BC, and the Babylonians in 539 BC. He expanded eastward to the Indus River, dying in 530 BC campaigning in Central Asia. His successor, Cambyses, successfully invaded Egypt. Thus by the end of the sixth century BC the Persian Empire stretched from the Caucasus to the Sudan, from the Aegean to the Indus. It was most likely the third king of Persia, Darius I, who developed a successful system of administration for this vast empire. He divided his territory into some twenty provinces or satrapies, each governed by a satrap or governor, usually a Persian nobleman with close ties to the royal house. These satrapies were expected to pay tribute to the Great King, as well as provide men and arms in time of war, but they were otherwise left alone to pursue



their own traditions. Anatolia was divided into three satrapies, but the most important was that of western and southwestern Anatolia, administered by a satrap based in the former Lydian capital of Sardis. Communication between Sardis and the Persian capital of Susa was achieved by means of the Royal Road, which stretched 1,677 miles. A caravan could make the trip from Susa to Sardis in ninety days, but royal envoys could do it in a week, changing horses at the 111 stations arranged along the road. A section of the Royal Road has been excavated near Gordion, constructed of cobblestones and measuring fifteen feet wide.

The Persians made good use of the assets of the regions they conquered. From the style of the masonry found at Cyrus the Great's palace at Pasargadae (today in southwest Iran) he clearly used Greek or Lydian masons in its construction. A cuneiform inscription found on a clay tablet from Susa preserves Darius I's account of the construction of his new capital:

> The stone cutters who wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians. The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, they were Sardians and Egyptians.

From the quarry serving the great ceremonial center of Persepolis in Iran come examples of graffiti written in Greek, one saying "Pytharchou eimi" ("I am of Pytharchos"—an Ionian name) as well as a fragmentary inscription that has been restored as "Nikon egraphse" or "Nikon wrote me." Drawings in Greek style have been found surreptitiously scratched on pieces of sculpture from Persepolis. Since the statues would have been painted the graffiti would not have been noticeable, but they attest to an Ionian presence among the artisans employed by the Persians.

Although the Persians tended to allow cities to rule themselves, as long as they obeyed the will of their satraps and paid tribute to the Great King in Susa, some conquered nations nevertheless chafed at their subjugation. Among these were the Ionians, who in 499 BC revolted from Persia. Aristagoras, tyrant of the great city of Miletus, organized the insurrection. Recognizing that he and his fellow Ionians could not prevail against the might of Persia, he asked the Greeks of Sparta to help. When they refused, he approached Athens, who sent twenty ships in assistance. Initially the revolt was successful, and with the help of the Athenians the satrapal center at Sardis was burned. Ultimately, however, the Persians gained the upper hand and destroyed Miletus, sacking the city, burning the neighboring Temple of Apollo at Didyma, and resettling the entire population of the city to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, near Susa. An important result of this five-year revolt was Darius I's desire to punish the Athenians for their involvement. In 490 BC, he mounted an unsuccessful invasion of Athens, only to have his army defeated at the Battle of Marathon. Ten years later, Darius I's successor Xerxes tried to conquer Greece, achieving a victory over the

Spartans at Thermopylae and burning the city of Athens. A combined Greek force, however, ultimately defeated the Persians, first in the sea battle of Salamis (480 BC) and then at the land battle at Plateia (479 BC). To celebrate this last victory the Greeks set up a monument in honor of the god Apollo at his sanctuary at Delphi, in the form of three giant coiled snakes that bore on their head a golden tripod. The snakes' bodies were inscribed with the names of cities under the following heading: "Those who have fought in the war." Later this monument was moved to Constantinople.

In order to prevent the Persians from attacking again Athens created the Delian League, a navy that patrolled the seas and also helped liberate the Ionians and other Greeks living on the Anatolian coast from Persian authority. By the early fourth century, however, these Greek cities went back under Persian control, where they remained until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 336 BC.

The period during which the Ionians and Lydians were under Persian rule has left behind little in the archaeological record. Even at the satrapal capital at Sardis there is little preserved from this period. A series of Lydian tombs, however, shed some light on the elite living under Persian domination. These tombs are located in Uşak in eastern Lydia, some 100 kilometers from Sardis, and had the traditional Lydian tumulus form, with stone burial chambers buried within the earthen mound. Nine existed, all of which were looted in the 1960s and the contents of the graves smuggled into the United States and purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In 1993, the grave goods were returned to Turkey and through painstaking research Turkish archaeologists have been able to reconstruct which objects came from which tombs.

All the tombs date between 520 and 480 BC and they reflect a society that was either mixed Anatolian and Persian, or perhaps Anatolians that favored Persian culture. The burial chambers were of limestone, or sometimes marble, reached via a *dromos*, or passageway that ran through the tumulus. Most of the tomb chambers were equipped with a stone couch, or *kline*, for the deceased. Some bore painted scenes, of animal hunts and fantastic monsters, and a few had elaborate legs that rested on sculpted animals. One had sphinxes—lions with female heads—supporting the funeral

Part of the loot stolen from the Toptepe tumulus graves at Uşak was this silver alabastron.

couch. Traces of ivory appliqués found in a few of the tombs indicate that there may have been wooden furniture as well. The most impressive features of the tombs were the numerous silver vessels found within. These were pitchers, drinking cups, ladles, and bowls, all forms suitable for feasting. Some even bore graffiti in Lydian, presumably names of friends of the deceased who perhaps left vessels behind during some sort of funeral rite. Some of the shapes of these vessels were Lydian, and a few resemble vessels created by Greek craftsmen. An interesting assortment, however, were heavily influenced by Persian style. These include incense burners and shallow drinking cups known as a phialae, decorated with winged solar discs in gold, bull protomes and images of the Persian king. Fine jewelry was also recovered from these tombs. Unlike the vessels, these were chiefly in gold or electrum, and included blue glass bracelets, a chain with pendants in the shape of acorns created out of different colors of stone, a broach in the form of a hippocamp (half horse and half fish), as well as numerous rings. Some of these betray Persian influence (in particular the use of cloisonné), as well as the shape of the bracelets. Several of the tombs were painted with human figures, presumably there to attend the dead. On the walls of one tomb a man and a woman flank the *kline*, each holding some sort of branch, while another depicts a procession of male figures, two of which bear stacks of clothing.

A gold hippocamp brooch from Uşak.

Although the identity of these tomb owners is not known, they appear to be local leaders who, even though they were living under Persian rule, maintained a wealthy lifestyle and even took on some of the trappings of their Persian overlords.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What system of administration did Darius I implement?
2. Who was victorious at the Battle of Marathon?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Allen, Lindsay. *The Persian Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Waxman, Sharon. *Loot: The Battle over the Stolen Treasures of the Ancient World*. New York: Times Books, 2009.

Websites of Interest

1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* website provides images and information on artifacts and excavations carried out in Sardis. — http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/srds/hd_srds.htm
2. The *Livius* website features an article with links on the Persian Royal Road through Anatolia. — http://www.livius.org/ro-rz/royal_road/royal_road.htm

Lecture 8

The Lycians

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 8, "The Coming of the Greeks."

Although the Lydians appear to have resigned themselves to Persian rule and even thrived under it, their neighbors to the south, the Lycians, were less tractable. Lycia was located in southwestern Anatolia, in a mountainous region where the Taurus Mountains reached down to the Mediterranean. Because the Hittites referred to this region as the Luka Lands, and because the later Lycian language is related to Luwian and Hittite, it is thought that the Lycian people arrived in Anatolia sometime in the late third millennium BC. Although there are almost no archaeological remains from the early phase of Lycian history, the Hittites had difficulty controlling them, and this warlike and fiercely independent nature seems to have been a characteristic of the later Lycians as well.

To the Greeks in the west Lycia was a land of myth, where great warriors were born and stalwart heroes were tested. It was in Lycia that the Greek hero Bellerophon, riding on the winged horse Pegasus, defeated the Chimaera, a monstrous fire-breathing lion with a snake for a tail and a goat's head emerging from its back. Lycia was also the home of the warriors Glaucus and Sarpedon, who died fighting on behalf of the Trojans at the Trojan War. According to Homer's *Iliad*, these men had no personal quarrel

Source: University of Texas at Austin/Classics Department

with the Greeks but fought at Troy to exercise their warlike nature. These myths are in keeping with the reputation of the Lycians in later times.

Neither the Phrygians nor the Lydians absorbed Lycia into their kingdoms, but in the 540s BC the region fell to the Persians. After Cyrus the Great subdued Lydia he left his army in the hands of his trusted general Harpagus. The Greek historian Herodotus tells the dramatic tale of the Persian conquest of the most important city of Lycia, Xanthos:

> When Harpagos advanced into the plain of Xanthos, they (the Lycians) met him in battle, though greatly outnumbered, and fought with much gallantry; at length, however, they were defeated and forced to retire within their walls, whereupon they collected their women, children, slaves and other property and shut them up in the citadel, set fire to it and burnt it to the ground. Then having sworn to do or die, they marched out to meet the enemy and were killed to a man.
>
> ~Herodotus, *Histories* I.176

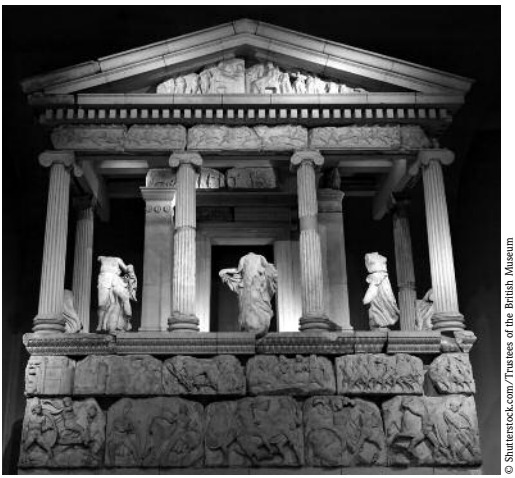
The fall of Xanthos meant the fall of Lycia. In order to better control the region, the Persians installed in Xanthos a local dynast who ruled Lycia but was ultimately answerable to the satrap in Sardis. As part of the Persian Empire, Lycia paid taxes and supplied men and arms. When the Persians attacked Greece in 480 BC the Lycians contributed fifty ships to Xerxes' armada.

Excavations at Xanthos have revealed the prosperity of the city during the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The Lycians, like the Phrygians and Lydians, expressed themselves through the construction of impressive tombs. Rather than create tumuli, they favored highly visible stone monuments, usually decorated with sculpture. The most impressive of these took the form of a tall stone pillar that supported a small tomb chamber in which the ashes of the deceased were placed. One of these still stands in the old city center of Xanthos today, the so-called Harpy Tomb, named for the reliefs of winged women that decorate it. All four sides of the upper tomb chamber were sculpted with scenes that reflect the influence of both Greek and Persian art. One scene depicts the departure of a warrior (a standard scene in Greek art), while another depicts a seated figure, probably the tomb occupant, arranged in a pose similar to the way that the Great King of Persia was depicted in Persepolis. It is likely that the Harpy Tomb held the remains of King Kheziga, whose father had been placed in charge of Lycia by the Persians. The

The Harpy Tomb at Xanthos.

imagery on the Harpy Tomb hints at Kheziga's self-aggrandizement, portraying himself like the Persian king, but it was his son, Kuprrli, who may have actually broken free from Persian rule altogether. Although our understanding of this period is still quite sketchy, it appears that during the long reign of King Kuprrli (ca. 485–440 BC), Lycia joined the Delian League of the Greeks, exerting its independence from Persia but paying taxes to Athens. During that time Kuprrli rebuilt the citadel at Xanthos. He erected a massive fortification wall around the city, built a temple (perhaps to the goddess Artemis), and erected a series of impressive tombs to honor his family. He also strengthened his control over the entirety of Lycia, minting coinage in various city centers, some bearing his portrait. These coins depict an older, bearded man wearing a Greek-style military helmet. Although probably an idealized image, King Kuprrli is the earliest known ruler to place his image on a coin. Kuprrli was able to maintain his independence from the Persians because of his alliance with Athens, but for reasons still not understood, relations with Athens went sour. An inscription from the tomb of a man thought to be Kuprrli's grandson, Kheriga, boasts that he repulsed an Athenian invasion, killing seven Greek soldiers single-handedly. Evidently by the end of the fifth century BC Lycia had gone back under Persian rule, but it was still ruled by the same family.

During the first few decades of the fourth century BC various local factions challenged the kings of Xanthos for control of Lycia. Nevertheless, the last of these Xanthian kings, Arbinas, erected what is perhaps one of the greatest of the Lycian tombs, the so-called Nereid Monument. Designed to resemble a temple, the marble structure stood on a high, tower-like podium decorated with reliefs showing Arbinas at court, dressed as a Persian. Statues of women, perhaps representing breezes or water nymphs, stood between the columns that framed the entrance to the burial chamber. When Arbinas died the Persians tried to put a stop to the local unrest by dividing Lycia in two and placing each region under the control of a Persian governor. This prompted a revolt led by Pericle, a ruler of the eastern Lycian city of Limyra. Named for the Athenian statesman of the fifth century BC Pericle seems to have been an able leader, driving out the Persians and uniting Lycia under his rule. During this period Pericle



The Nereid Monument as reconstructed at the British Museum.

minted a striking series of coins that featured his own image on the obverse, or "heads" side. Since its invention by the Lydians in the late seventh century BC, coinage had become a standard element in the economy of Anatolia, and starting with the reign of King Kuprrli in the fifth century BC, Lycian kings had been portraying themselves on coinage. Usually these coins bore a profile of an idealized image of the king, a generic portrayal, not an actual portrait. The coins of Pericle, however, demonstrate a high degree of realism as well as propagandistic messages. Rather than a profile portrayal, the "heads" sides of his coins show a fully frontal face of the king, with wild, flame-like hair and deeply penetrating eyes. Many scholars consider these images to be among the earliest and best realistic portraits of the ancient world. The "tails" or reverses of some of these coins depict Sarpedon, the mythical warrior of the Trojan War, and it has been suggested that the head of the hero is actually a portrait of Pericle. Unfortunately this leader maintained control of Lycia for less than ten years before being driven out, and probably killed, by the Persians.

Photo courtesy of Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Beverly Hills, CA.

Lycian coin depicting King Kuprrli.

Shortly after Pericle's fall the Persians placed Lycia under the rule of a local leader to the west, King Mausolus of Caria, and some thirty years later, in 334 BC, Lycia was liberated by Alexander the Great. The later history of Lycia saw the small region fall under the control of various leaders and ultimately become part of the Roman Empire. Throughout, however, the independent streak of the Lycians prevailed. For nearly 700 years, from the third century BC to the fourth century AD, the Lycians practiced a remarkably democratic local system of government known as the Lycian League. Twenty-three cities of Lycia made up the league, which voted in an annual assembly. The number of votes for each city depended on its population. Large cities such as Xanthos had six votes in the assembly, while small cities had a single vote or even shared a vote. Taxes and other public money were levied according to voting power and the funds went into a central treasury to help support a federal army and navy. The Lycian League is therefore the earliest example of representative government. Montesquieu (1689–1755), the political theoretician of the Enlightenment, knew about the Lycian League: "Were I to give a model of an excellent Confederate Republic, it would be that of Lycia." The model of the Lycian League also influenced the United States Constitution. Both Alexander Hamilton and James Madison mentioned the Lycian League in the Federalist Papers, noting its representative government and annual congress, and indeed, the United States House of Representatives, with its representation based on population, was inspired by the Lycian League.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What were the features of the Lycian tombs?
2. What did the Persians attempt with Lycia when Arbinas died?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Keen, Anthony G. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, C. 545–362 B.C*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 1998.

Stark, Freya. *The Lycian Shore*. New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2011 (1956).

Websites of Interest

1. The British Museum's Lycian Collection is featured on their website. — http://www.lycianturkey.com/british-museum-lycia.htm
2. *Saudi Aramco World* magazine features an article by Christopher Walker with photographs by Thorne Anderson from 2007 entitled "Splendid Ruins of an Excellent Republic," detailing the links between the Lycian League as the prototype of America's democracy. — http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200705/splendid.ruins.of.an.excellent.republic..htm/The

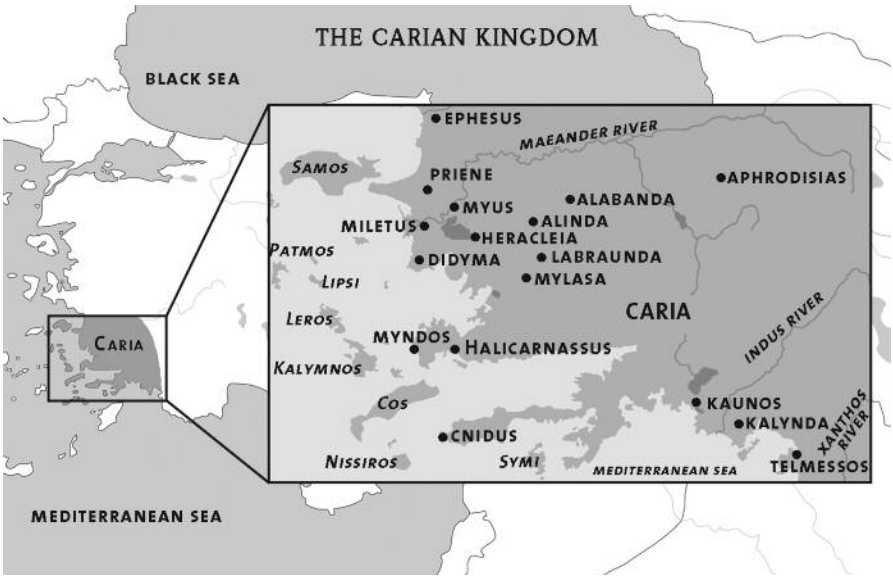
Lecture 9

The Carians

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 8, "The Coming of the Greeks."

Located south of the Ionian city of Miletus and west of Lycia was an area known as Caria. When Greek immigrants arrived in the region around 1000 BC they found it populated by a people who spoke an Anatolian language related to old Luwian. This indicates that the forebears of the Carians, along with the ancestors of the Hittites and the Lycians, may have entered Anatolia during the third millennium BC. The Greeks believed the Carians originally came from the island of Crete, while the Carians themselves believed they were indigenous to their region of Anatolia. There did exist some interesting connections with Crete, however. Excavations of the coastal Carian city of Iassos have revealed evidence for a Minoan Cretan settlement of the early second millennium BC, and both on that island and in Caria the symbol of the double axe, the *labrys*, was prevalent. In later periods there was frequent intermarriage between the two regions. Nevertheless, because of their perceived gullibility, the Carians were often the butt of Greek jokes.

The name Caria is related to the Luwian word "Karuwa," meaning "steep place," a fitting description for the rocky coastline and mountainous interior that formed the region. Perhaps because of the inhospitable terrain, few large cities existed in Caria. Instead, it was a land of villages banded together in groups or leagues. The oldest of these was the Carian League that met



Source: University of Texas at Austin/Classics Department

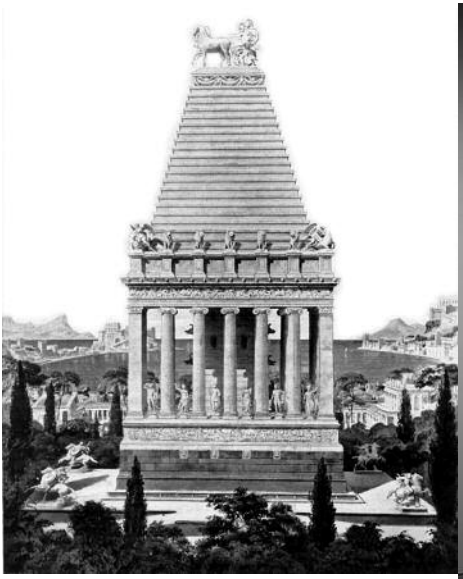
annually in the sanctuary of Zeus Carios at the inland settlement of Mylasa, one of the few cities of Caria.

The early history of Caria is poorly known and chiefly related through Greek sources. According to the Greek Historian Herodotus (who was born in the coastal Carian/Greek city of Halicarnassus), the Carians were credited with three important inventions: the crest on a war helmet, devices on shields, and shields with handles. Whether this is historically true or not, all speak of the warlike nature of the Carians, and this is reflected in their history. In the seventh century BC some Carian soldiers served the Pharoah of Egypt as mercenary soldiers, while others helped Gyges to the Lydian throne. Nevertheless, when the Persians invaded in 546 BC only a few settlements resisted, although Caria did join the ill-fated Ionian Revolt in 499 BC.

During the period of Persian rule Caria was part of the Satrapy of Lydia, although, as was usual for the Persians, Carian rulers were left in positions of local authority. The most fascinating of these was Queen Artemisia, who ruled from the coastal city of Halicarnassus. During the Persian invasion of Greece in 480 BC she led a Carian fleet. At the Battle of Salamis, when the Greeks had won the day and the Persian navy (made up of conscripts like the Carians) was in retreat, Artemisia, pursued by an Athenian ship, rammed a ship allied with the Persians in order to be seen as a deserter and be allowed to escape. The Persian King Xerxes, watching the battle from a nearby hillside, was impressed by this feint and is said to have exclaimed: “My men have turned into women, and my women into men.” Another noteworthy Carian sailor that served the Persians was Skylax of Caryanda, who, during the late sixth century BC, was sent by King Darius to explore the Indus River, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea. He is even credited with sailing beyond the Pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic and down the African coast.

During the fourth century BC the Persians allowed a local leader from Mylasa, Hyssaldomos, to serve as Satrap of Caria. His son, Hecatomnus, who founded a dynasty of rulers called the Hecatomnids, succeeded him. Hecatomnus ruled from the city of Mylasa, and he may have been buried there as well. In 2008, looters uncovered a tomb in the modern Turkish town of Milas (ancient Mylasa), buried deep beneath the ruins of the temple of Zeus Carios. The vaulted stone tomb chamber had wall paintings (at present under conservation) and contained a carved marble sarcophagus depicting a bearded man reclining on a couch surrounded by family and attendants. The tomb appears to have been looted in antiquity, but its location beneath the temple indicates that the tomb owner was a man of importance. The style of the carving dates the sarcophagus to the early fourth century BC, which is in keeping with the year of Hecatomnus’s death in 377 BC. It is possible that the reclining man on the sarcophagus is a portrait of the Carian satrap.

Hecatomnus had five children but it was his eldest son Mausolus who became the next ruler of Caria. During his tenure Caria gained control of sections of Ionia, some of the islands off the Anatolian shore, and Lycia. Recognizing the importance of maritime trade Mausolus moved the capital from Mylasa to the coastal town of Halicarnassus, a small fishing village that had a mixed Greek and Carian population. Mausolus expanded the city, adding a vast agora or marketplace, broad regular streets laid out on a grid pattern, an impressive temple to the war god Ares, and a palace. Today the modern city of Bodrum sits on top of Halicarnassus, and medieval and modern structures obscure the ancient settlement. A fifteenth-century crusader castle, located on a promontory projecting into the sea, sits directly on top of the palace of Mausolus. The most famous monument of Halicarnassus, a building at the center of Mausolus's city, was his monumental tomb, known as the Mausoleum. Begun in 360 BC and still incomplete at the time of his death in 353 BC, it was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World, because of its size (standing nearly 150 feet tall), and the sculpture that adorned it, created by the most gifted Greek sculptors of the fourth century BC. The Mausoleum was felled by earthquakes and subsequently looted and dismantled by crusaders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Elements from it were transferred to the British Museum in the nineteenth century, and one of the most impressive remains is an over-life-size statue of a long-haired, bearded man, believed to be a portrait of Mausolus himself.



A statue believed to represent Mausolus (right) discovered by British archaeologist Charles Newton in 1856, and a reconstruction drawing of the Mausoleum in Halicarnassus.

In addition to beautifying the city of Halicarnassus, the Hecatomnids honored their patron god Zeus by enhancing his sanctuary at Labraunda. Located high in the mountains and connected to the old capital city of Mylasa by an eight-mile-long sacred road, the sanctuary, or sacred zone, had been in existence as early as the seventh century BC. Labraunda was built on a steep hillside at the location of a gushing spring, over a series of five terraces. Every year the people of Caria would march up the sacred way from Mylasa to participate in a festival of athletic and musical competitions, animal sacrifices, and feasting. Beginning with Hecatomnus, who set up a statue of Zeus Labraundeus, each of the Hecatomnids donated buildings and sculpture to the sanctuary. Because of Labraunda's remoteness, most of these buildings are still standing, some with walls preserved up to the roofline. Mausolus began construction of an impressive temple to Zeus, but his younger brother Idreus completed it. Both Mausolus and Idreus built large dining rooms (called androns—"men's rooms," since only men dined together in Carian society), for important participants during the annual festival. These were rectangular buildings that were designed to hold couches along the walls, enough to accommodate eleven diners. Numerous windows, whose sills still preserve the grooves for wooden shutters, would have illuminated the dining room during the festival of Zeus. The most intriguing building was the Hall of Ablutions, where priests and participants in the festival of Zeus could be ritually cleansed. Little survives of this building, but ancient testimonia report that the building housed tame fish, which came when called and took food from human hands. Some were even decked out in necklaces and earrings. These fish may have had an oracular role in the cult of Zeus.

When Mausolus died his sister Artemisia II, namesake of the great fifth century BC queen, succeeded him. Because the Hecatomnids practiced brother-sister marriage (perhaps in order to maintain blood purity), she was also his wife. In her two years of rule, from 353 to 351 BC, Artemisia accomplished a great deal. She completed the Mausoleum of her beloved brother/husband and defended Halicarnassus from an attack by the great sea power, Rhodes. After her fleet defeated the Rhodians, she commanded it to follow the would-be invaders back to their homeport and actually captured it. Upon her death her younger brother and sister, Idreus and Ada became the rulers of Caria. In 344 BC, Idreus died, leaving his sister/widow Ada in charge of Caria. Four years later her younger brother, Pixodarus, with the help of a high-ranking Persian, expelled Ada, who lived in exile until the arrival of Alexander the Great, who, as will be discussed in the next chapter, restored her to the throne. When she died, however, Caria came under direct control of Alexander.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What three inventions were credited to the Carians by Herodotus?
2. What improvements did Mausolus make to Halicarnassus?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Greaves, Alan M. *The Land of Ionia: Society and Economy in the Archaic Period*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Recorded Books

Tobin, Jennifer. *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2011.

Websites of Interest

1. The *Hürriyet Daily News & Economic Review* provides an article from April 2011 by Canan Küçükeren entitled "The Carian Spirit Lives on in Southwest Anatolia," in which he compares the history of Caria to the present conditions in that region of Turkey. — http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=the-carian-spirit-lives-on-in-southwest-anatolia-2011-03-29
2. The *Livius* website article "The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus" includes several images of statues and fragments found at the site in Turkey. — http://www.livius.org/ha-hd/halicarnassus/halicarnassus_mausoleum.html
3. The University of Chicago provides the full version of W.R. Lethaby's *The Tomb of Mausolus* (1908), including his detailed illustrations. — http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Turkey/_Periods/Greek/_Texts/LETGKB/Mausoleum*.html

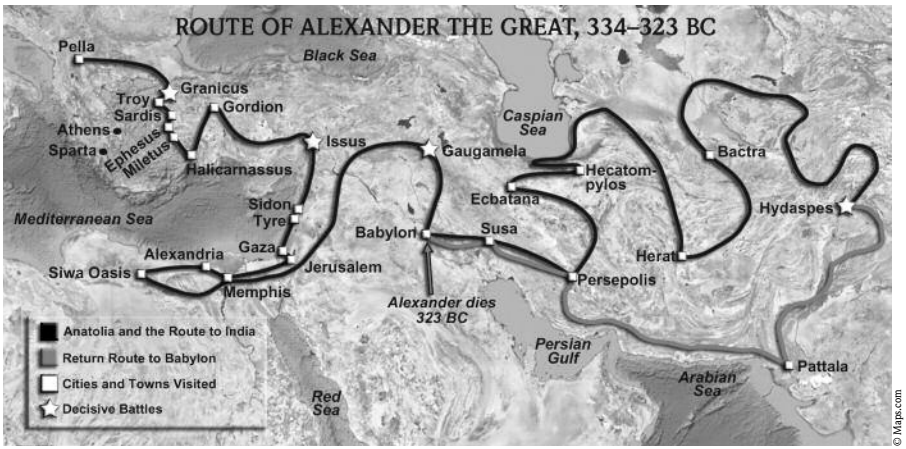
Lecture 10

Alexander the Great in Anatolia

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 13, "Macedon: A Dream of Greek Unity."

Persian control of Anatolia was shattered by the arrival of a combined Greek and Macedonian army led by Alexander the Great. The invasion of Anatolia, the first step in the conquest of Persia, was the brainchild of Alexander's father Philip II. Four years earlier in 338 BC, Philip II of Macedonia had swept south with his army and conquered Greece. Hoping to gain the support of the newly pacified Greeks, Philip asked them to join him in an invasion of Persia, promising, with their help, to liberate the Greeks of Anatolia, punish the Persians for burning Athens in 480 BC, and gain booty from the wealthy region. Philip was murdered two years later, but his twenty-year-old son and heir, Alexander, picked up the plan. In 334 BC, he led an army numbering 42,000 Greeks and Macedonians across the Hellespont into Persian-controlled Anatolia.

Even in his lifetime numerous legends surrounded Alexander and one was that he had descended from Achilles, the hero of the Trojan War. Consequently, Alexander's first stop after crossing into Anatolia was Troy, which, by the fourth century BC, was identified with the ruins at modern day Hisarlik. When the inhabitants showed Alexander the sepulcher of his forebear, Alexander is said to have run around the tomb naked. He also visited the Temple of Athena, located on top of the ancient citadel, where he exchanged his armor with what he was told to be armor from the Trojan War. Upon departing from Troy, Alexander met and defeated the Persian army close by at the Granicus River. His victory sent shock waves



throughout Persia and encouraged many Greek cities to come over to him. He then marched south to Sardis, where the Persian satrap surrendered control of the territory that included Ionia and Lydia. Alexander installed a new governor in Sardis, who saw to it that the taxes that once were paid to Persia went to Alexander, thus Alexander's idea of liberation seemed to be replacing the rule of the Persians with his own.

From Sardis, Alexander and his army marched to the Ionian city of Ephesus, where he was cautiously welcomed. The city was in the process of rebuilding the huge temple of Artemis, which had burned down twenty years earlier—coincidentally on the night of Alexander's birth. Alexander offered to help pay for the building's construction, but the citizens politely declined his offer, wanting, perhaps, to limit his personal involvement in the city. Alexander got his way in the end, however. He abolished the tax that Ephesus was paying to Persia but established a "contribution" to be paid to him, which he donated toward the temple's erection.

Many Greek cities were suspicious of Alexander and resisted his advances. One of these was the venerable harbor city of Miletus, whose citizens supported the Persian army stationed in their midst. Alexander successfully besieged Miletus but then faced a greater challenge to the south at the Carian city of Halicarnassus. For nearly sixty years the Hecatomnid Dynasty had ruled Caria, but recently the Persians had taken direct control of the region. One last Hecatomnid existed, however, Ada, who was living in exile. Alexander approached her, promising to put her back on the throne if she could promise Carian support. Even with her allegiance Alexander was forced to besiege Halicarnassus for several months before taking the city. As promised, he placed Queen Ada back on her rightful throne, and in her gratitude the old woman adopted Alexander as her son and heir.

Alexander then marched across the south coast of Anatolia, securing territory as he went. During his passage through Lycia and the adjacent region of Pamphylia several miraculous events occurred that seemed to confirm the ultimate success of his conquest of Persia. When Alexander and his troops were passing the Lycian city of Xanthos, a spring near the city suddenly gushed up like a geyser and deposited on land a bronze tablet covered with ancient symbols. A seer traveling with Alexander interpreted the symbols as saying that he would destroy Persia. Another remarkable occurrence took place along the coastal road leading eastward from Lycia into Pamphylia, where the mighty Taurus Mountains swept down to the

Marble bust of Alexander the Great believed to be from Alexandria, Egypt, ca. second century BC.

Mediterranean. It was difficult to march the army along such rocky terrain and Alexander instructed his engineers to widen the path by cutting steps in the cliffs. These are still visible today. Alexander and a few troops, however, chose to march along the edge of the sea. Normally this would have been impossible, but the wind blew the sea back to allow Alexander's progress, a phenomenon that seemed to confirm Alexander's ultimate victory over Persia, for if the sea itself submitted to Alexander, then the Persian king must also.

Having gained control of much of the south coast Alexander moved north into central Anatolia. In March of 333 BC, after several minor skirmishes with pro-Persian elements, Alexander reached the old Phrygian capital of Gordion, which surrendered to him voluntarily. Although a mere village, Gordion offered Alexander a powerful opportunity to demonstrate that his mission was divinely sanctioned. An antique wagon, reputed to have belonged to King Midas, stood on the old Phrygian citadel, an impenetrable knot uniting the yoke to the body of the wagon. An ancient prophecy said anyone who undid the knot would rule Asia. Alexander greatly believed in omens and it is likely that his sole purpose for visiting Gordion was to fulfill the prophecy. The ancient authors who describe the events, however, differ in what happened. Evidently the knot could not be untied so Alexander was forced to resort to unorthodox means to achieve his goal. Some authors claim he dismantled part of the cart, sliding the wooden yoke out from the knot, so that the rope came undone. Others report that Alexander simply cut the knot in two with his sword. Either way he seems to have received the support of the gods. That night there was thunder and lightning—a sign of approval from Zeus.

From Gordion Alexander marched south through to the Cilician Gates, one of the few major passes through the Taurus Mountains. Alexander had been dreading this leg of his journey—the Cilician Gates were extremely narrow and offered an ideal opportunity for a Persian ambush. He and his troops passed in safety, however, reaching Tarsus on the south coast. By now the weather was very hot and Alexander took a swim in a river, catching a chill that nearly killed him.

The doctors traveling in his train feared to treat him in case he died, but finally one, an old friend named Philip, dared to try a cure. The medicine he offered Alexander was strong and potentially could kill him. According to the story, before he took ill Alexander had received a message from one of his generals claiming that Philip planned to murder him. When Philip appeared with the dose Alexander fearlessly took it, handing Philip the accusatory note as he drank the potion. Philip assured Alexander of his innocence and, indeed, the medicine had a violent but ultimately healing effect.

The last great event within the boundaries of Anatolia was one of the most important battles of Alexander's life—the Battle of Issus. In a narrow plain between the mountains and the sea Alexander once again met the full Persian army, this time led by the Great King himself, Darius III. Although Alexander's army was outnumbered two-to-one, and he himself was wounded in the thigh, nevertheless Alexander was victorious. The battle is immortalized in the so-called Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii. The mosaic dates to 100 BC but is a copy of a painting done in Macedonia around 300 BC. Spot lit before a backdrop of clashing Macedonians and Persians are the two kings, Alexander on horseback and Darius III in a chariot, staring at each other across a sea of soldiers. It is the moment of Darius III's defeat, when his charioteer is whipping his horses, turning the vehicle to take the Persian king to safety.

After the Battle of Issus, Alexander moved south to conquer Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt, and eventually he proved all the omens correct by subduing the Persians and taking the title of Great King. Alexander even ventured beyond the confines of the Persian Empire into India, but he never returned to Anatolia. Ten years after the Battle of Issus he died in Babylon at the age of thirty-three, succumbing to a high fever possibly brought on by malaria, perhaps complicated by alcohol abuse. On his deathbed he was asked to whom he was leaving his empire. He was said to have responded "To the strongest," a prophetic utterance that would lead to decades of fighting among his generals.

The Alexander Mosaic depicting Alexander and Darius III at the Battle of Issus.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why did Queen Ada adopt Alexander?
2. What of significance happened to Alexander at Gordion?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Freeman, Philip. *Alexander the Great*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011.

Recorded Books

Fox, Robin Lane. *Alexander of Macedonia: The World Conquered*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, 2010.

Websites of Interest

The *Isidore of Seville* website provides "Alexander the Great on the Web," a listing of links to Internet sites about Alexander the Great. — http://www.isidore-of-seville.com/Alexanderama.html

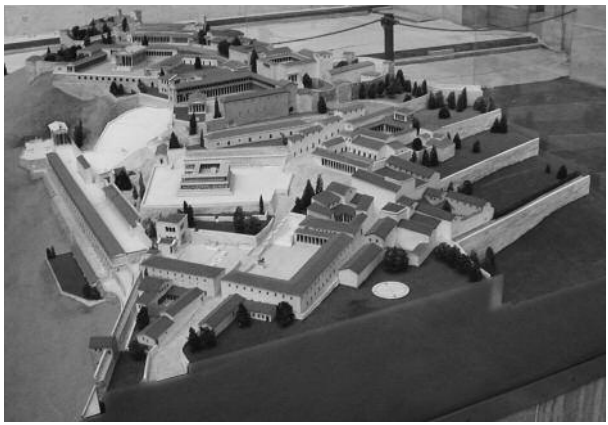
Lecture 11

The Kingdom of Pergamon

The Suggested Readings for this lecture are Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 15, "A Cosmopolitan Culture: Hellenism in Asia Minor," and chapter 16, "Seven Cities."

After the death of Alexander various generals cut his empire into little pieces. Egypt was taken by Alexander's childhood friend Ptolemy, and Persia as well as most of Alexander's eastern empire came under the control of a general named Seleucus. Anatolia fell to two individuals; Lysimachus, Alexander's bodyguard, gained control of northwestern Anatolia, while the lion's share of the region, along with Syria, fell to Antigonus, nicknamed the One-Eyed from a wound he received in battle. None of these men was content with his piece of the pie—each harbored a dream of re-creating Alexander's empire with himself at the helm. Thus the twenty-five years after Alexander's death witnessed constant warfare, with these generals at times fighting one another and at other times in alliance. In 301 BC, Lysimachus and Seleucus united against Antigonus, defeating him in the highlands of Phrygia at the Battle of Ipsus, thus allowing Seleucus to add Syria to his possessions and Lysimachus to gain control of Anatolia. Along with expanded territory Lysimachus attained a great deal of wealth, and he needed to find a safe location to store his treasury of 9,000 silver talants (a mass of silver weighing over 500,000 pounds). He chose the village of Pergamon, located midway down the west coast of Anatolia, on a high natural citadel of rock, and assigned a Macedonian named Philetairus to protect it. Philetairus faithfully guarded Lysimachus's money for twenty years.

In 282 BC, Lysimachus's one-time ally Seleucus, knowing that Lysimachus was unpopular with the Greek cities on the Anatolian coast, entered western Anatolia and was enthusiastically received by the Greeks. Philetairus also welcomed him. Having become embroiled in a power struggle between two sons of Lysimachus, each hoping to succeed their powerful



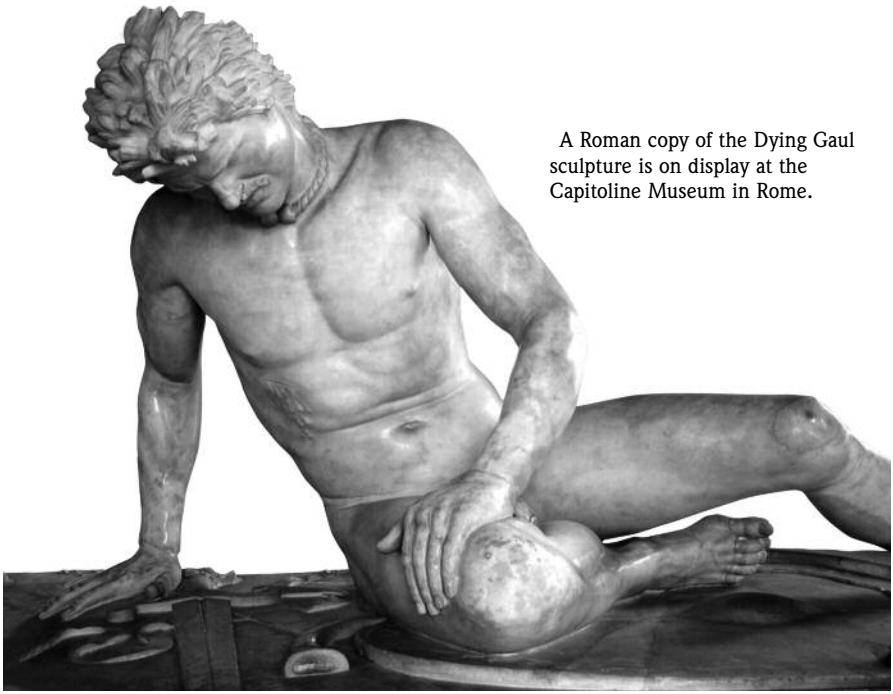
A model of the upper city of Pergamon is on display at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.

father, the once loyal guardian of the treasury decided his safest choice was to ally himself with Seleucus. The eighty-year-old Lysimachus was killed at the battle of Corupedion in Lydia, leaving Seleucus the most powerful man in the east, controlling Anatolia, Syria, Persia, and eastwards to India. Philetairus remained at Pergamon, guarding the 9,000 talants that now belonged to Seleucus. When Seleucus was murdered the following year, Philetairus quietly began to exert his independence. Using some of the treasury to strengthen and beautify Pergamon, he fortified the city and erected a temple to the city's patroness, the goddess Athena. Twenty years later, when he died childless (he was reputed to have been a eunuch), control of the city and the money fell to his nephew Eumenes. Eumenes I (263–241 BC) won Pergamon's independence by defeating Seleucus's son in a battle near Sardis. Although he never officially took the title of king he is credited with founding the Attalid dynasty, named after Philetairus's father Attalus. In a period known for its internecine wars, where brother murdered brother and wife poisoned husband, the Attalid Dynasty of Pergamon was remarkable for its stability, filial loyalty, and support of the arts. In his youth, Eumenes I, along with his brother Attalus I, studied philosophy in Athens, and as an adult Eumenes sent money to support the Platonic school there. This was the beginning of a close relationship between Pergamon and the great Greek city to the west.

It was Eumenes I's successor and brother, Attalus I (241–197 BC) who brought Pergamon into the public spotlight, successfully defeating an invasion of Gauls. These nomads had originated in the upper Danube region and had gradually made their way south. In 380 BC, they sacked Rome and a century later they looted the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi in Greece. Shortly thereafter they entered Anatolia and for the next fifty years raided the cities and settlements throughout the region. There seemed to be no defense against them, and leaders such as Eumenes I of Pergamon resorted to paying the Gauls not to attack them. Attalus I, however, put a stop to this shameful practice and in 229 BC he successfully defeated a combined attack of three Gallic tribes. Attalus I's success had resounding repercussions. He took the title of king and added some coastal regions to the small territory of Pergamon. But more importantly, he publicly regarded the Pergamene victory over the Gauls as comparable to the Athenian victory over the Persians in 480 BC, since both cities protected Greek culture against a barbarian onslaught. To emphasize this comparison Attalus I erected victory monuments in the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon as well as in the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens and at the important Greek religious centers of Delphi and Delos. These took the form of wounded and dying Gauls. None of the original statues exist today, but they were so admired that copies were created centuries later during the Roman period, which provide an idea of the appearance and message of these victory monuments. What is interesting is the fact that the emphasis of the sculptural groups was on the

Gauls—no images of the Pergamene victors seem to have been present. And the Gauls themselves were treated with respect and even sympathy. One of these statues, the so-called Dying Gaul, depicts a fallen warrior, naked except for a metal torque around his neck. Blood gushes from his wounds and he leans heavily on one arm, trying with difficulty to stay upright. He looks down, his face set in a poignant expression of grief, disbelief, and resignation as he contemplates his death. Another pair of statues from the same victory monument depicts a husband and wife (among the Gauls, women fought alongside the men). The woman has fallen to her knees, her arms and head hanging limp, dead from a wound inflicted by her husband, preferring death to capture. Her husband, still holding her with one arm, stands erect and fierce, defiantly plunging a sword into his own chest. What is remarkable about these statues is that previously in Greek art, foreign enemies were demonized, portrayed with no sympathy. But in the period following Alexander's death, the so-called Hellenistic period, where Greeks lived alongside peoples of many nations, a new empathy with non-Greeks developed, and the art of Pergamon was in the forefront of this new attitude.

Attalus I's son and successor was Eumenes II, perhaps the greatest of the Pergamene rulers. During his reign, a Seleucid king, Antiochus III, threatened to conquer the small kingdom of Pergamon. Eumenes II, knowing he could not defend his realm against the huge army of Antiochus III, sought help from a new power to the west, Rome. In 190 BC, a combined army of



A Roman copy of the Dying Gaul sculpture is on display at the Capitoline Museum in Rome.

Romans and Pergamenes defeated Antiochus III and as a result Pergamon added all of western Anatolia to its territory, making Pergamon an important and sizeable kingdom. A few years later Eumenes II fought another successful battle, against the remaining Gauls who had settled in central Anatolia, and the neighboring kingdom of Bithynia. Like his father, Eumenes II celebrated his victory with a monument, this time a huge altar to the god Zeus, located on a prominent point of the citadel at Pergamon. The altar, considered today to be a masterpiece, was decorated with sculpture depicting an ancient Greek myth, the battle between the gods of Mount Olympus and the monstrous giants born of the earth. In essence it was the battle of Good versus Evil, and it symbolized the Pergamene forces' defeat of the Gallic and Bithynian army. The scenes on the altar are a tour de force of charging figures, sweeping drapery, beautiful gods, and monstrous giants, equipped with snaky appendages, animal heads, and wings. But curiously, it is the defeated giants that are portrayed with sympathy. In one famous scene, the goddess Athena is about to kill a giant, whose face is crumpled with grief. Nearby Ge, mother earth, pleads for the life of her son. Like the victory monuments of Attalus I a generation earlier, the sculptors of the Altar of Zeus seem to have recognized that the enemy is never totally evil and warrants respect and even sympathy.

The expanded kingdom of Pergamon brought new wealth to the city and consequently both Eumenes II and his successor Attalus II spent money and energy beautifying their capital. During the reigns of those two kings the citadel of Pergamon, a steep upthrust of rock, was adorned with temples, gymnasia, an agora, a theater, and palaces. In the Sanctuary of Athena initially built by Philetairus, Eumenes II constructed a library designed to rival the great Library of Alexandria in Egypt. Because of the uneven terrain, the Pergamene architects became adept at constructing terraces to support these structures, making Pergamon one of the most impressive experiments in city planning of the ancient world. Both Eumenes II and Attalus II also erected buildings beyond Pergamon, at Delphi and especially at Athens, the city to which their family had strong ties, but also the city that Pergamon was designed to rival and replace, as a center of art and as the protector of Greek culture.

Relief sculpture of Athena and Ge from the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why did Attalus I regard the Pergamene victory over the Gauls as comparable to the Athenian victory over the Persians in 480 BC?
2. How did Eumenes II celebrate his victory over the Gauls?

Suggested Reading

Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

de Grummond, Nancy T., and Brunilde S. Ridgway, eds. *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Kunze, Max, and Phillip Von Zabern. *The Pergamon Altar: Its Rediscovery, History and Reconstruction*. Trans. Biri Fay. Berlin: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 1995.

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Johnston, Susan A. *Icons of the Iron Age: The Celts in History and Archaeology*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2008.

Websites of Interest

The *Pergamon* website is a collection of visualization projects of ancient Pergamum with 3D imagery and video, and photographs of the relief carvings and statuary from the archaeological site. — http://www.pergamon.secondpage.de/index_en.html

Lecture 12

Nemrud Dağ and the Kingdom of Commagene

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 15, "A Cosmopolitan Culture: Hellenism in Asia Minor."

During the Hellenistic period, the three centuries following the death of Alexander the Great, Anatolia became increasingly involved with a growing power to the west—Rome. The Romans had helped protect Pergamon from the attack of Antiochus III in 190 BC, and thereafter the two powers maintained fairly cordial relations. So cordial, in fact, that in 133 BC, when Attalus III, the last king of Pergamon, died with no legitimate heir, he left the kingdom of Pergamon to the people of Rome. Scholars debate about Attalus III's motives but suspect that the old king recognized that Rome's expansionist policies would inevitably lead to the conquest of Pergamon. By willingly submitting to Rome, perhaps his kingdom would earn better treatment from their Italian masters. In 130 BC, what had been the kingdom of Pergamon became the province of Asia, encompassing all of western Anatolia. Much of the eastern part of Anatolia, a collection of small principalities, remained independent from Rome, however. Perhaps the most interesting of these was the kingdom of Commagene.

Located west of the Euphrates River and east of the Taurus Mountains, Commagene was a wealthy and fertile region strategically placed along several inland trade routes. Commagene, the Greek name for the city-kingdom of Kummuhu, was first mentioned in Assyrian texts of the twelfth century BC and was celebrated for its gold and silver, cattle, and wine. In the sixth century BC the region came under the control of Persia and in the fourth century BC it fell to Alexander the Great. After his death, Commagene became part of the kingdom of Seleucus I, one of Alexander's generals. Around 162 BC, during a period of Seleucid weakness, a local leader named Ptolemy broke away from his overlord and claimed rule of Commagene for himself, founding a dynasty that would rule for seven generations.

It was Antiochus I of Commagene who first recognized the importance of allying his small kingdom with Rome. In 64 BC, the Roman general Pompey the Great formally recognized him as a "client king," an independent ally of Rome. In a period when Rome was relentlessly absorbing small principalities like Commagene, it is a credit to Antiochus I's diplomatic skills that his kingdom remained free. For the Romans, Commagene served a useful purpose as a buffer zone between Rome's eastern provinces and the Persian kingdom of Parthia to the east. Commagenian society was a mixture of Greek, Macedonian, Persian, and native Anatolian elements, the ruling house believing themselves descended from both Macedonian and Persian royalty.

Like the Phrygians and Lydians, the upper echelons of Commagenian society were buried within artificial mounds or tumuli. At a place called Karakuş, or "Black Bird," is a tumulus for three royal women—the wife, daughter, and granddaughter of Antiochus I. The king's son, Mithridates II, probably erected it. The tumulus, composed of gravel, stands over 100 feet tall and is flanked on three sides by Doric columns, each originally supporting sculpture, an eagle, a bull, and a relief depicting one of the queens shaking hands with a god. This gesture, called "dexiosis" in Greek, is common in Commagenian art and denotes the gods welcoming an individual in their midst. In 1962, the interior of the mound was explored through drilling, revealing a burial chamber of limestone slabs within. Unfortunately the tomb had been looted in antiquity, and there were no traces of its contents.

More impressive than the tomb of royal women were the accommodations for the dead kings of Commagene. At the hilltop settlement of Arsameia, just a few miles from Karakuş, was the "hierothesion" of King Mithridates I, the father of Antiochus I. The term hierothesion means "seat of the gods" and was a place where the deceased king was worshiped together with the gods of Commagene. On the processional way leading up to the hierothesion stood several sculpted reliefs depicting the king shaking hands with various deities. The Commagenians worshiped a pantheon of gods, a combination of Greek and Persian deities. Consequently, at Arsameia the dexiosis reliefs depicted King Mithridates I shaking hands with Apollo/Mithras and Heracles/Artagnes. Unfortunately, most of the upper reaches of Arsameia have eroded off the steep hillside, leaving the actual appearance of the hierothesion a mystery.

The dexiosis relief showing Mithridates I and Heracles at Arsameia.

The most impressive hierothesion is that of Antiochus I, the king who had brokered an alliance with the Romans. Located on Nemrud Dağ, one of the highest summits of the Anti-Taurus Range, Antiochus I's hierothesion towers 2,150 meters, or roughly 6,000 feet, above sea level. The actual tomb of the king was there, an immense tumulus, measuring over 150 feet high, erected around 40 BC. A processional way led up to it from Arsameia, a steep five-hour climb. The tumulus, nearly 400 feet in diameter, was flanked on three sides by terraces. The main one was located on the eastern side of the mound

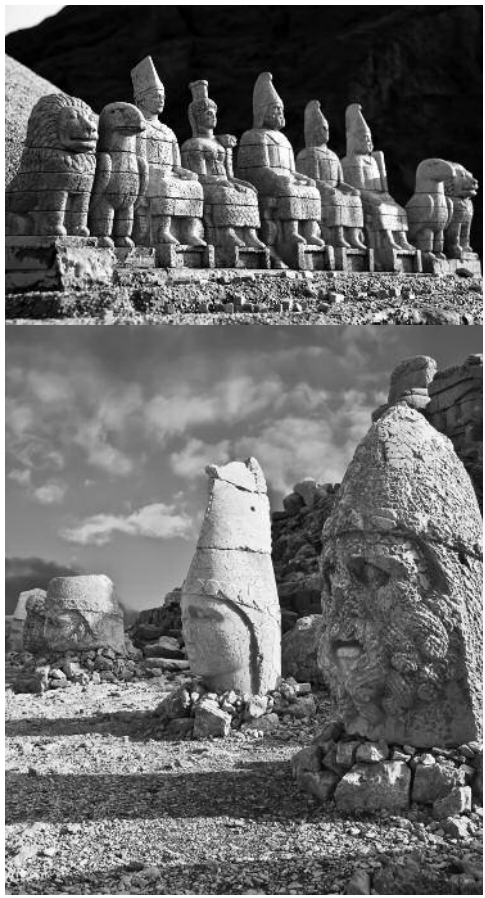
and contained colossal seated statues of the gods. Designed to be seen from a distance, their heads and bodies are geometrical and block-like, cut from limestone blocks, joined without clamps and mortar to better resist earthquakes. Even so, today the heads of the figures have toppled to the ground. Each god was identified by Greek inscriptions carved on the back of its base, and each was presented as a syncretization, or combination, of his Greek and Persian nature. The figure occupying the center of the row of seated gods was Zeus/Oromasdes, the supreme god of heaven, wearing a Persian tiara and carrying a barsom—a bundle of sticks, symbolic of the sacred fire of the Persians. He was flanked by two deities—Apollo/Mithras/Helios/Hermes and Heracles/Artagnes/Ares. There was also a female figure, Commagene, a representation of the kingdom and a goddess of plenty and fertility, holding a cornucopia with fruits and flowers and wearing a crown of fruit and wheat. The dead king, Antiochus I, was also present, wearing the Commagenian crown and holding a barsom. Below the seated figures was a row of dexiosis reliefs depicting Antiochus I being welcomed by the gods. Nearby was another mysterious relief, of the constellation Leo represented as a lion, wearing a crescent moon around its neck, accompanied by three planets labeled Jupiter, Mercury, and Mars. It is thought that this commemorates an important date, when the constellation, moon, and planets were in the specific alignment represented on the relief, but the actual date and event are unclear. The eastern terrace also contained reliefs depicting Antiochus I's ancestors. Since he considered himself descended from both the Persians and the Macedonians, there were images of King Darius I of Persia (the man who invaded Greece in 490 BC), as well as Seleucus I, the general of Alexander the Great. Alexander himself was also present, although the Commagenian king could not possibly have been descended from the great conqueror. Finally there was a stepped pyramid, accompanied by statues of eagles and lions, perhaps a fire altar used in Persian rituals. The western terrace mirrored that of the east but was built on a smaller scale, and the northern terrace appears to have never been finished.

This photograph of the tumulus at Nemrud Dağ gives perspective to the size relationship between the mound and the visitors at the bottom right of the image.

Along the back of the row of seated gods on the eastern terrace runs a long inscription in Greek explaining the function of the hierothesion at Nemrud Dağ. It identifies the place as the tomb of Antiochus I from whence his soul would rise to Zeus. It commands that the anniversaries of the king's birth and accession to the throne should be celebrated monthly, and that all his subjects should come and enjoy feasts and music. The colossal statues will be crowned with gold on those days and priests in Persian costume would officiate. The inscription concludes with the assurance that the hierothesion should be maintained as a noble example of piety for future generations, declaring a blessing on those honoring Antiochus I's wishes and a curse on those who do not.

Antiochus I died sometime in the 30s BC. There are two versions of his demise, one that he died peacefully in 34 BC, another that he was murdered in 37 BC. It has always been assumed that Antiochus I was buried within the tumulus on Nemrud Dağ, although no tomb chamber has ever been discovered. But because no pottery has been recovered from the site, and because the northern terrace was never finished, many scholars question whether the hierothesion was ever used. King Antiochus I may indeed have been murdered, and his tomb never occupied.

The kingdom of Commagene remained independent for another one hundred years, limping along in a weakened state until in AD 72 it was finally absorbed into the Roman Empire. The last member of the royal house, Antiochus Philappapus ended his days in exile in Athens, a well-loved benefactor of the city and buried on a hill overlooking the Acropolis.



A model (top) at the Nemrud Dağ site shows how the sculptures were believed to have appeared. The colossal heads (bottom) as they are presently displayed at the site.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What is "dexiosis"?
2. What are the two versions of Antiochus I's demise?

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Lloyd, Seton. *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Millar, Fergus. *The Roman Near East: 31 BC–AD 337*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Websites of Interest

1. The *World Heritage Site* features information on excavations and preservation of the Nemrud Dağ area. — http://www.worldheritagesite.org/sites/nemrutdag.html
2. The Mavors Institute provides a pdf of an article by Michael A. Speidel entitled "Early Roman Rule in Commagene," originally published in *Scirpta Classica Israelica* XXIV (2005). — http://www.mavors.org/PDFs/Commagene.pdf

Lecture 13

The Early Roman Empire: Ephesus and Perge

The Suggested Readings for this lecture are Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 18, "Roman Rule," and chapter 19, "The Legacy of Augustus."

When Attalus III of Pergamon left his kingdom to the people of Rome in 133 BC, it became one of many provinces of the burgeoning empire. By the second century BC a governor, annually appointed by the Roman Senate, wielded complete control over his province, commanding a garrison, serving as judge, and organizing the finances. The provincials had no rights except those that the governor bestowed and since governors changed every year this meant that the rights fluctuated. Provincials were expected to pay taxes to Rome and provide food and housing to the Roman army. They could have no local army nor could individuals bear weapons. Governors often saw their position as a convenient way to make money, accepting bribes from wealthy provincials who wanted privileges. Because the kingdom of Pergamon came to the Romans not through military conquest but as a gift, the inhabitants of the new province of Asia expected that they would be treated leniently. Unfortunately, that was not the case. Recognizing the great wealth of the province, the Romans ceded the right to tax the province of Asia to private businessmen, so-called tax farmers or publicani. Each year groups would bid for the right to collect taxes, and once they met their promised amount they could keep any extra taxes collected. In this way the province of Asia was bled dry through greed.

Relief from this oppression came in 88 BC with the arrival of an invading army led by Mithridates VI of Pontus, a small kingdom in Anatolia located along the south rim of the Black Sea.

Of mixed Greek and Persian ancestry, Mithridates VI loved Greek art, music, and literature, but he also had a cruel streak. He saw himself as a second Alexander the Great and modeled his portraits after the great conqueror. After inheriting the throne of Pontus in 121 BC he expanded his kingdom until he had control of much of eastern Anatolia, a region still independent of Rome. Legend has it that he traveled disguised through the

Marble bust portrait of the king of Pontus Mithridates VI as Heracles, ca. first century AD.

province of Asia in order to get a feel for the mood of the people. Learning that the inhabitants were extremely unhappy under Roman rule, and knowing that Rome was embroiled in a war to the west, Mithridates VI led his army into Asia and was heartily welcomed by the people. When Mithridates VI requested the execution of all Romans and Italians in the province of Asia, the Greeks readily complied, so deep was the animosity they bore the Romans. On a single day 80,000 Romans, Italians, and their slaves were killed. Mithridates is said to have poured molten gold down the throat of the governor of Asia. The Greeks soon realized that Mithridates was just as bad as the Romans, and eventually a Roman army defeated him, driving him back to Pontus. The province of Asia was forced to pay Rome five years' worth of back taxes, which sent the region into deeper debt.

The situation changed during the rule of Augustus, the first emperor of Rome (27 BC–14 AD). Recognizing that a healthy empire depended on contented subjects Augustus overhauled the management of the provinces. They were still controlled by governors, but the emperor closely watched the administrators' activities. Officially appointed officers, Procurators, adhering to strict and fair guidelines, collected the taxes. Augustus and the emperors that followed him enhanced the provinces with improved road systems, aqueducts, temples, and other useful public buildings. In time the provincials themselves were incorporated into the Roman political and social structure. Wealthy locals often voluntarily paid for the running and upkeep of their cities and were awarded Roman citizenship by a grateful emperor. Notable local leaders usually held the position of priest or priestess of the Imperial Cult, the official worship of the Roman Emperor.

The temple of Hadrian in Ephesus.

Augustus's reforms inaugurated two centuries of peace in the province of Asia and brought great prosperity to one city in particular, Ephesus, which he made provincial capital. Today, a walk down Curetes Street, the main thoroughfare of Roman-period Ephesus, provides a vivid testimony of how the city thrived during the first and second centuries AD. The marble-

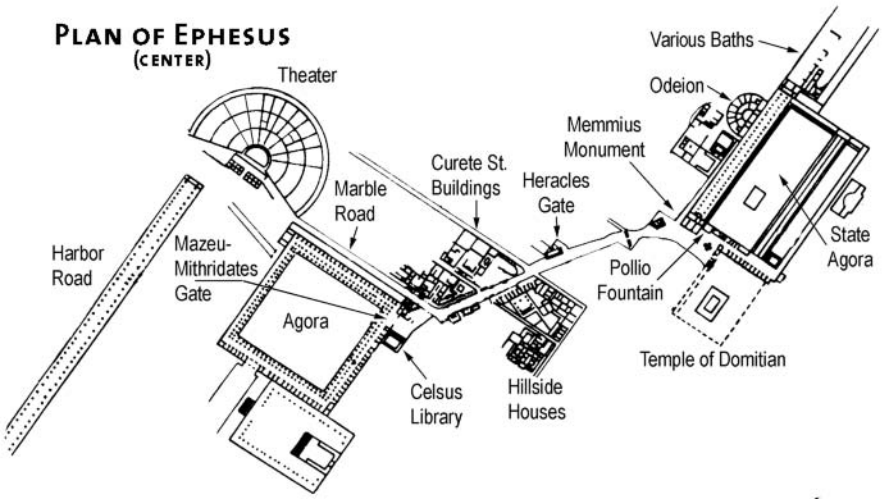
paved street is lined with statue bases that once held images of leading citizens of Ephesus. As one progresses downhill one meets an enormous public fountain, built in honor of the Emperor Trajan in the early second century AD. Further on is the tiny but exquisitely carved Temple of Hadrian, honoring the Roman emperor who more than any other traveled through the provinces of Rome. Hadrian visited Ephesus twice, in AD 123 and AD 129, both times donating funds for the improvement of the city, especially the harbor. His generosity prompted the construction of a temple in his honor by a prominent citizen of Ephesus in AD 138. The front porch, or pronaos, of the temple comprises Corinthian columns supporting an arcuated, or arched, lintel decorated with a bust of Tyche, the personification of the city of Ephesus. Within the pronaos is a frieze depicting the founding of Ephesus by Athenian colonists, as well as other gods important to the city. Over the door leading into the cella, or inner chamber of the temple, is a relief of a maiden from whose lower body emerges lush foliage. Although designed to honor the Roman emperor Hadrian, the temple celebrates the city of Ephesus itself.

At the foot of Curetes Street stands the Library of Celsus. Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus was a citizen of Ephesus whose family had been awarded Roman citizenship in the early first century AD. Although a Greek, Celsus, as he is usually called, became first a Roman senator and then the governor of the province of Asia in AD 105–107. When he died in AD 110 he left instructions that his wealth be put toward the construction of a library for the people of Ephesus. The façade of the library, now reconstructed, is a complicated, multitiered series of marble columns that frame

The reconstructed library of Celsus at Ephesus.

niches holding female figures, each personifying a virtue of Celsus: sophia (wisdom), episteme (knowledge), ennoia (understanding), and arête (dignity). The building was designed to hold twelve thousand scrolls and its basement served as the final resting place of the great benefactor.

Asia was not the only Roman province in Anatolia. During the first century AD the south coast of Anatolia was organized into the province of Lycia and Pamphylia, and like its neighbor to the north, it prospered during the first two centuries AD. Like Ephesus, the cities of this province depended on imperial favor and the beneficence of local leaders. One of these cities was the coastal town of Perge in the region of Pamphylia. Local tradition claimed that Greeks founded Perge after the Trojan War, and it is likely that Greek colonists arrived in the region around 1000 BC. The name Perge is Anatolian, however, and so there was certainly a native element in the early city. By the early second century AD Perge could boast a generous benefactress, a woman named Plancia Magna. Her ancestors had arrived in the city from Rome as traders in the first century BC, but their social standing rose over the centuries. Plancia Magna's father, Marcus Plancius Varus, served as governor of the Anatolian Province of Bithynia and married the sister-in-law of the last king of Commagene. Their daughter Plancia Magna held important priesthoods in Perge, including that of the Imperial Cult, and even was elected "demiurgos" or chief magistrate of the city three times. Plancia Magna used her great wealth to beautify her city. In AD 121, she paid for the renovation of the city gate, creating a vast oval courtyard whose walls contained niches with statues of the mythical Greek founders of the city, images of the important local gods and portraits of members of her family. Although the statues no longer survive, the identity of the figures is known from the inscriptions on the statue bases, which name Plancia Magna as the donor.



She also erected an arch next to the city gate, honoring the city of Perge and the Emperor Hadrian, who visited the city in AD 123. The arch was decorated with statues of the imperial family—curiously more women were represented than men, perhaps a conscious choice by Plancia Magna. The city of Perge honored their benefactress by setting up two statues of her near the gate that she had generously erected. The bases of these statues relate her numerous priesthoods and civic offices, and praise her for her piety, honoring her with the title "daughter of the city." When she died an old woman, she was buried with honor in a fine tomb just outside the walls of Perge.

Benefactors like Celsus and Plancia Magna were not unique in the first and second centuries AD, nearly every city in Anatolia benefited from the generosity of a wealthy citizen. Unfortunately, during the third century AD a series of crises felt throughout the Roman Empire placed the very survival of these cities in jeopardy and put a halt to the magnanimity of such individuals.

Marble statue of Plancia Magna of Perge, ca. second century AD.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Who did Mithridates VI model his portraits after?
2. What reforms did Augustus enact?

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Mayor, Adrienne. *The Poison King: The Life and Legend of Mithradates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

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Titchener, Frances. *A History of Ancient Rome*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2003.

Websites of Interest

1. The Danish National Research Foundation Center for Black Sea Studies provides a background paper entitled "Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom." — http://www.pontos.dk/research/ra_4/mithridates-vi-and-the-pontic-kingdom-background-paper
2. The *VROMA* website provides an article by Barbara F. McManus (The College of New Rochelle) entitled "Plancia Magna, Aurelia Paulina, and Regilla: Civic Donors." — http://www.vroma.org/~bmcmanus/women_civicdonors.html

Lecture 14

The Later Roman Empire: Zeugma and Constantinople

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Seton Lloyd's *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History*, chapter 19, "The Legacy of Augustus."

During the third century AD the Roman Empire faced extraordinary challenges that threatened to topple the great state. Invasions from the north and the east, a failing economy and near anarchic rule, with twenty emperors in fifty years, combined to put an end to the placid world enjoyed by Celsus and Plancia Magna. What emerged from this chaos was an empire reforged, with its heart no longer in peninsular Italy but in Anatolia. Two cities illustrate these dramatic reversals of fortune: Zeugma on the Euphrates River and Constantinople at the mouth of the Bosphorus.

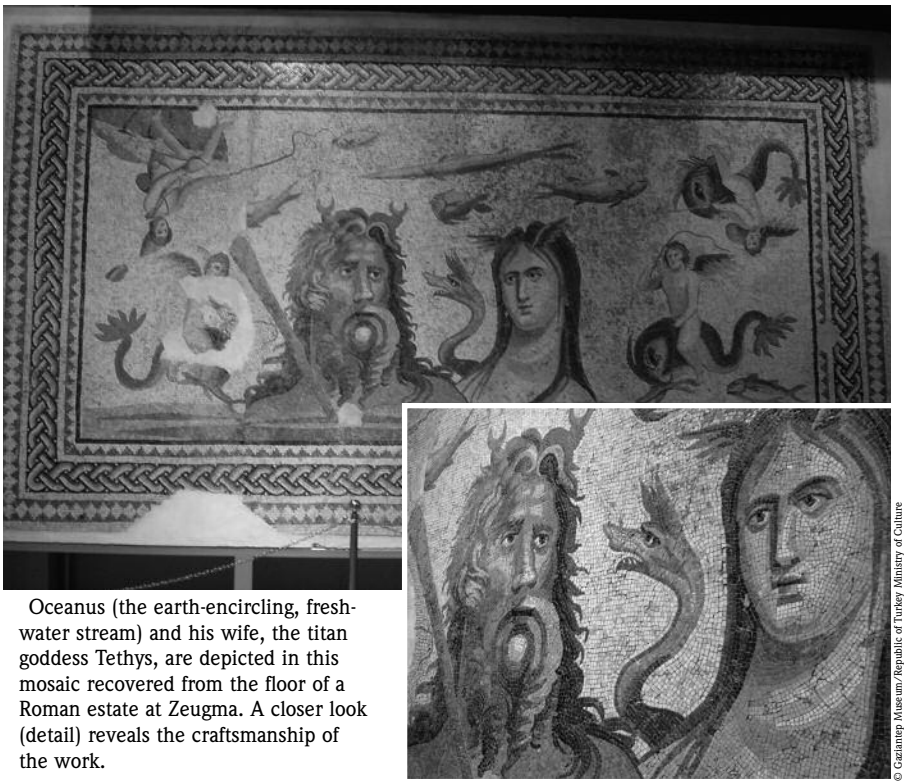
After the death of Alexander the Great, Seleucus I, Alexander's great general and founder of the Seleucid Empire, gained control of eastern Anatolia. Around 300 BC he founded two cities straddling the Euphrates River, Seleucia and Apamea, named for himself and his Persian wife. A bridge united the cities, the only permanent crossing of the Euphrates between the Taurus Mountains and Babylonia. The importance of this bridge, bonding east to west, can be recognized in the fact that the two cities eventually became known as Zeugma, or "Bridgetown." Surrounded by water and rich fields, and controlling the crossing of a mighty river, Zeugma became one of the more significant urban centers of the Seleucid Empire. Falling briefly under the control of the small kingdom of Commagene in the first century BC, the twin cities became part of the Roman province of Syria, early in the first century AD. Through much of its history as a Roman city, Zeugma served as a military outpost monitoring the neighboring state of Parthia, with which the Romans were often at war. At the end of the second century AD the Roman emperor Septimius Severus successfully invaded Parthia, penetrating as far as Ctesiphon, near modern Baghdad, and pushing the borders of the empire deep into Mesopotamia. With Zeugma now the gateway to newly won Roman territory and hosting one of the Syrian legions, Legio IIII Scythica, an influx of soldiers and civilians swelled the population of the two cities, causing a building boom of houses and shops.

Our understanding of Zeugma in the second and third centuries has been helped and hampered by the construction in 2000 of the Birecik hydroelectric dam over the Euphrates River, just downstream from Zeugma. The resulting artificial lake completely flooded Apamea, while approximately 30 percent of Seleucia was inundated. As the flood waters rose over Seleucia emergency excavations were organized with a multinational team racing against time to uncover the buried city. The excavations yielded evidence for public life in the city, including several baths, a temple, and a possible

hall of records, but more spectacular were the results from the domestic quarter, which uncovered a number of houses, many sumptuously decorated with fine mosaics and elaborate wall paintings.

The mansions were arranged along the slopes of the west bank of the Euphrates, situated to take advantage of the breeze from the river and commanding views of the Mesopotamian plain to the east. Many of the houses were initially constructed at the time of Zeugma's foundation in the third century BC and were repeatedly renovated over the centuries. In the early third century AD, however, the walls and floors of nearly all the houses received lavish decoration. On the floors of the courtyards and dining rooms new stone mosaics were laid, the quality rivaling that of mosaics in the heartland of the empire. Scenes depicting Greek myth and theater illustrated the householder's desire to create an atmosphere of high culture in this border town. Walls painted to resemble costly marble plating, or decorated with images of waiting servants, reflected the homeowners' pretensions to wealth.

All this changed, however, in the 240s AD when a new and aggressive dynasty, the Sassanids gained control of the Parthian Empire and began pushing westward into Roman territory. Zeugma, guarding the critical



Oceanus (the earth-encircling, freshwater stream) and his wife, the titan goddess Tethys, are depicted in this mosaic recovered from the floor of a Roman estate at Zeugma. A closer look (detail) reveals the craftsmanship of the work.

crossing of the Euphrates, was an obvious target for the Sassanids and in October 253 AD their king Shapur I destroyed the city. The fine houses, many of which were two stories high and constructed of mud brick and timber, collapsed in on themselves, burying the mosaic floors under ten feet of burnt debris. Excavation of these houses demonstrates that the city was prepared for a siege. The fine mansions appear to have been billeted to the army—colonnaded courtyards were subdivided with mud brick walls to create makeshift barracks, their painted walls etched with graffiti left behind by the soldiers. Elegant rooms were converted into storage depots, with bins of grain and other dry goods resting on mosaic floors. One courtyard even served as a mill to create flour for the army, a donkey-propelled grindstone placed on the once-fine mosaic tiles. The destruction of Zeugma was swift—the excavators uncovered dishes still containing traces of food, and in a few rooms military equipment lay at the ready, as if the soldiers did not have time to suit up before the attack. With the conquest of Zeugma Shapur I swept westward deep into the heartland of the Roman Empire, capturing the emperor Valerian and adding to the chaos of the Roman Empire of the third century.

By the end of the third century AD the Roman Empire began to recover. The Sassanids were pushed back across the Euphrates, and the other borders of the empire were stabilized. Economic reforms and a period of stable central rule created an environment of recovery for the troubled nation. But what emerged in this new peace was a very different empire, whose center of gravity had drifted eastward. Although several emperors of the late third and early fourth centuries recognized that the city of Rome was no longer a suitable capital for the empire, it was the emperor Constantine, nicknamed the great, who decided that the new capital should be in Anatolia. Anatolia, not Italy, offered greater protection from invaders, had a richer economy, and controlled broad trade networks. Constantine considered several cities for his new capital, including the old settlement of Troy, but eventually chose the city of Byzantium as the "New Rome," renaming it Constantinople, the City of Constantine.

Byzantium was first founded in 660 BC by Greek colonists who recognized the strategic value of a settlement positioned where three waterways converge: the Marmara Sea that connected to the Mediterranean, the Golden Horn, a deep inlet reaching back into the hilly hinterland, and the Bosphorus, the narrow straight that led to the Black Sea. Set within a fertile landscape amidst fish-filled waters and along important sea and land routes, the city of Byzantium thrived, even after it came under Roman rule in the second century BC. Constantine clearly saw the logistical advantages the city had over Rome, but he had another reason for abandoning the old capital. Constantine had recently converted to a new religion that was rapidly gaining popularity throughout the empire—Christianity. At Constantinople he could build a capital city untainted by polytheism. The

ancient temples of old Byzantium were allowed to molder and decay while Constantine constructed impressive churches, making Constantinople the first predominately Christian city in the world. In other ways, however, Constantine replicated the old capital city, constructing a hippodrome, or racetrack, that emulated the Circus Maximus of Rome. To decorate it he brought monuments from all over the empire, such as obelisks from Egypt and the Snake Column from Delphi, which had been erected some eight hundred years earlier to celebrate the Greek victory over the Persians. The relocation of these relics signaled that Constantinople was heir to the old world in the West. But the city of Constantinople marked a new beginning, a city that stood at the center of an empire that owed its existence to the Christian God.

A century and a half after the creation of the new capital, Rome and the western empire fell to barbarian invasions. Constantinople survived as the capital of what came to be known as the Byzantine Empire for another thousand years, a testament to the rightness of Constantine's choice, and a reminder that Anatolia, the great crossroads and home of numerous ancient societies, continued to play an important role in human history.

The remains of the Snake Column from Delphi (top) in the park in Istanbul that was at one time the interior of the hippodrome of Constantinople. An aerial view (bottom) of central Istanbul with a line indicating the general outline of the former hippodrome.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How did construction of the Birecik hydroelectric dam help and hamper understanding of Zeugma in the second and third centuries?
2. What happened to Zeugma when the Sassanids gained control of the Parthian Empire?

Suggested Reading

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Other Books of Interest

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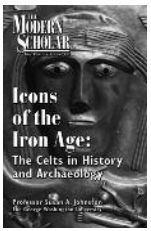

ICONS OF THE IRON AGE: The Celts in History and Archaeology
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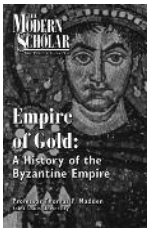
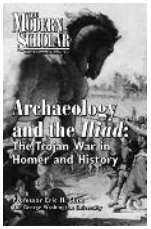
A respected professor of anthropology and archaeology, Susan Johnston turns her scholarly eye on one of history's most fascinating peoples: the Celts. Based on the writings of Greek and Roman historians, the archaeological record, and Celtic lore that continues to this day, these lectures delve into Celtic history, art, religion, and warfare. This exploration demonstrates who the Celts were and why so many cultures claim Celtic ancestry. As entertaining as it is informative, *Icons of the Iron Age* also addresses gender roles within the Celts and takes listeners through the Roman invasion of the Celtic peoples.



EMPIRE OF GOLD: A History of the Byzantine Empire
Professor Thomas F. Madden—Saint Louis University

Esteemed university professor Thomas F. Madden offers a fascinating series of lectures on the history of the remarkable culture and state that developed out of the ancient Roman Empire, particularly its eastern portion, throughout the Middle Ages. The story therefore begins at an ending, that of the Roman Empire, in the third century CE, and continues over the next one thousand years.



ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE *ILIAD*: The Trojan War in Homer and History
Professor Eric H. Cline—The George Washington University

The events of the Trojan War, captured forever in Homer's epic poem the *Iliad*, resonate to the present day in the popular imagination. But was the Trojan War actually fought? Could Helen's face alone really have launched a thousand ships? Esteemed professor Dr. Eric H. Cline examines the real history of Troy and delves into the archaeological discoveries (which continue to the present day) that help to answer the questions above. Through an entertaining and incisive analysis of known data, Professor Cline provides a fuller, richer understanding of this historic clash.

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