

1. Filling in the gaps and joining up the dots of the seventh century BC in Anatolia and beyond: an introduction

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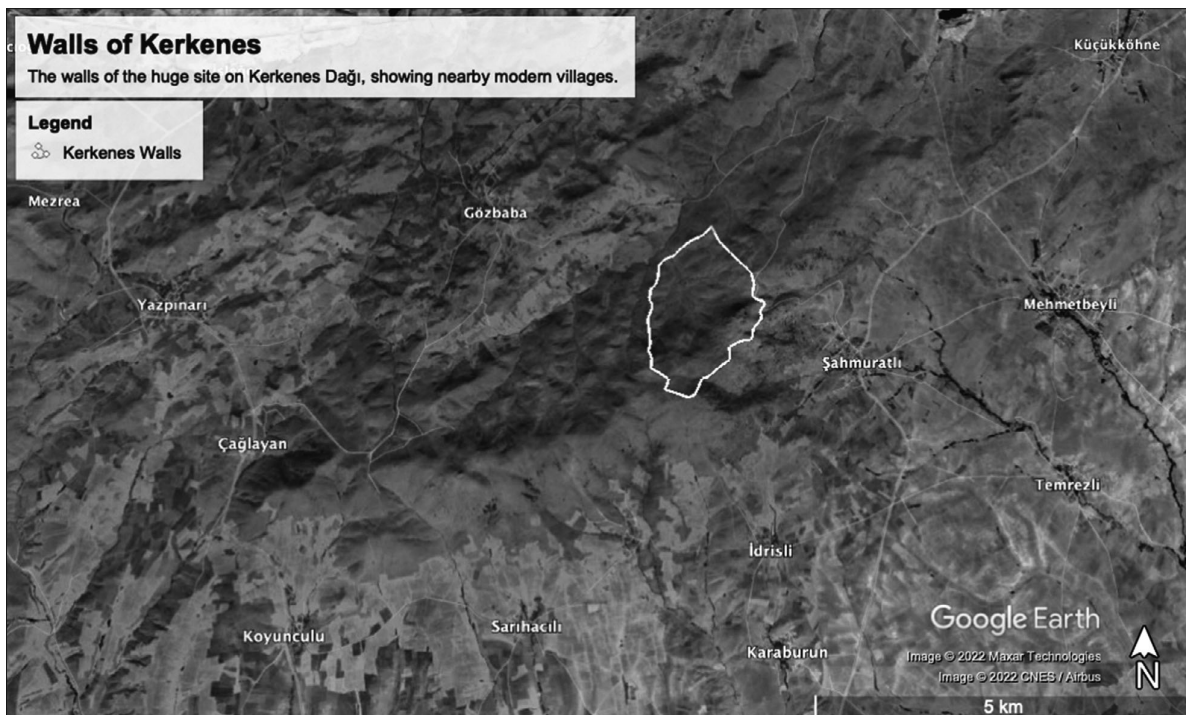


Fig. 1.1. Google Earth image showing the disposition of the walls of the site in relation to the Kerkenes Mountain and its immediate environs (adapted by author).

When I first met Geoff and Françoise Summers, during the 2003 season of their by-then-long-running campaign at Kerkenes, in Yozgat, central Türkiye, Geoff told me (as he had no doubt many others) that they had initially hoped to find the ‘Dark Ages’ – remains of the shadowy period after the collapse of the Bronze Age Hittite Empire, and before the early Iron Age, ca 1100–900 BC. The materials at Kerkenes turned out to be later, and many (albeit not all) accept the argument that the huge, walled mountaintop site is the city of Pteria, said by Herodotus (1.76) to have been destroyed in ca 547 BC by the Lydian king Croesus in his attempt to thwart the expansion of the Achaemenid Persians. The foundation

and heyday of the exceptional site would therefore be dated to the seventh to earlier-sixth century (ca 700–550 BC) (Branting et al., this volume).

In many ways, though, the Summerses did find – or better, shed light on – a ‘dark age’. That term is justifiably unpopular now, being associated with old-fashioned notions of downfall and descent into degeneracy and barbarism, and it would not really apply in the same way it has been applied to social change in the periods after the demise of the Bronze Age palaces and the Roman Empire. It is used here metaphorically, to emphasise how archaeologically and historically murky the stretch of time is between the ca 700 BC death of the legendary

(and widely believed to be historical) King Midas of Gordion on the one hand, and the conquest of Anatolia by the Achaemenid Empire under Cyrus the Great – traditionally put at 547 BC – on the other. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Summers' work at Kerkenes for changing what we know about this period and drawing attention to it.

The aim of this book is to honour that contribution, but also to build on it by connecting relevant research on different areas of Anatolia, observing approaches and narrative frameworks that characterise pockets of scholarship, and tying together some key dynamics in Anatolia and beyond. Some chapters included here address other points, and there are areas it would be desirable to include, but it is our hope that this book will be a precursor to further synthetic work of this kind.

A brief background

What do we know about this period, ca 700–550 BC? Outside of Anatolia, it is a period known for increases in visibility, connectivity and specific cultural trajectories – the so-called 'Orientalising Period' in the Mediterranean. Although sites such as Lefkandi on Euboea show earlier long-distance material exchanges with the Levant (Lemos 2002; 2008), the seventh century BC is known for a significant uptake in habits such as reclining on fine couches to dine and drink wine, and the wearing and manufacturing of jewellery and luxury items modelled on the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean and West Asian fashion, encapsulated by the term 'Orientalising Period' (Burkert 1992; Riva, Vella 2006; Charalambidou, Morgan 2017). This is the century in which monumental figurative sculptures in stone start to be produced in Greek-speaking polities in the Aegean, which clearly shows wealthy families acquiring ideas and skills from Egypt to distinguish themselves in new ways among their own people (Tanner 2003). This change in the quality of connectivity between the Aegean/Mediterranean and Egypt/the Levant comes at the time of the establishment of the Saite (26th) Dynasty in Egypt, which set up a new centre at Sais in the Nile Delta, and is credited with new trading patterns, as well as a cultural 'renaissance' harking back to the 'golden days' of Egyptian rule prior to the interruption of the Hyksos period of foreign rule over the land (Forshaw 2019).

In the Levant and North Syria, there were polities that had developed early in the Iron Age and persisted. In the latter, the 'Syro-' or 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms – which shared a visual and material culture, if not always language – had developed from the early Iron Age or even the Late Bronze Age in the case of Carchemish, as a 'rump state' of the Hittite Empire (Osborne 2021). Similar material culture stretched into Cilicia and

Anatolia with the kingdoms of Tuwana and Tabal (see Aro, this volume), and as far as the Konya Plain (Osborne et al. 2020), but also to Gordion (Sams 1993) and Kerkenes, which may have some of the latest culturally 'Neo-Hittite'-related material of all (Draycott, Summers 2008; see also comments by Sams, this volume). By the seventh century the North Syrian polities, with their massive walled cities and their monumental palatial buildings and sculptures, were under the control of the Assyrian kings. Although they continued to exist, the usual text-led historical narratives tend to swing the spotlight onto the involvement of the Assyrians in Cilicia and Anatolia: Cimmerian invasions, the fall of Midas and the rise of the Lydian kingdom (see the Gateses, Aro and Adali, this volume).

So-called Phoenician, Jewish and 'Philistine' settlements in the south are somewhat less archaeologically visible, although 'the Phoenicians' are credited in Greek tradition with prowess as sea traders, and have been seen as at least partly responsible for the 'Orientalising' phenomenon in the Aegean and Mediterranean (Matthäus 1999; Markoe 2005; Quinn 2017). Here the Assyrians also dominated in the seventh century, King Esarhaddon attacking and installing a governor at Sidon in ca 677 BC. This formed a base from which Egypt could be attacked. Egypt eventually repelled the Assyrians under the first of the Saïtes, Psamtik (Greek Psammetichus), according to Herodotus (2.152.3–5) with the aid of Ionian Greek and Carian mercenaries – part of the increased connectivity between 'Greece' and Egypt at this time. After the fall of the Assyrian capital Nineveh to the Medes and Babylonians (and Cimmerians or Scythians) in 612 BC, Sidon was briefly held by the Saïtes of Egypt, and then by Babylon. It is during this period that the archaeologically-known sanctuary of the healing god Eshmun at Bustan esh-Sheikh, near Sidon, seems to have been developed (see e.g. Moscati 2001), before more significant elaboration in the succeeding Persian period. We also know of several Levantine polities active at this time from the Bible, such as Judah, and of the destructions wrought by Nebuchadnezzar and deportations of populations to Babylon.

In Mesopotamia, Assyria was obviously a dominant power until 612 BC, under the kings Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal and some more shadowy figures as its power waned in the last third of the seventh century. Meanwhile, Babylon, in lower Mesopotamia, gained prominence under its kings, notably Nebuchadnezzar, mentioned above, whose long reign encompassed great building programmes within the city, including the Ishtar Gate and the famed 'hanging gardens' (although see Dalley 2013 arguing they should be at Nineveh). The last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus, usurped the

throne during a series of short-lived rulerships after Nebuchadnezzar and reigned from 556 to 539 BC, when the Achaemenid Persians under Cyrus conquered the city. His period is associated with a shift in religious practice, honouring Sin above the traditionally principal god Marduk, dedicating resources to the building of temples to that god, and in the process conducting what is sometimes held to be the first known archaeological work.

To the northeast and north of Anatolia, history and archaeology are more shadowy: the Medes in Iran and the Cimmerians from the Steppe are covered by contributors to this book (Tuplin, Adalı and Burney), and represent significant problems in the archaeology and history of this period. In Anatolia, the narrative has been dominated by the rise of the Lydian kings – the Mermnad Dynasty at Sardis. This is often framed as filling a power lacuna after the death of Midas and the rule of Gordion in the early seventh century (e.g. Mellink 1991). Herodotus (1.6–13) tells the well-known tall tale of the first of these kings, Gyges’s usurpation of the throne, having killed Candaules, on whose undressing wife he had spied (see Berndt, this volume). Much later, Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae* 45) notes that Gyges was said to have been aided in his takeover by an Arselis of Mylasa in Caria.

Most of what is known of these kings consists of tales of territorial expansion: Gyges expanded Lydian territory to the coast, conquering the Greek city of Colophon and the Troad, or parts of it. He was in contact with Psammetichus in Egypt, with whom Assyrian sources say he (Guggu, King of Luddi) concluded a treaty, but he also reached out to Assurbanipal (r. 668–631) for help against the ‘Cimmerians’ (Pedley 1972; Cogan, Tadmor 1977: 292–93, 295). He was initially successful against them, but was eventually killed by the forces of Tugdammē/Lygdammis (Lipinski 1998; Adalı, this volume) in around 644 BC. Still, he was succeeded by several generations of kings who continued to expand Lydian territory up to the Halys, according to Herodotus (see Tuplin, this volume), culminating with Croesus, who finally lost the kingdom to the Persian Cyrus.

Its expansion, and its links with Caria (see also Yakybovich 2017) and with Egypt hint that Lydia was tied into, and perhaps key in, the cultural phenomena of expanded networks and monumentality that characterise the seventh-century Mediterranean (see also Mitten 1996). One might have the impression that this should be an age of increasing light, not dark; that this Lydian kingdom should be highly visible, archaeologically – full of the monumentality one sees emerging in the Mediterranean. This is in part true. Investment in very monumental masonry at Sardis, the seat of these kings,

is apparent in tombs – the three largest tumuli in the large tumulus cemetery at Bin Tepe are attributed traditionally to Mermnad kings – and in giant terraces on the slopes of the hillside city (Hanfmann 1977; Roosevelt 2009; Ratté 2011; Högemann 2018; Eren 2022 and forthcoming). We also know that the city was surrounded by surprisingly high and massive mud-brick walls and dotted with buildings adorned with colourful and image-rich architectural terracotta tiles (Roosevelt 2009; Högemann 2018). Pottery can tell us about the trade, and the eating and commensality culture of the city (Greenewalt Jr. 1970; Ramage 1983; 1986; Greenewalt Jr., Gusmani 1997; Schaeffer et al. 1997) and a special pottery vessel with ‘marbled’ surface decoration, the lydion, is indicative of Sardis’s own products and exports (Greenewalt Jr. 1968; Gürtekin-Demir 2002, but see also Gürtekin-Demir et al. 2022). Literary sources indicate the city was a bustling hub, and of course the city’s gold working and coin production are famous (Ramage et al. 1999). Houses found buried under the collapse of the wall attributed to the Persian breach of the city show more humble industry (Greenewalt Jr. 1992).

Despite these finds, though, much – even most – of Mermnad Sardis is still archaeologically murky. Most of the city within its huge walls, for instance, remains buried many metres under today’s ground level, visible only through small key hole excavations. Recent studies of even small finds have much to offer (e.g. Dusinberre 2017), however, and we look forward to further discoveries of the Mermnad city. Other well-explored sites such as Gordion are also ‘darker’ in this period. Although the Küçük Höyük fortress there has long been attributed to the ‘Lydian period’ (Kohler 1980; Voigt, Young Jr. 1999; Voigt 2007), the redating of the major destruction level at that site, bringing it to ca 800 BC, means that ‘Middle Phrygian’ Gordion did not arise in the seventh century, after the death of Midas and a supposed Cimmerian attack on the city, as had long been thought, but in the eighth century BC (the period dates being 800–ca 550 BC). This has the result of making the seventh century, if anything, *more* obscure. The period treated in this book is bracketed, it would seem, by two attacks: one ca 700 BC, which brought to an end a settlement on the North Ridge in the Outer Town, the area thereafter used as a cemetery, and another at the Küçük Höyük, associated with the Persian army of Cyrus in about 550 BC (see Rose et al., forthcoming for a full exploration of Middle Phrygian Gordion; Digital Gordion, Iron Age Gordion, Middle Phrygian Gordion; and Sams and Codella, Voigt, this volume, for contrasting interpretations of seventh-century horizons at the city).



Fig. 1.2. Reconstructed plan of the urban layout of Kerkenes, showing the full urban development within the walls (by Scott Branting).

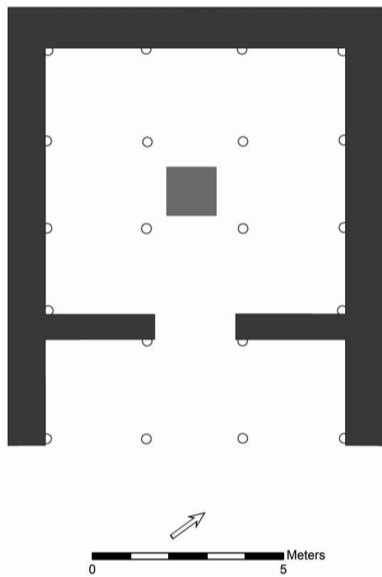


Fig. 1.3. Reconstructed ground plan of an excavated megaron building in the lower city (courtesy Kerkenes Project).

Light at Kerkenes

New understandings of seventh- and early-sixth-century Anatolia would not be possible without the immense amount of work put into the exploration of Kerkenes by the Summerses. Year after year for some 19 years they tirelessly won the funding – never guaranteed – required to run surveys and excavations at the site. They were pioneering in the use of remote sensing and cutting-edge digital methods (Branting et al., this volume, provide an important overview of these innovations and their role in archaeology in Türkiye). Numerous students were trained to the very highest calibre through their work at the site, and on post-excavation outputs from the small Kerkenes office at METU in Ankara. Besides formal publications, the Summerses have long been champions of publicly-accessible dual-language dissemination of information, through both the Kerkenes website and also the *Kerkenes News* – always well-regarded by academics and non-specialists alike for its high standards, but requiring that extra effort to produce. And alongside her manifold archaeological contributions, Françoise, an architect and lecturer in architecture at METU, also conducted important eco-architectural research and community work, experimenting with building materials and product manufacture with the people of Şahmuratlı village, who can rightly be called the ultimate patrons of the Kerkenes Project (see Branting et al., this volume, for more details).

Discoveries at Kerkenes have shed much-needed light on this dusky period, and have changed the impression of its cultural geography and texture, nuancing notions about language groups known from written sources. It is an exceptionally large site, with almost 7km of walls laid out along ridges around the site, in a way resembling those of Hattusa/Boğazköy, not that far to the north (Fig. 1.1; for Boğazköy see Seeher, Genz, this volume). Within, remote sensing and geophysical prospection have shown that the space was packed with buildings, including ‘megarons’ in compound clusters (Figs 1.2–1.3) and monumental ‘columned halls’ in a palatial sector overlooking the lower slopes from the southern heights (Branting et al., this volume, provide good discussion on the city planning; on halls and the palace sector see Summers 2007 and 2022). Pottery, small finds and the stratigraphy of the building programmes at the site suggest that it was occupied for only one or two generations. If correctly identified as the city of ‘Pteria’ in Herodotus (1.76), this makes it an unexpected monumental and organised foundation of the seventh or early sixth century BC – a powerful polity, contemporary with Mermnad Sardis (see, however, Oreshko 2021: 299–302, with further references, contesting the identification and asserting an eighth-century date for the site).

As Charles Burney asks in this volume: Who occupied Kerkenes? In 2003, some of the most sensational finds from the site were discovered at the area known as the ‘Palace Gate’, and included sculpture and inscriptions (Draycott, Summers 2008). The sculpture has some links to ‘Neo-Hittite’ sculpture, but also to sculpture known in central Anatolia (see also comments by Sams, this volume). The script and language of the inscriptions, including monumental stone inscriptions and graffiti on pottery, are Phrygian, or what we call Phrygian (Brixhe, Summers 2006; Brixhe in Draycott, Summers 2008). Geoff has pointed out connections

between the material culture of Kerkenes and that of the Phrygian Highlands west of Gordion (Summers 2006a; 2006b; 2018b), where defensive sites and even the famed rock-cut votive façade monuments cut into the tufa cliff-sides could, it has been argued, belong to the ‘Lydian’ period (Berndt-Ersöz 2006; Summers 2018a).

At the same time, names in the stone inscription (cover photo and Branting, this volume, fig. 3.10), *Masa*, the dedicator, *Urgis*, his father, *Tata* and *Uwa*, seem to be both Phrygian and Luwian-related (Brixhe in Draycott, Summers 2008: 71–75; Oreshko 2021 argues *Masa* is Phrygian, contra Brixhe, while *Urgis* could be Lydo-

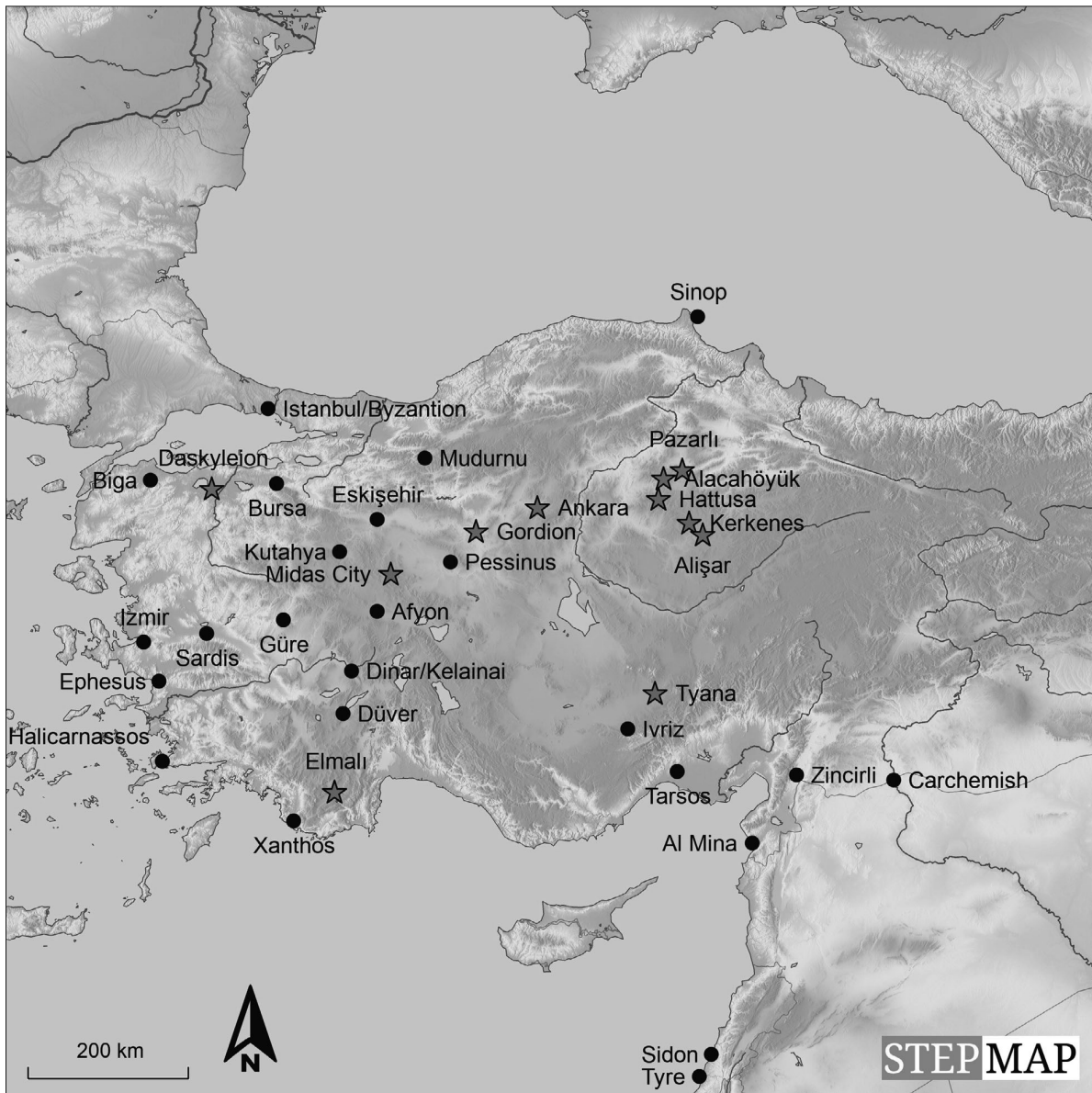


Fig. 1.4. Map showing the spread of inscriptions in Phrygian script and language (by C.M. Draycott using Stepmap.com).

Phrygian). The onomastic-language mix points to a blended ethno-culture that scholars are now suggesting may be a long-standing part of central Anatolia (Oreshko 2021, who additionally connects *Masa Urgitos* [Masa son of Urgis] to a man named in the HL PORSUK inscription).

If the occupants of Kerkenes were a different ‘Phrygian’ polity than those who lived west of the Halys, at Gordion (on multiple Phrygian polities see comments in Draycott 2019 and Oreshko 2021: 286), there would still also appear to be an emergence of a broadly linked ‘pan-Phrygian’ material, visual and epigraphic culture that links polities from Daskyleion, the Phrygian Highlands and Elmalı further west to Kerkenes east of the Halys (Fig. 1.4). (On material and visual culture see also Sams and Berndt, this volume.) This seventh–sixth century ‘Phrygian’ phenomenon begs wider recognition.

Contributions to understanding the period

As noted at the beginning, a core aim of this book is to facilitate a new synthetic paradigm of the middle to later Iron Age Anatolia, bringing together pertinent data, old and new, evaluating scholarly narratives and epistemes, and joining up some key dynamics in Anatolia and beyond (cf. Hall, Osborne 2022; Oreshko, Cahill, forthcoming). Besides drawing attention to the above-noted post-Midas Phrygian phenomenon, there are two notable observations that this book has enabled as an edited collection of papers by major scholars in the field. The first concerns narrative constructions: on one level there are scholars who are cautious of historicism and others who are keen to connect archaeological findings to larger historical grand narratives. Then, among the latter, one set of narratives is about invasions and demise, usually associated with inland and eastern Anatolia, and political history known from textual sources. The other, more often associated with Western Anatolia and network theory prevailing in Aegean and Mediterranean archaeology, is about expansion and greater connectivities. This book issues a challenge for these approaches to be bridged in scholarship, so that historically significant phenomena can be appreciated without fear of fallacious deference to textual sources. Along these lines, the second significant observation of this book is that regardless of such narrative bents, there are tantalising hints among the papers that 650 BC, which is also the time of the rise of the Lydian king Gyges, the Saïtes in Egypt and Mediterranean monumentality, was a widespread juncture of significance. This sets an agenda for further examination of conditions and connections at around this time.

The individual papers each have significant insights and implications for continuity, chronology and intellectual frameworks of understanding. Geoff himself has highlighted several of these topics as key areas of

interest, such as Cimmerian incursions and the demise of Urartian and Tabalian polities (Summers 2018a). In fact, as Sanna Aro asks here, is it correct to see Tabal and Tuwana as having disappeared as prominent entities by the seventh century, or might some of the material from sites such as Göllüdağ date to the seventh century and the time of the ruler known as Mugallu and his son? The demise of these vibrant kingdoms, she suggests, may be attributed not to *early* seventh-century Cimmerian invasions, but perhaps to the *later*, mid-seventh-century, better-attested battles – those that involved Gyges of Lydia. Particularly intriguing, and tallying with the ethno-cultural blending noted above, is her tentative suggestion that this late Tabalian/Tuwanian kingdom could have used Phrygian inscriptions, represented in the now-lost Black Stones of Tyana. She also notes fragments from Kululu, Sivas and Palanga (the last of which has a hieroglyphic Luwian [HL] inscription on it) even show zig-zag folds similar to those seen in the drapery of *sixth-century* BC Greek sculpture.

Charles Burney adds to this picture of continuity, asserting his view that Urartu’s demise should be in the late seventh/early sixth century, rather than around 640 BC, even if there was dynastic change potentially related to the beginnings of ‘Armenia’ at that time. Kenneth Sams’s chapter also argues that Anatolian ‘Neo-Hittite’ visual culture may have lived on into the first half of the seventh century, its demise coinciding with changes in use of space at Gordion such as the abandonment of cellars on the citadel and the use of the formerly wealthy residential area on the North Ridge as a cemetery. This he links to a Cimmerian attack not at the time of Midas, but later. He goes on to argue that this should put Kerkenes in this earlier seventh century period, but leaving that aside, the extension of ‘Neo-Hittite’ visual culture into the seventh century is appealing.

Although it may be argued that down-dating requires firmer evidence, it is important to consider whether a lack of monumental visibility in the seventh century, interpreted as demise, may be a product of archaeological models more than archaeology. Compare the ‘archaic gap’ on Crete, where scholars are realising that a lacuna in pottery evidence for the sixth century BC may be a product of their assumptions that Cretan sixth-century material culture should follow patterns of other parts of the Greek world, and that sixth-century pottery should differ in style from seventh-century BC Cretan pottery (Erickson 2014). Debates over the dating of sculpture, rock-cut votives in the Phrygian Highlands, inscriptions and the people they name are implicated (e.g. for the last, Oreshko 2021, 287–88 notes that Simon’s 2013 dating of the HL PORSUK inscription to the seventh century is unsubstantiated, and as noted

wants to date the Kerkenes inscription to the eighth century. Berndt, on the other hand, dates the Phrygian rock-cut inscriptions in the Highlands to the sixth century BC, attributing them to Lydian kings rather than the period of Midas: Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 126–31; Draycott 2019: 199, commenting; on the Phrygian votives see also Berndt, this volume).

As noted above, other contributors here are less keen to associate archaeological horizons with events and people recounted in textual sources, and more concerned with urban development and material culture. Kerkenes is anomalous for the extent of the city plan that is known through surveys at the site (Branting et al., this volume), but Kim Codella and Mary Voigt's meticulous synthesis of the small peep-holes through into Middle-Phrygian domestic evidence from Gordion complements Sams's discussion of changing uses of spaces at the site. They also see change in the seventh century BC, and especially interesting in their chapter is the new light they bring onto 'Lydian'-period Gordion, showing a change in urban and, seemingly, social structure: maintenance but also less care for the megarons that dominated the citadel during its heyday, and an increase in smaller, but still well-provisioned houses with increasing signs of close relations with Sardis and Lydia – including one case of Lydian-style puppy sacrifice!

Jürgen Seeher and Hermann Genz are also cautious of linking changes at the site of Boğazköy with literary traditions, both of the Cimmerians and the Persians. And although Phrygian graffiti were found at the site, they are equally cautious about identifying the inhabitants as 'Phrygians', especially since the pottery is only partially related to that at Gordion, having more in common with other sites in the Halys Bend, including Kerkenes. Their chapter provides a clear summary of the settlement and material culture at the former Hittite capital during what they call the Late Iron Age, or Büyükkale 1a–c, so called after the main settlement area at the site in this period. The period sees the erection of fortified areas at Büyükkale and Südberg, with a hierarchy in residential structures within, especially notable in a particularly large building at the Büyükkale, as well as a later Iron Age (Büyükkale 1a) monumentalised compound at Nişantepe. At Büyükkale, amendments to gates go down into the sixth century, when the famous 'Kybele' and musicians sculpture, as well as a semi-iconic, Phrygian-style idol were set up in a gate chamber – a move strikingly similar to the erection of a statue and idol in the Cappadocia Gate at Kerkenes (Summers 2018b; 2021: 39–41, 55–72; Berndt, this volume).

Marie-Henriette and Charles Gates show that in the seventh century there was a change to a maritime economy at Kinet Höyük, with fish as a food source,

industry involving food, and imports from the Levant, North Syria and the Aegean. This continued, although perhaps in a slightly reduced way, into the sixth century, with no sign of political upheavals, attacks or occupations heard of in literary sources for the Neo-Babylonian period. A singular monumental sixth-century rock-cut tomb at Meydancikkale may be tied into burgeoning monumentality in the Mediterranean and inland in Anatolia. On the northwest coast of the Anatolian peninsula, Carolyn Aslan points to ca 650 BC as a watershed point at Troy, associated with destruction at the site, but independent of the Cimmerian invasion narrative. Rather, it is associated with the 'colonisation' period and movement of people in the Aegean and Mediterranean; she uses network terminology to contrast a 'small world', which at around 650 BC was integrated into larger regional dynamics, with increasing territorial disputes into the sixth century BC. Hisarlık itself becomes less prominent, relatively humble, while there is growth in other settlements and a quick succession of new types of Attic and Ionian ceramic wares. It may be in this period post 650 BC that stories of Trojan heroes were attached to tumuli and hills, creating the legendary landscape of the Troad, even if there is little sign that 'Troy'/Hisarlık itself was seen as a key site in that framework.

Two chapters here are particularly important for their interventions concerning protagonists in literary narratives about this period, that of late have tended to be dismissed as 'mirages'. Selim Adalı deftly lays out the sources, the terms and the complexities of chronologies and political geographies associated with 'the Cimmerians'. They may be in many respects a 'mirage'; however, he points out, it is also clear that Tugdamme/Lygdammis was imagined to be a major force at a time when other charismatic leaders were arising, and potentially had a power base in the Konya Plain. In Christopher Tuplin's chapter, the Median Empire strikes back. Revisiting the argument about whether such an empire ever existed, he argues that if not an 'empire' or even a 'state', per se, the sources and traditions around the Medes suggest a powerful entity, which may have extended its influence as far as the Halys. Importantly, this implicitly dismantles a rather monolithic view of 'the Medes' and binary true/false approaches to Herodotus's logos (compare Bernbeck 2019 in this respect).

A final chapter that is directly relevant to the period 700–550 BC here is contributed by Susanne Berndt, who revisits her interpretation of rock-cut votive façade monuments with shafts, erected in the Phrygian Highlands. Whereas she has in the past (Berndt-Ersöz 1998) suggested the shafts could have accommodated the

delivery of oracles, and were thus primarily aural apparatuses, she here amends this, arguing that they may rather have had a primarily visual function, allowing epiphanies of images of the goddess in the shafts. This, she argues, was a revival of an older Anatolian Hittite and Early Phrygian tradition in which the deity was not freely viewable, at some point in the Middle Phrygian period, when statues and reliefs of the goddess had come into production. This suggests social tensions concerning the visibility of the goddess. One might wonder whether this further indicates the development of a mystery cult that had a role in social structuring in the seventh century.

Other stories

Alongside these chapters are four interventions on Iron Age Anatolia that lie outside or straddle the ‘Midas to Cyrus’ frame. David Hawkins and Mark Weeden’s chapter complements Aro’s in addressing Tabalian chronology, although for earlier times. They consider the HL inscriptions naming ‘Great Kings’: *Wasusarma* and his father *Tiwati*, and *Warpalawa* on the one hand; and *Hartapu* on the other, arguing for the dating of most to the eighth century BC, with the exception of KIZILDAG 4. They thereby posit both an earlier, 12th-century Hartapu (of that last inscription) and a later eighth-century namesake who authored three others, and used archaising features to emphasise links to the past. Their dating of KIZILDAG 4 to the 12th century, it should be noted, is unaffected by the fact that both it and the recently-found eighth-century *Hartapu* inscription from Türkmen-Karahöyük (Goedegebuure et al. 2020; Osborne et al. 2020), both seem to mention the *Muşka* (a word associated with Phrygians in some West Asian inscriptions; see Hawkins, Weeden 2021). One wonders if the use of that word could be another ‘archaising’ affectation.

Peter Kuniholm, Charlotte Pearson and Tomasz Wązny’s contribution also addresses chronology, here directly impacting on the Midas to Cyrus time frame in showing that despite unpromising samples, the Kerkenes material has significantly enabled the extension of the dendrochronological sequence past 745 BC, KER-10BC from the Cappadocia Gate being dated to shortly after 629 BC. This impacts recent arguments about the dating of Kerkenes on the grounds of onomastics in the epigraphy noted above (Oreshko 2021). The chapter also importantly includes a revised date for the cutting of the timbers of the Tatarlı tomb in southwest Phrygia (Summerer, von Kienlin 2010) to 480 BC. Yılmaz Erdal’s chapter throws light onto a less monumental, less considered aspect of cultural life in Iron Age Anatolia: medicine. Erdal points out very rare cases of boring-and-cutting trepanation in middle Iron

Age eastern Anatolia, which are otherwise only known of in later Greco-Roman texts in the ‘old world’. This begs questions about the role of later Iron Age Anatolia, for which we as yet lack much osteoarchaeological evidence at all, in the transmission and development of these surgical procedures.

Last, but by no means least, Oscar Muscarella revisits a topic in which he is a noted expert: the illicit antiquities trade. In his typical ‘writerly’ mode, he engages the reader in the Mystery of the Lydian Hoard – a large group of goods from tombs of the Achaemenid Persian period in eastern Lydia, which found their way into the collection of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Muscarella’s role in uncovering this has never been fully acknowledged, but his chapter does more than that; interweaving the twin evils of class entitlement and cultural chauvinism, his is a tale that is perpetually pertinent for archaeology, and resonates with prevailing social concerns in the third decade of the 21st century.

Organisation

Following a bibliography of the work of the Summerses, the chapters are packaged in a way that cross-cuts separation into the period from Midas to Cyrus on the one hand and ‘other stories’ on the other, to make sets. The first three sections group chapters geographically, the Halys Bend in the first, Gordion and Phrygia in the second, and sites and regions west to east (the Troy and the Troad; Tabal and Tuwana; and Kinet Höyük and Cilicia) in the third. A fourth section groups chapters on some broader cultural practices (religion and medicine). Specifically chronological interventions are grouped in section five, and traditions of invaders in section six. The final section, ‘Mentors’ Meditations’, pairs chapters that are thematically unrelated, but which are connected in being contributed by two of the discipline’s most senior scholars and mentors to Geoff – his university teacher, in the case of Charles Burney – and in incorporating personal accounts.

As noted, there are areas that would be desirable to bring into a comparative framework including, for instance, Lycia, in Southwest Türkiye (Fig. 1.4), which starts to become archaeologically visible in the second half of the seventh century BC (see des Courtils 2011), and which requires extensive evaluation not possible to do here. There is much more to explore about chronological horizons, connections between regional dynamics and the ethno-cultural modelling of Anatolia at this time. It is our hope that this book serves as recognition of Geoff and Françoise’s legacy, and prompts more synthetic work in this mould, picking up their torch and shedding more and more light on an age ever less dark.

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