

©2011

TUNA ŞARE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

**DRESS AND IDENTITY IN THE ARTS OF WESTERN ANATOLIA: THE SEVENTH THROUGH
FOURTH CENTURIES BCE**

By

TUNA ŞARE

A Dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School-New Brunswick
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Art History

written under the direction of

Dr. John F. Kenfield III

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

May, 2011

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

**DRESS AND IDENTITY IN THE ARTS OF WESTERN ANATOLIA: THE SEVENTH THROUGH
FOURTH CENTURIES BCE**

By TUNA ŞARE

Dissertation Director:

Dr. John F. Kenfield III

This dissertation investigates the variety of clothing options available to the ancient Western Anatolians from the seventh through the fourth centuries BCE as evidenced by archaeological remains, visual representations, and rare written sources. The body of the dissertation includes an analysis of the textile industries, a typological examination of the dress items, and three case studies of the tomb imagery in Western Anatolia. Given the lack of first hand evidence for the social history of the region, especially of its non-Greek populations, this examination reveals the important position articles of dress occupied in conveying social roles and status in Western Anatolia. Through an analysis of the ‘language of dress’ this dissertation reaches two conclusions. First, there existed a distinctive ‘Anatolian’ dress fashion shared among the various ethnic groups of Anatolia during the time in question. Second, the Western Anatolian elite adjusted borrowed dress fashions from the Persian court in order to show their status claims within the local socio-historical circumstances.

Acknowledgement and Dedication

My interest in classical archaeology and in the art and archaeology of ancient Anatolia goes back to my college years in Ankara. My professors in the Archaeology and History of Art Program at Bilkent University had a big influence in turning this interest into a life-long passion to pursue. The idea for the current project came after a research trip to Lycia with the members of the ASCSA under the leadership of Dr. John Camp in the spring of 2007. My first encounter with the Antalya figurines in Antalya Museum during this trip turned into a research paper, and then into an article published in the first issue of *Hesperia* in 2010. A different version of that article also forms the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

I presented different aspects of my research on the Antalya figurines as well as the new methodological approaches to Anatolian art and archaeology in several conferences. These conferences include: the Annual Meeting of Classical Association of Canada in May 2009, the Annual Meeting of ASOR in November 2009, and the Annual Meeting of AIA in 2010.

A great number of people and institutions helped me to write this dissertation. Here, I would like to record my indebtedness to them; first my advisor Dr. John Kenfield, who always encouraged me and my committee member Dr. Clemente Marconi, who always inspired me. I am especially grateful to Dr. Larissa Bonfante and Dr. Catherine Draycott for their inspirational studies and friendly advice. Dr. Nicholas Cahill, Dr. Maya Vassileva, Dr. Latife Summerer, Dr. Fahri Işık provided information and shared their work with me. Three institutions that have pivotal importance in the research and writing

phases of this dissertation are the ASCSA, the Marquand Library at Princeton University, and the Alexander Library at Rutgers University. My fellow graduate student friends Susannah Fisher, Barbara Werther, Angela Oh, and Patrick Coleman and the most precious member of the Art History Program at Rutgers University, Geralyn Colvil were always there when I needed their help.

Finally, there are the people who supported me outside of academia; my dearest brother Ersin Şare, my mum and my dad, Ayşe and Arif Şare, friends in Turkey, and friends in New Brunswick, especially Azize, Alev, Pınar, Eleni, Jin Young, Evren, Erman, Oylum, Özlem, Bahar, Banu, Aslı, Meriç, and my dear Gökçe.

This dissertation is dedicated to my son, my source of life, Can Aras Ağtürk and my husband Hakan Ağtürk, without whose love and support I could not finish this project. I extend apologies to anyone who have been inadvertently overlooked in my acknowledgment. I, alone am responsible for any errors. Also, I hope that readers will not be overly disappointed for the absence of museum inventory numbers for some of the illustrations.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgement and Dedication	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Illustrations	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Organization	2
1.2 Historical Background	5
1.3 Historiography and Methods Adapted	9
Chapter 2: Textile Production and Textiles (Fabrics and Patterns)	15
Chapter 3: Popular Dress Items and Their Social Significance	41
3.1 Headdresses	41
a) Polos	41
b) Griffin Crown	51
c) Veil and Veiling	53
d) Bashlyk	62
e) ‘Phrygian Cap’: Myths and Facts	77
3.2 Tunics, Overcoats, and Pants	79
a) Sleeved Tunics	79
b) Kandys	82
c) Tight Pants (Anaxyrides)	89
3.3 Belts	92
a) Urartian Type	92
b) Phrygio-Ionian Type	95

Chapter 4: Dress and Identity: The Antalya Figurines- Sixth Century BCE	104
Chapter 5: Dress and Identity: The Tatarlı Paintings - Fifth Century BCE	136
Chapter 6: Dress and Identity: The Friezes of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra- Fourth Century BCE	160
Bibliography	184
Curriculum Vitae	208
Illustrations	212

List of Illustrations

CHAPTER 2

Fig 2.1 Zincirli funerary relief, late eight century BCE, Adana Regional Museum, inv. no.1756, after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 62, fig. 143.

Fig 2.2 A square golden costume appliqué from a burial at Sardis, seventh century BCE, Uşak Museum, inv. no. 1.92.96, after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 166, cat. no. 117.

Fig 2.3 Toprakkale Medallion, 600 BCE, *Vorderasiatische Museum*, after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 166, fig 158.

Fig 2.4 Apadana Group III-Armenians, between 522 and 465 BCE, after Schmidt 1955, pl. 29.

Fig 2.5 Apadana Group VIII- Cilicians, between 522 and 465 BCE, after Schmidt 1955, pl. 34.

Fig 2.6 Apadana Group IX- Cappadocians, between 522 and 465 BCE, after Schmidt 1955, pl. 35.

Fig 2.7 Apadana Group XII- Ionians and Lydians, between 522 and 465 BCE, after Schmidt 1955, pl. 38.

Fig 2.7a Apadana Group XII- Ionians and Lydians, detail of the textile bearers, between 522 and 465 BCE, after Schmidt 1955, pl. 38.

Fig 2.8 Harta Fresco, late fifth century BCE, Uşak Museum, inv. nos. (fragments) 1.3.96, 1.4.96, 1.5.96, after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 39, fig 65.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Headdresses

3.1a Polos

Fig 3.1a.1 Boğazköy Kybele, early sixth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no.122, after Akurgal 1961, p. 91, fig. 55.

Fig 3.1a.2 Detail of Kubaba Head from Long Wall Reliefs at Carchemish, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 10304, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1a.3 Wooden Statuette of Hera from Samos, 640 BCE, (now lost), image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1a.4 Salmanköy Head, sixth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 124, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1a.5 Etlik Kybele, early sixth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 124, after Akurgal 1961, p 94, fig. 60.

Fig 3.1a.6 Artemis of Ephesos with tower like polos, third century AD, Selcuk Archaeology Museum, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1a.7 Artemis of Ephesos with plain polos, second century AD, Selcuk Archaeology Museum, inv. no 159, after Akurgal 1961, p. 157, fig. 108.

Fig 3.1a.8 Dipylon ivory figurine, 730 BCE, Athens National Museum, inv. no 776, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1a.9 Lyons Kore, 550-540 BCE, Lyons Musee des Beaux Arts, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1a.10 Phrasikleia Kore, 520 BCE, Athens National Museum, inv. no. 4889, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 114.

Fig 3.1a.11 Berlin Kore, 570-560 BCE, Berlin Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 1800, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 112.

Fig 3.1a.12 Head of Hera, sixth century BCE, Olympia Museum, photo by the author.

3.1b Griffon Crown

Fig 3.1b.1 Gordion fresco, fifth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, drawing after Mellink 1980, p. 98, fig. 6.

Fig 3.1b.2 Athena on a Panathenaic amphora sherd, fifth century BCE, Athens Akropolis Museum, inv. no. 923, after Ridgway 1990, p. 603, fig. 13.

Fig 3.1b.3 Snake Goddess of Knossos, 1700-1400 BCE, Iraklion Museum, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1b.4 Karphi idols with bird protomai, 1200- 900 BCE, Iraklion Museum, photo by the author.

3.1c Veil and Veiling

Fig 3.1c.1 Bitik Vase, 1700-1600 BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1c.2 Kore head from Samos with stephane–veil, 550 BCE, Vathy Museum, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 17.

Fig 3.1c.3 Kore head from Smyrna with Samian style stephane –veil, 540 BCE, Izmir Museum of Archaeology and Art History, inv. no. 15136, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 50.

Fig 3.1c.4 Polyxena Sarcophagus, Sides C, D, A, women wearing bonnet and bonnet-veil, 520- 490 BCE, Canakkale Archaeology Museum, drawings after Draycott 2007, pl. 50.

Fig 3.1c.5 Gordion Kalehöyük Fresco, women with bonnet-veil, fifth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, image from Gordion archive, after Voigt 2006, p. 28.

Fig 3.1c.6 Daskyleion Relief with rider women wearing bonnet-veil, 450 BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2358, after Draycott 2007, pl. 44.

Fig 3.1c.7 Detail of the Daskyleion Stele with a veiled woman at a funerary banquet, 460 BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5763, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1c.8 Cheramyes Kore wearing Samian-style veil, 560 BCE, Louvre Museum, inv. no. Ma 686, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 8.

Fig 3.1c.9 Ivory statuette from Ephesos wearing a Samian-style veil, early sixth century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2595, after Akurgal, 1961, p. 200, figs. 160-161.

Fig 3.1c.10 Kore head with Samian-style bonnet-veil from Miletos, 540 BCE, Berlin Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. M8, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 44.

Fig 3.1c.11 Kore head wearing a lappet-style veil from the column drum of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, 520 BCE, Berlin Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. F 724, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1c.12 Kore wearing a lappet-style veil from the column drum from Cyme, late sixth century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 256, after Akurgal 1961, p. 257, fig. 220.

Fig 3.1c.13 Two Korai wearing lappet-style polos-veil on the Balat (Miletos) Relief, 550 BCE, Balat Museum, after Karakasi 2003, pl. 42.

Fig 3.1c.14 Enthroned woman with the *anakalypsis gesture* on the Hero Relief from Sparta, early sixth century BCE, Sparta Museum, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1c.14 Harpy Tomb, West Frieze, 480- 370 BCE, London British Museum, inv. no. 13287, after Akurgal 1961, p. 136, fig. 87.

3.1d Bashlyk

Fig 3.1d.1 Guardian god of Hattusha with a bashlyk–like helmet from the King’s Gate, 14th century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1d.2 Delagation I (Median lead by Persian envoy) on Apadana reliefs, between 522 and 465 BCE, after Schmidt 1955, pl. 26.

Fig 3.1d.3 West wall fresco with banquet scene in Karaburun II, 470s BCE, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 3.1d.4 North wall fresco with battle scene in Karaburun II, 470s BCE, after Draycott 2007, color pl. 40.C.

Fig 3.1d.5 South wall fresco with procession scene in Karaburun II, 470s BCE, after Mellink 1973, pl. 67, figs 11-12. Color detail of the bashlyk-wearing dignitary, after Draycott 2007, color pl. 40, A.

Fig 3.1d.6 Harta Fresco with a bashlyk wearing figure in a procession, early fifth century BCE, Uşak Museum, inv. no. 1.5.96, after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 46, fig.85.

Fig 3.1d.7 Stele of Elnaf, 460 BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5764, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1d.8 Architectural relief with priests wearing bashlyk, sleeved tunic, pants, and kandys, fifth century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2361, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1d.9 Erbinna wearing pointed-bashlyk on the frieze of the Nereid Monument, early fourth century BCE, British Museum, image retrieved from ARTstor.

3.1e “Phrygian Cap”

Fig 3.1e.1 Bronze ‘Phrygian Helmet’, second century AD, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, photo by the author.

Fig 3.1e.2 Ankara Head, fifth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 19367, photo by the author.

3.2 Tunics, Overcoats, and Pants

3.2a Sleeved Tunic (Sleeved Chiton)

Fig 3.2a.1 Twelve warrior gods wearing knee-length sleeved tunics from Yazılıkaya, 13th century BCE, after Akurgal 2001, p. 131, fig. 57b.

Fig 3.2a.2 King Warpalawas wearing a sumptuously decorated sleeved tunic on a rock-relief from Ivriz, 730s BCE, after Akurgal 2001 p. 239, fig. 146.

Fig 3.2a.3 Youth wearing a plain sleeved tunic on Sahankaya Stele, early fifth century BCE, Manisa Museum, inv. no. 9156, after Roosevelt 2009, p. 161, fig. 6. 25.

Fig 3.2a.4 Akraiphnio Grave Stele, late sixth century BCE, Thebes Museum, inv. no. 28200, photo by the author.

3.2b Kandys

Fig 3.2b.1 Kandys-wearing figures in a sacrificial procession on the orthostat reliefs from Alacahöyük, 14th century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. nos 41-42, photo by the author.

Fig 3.2b.2 Sacrificial procession led by the king and the queen on the orthostat reliefs from Alacahöyük, sacrificial procession led by the king and the queen, 14th century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 44, photo by the author.

Fig 3.2b.3 Detail of the dignitary holding the straps of his kandys from Karaburun II tomb, mid fifth century BCE, after Mellink 1973, pl. 68, fig. 15.

Fig 3.2b.4 Detail from Apadana reliefs with a figure holding the straps of his kandys, mid fifth century BCE, after Mellink 1973, pl. 68, fig. 14.

Fig 3.2b.5 Kandys wearing figure holding a cup and a barsom on a fire-altar from Bunyan in Kayseri, dated to third century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, after Akurgal 1961, p 173, fig 120.

Fig 3.2b.6 Barsom holding figure wearing a red kandys on an architectural relief from Daskyleion, 450s BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 5391, photo by the author.

Fig 3.2b.7 Achaemenid Bulla from Daskyleion with a kandys-wearing figure, fifth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, after Akurgal 1961, p. 174, fig, 123.

Fig 3.2b.8 Reconstructed view of the kandys-wearing figures on the west frieze of the Heroon at Limyra, after Borchhardt 1999, Pl. 21.

Fig 3.2b.9 Young woman wearing a kandys on an Attic marble funerary stele, 390 BCE, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 78.AA.57, after Miller 1997, fig. 91.

Fig 3.2b.10 Boy wearing a kandys on an Attic red-figure chous, around 400 BCE, Athens National Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 17752, after Miller 1997, fig. 87.

3.2c Pants (Anaxyrides)

Fig 3.2c.1 Reconstruction of the Pazarlı Revetments, early sixth century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, p. 25, fig. 25 .

Figs 3.2c.2a Pazarlı Revetment, early sixth century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, after Åkerström 1966, Taf. 90.

Figs 3.2c.2b Pazarlı Revetment, early sixth century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, after Åkerström 1966, Taf. 91.

Figs 3.2c.2c Pazarlı Revetment, early sixth century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, after Åkerström 1966, Taf. 92.

3.3 Belts

3.3a Urartian Belts

Fig 3.3a. 1 Urartian belt of the 1st group, processions of mounts and chariots, mid eight century BCE, Munich Antikensammlungen PS 1971.1781, after Kellner 1991, p. 14, fig.1.

Fig 3.3a.2 Urartian belt of 3rd group, hunting scenes of horsemen, chariots chasing bulls with rosettes as spacers, mid eight century BCE, Les Arcs, Ebnother Collection, after Kellner 1991, p. 145, fig. 2.

Fig 3.3a.3 Urartian belt of 4th group, real and fanstastic beasts pursued by horsemen and sphinxes, late eight century BCE, New York, Elghanayan Collection, after Kellner 1991, p. 148, fig. 5.

Fig 3.3a.4 Urartian belt of 5th group, large scale representation of a lion hunt, around 700 BCE, New York, Elghanayan Collection, after Kellner 1991, p. 151, fig. 9.

Fig 3.3a.5 Urartian belt of 6th group, garland-net design with untwisted arches, late eight century BCE, New York, Elghanayan Collection, after Kellner 1991, p. 152, fig. 11.

Fig 3.3a.6 Urartian belt of 9th group, hunting scene with crowded mythical creatures, eight century BCE, Israel Museum, 88.42.156, after Kellner 1991, p. 157, fig. 14.

Fig 3.3a.7 Urartian belt of 11th group, fortress and preparations for a feast, eight century BCE, Munich Antikensammlungen PS 1975.3157, after Kellner 1991, p. 160-161, fig. 6.

3.3b Phrygio-Ionian Belts

Fig 3.3b.1 Drawing of a typical Phrygio-Ionian belt with a catch plate and a fibula-type buckle and a hook, after Boardman 1961-1962, p. 179, fig. 1.

Fig 3.3b.2 A bronze Phrygio-Ionian belt from Ephesos, seventh century BCE, after Kleibinder 2001, p. 118, fig. 710.

Fig 3.3b.3 Restored bronze and leather belt with rectangular plaques and studded disk from Tumulus MM at Gordion, late eight century BCE, after Kohler 1981, p. 149, fig. 94.A.

Fig 3.3b.4 Restored bronze belt from Tumulus P, Tum P 34. A-Handle, B- Profile of the Hook, C-Catch Pl, D- Hook and Belt end, E-Engraved decoration from the central band, after Kohler, p.18, fig. 9.

Fig 3.3b.5 Silver belt from Bayındır D, sixth century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 71.21.87, photo by the author.

Fig 3.3b.6 A warrior in procession, wearing a hooked belt, from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish, eight century BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 9663, photo by the author.

Fig 3.3b.7 Back side of the Roman statue of Artemis Ephesia, found in the Prytaneion, Selcuk Archaeology Museum, after Vassileva 2001, p.95, fig. 7.

CHAPTER 4

Fig 4.1 Antalya C, ivory figurine of a mother with her two children, late seventh century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 2.21.87, after Işık 2000, pl. 3.

Fig 4.2 Antalya C, detail of the girl, late seventh century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 2.21.87, after Işık 2000, pl. 3.

Fig 4.3 Antalya C, detail of the boy, late seventh century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 2.21.87, after Işık 2000, pl. 3.

Fig 4.4 Antalya C, detail of the mother's head, showing a rectilinear opening, photo by the author.

Fig 4.5 Antalya A, silver figurine of a priest, late seventh century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 1.21.87, after Işık 2000, pl. 1.

Fig 4.6 Antalya B, ivory figurine of a priest, late seventh century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 4.21.87, after Işık 2000, pl. 2.

Fig 4.7 Antalya D, ivory figurine of a woman, late seventh century BCE, Antalya Museum, inv. no. 3.21.87, after Işık 2000, pl. 6.

Fig 4.8 Kubaba relief from Carchemish, ninth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. no. 10304, photo by the author.

Fig 4.9 Kybele relief from Gordion, sixth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. nos. Gordion 5459/559, after Akurgal 1961, p. 98, fig. 62.

Fig 4.10 Ivory figurine of Megabyzos, eunuch priest of Artemis, late seventh century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum inv. no. 2593, after Akurgal 1961, p. 199, fig. 159.

Fig 4.11 Carchemish relief with priestesses bearing offerings, ninth century BCE, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, inv. nos. 9656, 9657, photo by the author.

Fig 4.12 Spinner of Ephesos, late seventh century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2594, after Akurgal 1961, p. 196, fig. 155.

Fig 4.13 Hawk-priestess of Ephesos, late seventh century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2596, after Akurgal 1961, p. 206, fig. 169.

Fig 4.14 Ephesos D, ivory figurine with double cup, late seventh century BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, after, Işık 2000, fig. 15.

CHAPTER 5

Fig 5.1 Cross-section from the diagram of the Tatarlı Tomb, after Summerer 2008, p. 266, fig. 2.

Fig 5.2 Computer generated reconstruction of the wooden chamber with painted walls, after Summerer, L. and A. Von Kienlin, 2009a, p. 88, fig. 4.

Fig 5.3 Detail of the commander from the battle scene on the east wall of the Tatarlı Tomb, after Summerer, L. 2007b, fig.9.

Fig 5.4 Reconstruction of the north wall, after Summerer, L. and A. Von Kienlin, 2007, p. 78.

5. Pl. 1 Munich Timber (Munich I) with the convoy scene from the east wall of the Tatarlı Tomb, after Summerer 2007a, p. 149. figs. 4-5.

- a. Munich Timber with the convoy scene. Photo by Kal-Uwe Nielsen.
- b. Reconstruction of the Munich Timber with the convoy scene. Drawing by Ingrid Dinkel.

Fig 5.5 The detail of the Stele of Elnaf from Daskyleion (also see **Fig 3.1d.7**), frieze with the chariot scene, photo by the author.

Fig 5.6 The procession scene with a chariot carrying a box, from Karaburun Tomb II, early fifth century BCE, after Mellink 1972, pl. 45 and pl. 46.

5. Pl. 2 Munich Timber (Munich II) with the battle scene from the east wall of the Tatarlı Tomb, after Summerer 2007b, figs 1-2.

- a. Munich Timber with the battle scene. Photo by Kai-Uwe Nielsen.
- b. Munich Timber with the battle scene. Drawing by Ingrid Dinkel.

Fig 5.7 Persians battling Scythians on an Achaemenid cylinder seal, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 132505, after Draycott 2007, pl. 41. fig.b.

Fig 5.8 Cylinder seal with battling Achaemenid soldiers wearing the “Achaemenid court robe’ without the wide sleeves, fifth century BCE, after Summerer 2007b, p.10, fig 3.

Fig 5.9 An Achaemenid soldier on polychrome bricks from Darius’ palace at Susa, sixth century BCE, British Museum, image retrieved from ARTstor.

Fig 5.10 An Achaemenid gem with the three Persian Kings, fifth century BCE, after Boardman 2001, pl. 287.

CHAPTER 6

Fig 6.1 The plan of ancient Limyra with the Heroon of Perikle, after Borchhardt 1976, p. 21, pl. 1.

Fig 6.2 The reconstructed view of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra, first half of the fourth century BCE, after Borchhardt 1999, pl. 16.

Fig 6.3 The reconstructed view of the Heroon karyatids (North and South), after Borchhardt 1976, p. 112-113, pls. 23-24.

Fig 6.4 One of the karyatids from the north, before and after the restoration, after Borchhardt 1999, pls. 14-15.

Fig 6.5 Central akroterion with Perseus and beheaded Medusa, after Borchhardt 1999, pl. 18.

Fig 6.6 Parts of the west frieze as displayed in Antalya Museum, photos by the author.

6. Pl. 1.a-b-c:

a. Drawing of the west frieze based on the surviving fragments, after Borchhardt 1976, pl. 12.

b. Borchhardt's reconstructed drawing of the west frieze, after Borchhardt 1976, pl. 13.

c. Borchhardt's colored reconstruction of the west frieze, after Borchhardt 1999, pl. 21.

Fig 6.7 A fragment of the east frieze as displayed in the Antalya Museum, photo by the author.

6. Pl. 2. a-b: Borchhardt's reconstruction of the east frieze based on all surviving fragments, after Borchhardt 1993, p. 354, pls. 1-2.

Fig 6.8 Mounting warrior with an upturned bashlyk on the so-called Yalnizdam grave stele, fourth century BCE, Antalya Museum, photo by the author.

Fig 6.9 Lycian coin with the image of Perikle on the obverse, fourth century BCE, after Borchhardt 1999, p. 40, fig. 14.

Chapter 1

Introduction¹

This dissertation examines the dress of ancient Anatolians as represented in Anatolian art and archaeology from the seventh century through the fourth century. The primary goals of this research are to reveal the important position articles of dress occupied in conveying social roles in ancient Anatolia and to enhance our understanding of the socio-political dynamics of a multi-ethnic region about which ancient literary sources are mostly silent.

By the end of seventh century, Anatolia was populated by a number of ethnic groups including Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Eastern Greeks, Carians, Mysians, and Persians. From the mid sixth century to the conquests of Alexander the Great in the late fourth, the region remained under the political hegemony of the Achaemenid Persians.² There is little literary evidence for the Anatolians during this time; what exists tends to describe the people and society from an outsider's perspective and mainly focuses on political developments.³ Archaeological evidence from the region, however, provides useful information about this culturally diverse society. Especially important is the figural imagery that survives on a variety of objects ranging from coins to monumental tombs. Much information can be gained from reading "the language of dress" on these images as "indigenous" sources for understanding how Anatolians defined themselves, interacted

¹ **ALL DATES ARE BCE, UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE.**

² Although Persian satraps were the central power, local rulers gained and lost independent control of their territories from time to time.

³ Herodotus *Histories* Book I.

with each other, and responded to the socio-political influences and changes. This study asks why Anatolians chose to wear certain dress items or be represented as wearing them and to what kind of a social statement a garment alludes.

Through a detailed typological examination of dress types the Anatolian elite is represented as wearing, and through three case studies, this research reveals the existence of a sumptuous ‘Anatolian’ dress fashion used by the different ethnic groups of Anatolia and rooted in the Late Bronze Age. The fashion includes carefully tailored and richly decorated sleeved tunics, belts, and poloi, which can be related to the Mother Goddess cult in Anatolia. In the fifth century, Anatolian dignitaries seem to have adopted dress items from the Persian court to state their power and political affiliations and added these garments to the existing Anatolian repertoire. In the fourth century most of the garments adopted from Persian court seem to have lost their direct political connection with the Persian rule and become symbols of wealth and power for the semi-independent local rulers.

1.1 Organization

This dissertation is structured as follows. An introduction chapter outlines the historical background; the historiography of studies on ancient costume and the art and archaeology of Achaemenid Anatolia in relation to the methods of analysis adapted here. The following chapter investigates the archaeological and literary evidence for textile production and fabrics and patterns in ancient Anatolia throughout the ages. This section reveals the importance of that industry in this region as well as the use of luxury textiles

as status symbols for the elite, from the time of Priam's LBA Troy to Hellenistic Pergamon of the Attalids.

The third chapter examines the popular dress items in ancient Anatolia under three categories; headdresses; tunics, overcoats, and pants; and belts. In these categories materials discussed are arranged typologically by garment. The origins and possible cultural codes of each garment are also examined. Examples come from representations in different media, ranging from wall painting and architectural sculpture to sculpture in the round and ivory statuettes, as well as from actual material evidence as in the instance of metal belts. This typological examination shows two major Anatolian fashions: ankle-length belted sleeved tunics with long veils and poloi worn by women and priests in relation to the cult of Anatolian Mother Goddess and the combination of knee-length or ankle-length sleeved tunics, pants, bashlyk, and sometimes kandys popular among Anatolian men, especially after the Achaemenid takeover.

The following three case study chapters examine tomb imagery in three different media coming from three different centuries in order to reveal how dress was used to suggest religious or political rank and affiliations as well as wealth, gender, and profession. In each of these case studies dress is used to understand the identities of the figures represented as well as to understand the status claims of the tomb owners or patrons. Chapter four is a case study on the dress and identity in Western Anatolia in the sixth-century through an investigation of groups of ivory figurines from Elmalı in northern Lycia and Ephesos in Ionia. It argues that these figurines are handles of sacred implements and represent priests and priestesses in a distinctive Anatolian sacerdotal dress. Based on their costume and also on modern conceptions of vestmental gender

codes, these figurines were previously identified as goddesses. The chapter, however, shows that some of these figures actually depict eunuch priests and thus reveals gender-specific roles and status in the Anatolian religion.

Chapter five, a case study on the dress and identity in Western Anatolia in the fifth century, examines the painted friezes of a fifth century wooden tomb chamber discovered in Tatarlı in central Phrygia. This chapter argues that Western Anatolian elite adopted specific items of Achaemenid dress and Achaemenid courtly and military customs as means of aristocratic etiquette and also as an indication of their loyalty to the Persian rule.

The sixth chapter, a case study on the dress and identity in Western Anatolia in the fourth century, investigates the reliefs of a military procession on a monumental tomb from Limyra in Lycia. The chapter analyzes the range of costumes worn by the soldiers in order to demonstrate the multi-ethnic character of the Anatolian army and the historical importance of the mercenaries. This study also shows that local dignitaries continued to dress like the Persian royalty, but the adopted Persian garments lost their direct political association with the Achaemenid Empire. Anatolian rulers wore these dress items not to stress their role as subject leaders appointed by the Persian government, but simply as prestige items signifying their own wealth and power.

1.2 Historical Background

This study covers the period between 700 and 334; dates roughly corresponding to the end of the Phrygian Empire and Alexander the Great's conquests of the region. Between these dates independent Greek city states along the coasts and inland native cities, most of them under Lydian rule, occupied Western Anatolia; after 547 with the defeat of the Lydian Empire, the region came under the control of the Persians.

There is little literary evidence for the socio-political history of Western Anatolia during this period. Herodotus is the primary source. In his *Histories*, he describes the political events that affected the region and he sporadically mentions the social life of its people.⁴ Yet, his accounts reflect an outsider's perspective.⁵

This paucity of literary testimonia notwithstanding, a brief outline of the history of different ethnic groups mentioned in this study is necessary.⁶ The two great Anatolian powers before the coming of the Persians were the Phrygians and Lydians. Phrygians, called the Mushki in Assyrian sources, formed a powerful kingdom in central Anatolia in

⁴ Herodotus classifies the populations of the region according to their origin and language. The few comments he makes on their social structures are generally related to gender and religion. He says that Lydians were not much different from Greeks except that they prostitute their daughters (I. 93-94) and Lycians, otherwise very similar to Carians, were matrilineal (I.173).

⁵ Herodotus was a Greek born in Halicarnassos in Western Anatolia in 484 (during the Achaemenid rule) and later migrated to Athens. His accounts of the Graeco-Persian wars reflect the events from 'Greek' perspective. At the beginning of his *Histories*, he states that his research is to preserve the memory of the achievements both of his own (Greek) and of other peoples (I.1).

⁶ For the history of native kingdoms in Anatolia see Mellink 1991. For ancient Anatolian languages see Masson 1991. For the history of Achaemenid Anatolia see Briant 2002, Balcer 1984, and Gezgin 2007.

the eight century. They spoke an Indo-European language, which shares some similarities with Greek. Greek sources consider Phrygians as Thracian immigrants, yet the Phrygian language has little in common with Thracian. The Phrygian kingdom with its two central cities Gordion and Midas City had close cultural contacts with the Assyrians, the Neo-Hittite states and the Urartians in the southeast and east and also Greek city-states on the western coast of Anatolia. According to Greek sources, the famous king Midas was married to a Greek girl from Kyme and send offerings to the oracle at Delphi.⁷ Assyrian sources mention that Neo-Hittite states asked for Phrygian help against Assyrian westward expansion between 718- 709, Phrygians helped but both the Neo-Hittite states and Phrygia were defeated and asked for Assyrian submission in 709.⁸ The political power of Phrygian kingdom came to an end around 696, after the Kimmerian invasion of Gordion. The excavations at Gordion and Midas City have shown that the Phrygians were especially skilled in textile production, ivory and wood carving, and metalwork, artistic traditions inherited by the Lydians.

The Lydian kingdom with its capital city at Sardis rose as the central power in Western Anatolia at around 690. The Lydian language is classified as an Anatolian branch of Indo-European, close to Hittite. Ruled by the famous Mermnad dynasty founded by Gyges (680- 652), the Lydian kingdom took control of the Phrygian, Ionian, Aeolian, Mysian, Dorian, Carian, and Pamphylian territories of Western Anatolia. Under the King Alyattes (610-560) the kingdom reached to its zenith. His son Kroisos (560-547), famously known for his great wealth in Greek sources, lost the battle against the

⁷ Pollux IX.83.

⁸ See Mellink 1991.

Achaemenid Persians that brought about the end of his kingdom.⁹ Rich burial goods of gold and silver discovered from Lydian tombs, and also the discovery of several gold refining installations in Sardis dating from the reign of Alyattes and Kroisos prove the legendary wealth of the Lydians.¹⁰ The Lydians inherited the textile industry, ivory carving and also the religion (Kybele) of the Phrygians, and were the first to coin money.

The Lycian and Carian cities of southwestern Anatolia, and the Mysians of northwestern Anatolia never formed unified kingdoms, but each population had inhabited in their respective regions since Bronze Age, speaking Anatolian branches of Indo-European languages (**map 2**). Greek (mainly Ionian and Aeolian) cities colonized the western coast of Anatolia beginning in the eleventh century.¹¹ In the sixth century most of the Carian and Greek cities recognized the hegemony of the Lydian Kingdom. Pamphylians and Cilicians were also situated in the southwestern Anatolia, living side by side with Lycians in the west and Phrygians in the north. Pamphylians and Cilicians are said to be a mixture of native inhabitants and Greeks who migrated there from Arcadia and Peloponnese in the Late Bronze Age. Not much is known of their languages, but the Pamphylian dialect is related to Achaean.¹²

⁹ Hdt I. 85-90.

¹⁰ See Ramage and Craddock 2000 for archaeological evidence for gold refining in Sardis.

¹¹ Akurgal 1962.

¹² The general history of non-Greek populations of Western Asia Minor can be found in Collon et al (2010, July, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/22897/Anatolia>).

Between 546 and 334, the Achaemenid Persians politically dominated Western Anatolia. Local or Persian rulers appointed from Susa controlled the newly established satrapies. The organization and the boundaries of Western Anatolian satrapies are uncertain.¹³ The two best known are Sardis (also called Sparda) in Lydia and Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia.¹⁴ Persian political repression of Greek poleis in Western Anatolia led to the famous Ionian Revolt in 506. After harshly putting down the revolt, the Persians launched the famous expeditions against mainland Greece. The eventual Greek victory led the Persian army to retreat to Western Anatolia where until the conquests of the Alexander the Great in the fourth century, the Persians maintained their political dominance with varying degrees of success. Though subject to Achaemenid authority, most of the Western Anatolian cities enjoyed a semi-autonomous status. Most of them including Ionian and Aeolian cities contributed troops to the Persian army in the Greco-Persian wars. After the defeat of Persians, many joined the Athenian dominated Delian League. By the early fourth century Persian authority was severely shaken, leading the emergence of local powers such as the Carian Mausolos (377-353) or Lycian Perikles. (380-362). During the Achaemenid period Lydian, Phrygian, Lycian, Carian, and Greek languages continued along with the now official Aramaic language.

¹³Achaemenid accounts are not consistent about the number of satrapies and their boundaries. Herodotus (III.89-97) lists a number of tax zones in Western Anatolia, but it is not certain whether the cities mentioned in this list refer to Anatolian satrapies or not. See the discussion in Gezgin 2007, 140-148.

¹⁴ Hellespontine Phrygia comprises of the land of Mysia, Troad, and Bithynia.

1.3 Historiography and Approaches Adapted

Historiography of “Studies on Ancient Costume”

Since the inception of classical studies, ancient Greek dress has been researched extensively.¹⁵ The primary focus of the studies on classical dress in the 19th and early 20th centuries was to determine and describe types, regional variations, and the chronology based on the evidence from representations in Greek vase painting and sculpture. With Bonfante’s monumental studies in the late 20th century, scholarly interest shifted from merely describing and determining types to the exploration of the semiotics of ancient clothing. Bonfante’s new approach, which emphasizes the power of “the language of dress” as a cultural identifier, has proved the significance of ancient dress in illuminating the ancient social, religious, and political structures, roles and status within these structures, and interrelationships among ancient societies.¹⁶ Bonfante’s research has led to the emergence of several other studies that use dress mentioned in ancient literary sources and appearing in both visual representations and the archaeological record as tools for investigating ancient cultures. Most of these studies consider the power of ancient dress in shaping and communicating social status, ethnicity, gender, and age, a new method that goes beyond establishing artistic styles, workshops, and chronology. Miller, for example, discusses the Persianizing of Athenian dress and its implication of elite status in Athens.¹⁷ Such recent books as: *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek*

¹⁵ Roccas (2006) provides an excellent study of the historiography of the studies of ancient dress and bibliography.

¹⁶ Bonfante 1994, 1993, 1990, and 1989.

¹⁷ Miller 1999, 1994.

World,¹⁸ *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*,¹⁹ and *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Women of Ancient Greece*²⁰ illuminate several aspects of the relationship between ancient dress and gender politics. *Reading a Dynamic Canvas*, proceedings of the panel on ancient dress at the AIA Annual Meeting in 2006, shows that the study of the role of dress in negotiating ancient identities has now become a major methodology in Classical Studies.

Besides Bonfante, Barber is another influential name of the late 20th century in the studies of ancient dress. Despite the lack of any extant textiles, Barber's interdisciplinary research and relentless pursuit of evidence shed light on the nature and the economics of the textile industry as well as the products in the ancient Mediterranean from around 7000 to mid 1st millennium. Her monumental work has proved the importance of archaeological data in reconstructing ancient textiles and the societies which produced them.

Although existing scholarship has focused on Greek, Etruscan, and Roman dress, only a few studies have addressed Western Anatolian dress specifically. In a short article, in 1973, DeVries interprets the ambiguous "effeminate" and luxurious character of dress worn by komasts on Athenian "Anakreontic vases" as an influence from Western Anatolia, more specifically Lydian dress fashion.²¹ A more comprehensive research, A

¹⁸ Llewellyn-Jones and Blundell 2002.

¹⁹ Cleland, Harlow, and Llewellyn-Jones 2005.

²⁰ Llewellyn-Jones 2003.

²¹ A series of Attic vases are called "Anakreontic" after the Ionian poet who is known to have dressed like a woman and introduced the fashion to Athens, see DeVries 1973, 32-

Study of Anatolian and East Greek Costume in the Iron Age by Ílknur Özgen explores the representations of Anatolian costumes from the tenth to the beginning of the sixth centuries. Özgen investigates the garment types in five main regions of Anatolia: Neo-Hittite areas, Cilicia, Phrygia, Lydia, and East Greece with the main objective of illustrating East Greek adoption of the earlier Neo-Hittite and Phrygian dress.²² Despite its pivotal importance in establishing a vast source of iconographic data for the costume repertoire in ancient Anatolia, Özgen's study does not cover beyond the sixth century and lacks any discussion of the possible social implications of dress types.

A recent study by Catherine Draycott, *Images and Identities in the Funerary Art of Anatolia, 600-450 BCE*, investigates the local identities of Western Anatolians in the Achaemenid Period through their self-representation in funerary images. Draycott, in her analysis, sporadically discusses dress items as status identifiers, but the costume is not the main focus of her research.²³

39. More recently, Miller (1999, 230-236) also studied the Anakreontic vases in a comprehensive research interpreting the komasts as transvestites in ritual activity. Miller further sees the origin of the tradition of komastic transvestitism in Archaic Anatolia. Also see chapter 2 and chapter 4 of this dissertation for 'Anakreontic' vases.

²² Özgen 1982.

²³ Draycott 2007. This dissertation analyses the reliefs and wall paintings on thirty-one different tombs in different regions of Western Anatolia, erected between 600-450. By comparing the various methods of self-representations on these tombs, Draycott clarifies patterns of identities in relation to political and social circumstances of Western Anatolia, apart from conventional identities given to the people of the region in ancient Greek sources.

Another recent study is a short article by Benda-Weber's *Epichorische Elemente in Bekleidungssitten und Haartrachten in Lykien im 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.* in which Benda-Weber surveys the Lycian dress fashion and its socio-political implications.

This dissertation brings together Özgen's and Draycott's approaches by examining the Anatolian dress types typologically and through case studies, and then discussing the possible role of each dress item in communicating social roles and status in an attempt to enlighten the socio-political history of the region.

Historiography of 'The Art in Achaemenid Anatolia'

The terminology used to define the general character of the arts of the sixth century to fourth centuries in Western Anatolia has been a problem in the existing scholarship. The period is often referred as Achaemenid Anatolia.²⁴ The arts of the region at this time have long been identified through the term "Graeco-Persian," a phrase carrying an assumption of an art made up by Greek artists working under Persian patrons.²⁵ The overlooked local features gained importance in the art historical studies after Mellink's publications of tombs in northern Lycia and Phrygia.²⁶ After Mellink, Jacobs' thesis, which stresses the importance of the local socio-political context in the themes chosen for the Lycian tomb imagery, provided a breakthrough in the studies of "Graeco-Persian" art.²⁷ Among the scholars who have emphasized the local "Anatolian"

²⁴ Although Persian authority of the satraps was the central power, local rulers and Greek cities gained and lost independent control of their territories from time to time. Despite this fact, because of prevailing Persian political authority, the modern scholarship calls this time period of the region as Achaemenid Anatolia. For more detailed information on the history of Achaemenid Anatolia, see Briant 2002, Balcer 1984, and Gezgin 2007.

²⁵ Term coined by Furtwängler 1900: (for gem intaglios). For examples of studies emphasizing the role of Greek artists, see Akurgal 1968, Boardman 1999.

²⁶ See for example Mellink 1976. Childs 1978 is also one of the earliest to proclaim the prevailing local elements in Lycian art rather than Graeco-Persian.

²⁷ Jacobs 1987. The emergence of a material culture peculiar to Western Anatolia and the "new" cultural and social identities reflected in the art of the region in the Persian Empire

character of the arts, Kaptan, in her study of Daskyleion bullae, instead of using “Graeco-Persian,” has coined the term “Perso-Anatolian,” allowing a more flexible understanding of visual arts created for people of varying ethnicities.²⁸ Similarly, in my investigation, I discuss the “Persianizing” of Western Anatolian costumes, as well as fashions of indigenous origin. With this approach, I avoid the modern idea that the Western Anatolians adopted Persian dress immediately after the onset of Persian authority, a notion shaped by outside Greek perspective and reflected in mainland Greek art and literary sources.

The objects from Western Anatolia examined in this dissertation have been published separately in various archaeological studies. In general these studies categorize the objects according to their find spots and focus on their style and presumptive workshop with the primary purpose of establishing a chronology,²⁹ but pay little attention to the costumes and their socio-political and religious implications.³⁰ Most of these studies also ethnically classify these artifacts as Phrygian, Greek, Lydian, Lycian and Persian.³¹ Considering the blurred social, geographical and political boundaries of Western Anatolia during the period in question, I follow a typological rather than

is discussed in several papers in a recent conference entitled “Meetings of East and West; Being ‘Graeco-Persian.’” See Draycott 2010.

²⁸ Kaptan 2002, Root 2002, also Boardman 2002.

²⁹ Akurgal 1961, 1968. Specifically focusing on the finds from Lydia see Hanfmann 1975, 1978, from Phrygia see DeVries 1980, and from Lycia see Borchhardt 1975, 1976, 1990.

³⁰ Except for Özgen 1982 and Draycott 2007 mentioned above.

³¹ See chapter 4 in this dissertation for a detailed discussion of the problem of ‘ethnic classification’ in the case of Antalya figurines.

geographical classification in my discussion of costumes. The same costumes appearing consistently in ethnically different regions in similar contexts reveal a general ‘Anatolian’ character in costume fashion and also in artistic representations.

One challenge is to match up the terms used for dress items in literature with the visual record. The word *mithra*, for example, is used in Greek textual accounts to refer to a belt worn by young women, to a headband introduced from Lydia, and to a victor’s head band.³² There are also references to obscure clothing items without descriptions of what they looked like, among these *cherromakta*, a headdress, and *kypassis*, a tunic for males.³³ Thus, I limit my discussion to the dress items that appear consistently in artistic and archaeological records. Also, I use descriptive modern terms when there is inconsistency in terminology, as in the case of ‘bashlyk’. This popular headdress is variously referred to as *kurbasia*, *kidaris*, and *tiara* in ancient sources, to avoid any confusion I use the Turkish term “bashlyk’ in my discussion.³⁴

³² Hurschmann 2000. Also Bezantakos (1987) shows that the word *mitra* is used not only for a specific kind of headdress but for various shapes of clothes worn over different parts of the body by different sexes in antiquity.

³³ Hans von Wees 2005.

³⁴ See “bashlyk’ section in chapter 3.

Chapter 2

Textile Production and Textiles (Fabrics and Patterns) in Western Anatolia³⁵

The textile production in ancient Western Anatolia can be analyzed in three main categories: textual evidence, mostly in Greek and Latin sources; material evidence, including remains of textiles and textile production tools; and the artistic evidence; figural representations of textiles and textile production. Before a thorough investigation of dress types in Western Anatolia, in this section I shall examine the textile industry according to these three categories. I shall also look into the fabrics and patterns produced and used by Anatolians. Though the main focus of this study is on the Archaic and Achaemenid periods,³⁶ roughly between the seventh and fourth centuries, I shall consider the evidence from Neolithic to Roman times, from all around Anatolia.

Neolithic Çatalhöyük provides not only the earliest evidence for textile production in ancient Anatolia, but also one of the earliest known examples in the ancient world. Finely threaded textiles of flax discovered in the Level VI date from the sixth millennium.³⁷ These textiles from Çatalhöyük also provide the earliest possible evidence for the knowledge of warp-weight loom, which is an important development in textile production technique since it allows weaving of a cloth longer than the height of the

³⁵ I use the word textile to refer to any kind of woven cloth made from fibers or animal hair, used as coverings for people and things.

³⁶ “Archaic” is used to refer to the late eight to the mid sixth centuries.

³⁷ Barber 1990, 10, 11, 59; also see Helbaek 1963, 39-46.

loom.³⁸ Spindle whorls and loom weights occurred in several Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites such as Hacilar, Mersin, and Beycesultan testifying to the knowledge of and continuity in textile production in an extensive area of ancient Anatolia in the fourth millennium.³⁹ Remains of a rug from an Early Bronze Age sanctuary at Beycesultan further provide the earliest known specimen of felting, the matting of wool or hair together into a stable fabric by pressure instead of weaving.⁴⁰

The increasing importance and the involvement of the “elite” in the cloth industry in the Bronze Age are evident in the sophisticated weaving implements of precious material discovered from several sites. Barber, in her monumental study of prehistoric textiles, interprets the silver, gold, bronze, electrum, and ivory spindles and distaffs found at the sites of Merzifon, Alacahöyük, Horoztepe, and Karatas as an early sign for the tradition of “weaving noblewomen” in Anatolia, long before Homer mentions Helen of Troy as weaving luxurious cloths.⁴¹ Over ten thousand spindle whorls discovered from the Early Bronze Age levels of Troy indicate that not only the elite, but also the common

³⁸ Cecchini 2000, 213 and Barber 1994, 99. A warp-weighted loom, basically, consisted of two vertical wooden beams linked at the top by another beam from which warps hang. As the cloth is woven, from bottom to top, it could be rolled around the top beam. The evidence for the use of warp-weighted loom is plenty in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, both in Anatolia and also in Palestine, but Cecchini (2000, 214) notes that they are replaced by two-beam vertical loom in the Late Bronze Age. Two-beam vertical loom consisted of warp stretched between two vertical beams. For ancient loom types, see Barber 1990, 79-125.

³⁹ Barber 1990, 59, note 13 (Barber cites Mellaart (1961, 46) for Hacilar, Garstang (1953, 32-33, 43, 52) for Mersin and Lloyd and Mellaart (1962, 268-69) for Beycesultan).

⁴⁰ Barber 1994, 215.

⁴¹ Barber 1994, 209. Homer *Iliad* III.125-127.

people were busy with cloth production.⁴² Excavations at the Late Bronze Age levels in Troy (primarily in Troy VI) show another aspect of the cloth industry at the site. Thousands of crushed murex-shells along with grinders and worn millstones, which were used to crush the shells, and installations used to boil the shells indicate the existence of purple-dye industry.⁴³ Surprisingly, later legends recount Helen of Troy's dog as the inventor of purple dye. According to the legend the dog accidentally chews a murex shell which turns his mouth purple.⁴⁴ Purple dye, so expensive in antiquity, known as the royal color, was reserved for the garments of the elite.

The earliest textual evidence regarding the textiles in Anatolia does not say much about the production but about the importation of a variety of textiles from Assyria. The cuneiform tablets from Kanesh- Kültepe, an Assyrian trading colony active in central Anatolia in the 19th century, describe the exchange of textiles and tin from Ashur for gold

⁴² Barber 1994, 214.

⁴³ Singer 2008, 28. Little is known about the details of purple-dye production in antiquity. The general descriptions of the method survive in Aristotle (*Historia Animalium* V.15.22-25), Pliny the Elder (*NH* IX.62-133), and Vitruvius (*De Architectura* VII.13.1-3). Also known as "Tyrian purple", because of the reputation of Phoenician town of Tyre from where purple dyes are exported to the Mediterranean, the color is made from the snails collected from shallow seafloors. The process of production seems to have included sun drying, boiling, and then smashing the snails to get the purple liquid out. Extracted purple liquid are then used to die wool. Since each snail yields only a single drop of the dye, the expensive purple garments of the antiquity seem to have been popular only among the elite, eventually becoming a "royal code" of the Byzantine emperors. Earliest archaeological evidence for purple-dye production comes from Minoan Crete and from fifteenth century Ugarit, on the northern coast of Syria. Phoenician colonies set up all around the Mediterranean were also closely involved with the purple-dye industry throughout the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Herodotus (*IV*. 25) refers to the existence of the industry in the Eastern coast of Crete in the fifth century. For purple dye production and consumption in general, see Barber 1990, 228-229; Singer 2008, 25-27.

⁴⁴ Palaephatus *de Incredibilibus*. 62, cited in Singer 2008, 25.

and silver in Anatolia.⁴⁵ A few centuries later, the inventories, price lists, and laws inscribed on cuneiform tablets from Boğazköy, the capital of the Hittite Empire, refer to a variety of garments. These inscriptions do not reveal much about the production process, but their types, color, weight, and price.⁴⁶ The mention of expensive purple-dye fabrics in these texts, specifically a letter, which refers to the purple dyers of Lazpa (Island of Lesbos) working for the Hittite king Mursili II, combined with the archaeological evidence from Troy hint to an active purple-dye industry in the Late Bronze Age Western Anatolia.

Our current state of knowledge of the textile industry on the western coast of Anatolia in the Early Iron Age is limited. Evidence for active textile production, during this period, however, comes from the southeastern part of Anatolia. After the collapse of the Hittite kingdom in the eleventh century, independent city states, established in southeastern Anatolia, seem to have inherited and carried the Hittite cultural legacy into the seventh century, until their total absorption by Assyria.⁴⁷ In close contact with Phrygians in the northwest, Urartians in the northeast, and Assyrians in the south, these Neo- Hittite states seems to have been at the center of textile production and trade in the Near East. Assyrian annals mention textile products as tributes or booty coming from

⁴⁵ Bryce 2005, 27. This evidence indicates the Assyrian influence on Anatolian dress fashions.

⁴⁶ Goetze (1955, 48-62) through his study of several tablets pinpoints eleven different items of dress mostly of men's wear, including tunics of different type, headdresses, belts, and veils. One very interesting dress item mentioned in the texts is the *Tugguea*, "Hurrian shirt" embroidered or trimmed with gold borders. Also see, Singer 2008, 29-30.

⁴⁷ Hawkins 1982, 372-441.

these Neo-Hittite states to the Assyrian kings, making it clear that the textiles of the region were highly valued and that there existed a developed textile industry.⁴⁸

An iconographic examination of a funerary stele of a woman from Zincirli (**Fig 2.1**), one of the most powerful Neo-Hittite states, provides a glimpse into the lively textile industry in the region. Dated to the late eight century, the stele depicts the deceased woman seated on a backed chair holding a distaff with a ball of “wool” wrapped around it. The representation of such distaffs held by spinning women is a common motif both in earlier Near Eastern art and later Greek and Etruscan art.⁴⁹ What is unique about the Zincirli relief is the second figure who accompanies the seated woman. Unlike many Greek funerary reliefs, which typically show a deceased woman with her maids, who often appear as to be offering their mistress a jewelry box, Zincirli woman is accompanied by her scribe.⁵⁰ The scribe holds a tablet and a stylus, perhaps references to his mistress’ business accounts. The dress of both figures on the stele not only hints at the high social status of the Zincirli woman, but also suggests the luxurious quality of the

⁴⁸ Cecchini 2000, 229.

⁴⁹ A famous case for Near Eastern art is a Neo-Elamite relief of a spinning lady from Susa dating from early ninth century, Louvre Sb 2834, see Root 2004, fig. 20. For Greek art, most famous example is a black figure lekythos by Amasis Painter at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931: no. 31-11-10, see Barber 1990, fig. 2.38. The Metropolitan lekythos, dating from around 560, shows a group of Athenian girls in sequential stages of wool working, which also includes spinning with the help of a spindle and a distaff.

⁵⁰ Perhaps the best-known example of “mistress and maid” motif in Greek art is the so called Hegeso relief. A perfect example of High Classical sculpture, the relief shows seated Hegeso (her name inscribed above) and her maid with a jewelry box in her hand, Athens National Museum, inv. no. 3624, see Pedley 2007, 280, 8.45. This motif also appears on Greek vases with nuptial and funerary scenes, see for example Oakley and Sinos 1993, 76, fig 45.

garments, perhaps produced by her textile business. The Zincirli woman wears a long belted dress with a decorated collar at the neckline and fringes at the hem. Covering her head she also wears a long veil richly decorated with elaborate fringes along the sides. A bonnet with floral designs appears on her head, underneath the veil. Her accountant wears a short-sleeved long tunic with fringes at the hem.

The Phrygian kingdom, which flourished in central Anatolia beginning in the tenth century, seems to have had an importance in textile production equal to that of its southwestern neighbors, the Neo-Hittite states. Pliny (NH VIII.74.196) ascribes the invention of embroidery to Phrygians and terms garments with a lot of ornament as “Phrygianic”. He may not be right in assigning this invention to Phrygians, since archaeological evidence from Egypt shows the existence of the craft already in the Early Bronze Age.⁵¹ Yet, his statement points to Phrygia as an important source of embroidered textiles in the Classical world. In fact, excavations at the Phrygian capital Gordion have revealed the importance of a centrally organized textile industry in the Phrygian royal economy as early as the ninth century. The standardized workshops at the so-called Terrace Building and the Clay Cut Structure behind the elite residential quarter at Gordion (Megaron 1-4, perhaps Megaron 3 is the royal palace) have produced thousands of textile production implements including clay spindle whorls, loom weights, metal knives and other tools of ivory, wood, and bone.⁵² The enormous amount of textile equipment and fairly standard shapes and sizes of this equipment indicate a mass production of garments controlled by the elite. This phenomenal evidence for the textile

⁵¹ Barber 1990, 198.

⁵² Burke 2005, 69-81 also see Barber 1990, 102.

industry at Gordion may be related to the wealth of legendary King Midas.⁵³ Not much gold or any evidence for gold refineries were found at Gordion, but according to Barber's calculations, the Phrygian elite or the royalty seems to have employed over a hundred women weaving next door to their royal quarters.⁵⁴ This number is two times more than the number of women employed by the legendary king Alkinoos whose wealth Homer emphasizes through his power to employ fifty weavers in his palace.⁵⁵

Surprisingly, excavations at Gordion have also revealed several textile fragments, including, woven linen, woven wool, and felted wool. The preserved fragments were discovered in the tumuli around the city and also from buildings of the city, burned by the Kimmerians in the attack of around 690. Aside from the miraculously surviving of textile fragments from Neolithic Çatalhöyük, the fragmentary Gordion textiles provide the earliest first-hand evidence in ancient Anatolia and their variety and quantity are more extensive than the examples from Çatalhöyük. The types of textiles include blankets (best preserved are the ones which covered the bier of the royal deceased from the Great Tumulus-Tumulus MM), wall hangings, bags, cloths, pads, and tapes for tying up bundles and for edging garments.⁵⁶ The patterns include quadruple lozenges, meanders,

⁵³ Most famously known story about his wealth is his "Golden Touch" told in detail in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XI .85-145). Already in seventh century Spartan poet Tyrtaios uses "Midas" as a proverb for great riches. Tyrtaios fr 12, line 6. For the legend of King Midas in Greece, see Roller 1983.

⁵⁴ Barber 1990, 102. Her calculation is based on nearly 2300 loom weights within 90 meters of each other and average of 21 weights for each loom.

⁵⁵ Homer *Odyssey* VII. 103-6.

⁵⁶ Barber 1990, 197.

and double barred stripes.⁵⁷ Barber stresses the “fancy” quality of many of the Gordion fragments, as one might expect for the elite, who obviously administered the textile production at the site.⁵⁸ Thus, fragments of the textiles themselves and the evidence for mass production at the royal quarters in Gordion indicate that textiles were prestige items of the Phrygian kingdom and possibly used as a medium of exchange.

After the Kimmerian invasion of 690, the Phrygian kingdom lost its political power. The neighboring Maionians, who were to become the powerful Lydians of Western Anatolia under the Mermnad dynasty, seem to have inherited the textile industry of the Phrygians. Several ancient Greek texts, possibly due to the close interaction between Eastern Greeks and Lydians in the seventh century, refer to the Lydian textiles. Sappho, writing in the late seventh century, praises elaborate items of dress in Lydia (frs. 34-99). She compares, for example, a plain headband of her hometown Mytilene with an ornate one imported from Sardis (fr. 98). Her contemporary Alkman also refers to imported luxurious Lydian headgear (frs 1.67-9). The bright colored dyes of Lydian textiles are also highly praised in the ancient literature. Aristophanes’ chorus in *Peace* (1367-70), for example, when talking about a dazzling red cloak refers to the red textile dyes of Sardis. Fourth century inventory lists from the Sanctuary of Hera at Samos list several Sardian chitons, which are distinguished from the other dedications by their elaborate fringes.⁵⁹ In the *Persica*, an unknown Greek ethno-historian in the fourth

⁵⁷ Barber 1990, 198. For a detailed discussion of the Gordion Textiles also see Richard 1981, 294-310, Pl, 101 C D and Bellinger 1962, 5–34.

⁵⁸ Barber 1990, 197.

⁵⁹ Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 136.

century refers to the fine quality of brightly colored Sardian carpets, used exclusively by Persian kings.⁶⁰

Perhaps, it is no coincidence that the legendary Arakhne, the best of all mortal weavers who dared to challenge goddess Athena's skills in weaving, is said to have lived in Lydia. Ovid, in *Metamorphoses* (VI.1-148), tells that Arakhne's fame in weaving swept through Lydia, so much so that numerous nymphs came to her, to admire the cloths she wove and to see her spinning wool. In a weaving competition with Athena, Arakhne portrays the gods in the guise of animals chasing after mortal girls, while Athena depicts them seated on high thrones. Angry at her arrogance and impiety, Athena drives Arakhne crazy, and she hangs herself. The goddess then transforms her into a spider, *arakhnês* in Greek. Pliny, (NH VII. 196), also names Arakhne and her son Closter as the inventors of the spindle in the manufacture of woolen, linen, and nets. In addition, Pliny (NH VIII.74-196) refers to the golden woven vests, *Attalica*, of the Pergamene kingdom, established on the 'previously' Lydian land in the third century. Pliny's account has prompted scholars to recognize the Lydian legacy in the fame of the golden woven-textiles of Pergamon in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁶¹

Later sources like Early Byzantine Johannes Laurentius Lydus, a native of Lydia, mentions two types of garments originally designed by Lydians: gold woven chitons and *sandykes*, a fine linen transparent chiton, which caused Lydian women to appear to wear

⁶⁰ Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 134 (cited from Heracleides Cumanus, *Persica* I. fr. 1).

⁶¹ Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 134, note 20.

nothing, like the one worn by the legendary Lydian queen Omphales.⁶² Though later in date, Greenewalt and Majewski note that Laurentius' account might be based on Kameiros of Rhodes, a poet of the seventh or sixth century.⁶³

Unlike the case at Gordion, excavations at Sardis, the capital of Lydia, have not yet revealed any fragments of textiles or evidence for their mass production to support the reputation of the Lydians as makers of fine textiles. Yet, there is indirect evidence. Modern investigations in the vicinity of Sardis showed the availability of abundant mineral agents with a variety of hues for the famed dyes.⁶⁴ Minerals such as antimony, arsenic, cinnabar, yellow ochre, sulphur and the availability of murex shells on the nearby coast point to the possible production of a variety of colors including white, black, murex-purple, blood-red, pink, orange, and various yellows.⁶⁵ Other types of natural resources in the region such as perfect topographical and climatic conditions to grow flax for the production of linen or to raise sheep as sources of wool and mohair, though indirectly, further imply the fame of Sardian textiles in antiquity.

For now, the closest we have of an actual Lydian textile are iron plates discovered in a plundered tomb in Tumulus BT 63.2, dating somewhere between the seventh to fifth centuries. The plates carry the slight remains and patterns of the textiles to which they once were attached. Within the burial, the textile fibers in contact with the iron surfaces

⁶² De Magistratibus Populi Romani III, 64. (Cited in Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 136).

⁶³ Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 134, note 19.

⁶⁴ Dusinberre 2003, 22-23.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

were replaced by metal salts creating a replica of the textile. A careful study of these iron plates by Greenewalt and Majewski has shown that they were parts of a wooden coffin, which was covered with layers of cloth. By looking at the patterns on the plates Greenewalt traced the existence of embroidery, fringes, and “threads indicating sewing of parts together.”⁶⁶ These fragments, of course, do not exemplify the luxury of Lydian textiles mentioned in the literary sources, yet Greenewalt and Majewski’s attempt to trace the original textiles on metal objects provides an informative methodology for future discoveries.⁶⁷

The excavation of houses at Sardis, destroyed by the attack of Cyrus the Great in 547, has produced a large number of loom weights. Including the not yet published 11 pyramidal weights in a partly excavated space dug in 2007, the total number of the loom weights discovered from the site so far reaches to 205.⁶⁸ Loom weights come from four different houses and vary in shape and weight, indicating production of different kinds of cloth “demanding threads weighed at different tensions.”⁶⁹ The numbers are large, but not comparable to the large-scale production at Gordion. Indeed, Cahill sees these loom weights as evidence of normal household production, pointing out that the good

⁶⁶ Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138-140; Barber 1990, 1999.

⁶⁷ Greenewalt and Majewski’s (1980) main aim is to illustrate the possible origin of the well-preserved Pazyryk Textile found in Siberia as coming from Sardis.

⁶⁸ I am grateful to Prof. Nicholas Cahill, director of the excavations at Sardis, for this information. The numbers can be divided as 46 in one house; about 121 in another, in two groups, and in 6 or so different sizes; 21 loom weights, probably in a bag from another house; 11 pyramidal weights in a partly excavated space dug in 2007.

⁶⁹ Cahill 2002, 179. This variation is true at least for 105 loom weights discovered from the courtyard of the North House.

preservation and recovery at other sites produce similar numbers, since every household would have had loom weights in antiquity.⁷⁰

Though during the seventh and sixth centuries Sardis does not reveal much in terms of actual fabrics, there are plenty of other kinds of material evidence for the existence of gold-woven (or sewn) luxurious Lydian textiles. This fashion seems to have been popular among the elite, not only at Sardis but throughout Western Anatolia. The archaeological evidence ranges from Bronze Age to Roman times. The earliest material evidence comes from Troy in the mid-third millennium. Room 206 in Level IIg in Troy revealed the remnants of a loom destroyed in a sudden fire. Along with four sets of loom weights, nearly two hundred gold beads were found scattered around the loom in the room. Barber, in her re-evaluation, disagrees with archaeologist Blegen, who explains these beads as parts of a woman's jewelry burned with the textile as she rushed out of the room in the fire, leaving her jewelry inside.⁷¹ Barber suggests a more probable explanation that "she was weaving a cloth with gold beads strung on the weft or was sewing them onto the finished web as it hung."⁷² Hittite texts, referring to a kind of garment (possibly worn by the king), embroidered with gold and precious beads, further indicate the production of the golden woven/sewn dress in Bronze Age Anatolia.⁷³

⁷⁰ Personal conversation with Prof. Cahill.

⁷¹ Blegen et al 1950, 350-351. Also see Barber 1990, 172 and Barber 1994, 212- 213.

⁷² Barber 1990, 172. Barber (1994, 212) also mentions a section from Schliemann's excavations diaries, in which he describes a clay box in which he found fragments of a linen fabric decorated with luxurious beads, and a spindle with thread.

⁷³ Goetze 1955, 55.

Nearly 150 square, circular, cruciform, and lozenge shaped golden appliqués came from at least four looted tombs (Aktepe, Toptepe, Ikiztepe and Harta) from the modern Uşak- Güre and Manisa regions of ancient Lydia. Regular holes perforated at the corners of these thin plaques indicate that they were once sewn to the garments and headdresses buried in the tombs with the deceased (**Fig 2.2**). Of the square appliqués, 36 bear an embossed scene with a raptor and a hare, 32 a star-like floral motif, 34 a petalled rosette, and one a decoration with four bosses. Two lozenge shaped appliqués bear a motif with palmettes and paired volutes.⁷⁴ Of the circular appliqués, 24 are embossed with three notched bow-coils set back to back and one is embossed with a star-like floral design.⁷⁵ Two cruciform shaped appliqués bear four bow-coils formed from beaded wire. This final group lacks perforation, but one of them carries a metal ring and a small metal strap at the back for attachment to a textile.⁷⁶ The foundation deposit of the Archaic Artemision commissioned by Kroisos in the second quarter of the sixth century also revealed several golden and electrum appliqués similar in shape to those from the Lydian tombs.⁷⁷ Pins and fibulae found along with the appliqués indicate that they all once belonged to the now perished garments dedicated as offerings to the goddess at the sanctuary.⁷⁸ A seventh century golden medallion from Toprakkale provides visual

⁷⁴ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 165-167, cat nos. 115-119.

⁷⁵ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 208-209, cat nos. 180-181.

⁷⁶ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 207, cat nos. 178-179.

⁷⁷ Jacobsthal 1951, figs a, b, c, e, f.

⁷⁸ Indeed, surviving inventories from Greek sanctuaries of Artemis indicate that women dedicated their finest textiles and the tools they used in weaving and spinning to mark transitional stages of their life such as puberty, marriage, and childbirth. Most famously

evidence for the appearance of such dresses (**Fig 2.3**). On the medallion a veiled woman appears seated on a throne with a spindle in her hand. Another veiled woman approaches her from the right. The dresses and veils both women wear are decorated with square metal appliqués. The medallion is Urartian, but illustrates the continued popularity of such fashion in general in Anatolia in the late seventh and sixth centuries. Considering the fame of the Lydian gold, archaeologically attested through discoveries of gold refineries at Sardis, one can assume that this Lydian city was indeed the source of luxurious gold-woven garments produced in the seventh and sixth century.⁷⁹

With slight changes in the iconography, the fashion seems to have continued unabated during the Achaemenid period in Western Anatolia. A variety of gold foil appliqués, with Achaemenid motifs such as lamassu, winged figures, lotus flowers, bud chains, and rosettes occurred in several tombs in and around Sardis, all-dating from the Achaemenid period. A four rosette on golden appliqués also occurred in cremation burials in the Achaemenid levels of Gordion.⁸⁰ The shapes and sizes of some of these appliqués indicate that they were sewn onto garments along the hems and seams.⁸¹ Dusinger in her study of the mortuary evidence from Achaemenid Sardis shows that the designs on these gold appliqués are made by cut stones or metal stamps bearing the

known are the inventories of the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron with duplicates from the Athenian Akropolis. The lists of dedications for Artemis also survive from Miletos, a site very close to Ephesos and famous with its cult of Artemis Kithone (The chiton-wearer). For Brauron see Linders 1972; for Miletos see Günther 1988; for sources and general discussion see Cole 2004, 213-218.

⁷⁹ For the Lydian gold see most recently Ramage and Craddock 2000.

⁸⁰ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 166, Dusinger 2003, 146-154.

⁸¹ Dusinger 2003, 146-154.

images in intaglio, and thus share the same technique used for personal stamp seals.⁸² By pointing out a variety of stamp seals from Persepolis with similar Achaemenid motifs, and inscribed with names of people from different ethnicities, Dusinberre also posits the introduction of a new artistic *koine* which does not exclusively belong to a certain ethnic group.⁸³ Thus, the change in the iconography of the gold appliqués does not signify the ethnic identity of the owner/wearer, but his or her membership in the polyethnic elite of Achaemenid Western Anatolia.

Two other burials, one from the late fourth century Halicarnassos, the other from Roman Philadelphia in Western Anatolia further testify the continued fashion of gold woven or sewn textiles favored by the elite. In 1989, rescue excavations in the ancient city of Halicarnassos revealed a tomb chamber with a plain sarcophagus. The sarcophagus contained the skeletal remains of a woman in her 40s. The fabric of the dress in which she was buried had perished, but the “golden appliqués of a variety of shapes and designs including astragals, rosettes, myrtle flowers, triangles, hemispheres, and tubes”⁸⁴ survived. A selection of gold jewelry including two necklaces, three rings, stud earrings and a myrtle wreath also found in the sarcophagus even led some to speculate that the burial is that of Carian Queen Ada, sister-wife of Mausolos.⁸⁵ The other sarcophagus discovered at Philadelphia in Lydia, contained an assemblage of loose gold threads. As Greenewalt and Majewski rightly point out, the threads were possibly parts of

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Dusinberre 2003, 147.

⁸⁴ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 58. Also see Isager 1994.

⁸⁵ Isager 1994.

remnants of an *Attalicum veste*, the famed gold woven cloths of late antiquity, the origins of which lie in the elite dress fashion of the earlier Lydians.⁸⁶

Classical accounts mention not only Lydians and Phrygians, but also other Greek and non-Greek populations of Western Anatolia in the context of fine textiles and textile production. Herodotus (V.87-88) when explaining the origin of sleeved linen chitons adopted by Athenian women points to his homeland Caria (a region under the Lydian cultural/political influence in the seventh and early sixth centuries). As relatives of Athenians, Ionians living in Western Anatolia and their dress find frequent mention in the literary sources. The fine quality and delicate decorations of the Ionian dress are often associated with “effeminacy.” Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (159-167), for example, emphasizes (or mocks) the feminine quality of Ionian dress items worn by the poet Anacreon, who came to Athens at around 522 and lived there until 487.⁸⁷ Anacreon, in some of his surviving lines, mentions the items of Ionian dress, among them earrings, as part of the male costume, that must have been striking to many Athenians.⁸⁸ Indeed, modern scholars have labeled a group of late Archaic Athenian komastic vases decorated with male figures dressed in long chitons, (unlike the contemporary fashion for male dress in Athens, which consisted of a simple sleeveless short tunic) and usually with earrings and headdresses as “Anakreontic.” These figures on the Anakreontic vases are

⁸⁶ Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 136, 137, fig. 4.

⁸⁷ These dates are proposed by Miller 1999, 233.

⁸⁸ Anacreon in (fr 82 Gentili) attacks his Samian enemy “There was a time when he wore a berberion – that waslike covering (sakkos)- wooden pegs (?) in his ears, and a worn cowhide about his body.....Now he rides in a chariot wears golden earrings ...and carries an ivory parasol, like a woman.” Translation after DeVries 1973, 33. Miller also (1999, 234) discusses the same passage in the fragment.

either interpreted as cross-dressed transvestites or as Athenians wearing Ionian/Lyidian dress.⁸⁹

Several accounts name the Archaic Ionian city of Miletos as a center of luxurious textile production, and its harbor as famous for the textile export to the entire Mediterranean. The close relationship between Miletos and Sybaris, mentioned in Herodotus (VI.20), might have developed in the seventh century through a wool and linen trade between the two cities. This trade can also help explain the origin of the “Ionian fashion” which became popular in the Etruscan market in the early sixth century: the famed Phrygian wool woven on Milesian looms seems to have reached the Etruscan market through Sybaris.⁹⁰ The importance of fine clothes for the Milesians is further evidenced in the development of a unique cult to Artemis Kithone (Artemis the chiton-wearer) in the city. In her festival called *Neleis*, after *Neleus*, the legendary founder of the city, dancing Milesian girls (on display for an arranged marriage) are said to have dressed in fancy linen chitons.⁹¹ The cult is better known from the Hellenistic period, but the discovery of a fragment of an Archaic *perirrhanteion* inscribed for Artemis Kithone at Miletos confirms the existence of the cult as early as ca. 525.⁹²

⁸⁹ For “effeminate” looking Ionian/Lyidian dress see DeVries 1973, 33-34 and also Van Wees, 2005, 46; for transvestitism, cross-dressing in cult activities, and confusions in determining the gender on representations of elaborately dressed figures on Anakreon vases see Miller 1999, 11-12. Also see chapter 4 in this dissertation.

⁹⁰ See Bonfante 2003, 81 for the Ionian revolution in Etruscan dress.

⁹¹ Cole 2004, 224.

⁹² Based on the letter forms Günther (1988, 236-237, fig 2) dates the inscription somewhere between 525-500.

Another Greek city of Western Anatolia renowned for its textile industry and high quality wool is Laodikeia.⁹³ Both Cicero (*Letters to his Friends*, 2, 17. 4, and 3, 5. 4) and Strabo (*Geography*, 12, 8. 16) talk about the widespread trade and manufacture of wool, which brought fame and wealth to the city. According to the literary tradition, the city was found by Antiochos II in the third century, and was named after his wife Laodike.⁹⁴ Archaeological excavations, however, point to a continuous occupation since Bronze Age.⁹⁵ The importance of the textile industry in the early phases of the city and its vicinity is uncertain, but Vitruvius' mention of the raven colored sheep, specific to the region around Laodikeia, and the high quality soft wool produced from these sheep as well as the location of the city at the crossroads may imply an extensive textile production earlier than the third century, perhaps contemporary with Archaic Miletos. Indeed, Strabo, in his *Geography* (12, 8.16) implies a competition in textile industry and trade between Miletos and Laodikeia. Strabo finds the soft wool of the raven colored sheep of Laodikeia superior to that produced by the sheep of Miletos and so Laodikeians earned great income. Not surprisingly, the Turkish town of Denizli, where the ancient site of Laodikeia is located, is the heart of the modern textile industry in Turkey, Denizli textiles enjoy a worldwide fame.

⁹³ The ancient site of Laodikeia is located 3 km north of the modern town of Denizli. Dr. Celal Şimşek of Pamukkale University directs the excavations at the site. The website prepared by the excavation team, <http://www.pau.edu.tr/laodikeia/english> (July. 2010) provides detailed information about the ancient history of the site and the current state of excavations. Also see Şimşek 1999.

⁹⁵ Şimşek 1999, 2-4.

After the defeat of Lydian Kroisos by Persian Darius in 546, a new, “Achaemenid Age” starts in Anatolia. Despite the political changes the textile industry seems to have maintained its significance for the people of the region, who were ruled by satraps appointed by the King at Persepolis until the coming of the Alexander the Great in 336. The evidence for the textile production in the Achaemenid period can be best traced in the artistic representations of the subject Anatolians on the Apadana reliefs in Darius’ palace at Persepolis.

The monumental eastern stairway leading to the great audience Hall of Darius at Apadana bears processional reliefs on its facades. The sculptural program, designed and executed between 522 and 465, during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes,⁹⁶ shows the enthroned Persian king in two central panels on each side accepting his subjects and their gifts for the New Year’s celebration, an actual ceremony that took place in the Hall to which the staircase leads. Two main processional groups approach the king. On wing A, the Persian elite in varying court costumes, possibly signifying their roles and status, move toward the king in a more or less relaxed manner in anticipation of the start of the New Year’s ceremony. On Wing B, the twenty-three groups of delegations, each representing a different subject ethnicity of the empire and each led by Persian officials, and each holding a variety of tributes approach the king from both the eastern and northern facades. The costumes the delegates wear and the gifts they bear signify their specific nation and are emblematic of the contribution of the region to the economy of the Persian Empire. The gifts include exotic animals, food, specific weapons, jewelry,

⁹⁶ These dates are proposed by Root (2007, 177). Based on the inscribed tablets found in the foundation deposit of the staircase, she also proposes the year 515 for the laying out of the foundation for the staircase.

precious vases, and textiles. The lack of inscription causes problems in identification of each group, but at least five of the twenty-three groups are Anatolian in origin for certain. Interestingly four of the five; Group III- Armenians (**Fig 2.4**); Group VIII- Cilicians (**Fig 2.5**); Group IX- Cappodocians (**Fig 2.6**), and Group XII- Ionians and Lydians (**Fig 2.7**) offer the king a variety of textiles as tributes, indicating the high status the textile industry in Anatolia. Three of the delegates representing the Armenians of eastern Anatolia carry the items of dress, which they appear to be wearing: a tunic, an overcoat, and trousers (**Fig 2.4**).⁹⁷ Of the Cilician group from southern Anatolia, on both facades, two men carry a long piece of textile, possibly a *kilim*, a famous rug made of felted ram wool still famous in the region, and two men carry animal skins. Four other Cilician delegates lead a herd of rams, the source of the wool of the former gifts, the *kilim* and animal skins (**Fig 2.5**).⁹⁸ Like the Armenian group, six of the Cappadocian delegates hold in their hands the items of dress they themselves are wearing: a tunic, an overcoat and trousers (**Fig 2.6**).⁹⁹ The similar items of dress: tunic, overcoat, and also a three-knobbed headdress (*bashlyk*) with muffler flaps worn both by Armenian and Cappadocian delegates indicate the popularity of this costume ensemble in these neighboring nations. The fact that both groups consider this costume as worth presenting to the mighty king further implies the importance of the production of these garments in these regions.

Since this study's focus is specifically on the Western Anatolia, Apadana Group XII with Ionians and Lydians is perhaps the most important for an investigation of the

⁹⁷ Schmidt 1955, Pl. 29.

⁹⁸ Schmidt 1955, Pl. 34.

⁹⁹ Schmidt 1955, Pl. 35.

textile industry (**Fig 2.7**).¹⁰⁰ The total of sixteen figures, led by two Persian officials, on both northern and eastern façades appear in a solemn procession. On the east façade, two of the gift-bearers hold balls of wool in their hands; the following two hold folded textiles; while the other three in front of them hold metal vessels, containing precious dyes according to some scholars.¹⁰¹ Each figure wears a short-sleeved long tunic (chiton) possibly of linen (the fine texture is indicated by closely packed lines of crinkles) and a scarf (himation) with tassels at the corners, draped over one shoulder and boots with slightly upturned toes. The tassels sticking out from one of the two folded cloths indicate that these textiles are the representations of the two-piece garment the figures are wearing, a himation with tassels and a short-sleeved long chiton (**Fig 2.7a**).¹⁰² The members of the Ionian and Lydian group on the north façade carry similar gifts to those of the group on the east: vases, folded garments, and balls, but with slight variations in detail. The lack of thick wavy lines on the balls of the north façade may imply that they are not of wool, but of thinner spun linen threads.¹⁰³ Also slightly different is the dress of the figures. Over

¹⁰⁰ Schmidt initially identified this group as Greeks (Yauna) of the Persian empire, but the almost identical (except the headdress) costumes worn by the Lydians of Group VI, and the fact that both Greeks and Lydians were culturally intermingled and ruled from one satrapy at Sardis makes it possible that both are present in the Group XII. Indeed Dutz and Matheson (1997, 54) identify the group as Ionian and Lydian. Root (2007, 178) accepts the ambiguities, but identifies the group as Greeks and their colonies, not including the Lydians. She provides (2007, 212-10n) a summary of all different scholarly identifications.

¹⁰¹ Dutz and Matheson 1997, 54.

¹⁰² Root 2007, 188, also noted this.

¹⁰³ The difference between the balls of the north and eastern facades can also be explained by the fact that the solid sphere (without wavy lines) balls of the north are simply unfinished. Yet, this would be the only “unfinished” portion of the relief, of which the details are carefully carved. Root (2007, 193-210) proposes several different possible

their thin chiton the figures appear to wear a himation without tassels but with decorated borders, draped over on both shoulders. Again, the two-piece dress northern delegates wear is possibly identical to the folded cloths they are bringing as gifts to the king. Root, in her iconographic study of Group XII, notes that while all other subject delegates, who bring loom-made garments and textiles as tributes on Apadana relief bear the clothes openly in a presentation mode, Group XII's textiles are folded.¹⁰⁴ She links this difference in the presentation manner of Group XII with the Achaemenid perception of these textiles simply as commodities rather than display objects, a notion which emphasizes the total Greek submission.¹⁰⁵ Yet, the “folded” appearance of the specific garments might also be an implication of their fine linen fabric, best stored folded. Indeed, a fresco fragment from Harta Tomb in Lydia shows a processional scene with a figure bearing white folded textiles in his hand in the manner of the Apadana bearers (**Fig 2.8**).

Though the style of the Harta figure points to an earlier period, radiocarbon dating places the tomb in the late fifth century.¹⁰⁶ As an indigenous representational source, the folded textile bearer at Harta testifies to the continued production of high quality linen garments worthy of royals in Lydia.

identifications for the balls of northern façade. Her possibilities include: “unfinished” representations of balls of wool, ostrich eggs or cakes, votive or cultic orbs, balls for games, sling shots and hurling stones, and beehives. She carefully shows that all possibilities have some sort of associations with Ionians (and Lydians) of the Western Asia Minor. In every possibility, she shows that the gifts would have been perceived as effeminate to a male Athenian looking at the Apadana reliefs.

¹⁰⁴ Root 2007, 189-192. She points out that the folded cloths are almost absent in Near Eastern iconography while they do appear only in the women sphere in Greek iconography, famously known from the Locrian plaques.

¹⁰⁶ Root 2007, 214- note 36.

This detailed investigation of the Apadana reliefs clearly demonstrates that one of the major economic contributions of the Western Anatolians to the economy of the Persian Empire was the textile industry, with cloths made of high quality wool and fine linen.

In sum, the analysis of literary, material, and artistic evidence reveals several different aspects of the Anatolian textile industry in antiquity. The industry seems to have specialized especially in the production of various dyes (including the “royal” purple), high quality fabrics, and the production of gold-woven luxurious cloths. Evidence from Troy, from Gordion and also Zincirli indicates elite/royal investment in the textile industry, and even the possible use of high quality textiles as a medium of exchange.

Fabrics and Patterns

Two main fabrics, wool and linen seem to have been used for the manufacture of a variety of clothes in Western Anatolia. Though there is no direct evidence, mohair made from the silky hair of the Angora goat, from ancient Angora in Phrygia, could have been another fabric manufactured exclusively in ancient Anatolia. Felt, due to its tough and waterproof quality, was reserved for the making of headdresses, floor coverings, belts and shoes.

Though the material evidence is lacking, the different textures of various fabrics can be detected in Western Anatolian art as early as the seventh century. The fine linen tunics are depicted with closely packed pleats and without any appliquéd or embroidered decoration, since unlike wool, linen cannot be easily woven into decorative bands. The

heavier woolen tunics, on the other hand, appear without pleats and with a variety of decorative bands. The comparison of the tunics worn by two of the late seventh century ivory figurines, Antalya C and Antalya D discovered from Bayındır D at Elmalı, clearly illustrate the actual appearance of wool and linen textures (**Figs 4.1- 4.7**).

Artistic representations reveal three major features of the Western Anatolian dress, that continuously occur from seventh to fourth century: the decorated borders at the hems, seams or collars, decorative appliqués of precious material, and fringes and tassels at the hem or at the corners. Woven decorative bands are also typical of Greek, Etruscan, and Near Eastern dress, but the precious metal appliqués sewn into garments are typically Anatolian, the fashion's origin going back to the royal dress of the Hittites.¹⁰⁷ A great example is the seventh century Toprakkale medallion (**Fig 2.3**). The fashion seems to have been used to signify a high social status and thus reserved for the elite.

Originally a Mesopotamian fashion, fringes, loose threads at the edges of a certain length of cloth reshaped in the production process of a garment and used especially at the hem for decorative purposes, appear both as part of female and male dress.¹⁰⁸ Zincirli woman and her scribe on the eight-century Neo-Hittite relief wear tunics with fringes (**Fig 2.1**). Fringes appear at the hem of the Neo-Hittite king Melid's tunic on a monumental sculpture of the late eight century and Antalya D, an ivory figurine of a mother, from the late seventh century wears a tunic with fringes at the hem (**Fig 4.1**).

¹⁰⁷ Goetze (1955, 55) translates the Hittite word *Tugguea* in the cuneiform tablets from the royal palace as, "Hurrian shirt" embroidered or trimmed with gold borders.

¹⁰⁸ For fringes in the production process of a cloth see Bonfante 2003, 15.

Ionians and Lydians who appear wearing tasseled himations on the fifth century Apadana reliefs and the fourth century inventory lists from Heraion of Samos, which mention Lydian chitons with fringes, indicate that the fashion continued into the fourth century.¹⁰⁹

Democritus of Ephesos describes an Anatolian dress of a sixth century as follows: “the garments of the Ionians are violet-red, and crimson, and yellow, woven into lozenge pattern; at the top borders are marked at equal intervals with figured patterns.”¹¹⁰ The artistic representations indeed show that lozenges are among the most common motifs used in the embroidered or appliquéd decoration in seventh and sixth century Western Anatolian dress (**fig 9**). Also popular are meanders, double hooks, and spiral armed crosses.¹¹¹ In the sixth century, new motifs such as rosettes, bud chains, lotus flowers, and animal figures demonstrate that Achaemenid influence increasingly enters into the Anatolian repertoire.¹¹²

Though the artistic evidence for the early periods is lacking, patterns with human and animal figures are also favored, especially in Ionia. From Homer to Pliny literary sources describe legendary women all around the Aegean, such as Helen of Troy, Arakhne, and Penelope weaving mythological stories into the cloth they are looming.

¹⁰⁹ See Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 136 for the Samian inventory lists.

¹¹⁰ Bonfante 2003, 14 quotes from Athenaeus Deipn. XII. 525 c-d, who also quotes from the book by Democritus of Ephesos on the Temple of Ephesos.

¹¹¹ See Megabyzos, fig. 4.10; Spinner, fig. 4.12; and Antalya C, fig. 4.4 in this dissertation.

¹¹² Özgen and Öztürk (1996, 166) notes this change in the motifs of golden appliqués in the Achaemenid period.

Dresses with figural bands also appear in the Greek vase painting.¹¹³ Perhaps, the only first-hand evidence comes from Pantikapaion, a Milesian colony founded on the northern coast of the Black Sea in the seventh century. The cold climate of the region enabled the good preservation of the textiles in the Kurgan burials until their discovery in the 19th century. A large woolen cloth used to cover a wooden sarcophagus in Kurgan 6, consists at least a dozen of friezes with mythological, animal, floral, and geometric figures.¹¹⁴ The burial dates to the early fourth century, but the carefully mended cloth might have been manufactured much earlier. The cloth is likely of local production,¹¹⁵ but alludes to the Milesian textiles with figural bands as mentioned by Democritus.

The figural representations from Anatolia also hint at the tailoring techniques in general. The construction of the clothes implies a Western Anatolian preference for clearly sized and shaped to fit sleeved tunics rather than loose large rectangles of woven fabrics shaped with pins and by folding such as the Greek peplos. Fibulae and belts are also used extensively, but not with the primary function of shaping a large piece of cloth into a fitted garment.

¹¹³ One of the goddesses attending Peleus and Thetis's wedding on the Francois vase for example wears a peplos with figural bands, possibly depicting a mythological story. (Barber 364, fig. 16.3)

¹¹⁴ Barber 1994, 206-207, fig. 7.11.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

Chapter 3

Popular Dress Items and Their Social Significance in Anatolia

This chapter investigates the most popular dress items in Anatolia as detected in the art and archaeology of the region from seventh to fourth centuries. The origins of each dress item, its social significance, and its occurrence in Greek iconography are also discussed. Headdresses constitute the great majority. Belts are the only articles of costume that have survived not only in representations, but in entirety. Some dress items such as the polos, veil, kandys, and sleeved tunics originate in Bronze Age Anatolia, while others such as bashlyk and pants were introduced through the Achaemenid influence. The examination reveals two major fashions for both genders: ankle-length belted sleeved tunics with long veils (usually polos-veils) seem to be the most popular among Anatolian women, while the combination of knee-length sleeved tunics, pants, bashlyk and sometimes kandys becomes popular among Anatolian men, especially after the Achaemenid takeover. The former fashion for women can be associated with Anatolian Kybele and the great impact of her cult in and around Anatolia. The pants-kandys-bashlyk fashion on the other hand implies the wearers' association with the Persian army and Persian nobility.

3.1 Headdresses

a) Polos

A cylindrical headdress without a brim, the polos, is one of the most popular headdresses worn continuously by Anatolians throughout the ages. The early occurrence

goes back to the representational art of the Bronze Age. The Hittite goddesses on the 14th century reliefs at Yazılıkaya, for example, wear a high-polos.¹¹⁶ Later depictions of the polos, worn both by men and women, survive in hundreds of images from Archaic to Roman times on a variety of monuments ranging from sculpture to mosaics. The headdress is still in use today as part of a ceremonial dress, especially in nuptial contexts, in the villages of central Anatolia.¹¹⁷

As is the case today the polos in antiquity must have been made usually of felt or leather or in some cases, of woven plant tendrils. Representations indicate variations in size and decoration. The height of a polos could be just a few centimeters, or it could assume considerable proportions, as in the headdress of Kybele (**Fig 3.1a.1**). The floral or geometric patterns on some indicate that the original poloi were embroidered or decorated with appliqués.

An early example of a polos with embroidered or appliqué decoration appears on the head of Kubaba from the Long Wall reliefs of late tenth century Carchemish (**Fig 3.1a.2**). The polos, the goddess wears underneath her long veil, projects upon an enclosed band, from which the goddesses' horn extends at the forehead. Almost three centuries later a similar polos appears on the wooden statuette presumably of Hera from Samos, an Aegean island with close cultural ties to Archaic Anatolia (**Fig 3.1a.3**).¹¹⁸ Since the Samian *xoanon*, the cult image after which the statuette is presumably modeled, was

¹¹⁶ See Akurgal 1962, fig 77.

¹¹⁷ Especially as part of the bridal costume, see Özder 1999, fig 75-A.

¹¹⁸ Discovered in 1961 in German excavations of the Heraion II, the wooden statuette was dated to around 640. It is assumed that the miniature statuette is based on the original *xoanon* kept inside the temple, see Kyrieleis 1980 and also Ridgway 1993, 28-29.

dressed with real clothing and jewelry, this polos almost certainly reflects an actual ceremonial polos worn by the cult image.¹¹⁹ The tall headdress makes up almost one fourth of the height of the statuette (which is 28 cm). Like the Carchemish polos, the long body of the Samian polos, which sits on an enclosed cap, is decorated with squares containing floral designs and is open at the back.¹²⁰ Though this configuration is unique in the Anatolian repertoire, representations of similar poloi, hollow or open at the back, survive in seventh century Crete.¹²¹ Since it is open at the back, Ridgway calls the Samian headdress a “mitra” rather than a polos and she considers this arrangement of the headdress as indicative of perishable or removable precious material.¹²² The meaning of the Greek word “mitra,” however, is problematic. It was used to refer to various shapes of clothes worn over different parts of the body by either sex in antiquity.¹²³ The shield-like tall appearance of the Samian headdress may signify the role of the goddess as the protector of the citadel and indeed, in some cases the Samian headdress is also called *pyleon* (gate tower).¹²⁴ O’Brien further suggests that the curved shape of Samian Hera’s polos is indicative of her role as the goddess of cyclic fertility, a role she shared with other fertility goddesses of Archaic Western Anatolia, especially Artemis, Aphrodite and

¹¹⁹ Ridgway (1993, 28-29) points out that the early date of the wooden statuette, 640, assures its original prototype as a wooden xoanon, not a stone sculpture, since stone carving was at its earliest stage in the mid seventh century.

¹²¹ Kyrieleis 1980. 99 n. 51-53. Also a female figure on a mid seventh century relief amphora from Melos clearly wear a visor like polos rising only on the front of the head. Broneer 1971, 31, Pl 83c.

¹²² Ridgway 1990, 27.

¹²³ Hurschmann 2000, 292-293.

¹²⁴ Hampe and Simon 1981, 230.

Kybele who also often appear with a polos.¹²⁵ O'Brien further illustrates the Anatolian origin of the early cult at Samos and thus implies possible Anatolian influence in her costume.¹²⁶

Another variation of the polos is the one that consists of spiral bands on top of each other. One spectacular example of this type is the polos worn by Boğazköy Kybele from a sculptural group of the goddess with two musicians discovered from a niche at the city gate of the early sixth century Boğazköy (**Fig 3.1a.1**). The goddess' tall polos is decorated with vertically arranged leaves just above the forehead. From the leafed decoration, which almost looks like rays of a halo, a series of spiral bands emerge.¹²⁷ She appears as if carrying a basket or a large honey comb above her head. It is hard to determine whether her headdress reflects a real one or is an artistic convention. A shorter, but similarly formed polos on the so-called Spinner, an ivory figurine perhaps of a priestess from Archaic Ephesos, makes it likely that the polos decorated or formed with spiral coils of fabric or perhaps of woven plant tendrils was a real ceremonial dress item (**Fig 4.11**). Interestingly, Alkman mentions (frag. 60 P) the cult statue of Hera of Sparta as dressed with a tall polos woven from grass and wine tendrils. Different from the

¹²⁵ O'Brien 1993, 33-34. Fleischer (1973, 215-216) shows the similarity of the cults and iconography of these three goddesses in Archaic Anatolia and calls them as 'Anatolian sisters', all related to fertility.

¹²⁶ O'Brien 1993, 28.

¹²⁷ The sixth century limestone head of possibly Kubaba from Salmanköy (in Anatolian Civilization Museum) wears a very similar polos with leafed decoration above the forehead. Salmanköy goddess' polos also has a flower band very similar to that of Carchemish Kubaba.

Boğazköy Kybele, the Ephesian Spinner's polos has circular knob designs, possibly imitating appliqué decoration.

Typically Anatolian is the flat-topped polos worn underneath a long veil as in the case of Kubaba from the Long Wall of Carchemish. The fashion is exclusive to female costume and is usually an attribute of the goddess Kybele and her female cult attendants. In most cases, the polos-veil on top of the head is secured with a fillet or a band. This band could be plain as the one worn by Antalya C 'mother' (**Fig 4.1**) or decorated with flower or geometric designs as in the cases of the Salmanköy (**Fig 3.1a.4**) head or the Etlik Kybele (**Fig 3.1a.5**).¹²⁸ Some of the Archaic korai and seated stone sculpture from Western Asia Minor and Samos may have also been depicted as wearing a polos-veil, but the heads of the most of these sculptures are missing. For example, both the Cheramyes Kore of Samos and her two sisters wear the long veil, but in the absence of their heads, it is impossible to tell whether or not their veils were combined with a polos.¹²⁹

Although it usually appears as part of female costume, male figures in Archaic Anatolia also wear the polos, possibly as a sign of their priestly status in the cult of an Anatolian fertility goddess. Antalya A, the early sixth century silver figurine of a priest from Elmalı, wears a high polos with a bulbous top (**Fig 4.5**). The walls of the polos are decorated with incised dotted, diamond, and zigzag patterns in three horizontal bands. Antalya B, an ivory figurine of a priest, discovered in the same tomb as Antalya A (**Fig**

¹²⁸ The geometric band of the Etlik Kybele might actually a design on the polos, rather than being a separate band.

¹²⁹ Ridgway 1993, 133. She thinks that the veils of the Samian sisters may have been combined with a polos or a stephane (decorative hair band). For the Cheramyes korai also see Karakasi 2003, 28-30.

4.6) and the typologically related ivory Megabyzos (eunuch priest) from Archaic Ephesos also wear poloi, but without any decoration (**Fig 4.10**). Based on the very existence of the polos, which appears in the same manner (without a veil) on a clearly female figurine from Ephesos, in a recent study Işık argues a “female” identity for all of the three figurines: Antalya A, B, and Megabyzos.¹³⁰ Yet, the obvious lack of breasts in such stylistically advanced forms of sculpture as Antalya A, B, and the Ephesian Megabyzos indicates that they were intended to represent male figures.¹³¹

Fewer examples of poloi representations are known from fifth and fourth century Anatolia, and in these later examples the headdress usually appears with a veil as part of a goddess’ costume. Fleischer’s thorough examination of the imperial coins from Western Anatolia shows that the polos-veil is the essential common dress item used in the representations of Hera of Samos, Ephesian Artemis, the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias and several other Anatolian goddesses. Fleischer considers this fashion a continuation from the old tradition of Archaic Anatolian cult images of a fertility goddess, which he names Ephesia.¹³²

The appearance of the polos-veil depicted on the goddesses on these imperial coins might further indicate that the headdress has become a traditional costume for not only the representations of a variety of fertility goddesses, but also for their devotees. Perhaps, the most famous of all these goddesses is the Ephesian Artemis, several of

¹³⁰ Işık 2000, 3-7. Also see Bammer 1985 in general for re-identification of all Ephesian ivories as representation of a goddess after the discovery of the so-called Ephesos D.

¹³¹ See chapter 4 for a detailed discussion.

¹³² Fleischer 1973; also see Mellink 1975, 107-108.

whose monumental sculptures from Hellenistic and Roman periods also survive. On these later sculptures her high polos and veil appear decorated in a variety of ways: with figural imagery in superimposed registers, as a mural crown, or simply as plain spiral coils (**Figs. 3.1a.6-7**).

Perhaps less so than in Asia Minor, but the polos was also a popular headdress in mainland Greece throughout the ages. The depictions of the headdress survive on a variety of monuments from the Late Geometric period to Roman times, and are exclusive to female representations or to sphinxes. For its early depictions, the island of Crete is especially important. Both the bronze cult statues of Leto and Artemis of the late eighth century from the one-room shrine at Dreros¹³³ and the seated goddesses on the limestone lintel of the Temple A at Prinias wear a polos. The “Oriental’ or ‘North Syrian’ influence in both the religious and social practices and related imagery in Early Archaic Crete are well attested in the archaeological record.¹³⁴ Considering the earlier popularity of the polos in Anatolia, however, an Anatolian origin for the polos fashion in Crete seems likely. It is hard to determine, though, whether this fashion was practiced in real life or was an artistic/iconographic convention, which entered Greek art during the Orientalizing period.

Other early examples of the polos appear on the Late Geometric ivory figurines discovered at the Dipylon Cemetery in Athens and also those found at the Sanctuary of

¹³³ Along with another bronze statuette of Apollo, this family trio of Leto-Artemis-Apollo is perhaps the earliest known cult statues of the Greek world. Made with Sphyrelaton (hammered bronze on wood) technique, the group was found on a table inside the temple, see Coldstream 2003, 281-284.

¹³⁴ Morris 1993, 162-166.

Poseidon at Isthmia. Dating from 730, the largest of the Dipylon ivories, a nude female figurine, wears a polos depicted with meander design in relief, which is often used to identify the figurine as a Greek version of a Near Eastern goddess (**Fig 3.1a.8**).¹³⁵ The fragmentary Isthmia ivory figurine of the early sixth century also wears a flat-topped polos with geometric decoration on the walls. The superimposed bands decorated with alternating circles and knobs on her polos are similar to those decorating that of the Ephesian Spinner.¹³⁶

Of the Archaic korai of mainland Greece, the polos appears on five well-known Attic examples of the sixth century. Three of these korai, Akropolis 654, Akropolis 696 and the Lyons Kore (**Fig. 3.1a.9**) are from the Athenian Akropolis; the other two, the Phrasikleia Kore (**Fig. 3.1a.10**), and the Berlin Kore (**Fig. 3.1a.11**) are from elsewhere in Attica. Ridgway, in her examination of the Akropolis group suggests that Akropolis 654 could be a sphinx not a kore; and Akropolis 696 and the Lyons Kore could actually have been Archaic karyatids, their poloi serving an architectural function.¹³⁷ Based on this interpretation she considers the polos as a divine attribute or an element signifying something “outside the human sphere.”¹³⁸ She then points out that the crown-like polos worn by Phrasikleia and the polos of Berlin Kore do not contradict her suggestion since

¹³⁵ The museum tag identifies the figurines as a goddess and assigns a Near Eastern artist for it.

¹³⁶ Broneer 1971, 61-63, fig 2B.

¹³⁷ Ridgway 1993, 145-147, also Ridgway 1990, 601-602. Other well-known examples of Archaic karyatids come from the Siphnian and Knidian Treasuries in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. The high poloi of the karyatids are unique in that they are the only examples of Archaic poloi decorated with figural scenes.

¹³⁸ Ridgway 1993, 146.

both figures belong to heroized funerary contexts. Ridgway's theory might be true for the mainland Greece, but as I shall discuss in detail below, the meaning of the polos in Archaic Anatolia was not limited to beings "outside of the human sphere."

Another example of a polos on monumental sculpture of Archaic mainland Greece is on the colossal limestone head from Olympia (**Fig. 3.1a.12**). The head, of around 580, is initially identified as the head of the presumably acrolithic cult statue of Hera once worshipped inside her temple along with the cult statue of Zeus. Recent discussions, however, identify the head as a sphinx, which formed the akroterion of another Archaic building.¹³⁹ The short polos she wears rises above an incised cap or possibly a veil with bordered edges. The polos, decorated with vertical leaf designs, much like the poloi of the Boğazköy Kybele and Salmanköy Head from Anatolia, appears almost like a crown. Indeed, Ridgway suggests that leafy crowns were imported from Anatolia and associated with fertility in Greece and might have become an attribute of Hera, the goddess of marriage, and thus of brides.¹⁴⁰

By the fifth century the polos becomes a common attribute of female goddesses in Greece. Representations, especially in vase painting and terracotta figurines, indicate that the headdress is often associated with Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, and Persephone.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Sinn 1984, 77-87 and also Ridgway 1990, 592, note 32. Ridgway accepts the possibility that the head is of a sphinx, but doubts its function as an akroterion. Indeed, the fact that the head is colossal casts doubt on its deviation from an akroterion.

¹⁴⁰ Ridgway 1990, 608.

¹⁴¹ Later in the Hellenistic period Tyche is also represented with a high polos.

The Meaning of the Polos

Müller in his investigation of the representations of polos in antiquity suggests that the headdress was not a quotidian dress item.¹⁴² As already mentioned above, Ridgway, in her examination of the few Attic korai with a polos, reaches a similar conclusion, that the polos is a divine attribute. Indeed, the headdress is most familiar as a common dress item worn by divinities. Archaic representations from Anatolia, however, indicate that the polos was also worn by human beings, especially by cult devotees of both genders. Already in the tenth century the representations of the offering bearer priestesses of Kubaba on the Carchemish reliefs, appear dressed similarly to Kubaba whom they approach (**Fig 4.14**).¹⁴³ Compared to that of the enthroned Kubaba, the poloi, they wear underneath their veils are less fancy, but follow the same fashion. As I will argue below, the Archaic figurines with poloi such as in Antalya A, B, and Ephesian Megabyzos represent priests, perhaps eunuchs, in the sphere of Artemis Ephesia. The priests and priestesses themselves could have been mimicking the dress of the goddess, but the headdress nevertheless was apparently worn in real-life and had a ceremonial function marking the status of its wearer.

It should also be noted that, no matter if the wearer is a divinity or its devotee, the polos appears in cultic spheres related to fertility. All the goddesses represented with the polos, Kybele, Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Kore, Helen, had fertility cults, lending credence to O'Brien's association of the circular shape of the polos with the cyclic fertility in the Archaic period, especially in the case of Archaic cult of Hera at Samos. Yet there is no

¹⁴² Müller 1915, 81-84. Also see, Ridgway 1993, 173- n 4.65.

¹⁴³ For Carchemish reliefs see Vieyra 1955; Ussishkin 1967; Özyar 1991.

way of determining the different levels of meanings associated with differently decorated poloi in various contexts. For contemporary Greeks and Anatolians, however, such meanings would have been perfectly understandable.

b) Griffin Crown

This special headdress can be related to the polos in its ‘ceremonial’ function. A fragmentary fresco from the so-called Painted House of the sixth century Gordion provides the only known representation of the headdress in Anatolia. In the fragmentarily preserved fresco some of the figures in a processional scene wear the headdress, which is formed of a band decorated with circular knob designs and spiky protrusions ending in griffin protomai (**Fig 3.1b.1**).¹⁴⁴ The closest parallel to this type of headdress is the helmet of Athena, on a fragmentary Panathenaic amphora from Athens (**Fig 3.1b.2**), where from the circlet band of the goddess’ crested helmet flower buds and a griffin protome protrude. Ridgway suggests that some of the Archaic korai from the Akropolis might have originally worn similar metal helmets, identifying them as the goddess Athena. Her careful examination of the head of the so-called Antenor’s Kore, indeed, proves that the kore was actually a representation of Athena wearing a crested helmet with protomai. The remains of an actual gold circlet band with a griffin protome discovered in a tomb in Kelermes in South Russia indicate that the headdress was not an artistic convention exclusive to divine representations, but worn in real life.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Mellink 1980, 91-94.

¹⁴⁵ Boardman 1980, 261, fig. 305.

The very existence of the griffins, possibly with apotropaic function, implies the eastern origin of such headdresses. The tradition of elaborate headdresses with protomai, however, goes back to Minoan Crete in the Bronze Age. The famous Snake Goddess from the Knossos palace of the 17th century, for example, wears a headdress, topped off by a bird protome (**Fig 3.1b.3**). Indeed, Ridgway traces the chronological continuity of the headdresses with protomai through the well-known terracotta idols from Crete,¹⁴⁶ a good number of them with raised hands and found at various sites in Crete, including Karphi, Gazi and Khania. Most of these idols, ranging from 14th to 9th century in date, wear headdresses with bird protomai (**Fig 3.1b.4**).

Regarding the griffin crown from Gordion, though the fresco is fragmentary, the dark color indicates that the headdress is of metal, possibly of bronze just like the Orientalizing cauldrons with griffin protomai known from Greek sanctuaries.¹⁴⁷ The gender of the wearer is uncertain. The function of the room in which the processional scene with griffin crowns takes place is unknown, but its subterranean location might indicate that it was a small shrine.¹⁴⁸ This possible cultic function of the room again reinforces the ceremonial nature of the headdress possibly worn by priests and priestesses.

¹⁴⁶ Ridgway 1990, 604-606. Also, for Karphi idols also see Stewart 1990, 103.

¹⁴⁷ The earliest examples appear on Assyrian reliefs of the ninth century, dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.

¹⁴⁸ Mellink 1980, 97-99.

c) Veil and Veiling

Any type of mantle/cloth, plain or combined with other accessories, represented as covering the head of a female figure will be considered in the veil category. The artistic evidence from Anatolia indicates that the veiling of women was a common practice. A statistical comparison of the veiled korai representations from Attica and from Western Anatolia and Samos clearly show that the veil was a distinct Anatolian fashion. 21 of 33 surviving korai from Samos; 4 of 9 surviving korai from Didyma; and 6 of 16 surviving Milesian korai wear veils, while among Attic korai there is no evidence for veil.¹⁴⁹ This statistical pattern does not change after the Archaic period. Thus, among hundreds of Classical and Hellenistic grave reliefs from Asia Minor, only 15 of the female representations are unveiled.¹⁵⁰

The early occurrence of the veil in the representational art of Anatolia goes back to the Bronze Age.¹⁵¹ A relief on a 17th century Hittite amphora sherd, the so-called Bitik Vase, features a seated veiled woman next to a seated man (**Fig. 3.1c.1**). The woman's veil appears to be part of a one-piece long yellow dress, which reveals only her face and the feet. Because the man reaches his hand towards the woman's veil, the scene is usually identified as the culmination of a marriage ceremony, when groom unveils the bride.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Karakasi 2003, Table 11, Table 12.

¹⁵⁰ Llewellyn- Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 11.

¹⁵¹ Only known example of a veil representation from Greece in the Bronze Age comes from a Minoan fresco with a veiled figure from Santorini, see Llewellyn-Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 44.

¹⁵² For the Bitik vase see Özgüç 1957, 57-78. For the interpretation of the scene as unveiling of the bride see Johnston, 2004, 444.

The Inandik vase, another relief amphora from a Hittite cult center near Boğazköy, also displays two veiled figures in a procession presented in three superimposed registers. The two figures are veiled just like the so-called Bitik bride.¹⁵³ The continuity of the female veiling practice in Anatolia from Bronze Age to Iron Age can easily be traced in the representations of female figures on Neo-Hittite reliefs, on which females appear veiled in a variety of styles, as in the polos-veils of Kubaba and her offering bearer priestesses from Carchemish of the tenth century. The imagery of Phrygian Kybele with the polos-veil as seen in the example of the Etlik Kybele proves the continuity of the fashion into the sixth century (**Fig. 3.1a.5**). Indeed, Ridgway by pointing out the close interaction between Greeks and Anatolians in the Early Archaic period, suggests a Phrygian origin for the veils covering the heads of the East Greek korai.¹⁵⁴

The evidence from the Archaic sculpture of Anatolia indicates a variety in veil and veiling styles. The veil types include those worn with a polos, the polos-veil; veils worn with a headband, the stephane-veil; and those worn with a plain or decorated bonnet underneath, the bonnet-veil. The way the veil is draped around the body in artistic representations shows two major variations; a tight-fitting veil falling straight from the head at the back, best exemplified by early Samian korai, hereafter referred as the Samian-style, and the veil loosely draped around the shoulders forming two ‘lappets’ around the neck, hereafter referred to as the lappet-style.

The polos-veil, previously discussed under the polos section is best exemplified by Etlik Kybele (**Fig 3.1a.5**) and Gordion Kybele (**Fig 4.9**). It contains the long veil

¹⁵³ For the Inandik vase, see Temizer, 1979, 37.

¹⁵⁴ Ridgway 1993, 133, n. 4.26.

combined with a polos (high or short, decorated or plain) which falls down over the back while its one edge, usually the left side, is brought to the front and tucked into a large belt. In sculptural representations, this frontal part of the veil on the left side of the lower body is often rendered with oblique or curving wavy lines leading to the waist and is distinguished from the vertically indicated folds of the dress underneath.

Some of the korai from Miletos, Samos, and Smyrna wear a ribbon or a headband/stephane over their veil (**Fig 3.1c.2**). Modeled in marble, such bands sometimes carry engraved or painted patterns. A good example of this type of veil is the head discovered from the Archaic Temple of Athena at Old Smyrna (**Fig. 3.1c.3**). The kore wears a tightly fitting (Samian-style) veil over her head. The veil covers the clearly rendered ears. The stephane with painted meander designs in black still preserves its lively red color. Designs and colors on such stephanai around the head could have marked the status of the wearer, such as her priestly rank.¹⁵⁵

The bonnet-veil, the long veil worn over a decorated or plain bonnet-like cap occurs on several representations in a variety of media. The bonnet, known as the *sakkos* in the Greek world, is probably an item of daily headwear for women and could be combined with a long veil when outdoors. Like the polos-veil, the early occurrence of this type goes back to the ninth century, to the Neo-Hittite art of Anatolia. The Zincirli woman, on a Neo-Hittite funerary relief, wears her long veil with fringed corners over a bonnet, which is decorated with flower designs (**Fig 2.1**). With its fringed edges, the long bonnet-veil of Antalya D, an early sixth century ivory figurine from Elmalı looks very

¹⁵⁵ Ridgway 1993, 137-138.

similar to that of Zincirli woman, but her bonnet is plainer with only two horizontal incisions just above the forehead (**Fig 4.7**).

Of the 28 female figures on the magnificent late sixth century Polyxena Sarcophagus from Gümüşçay, 11 wear a bonnet-veil and 5 wear the bonnet alone without a veil over it (**Fig. 3.1c.4**).¹⁵⁶ Most of the figures with the bonnet-veil come from Side C and Side D, where a nuptial procession is taking place in a peaceful manner. On these two sides, except for two girls on either side of the enthroned bride, the figures without a bonnet or bonnet-veil are either musicians or the dancers. On Side A, where fervently mourning Trojan women watch the sacrifice of Polyxena over the tomb of Achilles, none of the figures, with one exception, is veiled. These unveiled women tearing their hair and their clothes not only heighten the drama of the sacrifice scene, but also their frenzy. The contexts in which the veiled and unveiled women appear on different sides of the sarcophagus might then imply the possible function of the veil as the appropriate outwear for a modest woman, at ‘normal’ or ‘secure’ times.

A fifth century fragmentary fresco from Kalehöyük at Gordion informs us about the possible color combinations of bonnet-veils (**Fig. 3.1c. 5**).¹⁵⁷ Two female figures appear facing each other in the fresco. Female on the left appears to wear a black veil over her blue bonnet, covering all of her hair. The female on the right also wears a veil, possibly over a black bonnet.¹⁵⁸ Her blue veil is so transparent that it reveals her elaborate

¹⁵⁶ See Sevinç 1996, Draycott 2007.

¹⁵⁷ Voigt 2006, photo from Gordion Project Archive.

¹⁵⁸ It is hard to determine whether the black surface underneath the veil is hair or a dark colored bonnet, yet the straight rendering might make the second option more likely.

earring underneath. A processional scene of rider women on a fifth century architectural relief from Daskyleion also displays bonnet-veil wearing women (**Fig. 3.3a.6**).

Another relief from Daskyleion shows a rare combination; a long veil combined with a crenellated crown, an attribute of Persian rulers. In a funerary banquet scene, an elite Anatolian woman appears with a long veil topped with the crown (**Fig. 3.1c.7**). The prominent position of the figure and the funerary function might indicate that she represents not a goddess but the deceased herself, perhaps wife of Elnaf, whose inscribed figural funerary stele was found set up together with hers.¹⁵⁹ Her unique headdress might mark her claim as a leading local in close collaboration with the Achaemenid rule.

As mentioned earlier two major artistic styles in the rendering of the veil over the heads of female figures are the Samian-style and the lappet-style. The early example of the Samian-style veil is the famous Cheramyas Kore of ca. 575 from Samos (**Fig. 3.1c.8**). Possibly folded double and worn over the head, her rectangular lightweight veil falls in two straight layers down the back, while one layer is pulled forward around the torso folded into the belt over the left hip, and on the right side the veil is flung over the shoulder. In some other Samian korai this right side of the veil also appears to be held in the hand.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the head of Cheramyas kore is missing, but most scholars believe that she had a polos-veil.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ See Fig 3.1d.7 in this dissertation.

¹⁶⁰ For the stylistic development of veil on Samian korai see Freyer-Schauenburg, 1974, 54.

¹⁶¹ Ridgway 1993, 151; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 47-48.

Examples of tight fitting veils, either tucked behind the ears or covering the ears and falling down straight at the back could also be considered of the Samian-style. An ivory statuette of late sixth century from Ephesos wears a long veil, tucked behind her ears in common Anatolian manner, as exemplified by Zincirli woman and by some of the offering bearer priestesses on the Carchemish reliefs (**Fig. 3.1c.9**). The kore head from Miletos also wears a tight fitting veil, perhaps over her bonnet, which might have been painted in a different color than the veil in antiquity (**Fig. 3.1c.10**). Her bonnet-veil covers all of her hair and ears, the latter clearly indicated in bulging circular forms underneath the veil. Her body is missing, but the way the veil covers the hair clearly indicate that it also fell down at the back.

The lappet-style differs from the tight Samian-style in the relaxed arrangement of the veil around the face and is typical of Milesian korai. Before falling down at the back, the veil swells around the temples, forming curves around the neck and often reveals hair locks in front of the ears. The head of a kore from a column drum of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma wears her stephane-veil in lappet-style (**Fig. 3.1c.11**). Another column drum with the depiction of a ring dance, found at Cyme, shows a veiled female between two males, wearing a lappet-style veil, which in this case does not reveal her hair-locks (**Fig. 3.1c.12**). The lappet-style is often seen on stephane-veils, but there are also examples of polos-veils rendered in this way, as can be seen in on two females on a votive relief from Miletos (**Fig. 3.1c.13**). This style becomes so popular that it eventually replaces the Samian-style veil even on Samian korai around ca 540.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Ridgway 1993, 133.

Although, not as much as is case in Anatolia, veiled women do also appear in mainland Greek art of the Archaic and Classical periods, in both vase paintings and reliefs. Iconographically, the veil is usually associated with brides or their goddess, Hera. One of the most common motifs is the *anakalypsis* –gesture in which a woman raises part of her veil on one side. The motif is usually interpreted as an ‘unveiling’ of the bride.¹⁶³ One of the earliest examples of this gesture comes from the Spartan Hero reliefs (**Fig. 3.1c.14**). The motif eventually becomes an attribute of Hera, identifying her as the bride of Zeus, best known from the Parthenon frieze.

The Meaning of the Veil

In his extensive study of the women’s veil in ancient Greek world from the tenth to second century, Llewellyn-Jones argues that, despite the fact that it is rarely mentioned in ancient sources and rarely (or indirectly) depicted in art, veiling, adopted from Near Eastern traditions, was a routine practice for Greek women, who always wore a veil over the head when outdoors.¹⁶⁴ Llewellyn-Jones’ explanation for the usual unveiled appearance of the females in Greek imagery as “due to the erotic and idealizing tendencies of Greek art,” in which the veil was a barrier for perfect vision and so usually omitted in the representations, is probably far-fetched.¹⁶⁵ Yet, his consideration of the

¹⁶³ Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 99-107 provides an iconographic examination of the gesture and re-reads the motif not ‘unveiling’, but ‘veiling’ of a woman.

¹⁶⁴ Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 72-80.

¹⁶⁵ Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 90-91.

women's veil as a status marker for especially aristocratic women in the ancient Mediterranean is worth examining.¹⁶⁶

A Middle Assyrian Law Code of the 13th century indicates that the veil is used to distinguish respectable women from the unrespectable ones, marking the former as a marketable value for marriage in the family system of the Assyrian Empire.¹⁶⁷ In Homeric epic most of the elite women including Helen, Hekabe, Andromache, Penelope wear a veil, while slaves and ordinary women do not. The goddesses such as Hera and Thetis are also described as wearing a veil.¹⁶⁸ Yet, these mentions are not enough to read the veil as a marker of elite status for women in the ancient Mediterranean, since neither Assyrian nor Greek iconography is consistent in representations of 'elite women' with a veil, as is also the case in the Anatolian iconography. Veiled women on aforementioned Hittite Inandik vase appear side by side with unveiled ones in a procession. Similarly, the reliefs of the Polyxena Sarcophagus display veiled and unveiled women together. Both veiled and unveiled korai were dedicated in the Archaic sanctuaries of Anatolia. None of the females wear a veil on the West frieze of the Harpy Tomb at Xanthos (**Fig. 3.1c. 15**),

¹⁶⁶ Llewellyn-Jones (2003, 135) considers the veiling of the female as a product of male ideology, which aims to separate the females and mark them as 'forever vulnerable, forever under threat, and forever in a state of withdrawal from the world of men.' Female veiling as part of a male ideology is also advanced by Cairns, see Cairns 2002.

¹⁶⁷ The law requires the wives and daughters of Assyrian lords to cover their heads when on the streets also and requires the prostitutes to have their heads uncovered when on the streets. See Roth 1997, 167-9, and also Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 124-125.

Based on Sumerian tablets, Cig proposes that long before Assyrians, the veil was used by Sumerian 'temple-prostitutes' to differentiate themselves from the regular priestesses, see Cig 2005.

¹⁶⁸ Llewellyn-Jones (2003, 125-130) discusses the veiled women in Homeric epics in detail.

where young offering bearer women in a royal funerary procession scene wear their elaborate *stephanai* (headbands) directly on top of their head without a veil; their long hair arranged in a mass of wavy tresses.¹⁶⁹ Since the representation of ‘unveiled unrespectable’ women in the above mentioned works, almost all presumably dedicated by rich-elite families, is impossible, then the consideration of the veil as a distinct symbol of elite status is unlikely.

Among the ‘veiled women’ of Homeric epic, the common feature that unites all these elite women and goddesses, Hera, Thetis, Andromache, Helen, and Penelope: is their marital status or their motherhood. The war goddess Athena, for example, is associated with the veil neither in Homeric epics nor in Greek iconography. Considering the strong Mother Goddess cult of Kubaba and later of Kybele in Anatolia, and the usual representation of these goddesses with a veil, in addition to the close relationship between Kybele, Hera and Leto in Early Archaic Anatolia, perhaps the veil marked ‘matronly’ status. This function of the veil then can explain its popularity in Anatolia. Of course, whether or not different veiling styles carried different levels of meaning is impossible to decipher, and veiling fashions could have changed over time altering their entailed meanings.

¹⁶⁹ Of the three young girls approaching an enthroned figure, the first one carries a piece of cloth in her hand. Llewellyn-Jones interprets this cloth as her veil (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 98) and uses the example as ‘indirect’ depiction of the veil. He does not explain though why the other two young women do not carry a veil. The West Frieze of the Harpy Tomb, 480-370, BM, London 13287.

d) Bashlyk

Various representations of a soft headgear with long side flaps, or a cowl, usually indented at the top, possibly made of felt, leather or cloth will be discussed under the bashlyk category. This headdress type is perhaps the most commonly represented dress item in Anatolian iconography of the fifth century. It appears in a variety of contexts, including combat scenes and processions, worn always by men. Representations show that the bashlyk is worn in three different configurations: long ear-flaps tied around the chin; tied back on top of the cap freeing the face and the shoulders; or left free hanging down the shoulders on both sides.

Ancient Greek literature uses three main terms to refer to soft and pointed headgears usually associated with Scythian, Persian or Thracian wearers: *kurbasia*, *tiara*, *kidaris* (Hdt I.132.1, III.12.4, V.49, VII.61.1, VII.90). The inter-relationship between *kurbasia*, *tiara*, and *kidaris* as category-designations is a problematic issue since these three terms seem to have been used interchangeably.¹⁷⁰ Miller's careful examination of the ancient sources shows that even Greek grammarians were not able to differentiate the three terms.¹⁷¹ For example, Herodian (II.533-551) equates the *kidaris* with the *tiara* and Erotian (Gloss. Hipp. LV. 7 Nach) calls the *kurbasia* a *tiara*. Of the three terms, perhaps only the so-called *kurbasia*, a Scythian headdress "tapering to a point and standing stiffly erect" (Hdt VII.64) is typologically distinguishable in artistic representations of both Persian and Greek sources. This must be the headdress worn by a branch of Skythians referred as *Saka tigraxauda* (pointed-hat Skythians from the Caspian and Aral Seas) in

¹⁷⁰ Tuplin 2007, 69-71 examines all ancient sources in order to differentiate the terms.

¹⁷¹ Miller 1991, 63.

Achaemenid inscriptions. The gift bearers of the Delegation XI in the Persepolis Apadana reliefs, clearly identified as *Saka tigraxauda*, wear this very tall pointed headdress.¹⁷² Yet, the *tiara* and *kidaris* are still difficult to differentiate.¹⁷³ Thus, to avoid adding more to the complexity in terminology, I will use the term *bashlyk*, a modern Turkish word for floppy headdresses worn in rural Anatolia. This term is first used by Schmidt in his description of the soft headdresses worn by several figures on the Apadana reliefs and then by Mellink in her description of the protagonist's soft cap on the north wall fresco of Karaburun II tomb from Elmalı.¹⁷⁴

The most well known representations of the *bashlyk*, variously referred also as *kidaris* and *tiara* in modern literature, come from the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis. Thus, the headdress is usually seen as a Median dress item adopted by Western Anatolians after the Achaemenid takeover of Anatolia in the sixth century. Indeed, most of the known representations of *bashlyk* wearing men come from the funerary art of Achaemenid Anatolia. Visual evidence, however, indicates that Anatolians were already familiar with a similar type of headdress in the Bronze Age. A military headdress on a 14th century Hittite relief is very reminiscent of the *bashlyk*. The guardian god carved on the inner side of the King's Gate at Boğazköy wears an elaborate headdress with short ear-flaps and a long flap extending from the pointed top of the conical headdress and falling back

¹⁷² See Miller 1991, 62 and Delegation XI on Apadana reliefs in Schmidt 1955, 87; plate 37.

¹⁷³ See Miller 1991; Tuplin 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Schmidt 1955, 84-90; Mellink 1972, 298.

down to the shoulders (**Fig 3.1d.1**). Two horns attached to the headdress at the forehead possibly identify the figure as a deity.¹⁷⁵

Iconographical evidence for the bashlyk in the fifth century Anatolia is extensive. Among the examples, the so-called Munich timbers from the sidewalls of the Tatarlı Tomb are of interest because of the presence of several bashlyk-wearing figures. Chapter 5, in this dissertation, examines the Tatarlı Tomb in detail. A brief discussion of the Munich timbers, however, is necessary in the iconographic examination of bashlyk.

Of the two painted friezes, looted from the tomb and later discovered in the Munich Staatssammlungen, Munich I, 2.12m in length, presents an extensive procession scene, a very popular theme in the funerary art of the Western Anatolia from sixth through fourth centuries (**5. Plate 1a-b**). Of the 19 figures shown processing from left to right, 16 wear a bashlyk, including the protagonist of the scene shown at the center seated in a chariot, perhaps a representation of the occupant of the tomb. The procession group consists of the military personal of the protagonist and three women following a closed chariot with a rounded top. Of the military personal, spear-bearers and footmen wear tunics in different colors including red, black and possibly blue and with vertical stripes,¹⁷⁶ and the horsemen wear tunics and tight pants. The protagonist in the chariot wears a kandys, a distinctive court dress worn over the shoulders with sleeves left free. Despite the variety in dress all men in the procession wear a bashlyk. The soft headdress

¹⁷⁵ Akurgal 2001, 169, fig 84.

¹⁷⁶ Draycott (2007, 69) points out that the stripes could refer to the front stripes shown on the uniforms of different status soldiers in the Persian army.

envelops the figures' foreheads and chins and a long back-flap falls over their shoulders. Except for the brown color of the protagonist's, all bashlyks are rendered in red.

Munich II, 2.21m in length, contains 23 figures in a battle. The scene shows the Persian defeat of the Skythians (**5. Plate 2a-b**).¹⁷⁷ The confronting positions of the figures and their different headdresses help identify the opposing groups clearly. The Scythian soldiers on the right side of the panel wear the distinctive pointed hat (or *kurbasia*) of the *Saka tigraxauda*, rendered in red color. On the right side, Persian soldiers are clearly distinguishable. They have long beards and thick hair curled at the nape and they wear crenellated crowns and long tunics gathered at the front, typical dress of the Persian envoys leading delegates of the subject nations to Darius' palace on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (**Fig 3.1d.2**). Other soldiers fighting side by side with the Persians wear tunics and trousers rendered variously in red or black, and bashlyks rendered in red or in brown. The way their bashlyks are clearly differentiated from the headgear of the Persians and Skythians may indicate that the headdress is used to identify the Anatolian soldiers fighting in the Persian army. Such a reference would not be surprising in the tomb of an Anatolian dignitary whose ancestors might have fought in the historic battle of Persians against Skythians in 519.¹⁷⁸ In both Munich panels the bashlyk appears as part of a military dress.

Contemporary with the Tatarlı timbers, wall paintings from the so-called Karaburun II tumulus discovered in Elmalı in 1970 and examined under the supervision

¹⁷⁷ Summerer 2007b.

¹⁷⁸ Whether or not the battle scene on Munich II refers to a specific historic event, namely to the Scythian war of 519 is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

of Mellink and Buluc present a rich array of figural imagery and provide a useful source for the appearance of Anatolian dress in the fifth century. The frescoes, dated to 470s by Mellink, are larger in scale and better preserved than the Tatarlı timbers.¹⁷⁹ The main character, possibly the deceased, seems to appear three times on three different walls dressed differently in each of the three different social contexts; in a procession, in battle, and in a banquet scene. Along with some of his attendants, he wears an elaborate bashlyk in the procession and perhaps in the battle scene. The Karaburun frescoes are worth a further examination to understand the possible meaning of the headdress in a given social context.

A large frieze over a continuous base line runs along the three walls of the tomb chamber at Karaburun.¹⁸⁰ On the west wall, just above the limestone kline on which the deceased was once laid is a representation of the bearded tomb owner reclining on a painted kline, approached by two servants on the left and by a woman, presumably his wife on the right (**Fig 3.1d.3**). The bearded man on the kline wears a short-sleeved loose-fitting chiton with a rosette border along the neck and the sleeves. Draped over it is a green himation with red and blue border. His headdress is made of a red-white-blue checked fabric. Pointed beads run along the lower and upper edges of his hat. His jewelry includes an earring, bracelets, and possibly an amulet, its red string is visible on his neck. He holds a phiale in his left hand. On the left, two servants, both wearing tight fitting,

¹⁷⁹ Mellink 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973.

¹⁸⁰ The chamber measures 3x 2.61 m with sidewalls 1.95 m in height. The figures on the frescoes are large in scale, about two thirds of life size on the west wall with the main banquet scene; scales are slightly smaller (about one-quarter of life-size) on the adjoining walls. The color scheme is reach including various hues of red (including purple), greens and blues. See Mellink 1970, 252; Mellink 1971, 265 (for sizes).

knee-length tunics with long sleeves and knotted belts, approach him. The first servant wears a white dress with red belt and he holds a towel embroidered along the edges in the right hand and a fan in the left. The second servant carries a vase with griffin finials in his right hand and a phiale and a ladle in the left. A female figure behind the reclining dignitary is dressed in a red sleeved-chiton, a blue himation and a white veil over her head. She holds a purple stippled fillet in one hand and an alabastron in the other hand.

Two more servants dressed like the ones on the west wall extend to the north wall behind the woman; the first one holds a rectangular fan and the second a purple fillet and an alabastron. Behind the servants a lively battle scene is depicted at a slightly smaller scale than the composition in the west (**Fig 3.1d.4**). The main reclining bearded figure of the west frieze appears here on a black horse, attacking an opponent. He wears a purple long-sleeved tunic and purple trousers. His trousers are tucked into his ankle-high blue shoes. Part of his head is damaged making it difficult to identify his headdress, but the parallel imagery on the Munich II fresco from Tatarlı makes it likely that he was wearing a bashlyk. His opponent, a helmeted warrior with a short-sleeved blue tunic, is depicted as falling in front of the black horse, wounded by the horseman's/dignitary's spear projecting from his side. Overlapping figures of footmen continue towards the right. Except for one victorious bareheaded soldier who wears a short sleeved, light colored tunic, white-leggings, and red shoes, most of this part of the frieze is damaged.¹⁸¹ Routed enemies are identifiable through the preserved bare feet of two men running away, and the partially preserved helmeted soldier whose mouth is open in agony.

¹⁸¹ Mellink identifies both victors and victims on the battle scene as different regional groups from Anatolia. Mellink 1970, 250.

The south wall with the procession scene starts with a riderless black horse on the right (**Fig 3.1d.5**), possibly the same horse the dignitary rides in the battle scene on the north wall.¹⁸² An attendant in a knee-length sleeved robe in dark red, a white bashlyk, light-brown pants, and red shoes, rounded in the toes, follows the black horse. Another horse, pink in color and wearing a red saddle, and another attendant dressed in a red bashlyk, white robe, red pants, and black shoes lead to the central scene of this wall. The same bearded dignitary of the west and north walls appears on a throne-chariot at the center of the procession scene. He is clad in a long-sleeved purple robe, possibly the same purple tunic he appears wearing in the battle scene on the north wall. In this case, however, just like the protagonist of the Munich I fresco, he wears a white kandys with fur lining over the robe. Both the color purple and the kandys differentiate him from other attendants as a dignitary. His light-colored bashlyk has long flaps hanging over his shoulders. Mellink notes a blue line over the forehead, which may have been a ribbon encircling the headgear.¹⁸³ Behind the throne-chariot stand two other attendants, who are clad in knee-length, long sleeved white tunics, and bashlyks (one white, one red) with flaps hanging on the shoulders, and shoes in contrasting colors. Another horse-chariot with a rounded red box on top and two more attendants follow the convoy on the right. The figures are very damaged at this part, but as Mellink notes, they are clad in belted tunics and bashlyks, and they appear to be carrying some sort of furniture, one leg of which is visible on the fresco. Mellink interprets this procession scene, which resembles the Munich I painting, as a funerary procession for the deceased whose body is propped

¹⁸² Mellink 1973, 356.

¹⁸³ Mellink 1972, 298.

up and displayed as a dignitary in his fine clothes in a throne-chariot, and whose burial goods are being carried in a box in another chariot.¹⁸⁴ This interpretation is based on the parallel imagery on Daskyleion grave stelai (discussed in detail below). On some of these funerary reliefs, processional scenes also contain horse-drawn carts carrying rounded boxes.

Another painted representation of a bashlyk-wearing figure in a procession comes from Harta (**Fig 3.1d.6**). The fresco fragments once looted from a tomb at Harta reveal three male figures in procession.¹⁸⁵ Of the convoy group, two figures, holding folded textiles, wear chitons and colorful himations, while the third is dressed in long-sleeved knee-length tunic with knotted belt, pants, and bashlyk, just like the procession attendants at Karaburun. Since all figures face the same direction, and the bashlyk-wearer seems to follow a horse, its rear visible in the fresco fragment, one can assume that the fresco had once carried a larger procession scene, its attendants dressed in different fashions. The Harta paintings are also dated to the first half of the fifth century.

One of the most well-known processional scenes of the fifth century Western Anatolia appears on a series of funerary stelai from Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia.¹⁸⁶ At least eight of the so-called Daskyleion stelai, all thought to date between 460-450, show various combinations of banquet and procession scenes in relief.¹⁸⁷ Among them the so-called Stele of Elnaf presents a procession in two registers, the upper

¹⁸⁴ Mellink 1972, 300-301.

¹⁸⁵ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 45-46.

¹⁸⁶ Draycott 2007, 109-134.

¹⁸⁷ See in general Nolle 1992 and Draycott 2007, cat nos 11-18.

row with bashlyk-wearing footmen and horsemen followed by a cart with a box on top in the lower register (**Fig 5.5**). The unique configuration of this box with Ionic columns on the side is reminiscent of the fourth century Mourning Woman Sarcophagus from Sidon with relief figures on the sides shown standing in between Ionic columns. This parallel led scholars to identify the Daskyleion box as a sarcophagus, and thus the overall scene as an ekphora, a funerary procession.

Since most of the bashlyk wearers examined so far (at Tatarlı, Karaburun, and Daskyleion) come from “funerary” procession scenes, a brief discussion of the different interpretations of the motif in the current scholarship is necessary here.¹⁸⁸ The traditional assumption that these processional scenes with carriages depict funerary convoys is based on three factors: they appear on funerary monuments; boxes on carriages in the convoys might refer to sarcophagi; and archaeological remains of carts or chariots in Western Anatolian tombs indicate that such vehicles were used during the funerary transport.¹⁸⁹ Several scholars recently challenged this possible “funerary” meaning of the processions. Jergen, for example, based on literary evidence suggested that the “boxes” on carriages might have contained sacred objects in transport.¹⁹⁰ While Nolle, again based on literary evidence, proposed that these boxes might refer to the covered carriages or *harmamaxai*¹⁹¹ in which noble women were carried. Thus she thinks that the depictions of *harmamaxai* on Daskyleion stelai convey the transportation and also the high status of

¹⁸⁸ See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the “convoy scenes”.

¹⁸⁹ One example is the Polyxena Sarcophagus, see Sevinç 1996.

¹⁹⁰ Jergen 1992, 21-28.

¹⁹¹ Mentioned in Hdt I.199.

the wife of the dignitary in procession.¹⁹² More recently, Draycott, based on the evidence from the Tatarlı- Munich I fresco depicting a “convoy with a particularly heavy military entourage” suggests that processions imply the elite status of the tomb-owner locals, who are conveyed as noble enough to join the Persian army in a generic parade scene.¹⁹³ Draycott, also sees these “boxes” on carriages as simply covered carriages symbolizing the “range of paraphernalia available to a noble Anatolian” as he is a follower of the Persian king and part of his army.¹⁹⁴

If we accept the ‘secular’ interpretation of the procession scenes, the bashlyk worn by the figures emerges essentially as part of a military dress. Yet, this does not explain why the bashlyk wearing participants and the dignitary of the south wall procession of the Karaburun fresco appear unarmed. One slight difference in the way the Karaburun convoy participants wear their bashlyks, with side flaps loosened hanging down the shoulders, perhaps refers to the peaceful state of the military procession, as if the battle is over and the procession is a triumphal display of war booties.

Possibly dating from the late fifth century a fragmentary architectural relief again from Daskyleion shows two bashlyk wearers in a completely different context, performing a religious ritual (**Fig 3.1d.7**). Two males dressed in kandys, sleeved tunics, pants, and bashlyks stand in front of a door, perhaps the ‘false door’ of a tomb.¹⁹⁵ The bashlyks with pointed tops envelop their faces tightly revealing only the eyes and the

¹⁹² Nolle 1992, 88-92.

¹⁹³ Draycott 2007, 14-16.

¹⁹⁴ Draycott 2007, 72.

¹⁹⁵ See Roosevelt (2006) for the discussion of the ‘false doors’ of Anatolian tombs.

curls of their beards and hair. Between the figures and the door, heads of two sacrificial animals on a wooden altar are visible. Both figures appear holding bundles of sticks, identified as *barsom*, a ritual implement used in Zoroastrian religion.¹⁹⁶ Both the sacrificial animals and the *barsoms* help identify this motif as a religious ritual, the details of which are unclear since the archaeological context of the relief, whether it comes from a funerary monument or an altar is lost.

The bashlyk is also a frequently represented dress item in the fifth century Greek art. The headgear is usually identified as a Skythians' or Persians' attribute. Miller, in her examination of the bashlyk wearing symposiasts (she calls the headdress as *kidaris*) and *komasts* on several Attic vases their dates ranging from 510 -450, explores three possible meanings the headdress might have conveyed to the contemporary Greek viewer. The first and the most commonly accepted view sees the headdress as an indicator of foreign identity, either Scythian or Persian, in Greek symposia. The second view sees the headdress as a symbol of a foreign cultural practice or institution, such as the habitual excessive drinking of Skythians. The final interpretation, which Miller herself proposes, considers the headdress simply an imported luxury goods from the East for use in the symposium by Athenians. She further suggests that this interpretation sheds more light on the Athenian social history than Persian or Scythian dress or cultural practices, since the adoption of luxurious oriental goods suggests a sign of elitism and high status in Athens.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Draycott 2007, 140-141.

¹⁹⁷ Miller 1991.

In the Achaemenid art of Persia, the bashlyk usually appears worn by Medians. Besides the Medians, two Anatolian tribute delegations wear the headdress on the famous Apadana reliefs, designed between 522- 456. The bashlyk worn by Medians on the Apadana reliefs has three knobs at the anterior side of the top, and with the long earflaps tied around the chin; it envelops the faces of the delegates (**Fig 3.1d.2**).¹⁹⁸ Similarly, the bashlyks of Delegation III and Delegation IX, identified possibly as Armenians and Cappadoccians by Schmidt, have bashlyks with three knobs at the top, but unlike those of the Medians the side flaps are tied up at the back of the head, revealing their faces and shoulders.¹⁹⁹ Delegation XVI, perhaps Sagarthians, also wear the bashlyk.²⁰⁰ Surprisingly, Delegation XII, identified as Ionians and Lydians do not wear any headdresses.

Bashlyk fashion in Anatolia seems to have extended to the fourth century, when the images of bashlyk-wearers again occur mainly in funerary art. A mounted warrior on the Yanlizdam grave stele of the early fourth century wears the headdress in an upturned fashion (**Fig 6.8**). Most of the monumental tombs of the fourth century Anatolia are decorated with depictions of bashlyk wearers. Erbinna, the local ruler of Xanthos between 390-370, appears wearing a pointed bashlyk, a tight fitting sleeved tunic, and a loose mantle draped around his lower body, on the lesser podium frieze of the Nereid

¹⁹⁸ Schmidt 1955, Pl. 27.

¹⁹⁹ Schmidt 1955, 85-89, Plts 29, 35.

²⁰⁰ Schmidt 1955, Pl. 42. Not only the headdresses are similar but all four delegation groups (I, III, IX, XVI) wear belted sleeved tunics with pants.

Monument, his monumental tomb (**Fig 3.1d.8**).²⁰¹ Seated on a throne and shaded with a parasol in Persian manner, Erbinna receives elder civilians. The bashlyk also appears as part of the costume of the hunters on the eastern side of the architrave frieze of the Nereid Monument. In Trysa, on the temenos friezes of a monumental heroon dating from the first half of the fourth century, defenders of Troy wear the headdress.²⁰² The Lydian satrap Autophrades also wears it on the Pajawa sarcophagus.²⁰³

Another monumental tomb, the Heroon of King Perikles at Limyra depicts several bashlyk wearers in fragmentary processional scenes in relief carved on two sides of the outer cella walls.²⁰⁴ Located on the akropolis of Limyra, the Heroon dates from sometime between 380-350. Though fragmentarily preserved, both the western and eastern friezes display similar themes arranged in similar order: a dignitary at the center accompanied by musicians, military and aristocratic officials, and armed soldiers moving in procession towards south (**6.Plato 1.c**). Dressed in a tunic, kandys, pants, and shoes the protagonist at the center of the convoy rides a Nisean horse, a breed highly prized in the Persian Empire, with forelock, knotted tail and long legs.²⁰⁵ Because of the *orthe tiara*-upturned

²⁰¹ Jenkins 2006, 186-202 and Ridgway 1997, 79-88 for a detailed discussion of the tomb.

²⁰² Ridgway 1997, 88-94.

²⁰³ See Borchhardt 1976, 59, Taf 55, 3; Taf 30, 1 for the discussion of the occurrences of the headwear in Lycia.

²⁰⁴ The Heroon of Perikle at Limyra and its sculptural friezes are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

²⁰⁵ For Nisean horses see Briant 2002.

bashlyk he is wearing, Borchhardt identifies him as the Persian king, Artaxerxes II.²⁰⁶ Ridgway, however, based on the example of Erbinna, who wears a similar headdress, suggests that the prominent figure on the Limyra frieze might depict the local dynast Perikles himself.²⁰⁷ Other horsemen around him are clad similarly except for their bashlyks, which do not have an upturned top, and with the lappets tied at the back. Other officials accompanying the local ruler either on foot or on horses are clearly differentiated from each other through the various garments they wear. Because of the poorly preserved condition of the relief, only the various headdresses they wear can be distinguished. Some wear the petasos, a wide-brimmed hat worn by Greeks when travelling; some wear the pilos, a close fitting felt headdress with a conical top; and others wear bashlyks in different configurations, enveloping the face or with the lappets tied at the back. These variations might imply the existence of ethnically mixed officials including the mercenary Greek soldiers in the army of Perikles.

The Meaning of the Bashlyk

Except for the architectural relief with unknown archaeological origin from Daskyleion, most of the bashlyk-wearer representations come from funerary contexts and in most cases the wearers refer to the noble tomb-owner himself and his companions. Why these figures chose to be represented as wearing the headdress in their final resting

²⁰⁶ In Xenophon *Anab* II.5.23. Tissaphernes mentions the tiara on the head only the King may have upright. For a detailed discussion of the Achaemenid king's headdress see Tuplin 2007; Borchhardt 1999, 49-52.

²⁰⁷ Ridgway 1997, 96-97. Borchhardt (1999, 49-52) identifies the helmeted and the armed figure behind the chariot as the Lycian ruler. Yet, this figure is not prominent enough to refer to the local king to whom the tomb belongs.

place may reveal what status the headgear was intended to convey to the contemporary viewer.

First, the regional variations in which the bashlyk representations occur such as Tatarlı tomb in Phrygia, Karaburun II tomb and other monumental tombs in Lycia, the Daskyleion stelai in Hellespontine Phrygia, suggest that the hat's adoption was not exclusive to a specific ethnic group, but it was worn throughout Western Anatolia. Indeed, two different inscriptions on two iconographically similar Daskyleion stelai, Aramaic on the Stele of Elnaf and Old Phrygian on the Stele of Adda, suggest that the different ethnic groups of Western Anatolia shared similar fashions,²⁰⁸ and that dress items, the bashlyk in this case, said more about the economic and political status of the wearer than his ethnic identity.

As discussed in detail above, most of the bashlyk wearers in Anatolia occur in processional scenes, the meanings of which are highly debated. Whether they are funerary or military, these processions allude to the luxurious ceremonies of the Persian court embodied on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis. Thus, within the Anatolian funerary context the bashlyk should be seen not merely as a military dress, but as a status insignia, associating the wearer with Persian nobility, especially when combined with the kandys as seen in the case of the Tatarlı, Karaburun, and Limyra dignitaries.

The Karaburun case is especially interesting since the protagonist is depicted in different outfits on the walls of his tomb; wearing the bashlyk and the kandys on a throne-chariot in the procession and a chiton and a headdress decorated with flower buds and beads on a kline in the banquet scene. At first glance, these might seem to suggest

²⁰⁸ Draycott 2007, 110-114.

that the tomb-owner is trying to associate his dignity with the aristocratic activities of both the Persian and Greek world. Yet, a closer look reveals that the banquet scene is different from Greek symposium representations as it incorporates not male companions but the wife of the deceased along with his servants. Thus, dressed appropriately in two different contexts, the dignitary's courtly status is the main message conveyed in Karaburun frescoes.

e) 'Phrygian Cap': Myths and Facts

As the given title implies, the so-called Phrygian cap- a close fitting hat with a floppy pointed top- is often associated with Anatolians, especially in Roman art. The Anatolian god Attis and also shepherds appear wearing the 'Phrygian cap' in Roman iconography. The headdress is categorized as a variation of the Greek pilos- *pilema*- literally meaning 'felt' in ancient Greek.²⁰⁹ The following examination shows that there is indeed evidence for Anatolians wearing the cap in the Roman period, but the 'Phrygian' association of the headdress in the Archaic and Classical periods of Anatolia is vague. Since both are made of felt, the early form of the 'Phrygian cap' can perhaps be categorized as the bashlyk worn by dignitaries in Achaemenid Anatolia.

Liberated slaves in Rome and Greece seem to have worn the Phrygian cap. The custom is linked to the idea that Phrygia was a source of slaves, and that these slaves, when freed, started to wear their traditional headgear. The Phrygian cap, however, can also be seen on the heads of Dacians on the Column of Trajan, on the heads of Parthians

²⁰⁹ Cleland, Davis, and Llewellyn-Llewellyn-Jones (2007, 148) list all the ancient Greek sources referring to pilos; Herodotus, III.23; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 542-546; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 562; Thucydides IV.34.

on the Arch of Septimus Severus and many other Roman representations of the “other.” As this brief history of the representations of Phrygian cap shows, the “Phrygian” character of the cap was obscured even in the Roman period.

Surprisingly, a Roman bronze helmet from second century AD, now in the Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, shows that the “Phrygian cap” was part of the military dress of Anatolian soldiers (**Fig. 3.1e.1**). The helmet is known to have come from Anatolia, but the original archaeological context of the headdress is unknown, making it difficult to understand the owner’s identity.

Ankara Museum also houses an Archaic sculptural head of a bearded male figure, a chance discovery from a construction site near Hellespontine Phrygia, which is described as wearing a ‘Phrygian cap’ (**Fig. 3.1e.1**).²¹⁰ The Archaic style of the head should not be assumed to date it to the sixth century, since as Ridgway notes, the Archaic style in Western Anatolia lingered at least to the mid fifth century.²¹¹ The headdress has a conical shape, tapering at the top. Since the statue is broken at the neck, it is difficult to determine whether the hat had long side flaps or not, but extensions on the sides of both cheeks suggest that it did. Thus, the fifth century headdress should be categorized as a bashlyk instead of an early example of a ‘Phrygian cap’ from Anatolia.

²¹⁰ In the museum catalogue.

²¹¹ Ridgway (1970, 95-96) discusses the ‘lingering archaic’ style in Anatolia in the case of the Harpy Tomb from Xanthos.

3.2 Tunics, Overcoats, and Pants

a) Sleeved Tunics (Sleeved Chiton)

Unlike Greeks who dressed in loose woven fabrics shaped to fit the human body via folding or pins, Anatolians seems to have preferred carefully tailored tunics with sleeves. Herodotus, when explaining the origin of sleeved linen chitons adopted by Athenian women points to Caria (V.87-88). Indeed, the origins of the sleeved tunics lie in Bronze Age Anatolia as evidenced in Hittite art. Iconographic data implies a considerable variety for the sleeved tunics. Often fastened with belt at the waist, sleeved tunics could be thigh-length, knee-length, or ankle-length; short-sleeved or long-sleeved; of linen with fine folds or of wool, decorated with patterned seams, embroidery, *pasmatia*, and fringes or simply plain; and it could be worn both by men and women combined with different dress items. The various contexts and the long history of the fashion in the region indicate that the sleeved tunics were characteristic of the Anatolian vestimental system, taking on different social meanings based on the context in which they appear.

On a fourteenth century Hittite rock relief at Yazılıkaya ‘Twelve Warrior Gods’ wear knee-length sleeved and belted tunics, while striding towards the right with war sickles in their hands (**Fig 3.2a.1**). On a ninth century Neo-Hittite relief from Carchemish (**Fig 4.14**), priestesses of goddess Kubaba wear ankle-length sleeved tunics combined with their polos-veil. The fashion for differently sized sleeved tunics for the genders, knee-length for men and ankle-length for women, continues in later centuries. In the sixth century, female worshippers such as Antalya C, Antalya D, and Ephesian Spinner (**Figs 4.1, 4.7, 4.11**) wear variously decorated ankle-length sleeved tunics. In the fifth century,

knee or thigh-length tunics appear as part of a military costume, combined with tight pants and bashlyk, as exemplified best by the soldiers on Munich II painting from Tatarlı (**5. Plate 2a-b**). The preference for knee or thigh-length sleeved tunics for men, especially soldiers, might have a practical reasons, ease of movement in combat, while longer tunics for women might have signified female modesty. An exception to the tradition are priests such as Antalya A, Antalya B, and Ephesian Megabyzos (**Fig 4.5, 4.6, 4.10**) who also wear the ankle-length sleeved tunics. The fine folds of the Antalya priests' long tunics indicate that they are of soft fabric, possibly linen. Megabyzos's long tunic appears to have designs woven into the fabric, indicating that his dress is possibly of wool.

Two different examples of sleeved tunics worn in non-military contexts show how the ornamentation on sleeved tunics varies and suggest the possible social implications of these variously decorated tunics. On a late eight century Neo-Hittite rock relief from Ivriz in south-central Anatolia, king Warpalawas wears a lavishly decorated sleeved tunic with fringes at the hem (**Fig 3.2a.2**).²¹² The sleeves of his ankle-length tunic are visible underneath his mantle. The king's accessories include a necklace, a large fibula used to fasten the mantle, a large belt used to fasten his tunic, all possibly of precious metal. Swastika and square designs on the king's tunic might also refer to metal ornaments; possibly gold attachments or *pasmatia*. Combined with his jewelry, his hat and pointed shoes, Warpawalas' highly decorated ankle-length sleeved tunic signifies the abundance

²¹² Fringed hems are typical of Anatolian tunics. This feature is also remarked in Greek sources. As Miller notes (1997, 159-160), fringed chitons mentioned in the fourth century inventory lists of the sanctuary of Hera at Samos are considered Lydian in origin. Antalya D's fringed dress (Fig 4.7 in this dissertation) perhaps best exemplifies how these fringed chitons might have looked like.

of his rule, and perhaps his role as the chief priest. Indeed he appears facing the god of Plenty, who symbolically carries a sheaf of wheat and a bunch of grapes.²¹³ In contrast to Warpawalas, a modest male figure appears wearing a plain knee-length sleeved tunic and open sandals on a recently discovered stele from Sahankaya in northern Lycia (**Fig 3.2a.3**).²¹⁴ The Sahankaya stele is associated with a nearby early fifth century tumulus.²¹⁵ Instead of military equipment, the Sahankaya figure holds a flower bud and a rooster. Along with his plain unbelted tunic these attributes possibly signify his youth. The Sahankaya stele is compositionally paralleled by an Archaic grave stele from Akraiphino from Boeotia (**Fig 3.2a.4**). Just like the Sahankaya Stele, the young male on the Akraiphino stele holds a flower bud and a rooster. The only iconographic difference between the two reliefs is that the Anatolian youth is clothed with a sleeved tunic, while Greek youth is nude. This variation best reflect the Greek and Anatolian attitudes for male clothing. As Herodotus also remarks (I. 7-10) among Lydians (and possibly around Anatolia in general) male nudity was perceived as indecent.²¹⁶

Sleeved tunics are adopted by Greeks in the fifth century as a sumptuous female dress. Not only women, but also priests, musicians, and actors wear the sleeved tunic in the fifth century Attic art.²¹⁷ One of the most discussed examples of Athenian sleeved

²¹³ Akurgal 2001, 237.

²¹⁴ Roosevelt (2009, 160) rightly sees the bulging breasts as due to the poorly executed foreshortening. Indeed, the short and curled hairdo and the knee-length tunic and the muscular arms indicate a male identity for the figure.

²¹⁵ Roosevelt 2009, 160.

²¹⁶ This was also the case with Etruscans, see Bonfante 1993.

²¹⁷ See the discussion in Miller 1997, 161-164.

tunics comes from the Parthenon frieze. Miller identifies 11 of the Athenian youth on the north frieze as wearing chitons with carefully tailored sleeves.²¹⁸

b) Kandys

A kandys is a long or knee-length coat with ornamental sleeves, draped over the shoulders without arms in the sleeves and usually fastened with straps at the shoulders.²¹⁹

A popular dress item for Anatolian men especially in the Achaemenid period, the kandys is usually worn over a tunic and trousers. It usually has fur lining or fur trim, indicating the high social standing of its wearer. Greek literary sources imply an Iranian origin for this sleeved jacket.²²⁰ The processional reliefs from Bronze Age Alacahöyük, however, indicate that a similar jacket with pendant sleeves was an elite dress item in Anatolia, long before the Achaemenid takeover. In the late fifth century, the kandys also appears in Athenian art as worn by females with sleeves on. Epigraphic sources imply that through contact with Western Asia Minor, Greek women adapted the coat as a luxury garment.²²¹ The lack of literary and iconographic evidence for the kandys in the Hellenistic period indicates the fading away of the fashion. Yet, the particular jacket was never completely forgotten in the east. Its reappearance in Western art coincides with the Crusades, implying continuity of the fashion in the East and its Western adaptation. When the

²¹⁸ Miller (1997, 161) argues that since barbarians have no place in the Panathenaic procession, these 11 figures illustrate the adaptation of sleeved garments as a new costly fashion among Athenian women.

²¹⁹ Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 102.

²²⁰ Xenophon, *Anab.* I.5.8; *Cyr.* VIII.3.10.

²²¹ Miller 1997, 165-170; Linders 1984, 107-114.

kandys appears in Western art, the jacket with pendant sleeves is usually worn by people of Eastern origin, a famous example occurring in Raphael's School of Athens, worn by the Greek geographer, Ptolemaeus.²²² The actual examples of elaborate long coats with pendant sleeves in the collection of the Topkapi Museum show that variations of kandys became a royal costume for the Ottomans.²²³

Xenophon is the first to mention the kandys and he implies that the jacket was Median in origin and was adopted by Persians.²²⁴ The word "kandys" is evidently taken from Persian, and is assumed to have derived from "kantu" mentioned in Old Persian sources.²²⁵ Later Classical sources describe the kandys as usually of leather, frequently dyed red or purple and edged with fur.²²⁶ Xenophon further notes that in the presence of the king the noblemen had to slip-on the sleeves for safety matters, since the idea of arms clad in long sleeves was supposed to prevent any attempt to kill the king.²²⁷ Thus, some see the origin of this long-lived costume as arising from Achaemenid security requirements, but Knauer, in her examination of the history of kandys, shows that there is earlier iconographic evidence for the jacket.²²⁸ She pinpoints one of the earliest

²²² Knauer 1978, 18-20.

²²³ See Atasoy 2001.

²²⁴ Xenophon, *Anab.* I.5.8; *Cyr.* VIII.3.10.

²²⁵ Linders 1984, 107.

²²⁶ Pollux (VII.58), for example, gives a fuller description of the jacket as being sleeved, sometimes made of leather and as fastened from shoulders.

²²⁷ Xenophon, *Cyr.* VIII.3.10; Xenophon, *Hell.* II.1.8. The translation for Xenophon's text is taken from Knauer 1978, 22-23.

²²⁸ Knauer 1978, 23.

representations of a kandys worn by a man on a ninth century Median bronze stand found at Hasanlu. This evidence leads Knauer to suggest that Medes, who entered northern Iran from southern Russia in the first millennium, brought the kandys to Persia.²²⁹

A fourteenth century Hittite relief from Alacahöyük in central Anatolia, however, shows that a similar type of sleeved jacket was already known to Hittites in Asia Minor, long before the Persian arrival. On the base of the towers flanking the monumental Sphinx Gate of the Hittite city, a processional scene with sacrificial animals include noble figures wearing trailing tunics with long jackets over their shoulders. Their jackets have empty sleeves with their arms emerging from under the sleeves (**Fig 3.2b.1**).²³⁰ These figures are led by the king himself, who also wears a similar coat, indicating that the kandys was part of the costume of the court nobility (**Fig 3.2b.2**).

There is no iconographic or literary evidence for the continued use of the jacket with pendant sleeves in Asia Minor in the Dark Ages and in early Iron Age. Surprisingly, the Neo-Hittite art, which provides a good source for our knowledge of Anatolian dress, especially in the southeast in the early Iron Age, does not preserve any representation of the jacket. The reappearance of the kandys in Anatolia coincides with the Achaemenid period.

The so-called Munich I, the painted timber from Tatarlı, features a figure in a chariot in a procession wearing a white kandys (**5. Plate 1a-b**).²³¹ The curled strokes at

²²⁹ Knauer 1978, 23. Also see Borchhardt 1976, 58 for the northern origin.

²³⁰ Vieyra 1955.

²³¹ Summerer 2007, 135.

the edges of the jacket indicate fur trimming. Another Anatolian man, at the center of procession in a chariot on the south wall of the Karaburun II Tomb, wears a very similar white kandys with fur trimming. Different from the Tatarlı figure, the kandys of the Karaburun figure has straps, which the wearer holds with his left hand (**Fig 3.2b.3**). The straps, most probably functioning to secure the jacket worn over the shoulder, also occur on the kandyes of the Medians on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (**Fig 3.2b.4**). Whether or not this particular pose, “holding the straps,” signifies fastening or unfastening or something else is hard to decipher. The two examples from Tatarlı and Karaburun feature kandys-wearers in chariots in military or secular processions, identifying them as Anatolian dignitaries in the early and mid fifth century. Two other instances from the later fifth century show the kandys used as a sacerdotal dress. A limestone fire-altar from Bunyan in Kayseri shows three figures on three sides, each side featuring a man wearing a bashlyk, a long tunic, pants, and kandys with trimmed borders over his shoulders (**Fig 3.2b.5**).²³² The figures on all these sides are almost identical and each holds a cup in one hand and a barsom (A Zoroastrian ritual implement) in the other. These attributes clearly indicate that they are meant to be represented in the midst of a cultic activity. An architectural relief from Daskyleion (**Fig 3.1d.8**) features two priestly figures again holding barsoms in a sacrificial scene. The figures appear wearing bashlyks, ankle-length sleeved tunics, pants, and the kandys. Another architectural relief from Daskyleion features a barsom-holding figure before a door. The perfectly preserved deep red color of his kandys gives us clues about the possible color used for the jacket (**Fig 3.2b.6**). A

²³² Akurgal (1961, fig. 120) dates the altar to the third century, but does not provide any stylistic or iconographic bases for his dating.

bullae from Achaemenid Daskyleion also shows another barsom-holding figure wearing the kandys (**Fig 3.2b.7**).

The continuity of the kandys fashion among dignitaries is attested on Lycian monuments. For example, the satrap Autophradates, on the long side of the Pajawa sarcophagus wears a kandys over his trousers.²³³ On the east frieze of the Heroon at Limyra, the two dominant riders in the middle of the procession scene wear the kandys, with fur trim (**Fig 3.2b.8; 6. Plate 1a-b-c**). The unworn long pendant sleeves get tighter as they go down.²³⁴ Another fourth century example of kandys-wearers comes from the reliefs of the famous Alexander Sarcophagus, where Persian soldiers wear the kandys, depicted with very long tube-like sleeves flying gracefully in the air.²³⁵ In most of these cited examples, the kandys is worn over a knee-length or longer tunic and in conjunction with bashlyk and tight pants, the latter usually with decorative patterns.

The inventories of dedicated clothes from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (with copies from Athenian Akropolis) list the kandys in six different passages.²³⁶ Dating from the first half of the fourth century these inscriptions show that these jackets, except for one instance with the epithet “new” were all worn by Athenian women and later dedicated to Artemis.²³⁷ Inscriptions further reveal the materials used for the manufacture

²³³ Jenkins 2006, 180, fig.177.

²³⁴ Borchhardt 1978, 59.

²³⁵ Pedley 2007, p.315, fig. 9.38.

²³⁶ Linders 1984, 107.

²³⁷ Linders 1984, 108-109.

of the dedicated *kandyes*: linen in two instances and *amorginos* in one instance. One of the *kandyes* is also described as decorated with gold *pasmatia*.²³⁸ The late fifth and early fourth century representations on Attic sculpture and vase painting also show *kandyes* worn by Athenian women and children (**Figs 3.2b.8-9**). Yet, these representations feature a different form of sleeved jacket, always worn with the arms in sleeves. When worn by women it appears over a long *chiton*, and when worn by children it appears alone without any undergarment.

Miller, in her examination of Athenian representations of the *kandys* and also of the Brauron inscriptions argues that the jacket was adopted from Persia, through Western Anatolia, where local male dignitaries wore the jacket and a place to which Athenian travelers and traders had easy access.²³⁹ Miller further notes the “gender switch” in this adaptation and suggests that Euripides’ *Medea* or just a general taste for oriental luxurious textiles might have served as the catalyst for the adaption of the *kandys*.²⁴⁰ Linders also argues that Athenian women adopted the jacket through Anatolian intermediaries, but she suggests that the fashion came from not males but from females, who presumably wore the jacket with arms in the sleeves.²⁴¹ Yet, there is no iconographic evidence for *kandys*-wearing females in the Achaemenid art of neither Anatolia or Persia to support her hypothesis. Female representations in Persia are rare, but in Anatolia none of the extant representations of women from the Achaemenid era

²³⁸ Linders 1984, 109.

²³⁹ Miller 1997, 168.

²⁴⁰ Miller 1997, 169.

²⁴¹ Linders 1984, 112.

wear a kandys. On the Karaburun II fresco, for example, the seated female, possibly the wife of the dignitary wearing a fur-trimmed kandys, wears a typical long chiton with a long veil.

The Meaning of the Kandys

On the Apadana reliefs the kandys is exclusive to Median nobility. None of the subject leaders in procession appear wearing the pendant-sleeved jacket. In Western Anatolia, both in the Bronze Age and during the Achaemenid period, the jacket seems to have been a prestigious dress item, signifying the elite and/or the religious status of the wearers. In Alacahöyük, the Hittite king, along with the queen, leads a sacrificial procession, towards an altar and he wears a pendant-sleeved jacket. Male figures following the royal couple in the following orthostat also wear pendant-sleeved jackets over their trailing tunics. They hold staff like objects in their hands. These figures are possibly members of the royal family or priests. Kandys-wearers from the Achaemenid Anatolia, such as the representations of dignitaries from Tatarlı and Karaburun II tombs also denote association with the royalty. Whether or not they wore it in real life, Anatolian dignitaries seem to have used the prestigious jacket to link themselves with the Persian court and thus to seek power by mimicking the Median nobility. Examples from Bunyan Kayseri and Daskyleion suggest that the kandys was also worn in Zoroastrian ritual activities, by priests or by high officials who might have had priestly status. The social meaning of kandys in Greece is totally different. Adopted from the east in the late fifth and early fourth century and worn and dedicated in sanctuaries by Athenian women,

the sleeved jacket seems to have signified the wealth of the owner, who was following the “Orientalizing trend of luxurious textiles”²⁴² that swept Athens at the time.

c) **Pants (Anaxyrides)**

An Achaemenid contribution to the Anatolian costume repertoire is the trousers named in ancient Greek sources as *anaxyrides*.²⁴³ These fitted pants are usually worn underneath knee or thigh-length sleeved tunics and combined with bashlyks and sometimes with kandys.²⁴⁴ Decorations especially zigzag patterns in variously colored superimposed bands or dotted designs indicate that these trousers were possibly of wool.²⁴⁵ Usually worn by men in combat or processional scenes, the combination of tight pants, knee-length tunics and bashlyk seem to be a Persian military uniform. Indeed Herodotus describes the Persian and Median contingents of Xerxes’ army as wearing bashlyks, patterned sleeved chitons, and anaxyrides about the legs.²⁴⁶

The fitted trousers seem to have become popular in Anatolia in the early fifth century as evidenced in several decorated tombs such as paintings of Karaburun and Tatarlı, and some of the reliefs from Daskyleion (**Fig 3.1d.5; 5. Plate 2a-b**). The fashion for anaxyrides continues throughout the fourth century until it vanishes from the

²⁴² Miller 1997, 170.

²⁴³ Herodotus I.71; Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.5.8; Euripides, *Cyclops* 182; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1087.

²⁴⁴ Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 6

²⁴⁵ Soft texture of the linen does not allow too much decoration.

²⁴⁶ Hdt VII.61.1; VII.62.

Anatolian costume repertory in the third century. A number of figures wear the pants on the monumental tombs of fourth century Anatolia, including the Heroon of Perikles at Limyra, the Heroon at Trysa, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassos, and the Nereid Monument **(6.Plata 1c)**. The chronological range for the fashion indicates that anaxyrides are adopted from Achaemenid Persia, possibly as part of a military uniform. Yet, there is evidence for an earlier Phrygian antecedent for fitted trousers in Anatolia.

The fitted pants appear on the early sixth century architectural terracotta revetments from an unknown building at Pazarlı in central Anatolia.²⁴⁷ The Phrygian building is richly decorated with terracotta friezes with figural imagery (**Fig. 3.2c.1**). The uppermost frieze or the so-called “lesser warrior frieze”²⁴⁸ features hoplites with crested helmets and variously patterned shields wearing patterned short tunics and patterned tight pants, the latter visible on their thighs just above their black leggings.²⁴⁹ Decorations on their trousers include, zigzags in superimposed bands, dotted patterns, and straight or crossed horizontal bands (**Figs 3.2c.2a-2b-2c**). Based especially on the parallel imagery of shield types on Clazomenian sarcophagi, Akerstörn considers these warriors as deriving from East Greek art.²⁵⁰ Miller, however, interprets them as “Phrygians wearing

²⁴⁷ Akerstörn 1966, 161-190, and also Özgen and Öztürk 1997, 25.

²⁴⁸ Akerstörn 1966, 161-190. Each square revetment forming the frieze measures 45x45 cm. There seems to be another broader frieze with larger warriors, located somewhere on the building.

²⁴⁹ It is not clear whether or not their tunics are sleeved since their arms are hidden behind their shields.

²⁵⁰ Akerstörn 1966, 176-179; 183-188.

their traditional military dress.”²⁵¹ Indeed, the context of the Pazarlı building makes Miller’s theory more plausible, but there is currently no other Phrygian example from sixth century to compare it to the Pazarlı warriors. Considering the blossoming of the fashion in the fifth century, it is safer to assume that the *anaxyrides* were Median in origin and it became popular among Anatolians who were already familiar with wearing trousers in the sixth century.

Unlike the sleeved chiton and the kandys, (discussed in detail above) *anaxyrides* were never adopted by Greeks.²⁵² Patterned pants were ridiculed and nicknamed *thulakoi*, ‘bags’ by Athenians. Miller explains the rejection of the trousers as due to the Greek dress system, which is “horizontally agglutinative” rather than being “vertically agglutinative.”²⁵³ According to Miller “sleeved tunics” and “kandyes” easily incorporated into the horizontal system, replacing peploi and himations, while *anaxyrides*, which need to be worn in conjunction with upper garments could not. Indeed, *anaxyrides* became an attribute of the “eastern other” in Greek art. Not only Persians, but Skythians and Amazons appear wearing the fitted trousers in a variety of examples.²⁵⁴

As mentioned above, the contexts in which pants-wearers appear, military combats or processions, imply that the dress originated as part of a uniform. Yet, there is also evidence for sacerdotal usage of the pants. Two barsom-holding figures on an

²⁵¹ Miller 1997, 172.

²⁵² Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 6.

²⁵³ Miller 1997, 185.

²⁵⁴ Skythians wear it on the pedimental sculpture from the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina, Amazons wear it on the cella friezes from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, and Persians wear on the friezes of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis.

architectural relief from Daskyleion wear pants underneath their sleeved tunics, and kandyes. Barsom-holding figures on the fire altar from Bunyan also wear tight pants in conjunction with bashlyk and kandys (**Fig 3.1d.8; Fig 3.2b.5**). The identity of these figures is unknown, but they might depict military leaders, who also assumed priestly status.

3.3 Belts

Unlike many costume items of textile, which are traceable only in visual representations or in literary descriptions, metal belts have survived in their entirety or partially in tombs or sanctuaries and provide a large corpus of actual evidence for an item of Anatolian costume. Two major belt fashions can be traced in the archaeological remains: Urartian and Phrygio-Ionian, both types spanning a time roughly from late ninth century to early sixth century. Though Urartian belts are mostly restricted to Eastern and Central Anatolia, Phrygio-Ionian belts seems to have become popular throughout Western Asia Minor. A detailed discussion of both types of belts and a reevaluation of the possible meaning and function of such belts used in funerary and religious contexts will follow in this section.

a) Urartian Belts

The Urartian state flourished between tenth and late eighth century in the area of Lake Van in Eastern Anatolia. Thanks to their rich metallic resources, the Urartian art was especially famous for metalwork, including vessels, armor, and several dress items such as medallions and belts. In a recent study, Kellner catalogued around 350 bronze

belts of Urartian type, examples coming from a variety of museums and private collections all around the world.²⁵⁵ Except for a few certain discoveries from tombs, the original context of most of these belts is lost, making it impossible to trace regional varieties. Nevertheless, the motifs on the belts are comparable to those that appear on items of other Urartian material culture and allow a rough chronological classification. Accordingly, Kellner divided the belts into eleven types, the earliest known group dating from the first third of the eighth century and the latest to mid seventh century. Most of the belts are perforated along the borders for attaching a leather backing. The widths of the belts vary, broad ones reaching up to 17cm. It is not certain how the narrow belts were fastened, but broad ones have small loops, to which presumably leather strips are tied to fasten the belt. Representations on the narrow belts are usually incised, while on the broad ones they are executed in relief, worked from both sides by means of punching.

The motifs on the earliest 1st group, belts feature processions of mounted horses and chariots, strictly organized in superimposed registers (**Fig 3.3a.1**). The 2nd group, dated to 770-740 by Kellner, is distinguished from the 1st group by the inclusion of footmen and also the Sacred Tree flanked by lions, bulls or winged sphinxes. Hunting and battle scenes, executed with a greater sense of movement, and vegetal and geometric ornamentations inserted arbitrarily in between these scenes characterize the 3rd group (**Fig 3.3a.2**). The largest 4th group, dating from 740-640, is more ornamental with all the figures and ornaments of the previous types scattered arbitrarily over the segments of the belts' figure fields (**Fig 3.3a.3**). The 5th group dates from around 700 and features, foot soldiers, horsemen shooting backwards, animals, and mythical creatures, all organized in

²⁵⁵ Kellner 1991, 142-161.

strictly divided zones (**Fig 3.3a.4**). Continuous garland-net designs typify the 6th group (**Fig 3.3a.5**), while large and small ornamental disks characterize the 7th group. According to Kellner, the small 8th group, with undecorated rounded terminals and with vertically arranged palmettes as their prominent ornament, is not properly Urartian, since only known examples come from southeastern Anatolia.²⁵⁶ The 9th group features mythical creatures arranged in a crowded manner on their broad surface, similar to textile designs. The dating of this group is problematic since their decorative style is not reminiscent of any previous groups (**Fig 3.3a.6**). Popular between 760-730, the belts of the 10th group, are only decorated with ornaments but without any figures over their entire length. Raised or incised lines usually frame the ornaments. The final 11th group contains rich narrative scenes, such as banquet scenes, offering-bearer women in procession, and depictions of citadels and fortresses on their narrow surfaces (**Fig 3.3a.7**).²⁵⁷

Urartian belts were not popular or exported to the west since despite the great number of belts found, none of the Ionian sanctuaries has thus far preserved an Urartian belt.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Kellner 1991, 155.

²⁵⁷ The date of this group is uncertain. See Kellner 1991, 160-161.

²⁵⁸ Bennett 1997, 43. Muscarella 1990, also denies Urartian examples as a source for Phrygio-Ionian belts.

b) Phrygio-Ionian Belts

The Phrygio-Ionian belts are the most popular type in Central and Western Anatolia from late eighth to the early sixth century.²⁵⁹ Typically, these belts consist of a solid bronze or silver band, usually with fine incised decoration, a catch-plate with holes and a hook with fibula-like belt buckle at the ends for fastening in the hook-and-eye manner. The belts are perforated along the edges for sewing on leather or linen backing, which would have been rolled over the edges making a raised border (**Fig 3.3b.1**). The catch-plate is usually a rectangular openwork piece with a rounded end, attached or hinged to the band. The fibula-like buckle at the base of the long hook has no crucial function in fastening. As Boardman suggests such buckles possibly derive from fibulae once fastened on linen belts and survive simply as decorative appendages.²⁶⁰

Examples, fragmentary or intact, come from a variety of Western Anatolian and Greek sites including Gordion, Ankara, Afyon, Boğazköy, Bayındır, Toprakkale, several Ionian sanctuaries on Samos, Chios and at Ephesos, Miletos, Didyma, Old Smyrna, and Erythrai and also at Delphi and Olympia on the mainland Greece (**Fig 3.3b.2**).²⁶¹

Both tumuli and secular structures such as the so-called South Cellar building at Gordion revealed bronze belts. Based on the new C14 dating, most of the belts found at

²⁵⁹ Main sources for the discussion of these belts are Boardman 1961/1962, Kohler 1981, Bennett 1997, Klebinder 2001, Vassileva 2005.

²⁶⁰ Boardman 1961-1962, 184.

²⁶¹ Vassileva 2005, 91-93, Bennett 1997, 45. For Gordion: Kohler 1981, 236-239, for Ephesos; Klebinder 2001, 111-122, for examples from Emporio and Phanai at Chios; Boardman 1961-1962, 180-189, for Olympia Bennett 1997, 51-57.

Gordion are dated to the post destruction level, thus after 800s.²⁶² Though contemporary with the better-known Phrygio-Ionian belts with hook-eye locking mechanism, ten belts were discovered in the Great Tumulus MM, and several other fragments from Tumulus W and Tumulus K-III display different features. These belts consist of openwork rectangular plaques and studded disks arranged on a leather backing (**Fig 3.3b.3**).²⁶³ It is not certain how they were fastened. One example from Tumulus MM, found with a toggle at one end and sewing holes on the other, suggests that strings coming from the sewing holes and forming a cord was knotted to the toggle.²⁶⁴

The best examples of Phrygio-Ionian belts from Gordion with solid metal bands fastened in a hook-eye mechanism are the three examples discovered at Tumulus P. Of the three, Tum P-35 is perhaps the most elaborate with bands of triple zigzag designs and the hook with four choices of holes in the catch plate (**Fig 3.3b.4**).²⁶⁵

The popularity of this type of belt not only at Gordion, but all along the Ionian coast implies the efficiency of their locking mechanism. The origin of this mechanism might go back to Bronze Age Anatolia. The long, tongue-shaped silver bands with holes in them found in Early Bronze Age cemetery at Karatas in Lycia are interpreted either as

²⁶² Vassileva 2005, 91.

²⁶³ See Kohler 1981, 149, fig. 94.

²⁶⁴ See Kohler 1981, 237 for different possibilities.

²⁶⁵ Kohler 1981, 19-20, fig 9.

diadem parts or belt ends by Mellink.²⁶⁶ If they were indeed belt ends, they would imply the existence of adjustable belts used by Anatolians in the Bronze Age.²⁶⁷

Boardman dates the Phrygio-Ionian belts discovered in the Ionian sanctuaries, especially those from Empario and Phanai on Chios, Old Smyrna, Samos, and Ephesos between roughly 690 and 600.²⁶⁸ He further sees these belts as Greek imitations of Phrygian examples from Gordion. His theory is based on slight difference in the configuration of the belts found at Tumulus P and the Chios examples. The major difference he notes “is the absence of the hinged tongue with its row of holes (on the Tumulus P belts); instead there are openwork loops fastened flat onto the belt.”²⁶⁹ This small difference in the rendering of the catch-plates is probably due to our limited knowledge of the belts, which might have been manufactured in various types. Indeed, Boardman, himself, notes a Phrygian belt from Ankara rendered in the presumed Greek manner.²⁷⁰ Slight variations also exist between known belts from Ionian sites. Boardman links this variation to the existence of local schools of belt makers in Ionia.²⁷¹ Accordingly, he classifies all the belts typologically from Type A to Type H. These schools could also be true for the Phrygian examples, especially when one considers the

²⁶⁶ Mellink 1969, 325.

²⁶⁷ Other Bronze Age examples include gold belt fasteners with pins found in the royal tombs of Alacahöyük.

²⁶⁸ Boardman 1961-1962, 185-186.

²⁶⁹ Boardman 1961-1962, 184-185.

²⁷⁰ Boardman 1961-1962, 185.

²⁷¹ Boardman 1961-1962, 183.

aforementioned leather belts with studded disks and plaques from Gordion. Belts from Ionia do not need to be specifically Greek imitations of Phrygian belts. Most of the examples come from the international sanctuaries of Ionia. At Ephesos, for example, we know of the existence of Phrygian votaries active in the cult of Artemis Ephesia, dedicating their clothing items to the goddess, in the early seventh century.²⁷² Herodotus says that Kroisos dedicated his wife's belts at Delphi (I. 14: 51). So belts from these sanctuaries could be produced and used both by Phrygians, Greeks, and Lydians. There is no need to classify the belt workshops and the belt wearers ethnically; they are simply Anatolian.

Two silver belts found in the tomb of a female in her late 20s, along with several other silver goods of superb quality at Bayındır in Lycia require a special attention. The tomb, so-called Tumulus D, and thus the belts date from the late seventh century. Crafted entirely of silver, the belts are decorated with rows of finely incised interlocking squares. Both belts have long hooks and fibula-type handles with bead-and-reel moulding next to the hooks. One of the belts (Antalya Museum 71.21.87), so intact as to be still wearable today, maintains its elaborate openwork catch-plate (tongue) with ten semicircular notches hinged to the belt (**Fig 3.3b.5**). The deceased female wore this belt at the time of the burial. The other, slightly narrower belt, found in another corner of the tomb, separate from the skeletal remains, is missing its catch plate, but traces of its hinge are still visible.²⁷³ The ethnicity of the tomb-owner and the workshops of the burial goods are highly debated issues, the proposed possibilities including Phrygian, Ionian, and

²⁷² Şare 2010, Bammer 1991, 1992.

²⁷³ Özgen and Özgen 1988, 44, 192.

Lycian.²⁷⁴ The typology of the belts, comparable to the finds from both Phrygian and Ionian sites, points to a general Anatolian fashion.

The representation of belts in the figural arts of ancient Anatolia indicates the popularity of the fashion for both genders. One of the earliest representations of a metal belt is the one worn by the guardian god on a fourteenth century relief on the inner side of the King's Gate at Boğazköy (**Fig 3.1d.1**). The ridges along the edges of the belt indicate the leather backing rolled to the front and sewn on the belt. The warriors in procession on the Herald's Wall at Carchemish appear wearing thick belts. These belts have long hooks visible at the front, each hook stemming from an openwork triangular piece (**Fig 3.3b.6**). Fibula-type buckles at the base of the hooks, typical of the Phrygio-Ionian belts, are not part of the Carchemish costume repertoire, but the very existence of openwork ends with such long hooks for fastening suggest the Neo-Hittite influence on the Phrygio-Ionian belts. Ivory figurines from Bayındır D Tumulus and also related figurines from Ephesos wear thick belts. The superimposed incised lines along the edges of Antalya C and Antalya D are suggestive of the incised decoration, echoed on the silver belts found in the same tomb. From the Ephesian group, Megabyzos wears a belt with meander designs. Archaic representations of Kybele from Western Anatolia, such as the Etlik Kybele or Gordion Kybele have thick belts, into which the edge of the goddesses' long veils are tucked. The wooden statuette from Samian Heraion also wears a belt with ridges along the edges. The only representation of a Phrygio-Ionian belt with a fibula-type buckle with a hook survives on a Roman copy of an earlier statue of Artemis Ephesia from Ephesos (**Fig 3.3b.7**). As Vassileva points out, fastened at the back with the buckle brought

²⁷⁴ See chapter 4 and Şare 2010.

forward to secure the hook, in the Roman context, the buckle seems to have gained a functional role, rather than being merely decorative.²⁷⁵ Several figures on Karaburun frescoes wear colorful, usually red or brown belts knotted at the front, suggesting the popularity of also the fabric belts in Western Anatolia in the sixth century.

The Meaning (Function) of the Phrygio-Ionian Belts

The contexts in which the belts are found can give clues about their possible social meaning and the social standing of their contemporary wearers or dedicators. Unfortunately, in the case of the Urartian belts, except a few known to be found in tombs, the original context is lost. Yet, the variety of motifs, both figural and ornamental, implies the high social status of their wearers. Almost all of the known Phrygio-Ionian belts come from either sanctuaries or tombs. Both genders seem to have worn them. Belts found at tombs along with other prestigious burial goods, especially those from the Gordion tumuli indicate, the high social standing of the owners. Indeed, Bennett links the belts found at the Gordion tumuli with the royals mentioned in the *Iliad*. He traces the typological similarities between Phrygio-Ionian belts and the descriptions of ‘heroic warrior’s belts’ (*zosteres*) in the *Iliad* and suggests that the former, worn by Phrygian aristocrats, influenced the description of these belts by epic singers in their songs of heroes.²⁷⁶ Agamemnon, for example, wears a silver belt (Il XI, 236-237), which Bennett connects to the ones found at Bayındır D or Hector, as a gift of friendship, receives from

²⁷⁵ Vassilleva 2005, 95; Klebinder 2001, 119; Bammer 1996, 78, Abb. 95.

²⁷⁶ Bennett 1997, 43.

Aias a shining belt dyed in red, (Il VII, 299-305) which Bennett links to the remains of a bronze studded leather belt discovered at Tumulus W at Gordion. Dating from the first half of the eight century the leather of this belt still displays the traces of red color.²⁷⁷

Except for one example from a burial on Samos, belts recovered from Ionian sites come from sanctuaries and they seem to have been dedicated to goddesses by young women before marriage or as an offering after successful childbirth.²⁷⁸ These goddesses include Hera at Samos, Aphrodite and Artemis at Miletos, Athena Pronaia at Marmaria at Delphi, an unknown goddess at Old Smyrna, and another in the Harbor Sanctuary at Chios, and Artemis at Didyma and at Ephesos.²⁷⁹ Inventories survived from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron with duplicates from the Athenian Akropolis, and also the lists of dedications from Miletos, famous for its cult of Artemis Kithone (the chiton-wearer) list several items of female clothing including belts and prove the special place of Artemis and female votaries for such dedications.²⁸⁰ Boardman, by examining the representations of belts worn by female figures such as the Samian korai, Auxerre Kore, and bronze relief of Artemis Potnia from Olympia, suggests that these belts were worn and dedicated by women in Greek sanctuaries.²⁸¹ Herodotus' mention of Kroisos, who

²⁷⁷ Bennett 1997, 48-50.

²⁷⁸ Vassileva 2005, 96.

For "virginal" belts dedicated to Artemis see Roccas 2000, 240 and Cole 2004, 217-218.

²⁷⁹ Vassileva 2005, 95.

²⁸⁰ For Brauron see Linders 1972; for Miletos see Günther 1988; for sources and general discussion see Cole 2004, 213-218.

²⁸¹ Boardman 1961-1961, 189.

dedicated his wife's belt to the sanctuary at Delphi, however, shows the existence of male votaries as well (I. 14: 51).

Vassileva suggests that the meaning of belts found in Phrygian tombs was different than their function as offerings by females in the Ionian sanctuaries. Although the skeletal evidence is scarce, she assigns male identity for the occupants of Gordion tombs.²⁸² She argues that "Bronze belts were goddess' (Kybele's) attributes and worn by the dead king or (male) aristocrats, put as grave offerings or dedicated as mark of a special relation to the mother goddess and her cult."²⁸³ She further sees lion decorations on the terminals of two belts from Didyma and Kaynarca as an indication of a Greek's association of these belts with Kybele who is represented with lions in Greek iconography. Based on the decoration of just two belts, such a conclusion is possibly wrong. Other examples of belts with animal head terminals, such as the one with ram heads from Phanai in Chios indicate that lion terminals were not unique.²⁸⁴

The Phrygio-Ionian belts found in tombs along with other rich burial goods, such as the ones from Tumulus P at Gordion and Tumulus D at Bayındır, signal the aristocratic standing of their owners, either male or female, but it is difficult to apply the same main meaning to all of the belts from Western Anatolia, which are found in secular buildings and sanctuaries. As is the case in early Greek poetry, belts might have been used to define several identities for both genders. When worn by man, the belt refers to a king,

²⁸² Vassileva 2005, 94-95.

²⁸³ Vassileva 2005, 96.

²⁸⁴ Boardman 1967, 217.

charioteer, boxer, wrestler, athlete, horse-leader, rustic, craftsman, and singer and when worn by women, identifies them as virgin, mother, or seductress.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Bennett 1997, 185-187.

Chapter 4

Dress and Identity: The Antalya Figurines- Sixth Century BCE

This chapter, a case study on the dress of Western Anatolians in relation to their religious and gender-specific roles and status in the early sixth century, will focus on a group of figurines recovered from Bayındır Tumulus D, near the city of Elmalı in Antalya province (**map 1**).²⁸⁶ Since their discovery in 1987, the group has stimulated scholarly debate over their date, style, and the workshop that produced them as well as their identities. The proposed dates for the figurines range from the late eighth to the early sixth centuries. Some scholars consider the group to be the product of a Neo-Hittite workshop, while others suggest an Ionian, Lydian, Phrygian or Lycian workshop; some identify the figures as Anatolian deities and their clergy, while others identify them as Greek deities.²⁸⁷ In this study, I reevaluate the existing scholarship on the figurines in light of other figurines discovered at Ephesos. The Ephesian figurines share a common costume repertoire with the Antalya figurines, indicating a unique Anatolian fashion in the sixth century. This reexamination leads to three conclusions. First, the Antalya figurines were carved in an “Anatolian” workshop and exemplify the cultural and artistic amalgamation of Greek and local traditions that flourished in Anatolia and developed into what art historians call the Ionian style. Second, the figurines functioned as handles of

²⁸⁶ A different version of this chapter is published by the author of this dissertation, see Şare 2010.

²⁸⁷ The main publications that discuss Antalya figurines are Dörtlük 1988; Özgen and Özgen 1989; Akurgal 1992; Özgen and Öztürk 1996; Roller 1999; Işık 2000; Boardman 2000; and Börker-Klähn 2003.

ritual implements, possibly distaffs or libation cups. Third, the costumes of the figurines hint to their identity as high-status participants in the cult of an Anatolian goddess, perhaps Artemis Ephesia.

Antalya Figurines in Context

The Bayındır D Tumulus, from which Antalya figurines were unearthed, is one of over 100 small tumuli on a plain close to the village of Bayındır, near Elmalı. Only two of these tumuli have been excavated systematically, both by Kayhan Dörtlük: Bayındır C and Bayındır D.²⁸⁸ Both tumuli have revealed similar construction techniques: a burial pit sunk into the hardpan, enclosed within a wooden chamber, with the whole structure covered by stones forming a mound. Interestingly, the contents of the tumuli represent different burial traditions: cremation in Tumulus C and inhumation in Tumulus D.²⁸⁹

The wooden burial chamber in Bayındır D measures 3.25 x 4.50 m and has a floor lined with pebbles.²⁹⁰ The skeletal remains of a female in her late 20s laid out on a wooden kline, with her head facing east, were found on the north side of the room.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Dörtlük 1988.

²⁸⁹ Both tumuli are similar in size. Tumulus C is 36–38 m in width and 4.20 m in height (at the center); and Tumulus D is 40–45 m in width and 5.10 m in height. See Dörtlük 1988, 172.

²⁹⁰ Not much survived of the wooden walls and the ceiling. Eight postholes in the pebbled floor, 50 cm in depth and 22 cm in circumference, once held the supports of the wooden roof. See Dörtlük 1988, 173. Wooden burial chambers underneath earthen and stone tumuli are typical of Phrygian burial tradition, the most famous example being the so-called Tomb of Midas or Tumulus MM from Gordion; see Young 1981, 79–102; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 32; Uçankuş 2002, 287–338.

²⁹¹ The wooden *kline* had virtually disintegrated and the remains of the deceased had fallen to the floor.

Surviving elements of the deceased's costume include a large silver belt over her waist, ten bronze fibulae over her chest, and nine silver fibulae found next to her chin. Scattered around the body were two small bronze cauldrons with bull protomai, ivory furniture appliqués (possibly from the kline), embossed silver plaques (possibly from a horse's harness), and two iron horse bits.²⁹² The eastern corner of the chamber yielded another silver belt and a large cauldron containing the remains of burned ceramic sherds. The Antalya figurines, three of ivory and one of silver, occurred in the southwest corner in a pile of objects, including several silver and bronze omphalos cups (some plain, some with petaled decoration); bronze and silver bowls with swiveling ring handles attached to bolsters; a silver ladle and a bronze ladle; small cauldrons of silver and bronze with ring-handles or bull protomes; and a small ivory cup. Eleven of the metal vessels bear incised Phrygian names.²⁹³

²⁹²The tumulus did not contain any equine skeletal remains. Almost all of the embossed silver plaques are perforated with holes for attachment. Thus, they may be the surviving parts of the garment of the deceased. Börker-Klähn (2003, 70–72), however, believes that all the silver plaques belong to a horse saddle, a personal possession of the deceased woman that was deliberately damaged and rendered unusable at the time of burial. She further notes that remains of such saddles are known from Phrygian tombs at Gordion. For remains of golden appliqués sewn onto the garments, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 165–167, nos. 116–119; for a representation of a dress decorated with appliqués on a seventh century medallion, see Fig. 2.3 in this dissertation.

²⁹³Dörtlük (1988, 173) mentions these inscriptions, but does not identify the language of the text. The inscriptions were initially published by Varinlioglu (1992) and then by Börker-Klähn (2003, 74–77) and Brixhe (2004). The inscribed Phrygian names include Siidos, Ata, Dide, and Ates, the last appearing seven times. Börker-Klähn (2003, 74–77) suggests that these cups did not come from the household of the deceased but belonged to her surviving relatives: their names were inscribed on the objects, which were placed in the grave as offerings. She further believes that Ates, whose name appears most frequently on the cups, was probably a chief priest and a relative of King Midas; the name Ates appears, along with that of Midas, as a dedicator on Phrygian rock reliefs at Yazılıkaya.

Of the figurines Antalya C is the best preserved and the most remarkable. It presents a lively representation of a mother with her two children. The mother stands at the center on a shallow base with her left foot forward (**Fig 4.1**). She wears a one-piece, sleeved dress with a belt and a large circular collar band at the neck. Her dress has decorative horizontal and vertical bands; one of the horizontal bands forms the hem. The belt has incisions imitating metalwork, recalling the two silver belts found in the same tumulus.²⁹⁴ Over her high polos she wears a veil. Two corners of her veil are brought to the front and tucked into the belt; the veil is further stabilized by a band tied around the polos in typical Anatolian fashion.²⁹⁵ Her dress, which responds to the forward movement of her foot, is rendered longer in the front and shorter in the back and reveals the backs of her ankles. Two straight chin-length locks of hair fall in front of her ears. She wears a beaded necklace arranged like a bead-and-reel molding, and spiral bracelets on both

For the inscribed small silver cauldron (Antalya Museum 11.21.87) and the silver ladle (Antalya Museum 43.21.87), see Özgen and Özgen 1989, 187–188, nos. 32 and 34; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 27.

²⁹⁴ These belts provide the only analogy between the costume of the deceased in the tumulus, who had a large silver belt at her waist, and the costume of Antalya C. For the deceased's belt (Antalya Museum 71.21.87), see Özgen and Özgen 1989, 192, no. 48. The second silver belt, found in the eastern corner of the tomb, must have had a sacred significance; perhaps it was a virginal belt. As discussed below, dedication of such belts as a symbol of the transition to womanhood or motherhood is well attested in the cult of Artemis. Anatolian belts are discussed in detail above in chapter 3, section 3 in this dissertation. For representations of fibulae, see Muscarella 1967; for types of Anatolian belts in the Archaic period, see Boardman 1961–1962 and Vassileva 2005; for the dedication of belts to Artemis, see Roccas 2000, 240; Cole 2004, 217–218.

²⁹⁵ Initially a part of Neo-Hittite costume, the combination of a polos with a long veil whose corners are brought to the front and tucked into a belt seems to have been adopted by the Ionians living in Anatolia; see Özgen 1982, 263–286.

wrists. She has full rounded cheeks; almond-shaped, slanting eyes; a large rounded nose; and full lips with an Archaic smile.

A small girl on the right stands with her left foot forward and holds her mother's hand tightly (**Fig 4.2**). She wears a sleeved and belted dress with a collar band at the neckline and a beaded necklace like her mother's. The thinner pleats just above her feet indicate that she is also wearing an undergarment. The horizontal and vertical bands on her dress are decorated with double hooks and hooked swastikas, and her collar band is decorated with diamond patterns. Her feet are just visible in front through two arches formed by the hem of her dress, while the backs of her feet are completely covered by the pleats of her undergarment. Her long hair, incised with a herringbone pattern, falls down her back in five separate locks that end in ringlets. Two shorter, curved locks of hair fall in front of her ears on both sides. She, too, has almond-shaped, slanting eyes, a large rounded nose, full rounded cheeks, and lips set in the Archaic smile. Her young age is not only indicated by her size relative to her mother, but also by the ringlets at the end of her long hair.

The nude infant boy is seated on his mother's left shoulder in a "riding position" (**Fig 4.3**). He secures his balance by holding onto his mother's polos with his right hand. Even though his head is missing, his stature, especially his small feet and his plump body, clearly communicates his young age. The whole family group is carved from one piece of ivory. The rectangular hole at the top of the mother's polos indicates that the figurine group was originally attached to an object (**Fig 4.4**).

Antalya A is the only silver figurine, and the controversial issue of its subject's gender will be taken up in more detail below (**Fig 4.5**). The figurine wears a one-piece

belted dress and a tall polos with horizontal decorative bands. Clasping its hands in front, the figurine stands stiffly with large eyes and truncate locks of hair in front of the ears. The style of Antalya A is slightly different from that of the other three ivory figurines, possibly due to its different medium and the hollow-cast technique used for its creation.

Ivory Antalya B, whose gender is also controversial, wears a one-piece belted dress, a polos, and a long necklace, which the figurine holds with both hands (**Fig 4.6**). Short curved locks of hair frame the face on both sides. Though details of the face do not survive, the overall rendering is reminiscent of the mother in Antalya C. Both Antalya A and B wear dresses with closely packed folds, which indicate that the garments are made of soft fabric, possibly linen.

Antalya D is an ivory figurine of a woman wearing a dress fringed at the hem, and over the dress a veil whose edges are tucked into a large belt (**Fig 4.7**). Her chin-length straight hair is visible in front of her ears. The overall rendering of the face, with its slanting eyes and Archaic smile, is almost identical to that of the Antalya C mother. She holds a bird on her right hand and a baby on the left, although these figures are very fragmentary. The stylistic similarities between the three ivory figurines found together, Antalya B, C, and D, indicate that they are products of the same workshop. Furthermore, the rectangular holes, also detectable on top of Antalya B and D, suggest that the three figurines were all attached to something similar and thus probably had a similar function.

Date, Style, and Workshop

Following their brief mention in the excavation reports by Dörtlük Antalya figurines have been the focus of many studies, each presenting a different interpretation

of the figurines' style, date, and workshop. Focusing on the details of the costumes, Akurgal considers the Antalya figurines as examples of the last bloom of Neo-Hittite art in the late seventh century.²⁹⁶ Özgen suggests an early seventh century date and proposes a Lydian origin for the workshop.²⁹⁷ Roller argues a late seventh century date and a Phrygian origin for the workshop.²⁹⁸ Boardman cites Antalya figurines as an example of a seventh century style in the minor arts of Anatolia that he describes as “Phrygian, gradually becoming Lydian with shifts in political power, but Lydian of a type that owes nothing important to Greek style.”²⁹⁹ In his comprehensive study of the Antalya figurines, Işık discusses them as an example of ‘Ionianization’ of Phrygian and Neo-Hittite forms in Anatolia in the early sixth century.³⁰⁰ Işık assigns the figurines to an Ionian, more specifically to an Ephesian workshop. In the most recent publication on the Antalya figurines, Börker-Klähn dates the figurines to the late eighth century and considers them

²⁹⁶ Akurgal 1992.

²⁹⁷ Özgen and Özgen 1989; Özgen and Öztürk 1996. In the former publication (1989) Özgen categorizes the Antalya figurines as Phrygian, but in the latter (1996) she posits a Lydian origin for the workshop. She does not explain this change in her interpretation, but it may be based on typological connections between the looted materials from the Lydian tombs of the Uşak-Güre and Manisa regions, and finds from the Bayındır tumuli (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 27).

²⁹⁸ Roller 1999, 104. Within the text Roller dates Antalya C to the late seventh–early sixth century, but in the captions for illustrations of Antalya C (fig. 35) and Antalya A (fig. 36), she specifies a range from the late eighth to the seventh century.

²⁹⁹ Boardman 2000, 91.

³⁰⁰ Işık 2000, 80–83.

examples of a South Asia Minor artistic *koine* rooted in a Syro-Phoenician style but matured in a homogeneous culture in northeastern Lycia.³⁰¹

The puzzling variety in the proposed interpretations of the origin of Antalya C is not surprising. Though Bayındır is geographically part of Lycia,³⁰² the archaeological context in which the Antalya figurines were found signals a Phrygian or Lydian origin. The construction technique of Bayındır D Tumulus, the typology of the belts and metal cups found together with the figurines in the tumulus display strong Phrygian affinities, and 11 of the metal vessels bear Phrygian inscriptions.³⁰³ Similar silver vessels with Phrygian inscriptions from the Lydian tombs of the Uşak-Güre and Manisa regions also suggest a Lydian connection.³⁰⁴ The typology and stylistic rendering of Antalya ivories recall the group of ivory figurines found in the foundation deposit of the Artemision at Ephesos, an Ionian city with Lydian ties.³⁰⁵ Moreover, several features of costume on the

³⁰¹ Because of the early date she assigns to the figurine, Börker-Klähn (2003, 90–92) also thinks that its style has no connection with either Greeks or Ionians.

³⁰² This northern part of Lycia is also called Milyad.

³⁰³ Bowls with petal or omphalos embossments and swiveling ring handles attached to bolsters are often considered hallmarks of Phrygian material culture; dozens of such bowls of bronze were discovered in several of the tumuli at Gordion. See Young 1981, 11–27, 102–172, 199–212; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 32–35; Uçankuş 2002, 288–295.

³⁰⁴ Collectively called the Lydian Hoard, a number of grave goods from at least four tombs (Aktepe, Toptepe, Ikiztepe, and Harta) from the modern Uşak-Güre and Manisa regions of ancient Lydia were looted in the 1960s and later sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Unfortunately, the original context of these superb artifacts is unknown. The museum returned the hoard to Turkish museums in 1993. Ironically, some of the returned artifacts were stolen from the Manisa Museum in 2001. See Özgen and Öztürk 1996.

³⁰⁵ For the Ephesian ivory figurines, see Hogarth 1908, 155–176; Bammer 1985, 39–57; Carter 1985, 225–248. Boardman (2000, 90) considers the Ephesian figurines to be Lydian rather than Ionian. Two other typological parallels to Antalya C and the Ephesian

Antalya figurines--namely the polos, large belt, veil tucked into the belt, and locks of hair in front of the ears--are specifically Anatolian and analogous to Neo-Hittite representations of Kubaba (**Fig 4.8**) and Phrygian representations of Kybele (**Fig 4.9**).³⁰⁶

Antalya C and Antalya B show striking stylistic and typological similarities to the “Oriental group” within the Ephesian ivory figurines, particularly to the figurine of a so-called Megabyzos, a eunuch priest of Artemis (**Fig 4.10**). The subject’s one-piece belted dress with a circular collar and polos are similar to the clothing of the Antalya C mother, while his long necklace, the way he holds it, his curved ringlets before his ears, and the way his toes appear through two arches formed by the hem of his dress are analogous to Antalya B. All three ivory figurines--Antalya B, C, and the Ephesian Megabyzos--also share similarities in their facial features: inlaid eyes and eyebrows slanting upwards, rounded noses, and lips set in the Archaic smile. All these similarities might indicate that the Megabyzos figurine and the Antalya ivories are contemporaneous and belong to the same or related workshops. Thus, the date and workshop of the Ephesian Megabyzos can be used as a benchmark for determining the date of the Antalya figurines.

“Oriental group” are an ivory figurine from Gordion, carved in less detail (Young 1966, pl. 74, fig. 5), and a silver figurine from the Stanford Place Collection, Faringdon, England (inv. no. not known).

³⁰⁶ The Neo-Hittite goddess Kubaba, queen goddess of Neo-Hittite Carchemish, is believed to have derived from the Hurrian goddess Hapat and is often seen as the forerunner of Lydo-Phrygian Kybele. See Hawkins 1981; Mellink 1983, 358–359; Naumann-Steckner 1983, 18; Munn 2008, 159. Yet, Roller (1999, 44–46) points out that even though the two goddesses shared similar imagery, especially in costume, their cults differed in Hittite and Phrygian contexts. For features of Anatolian costume in general, see Özgen 1982; for representations of Phrygian Kybele and Kubaba, see Roller 1999, 51, 56–59, figs. 4–10.

The date of the Ephesian ivories, however, has also been a controversial issue. Upon their discovery in the foundation deposit of the Temple of Artemis, commissioned by the Lydian king Kroisos at Ephesos around 600, Hogarth dated them to the end of the seventh century and divided them into two groups on the basis of style: the earlier “Oriental group” that includes the Megabyzos, and the later “Greek group.”³⁰⁷ Later, Jacobsthal claimed that many of the objects found together with the ivories in the foundation deposit, such as pins, brooches, and fibulae, typologically date from the sixth century, as does the foundation deposit.³⁰⁸ Most recently, after a careful review of Hogarth’s excavation reports, Carter reasserted the late seventh century date for the deposit.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, by clarifying the stratigraphy of the figurines’ archaeological context and pointing out how the rounded forms of the Megabyzos are artistically more advanced than some of the “Greek group” figurines, Carter dismissed the theory that the “Oriental group” was an earlier formative influence on the later “Greek group.”³¹⁰ Carter convincingly concluded that the Megabyzos is the work of an Ephesian artist familiar with Eastern forms who was active in the last quarter of the seventh century, just like the artist(s) of the “Greek Group.” Considering the Megabyzos’s typological and stylistic

³⁰⁷ Hogarth, director of the excavations, published his initial reports in *Excavations at Ephesus* in 1908. The stylistic categorization of the ivory figurines is treated therein by Cecil Smith; see Hogarth 1908, 155–176. Recent Austrian excavations at Ephesos under the direction of Bammer have revealed four more figurines, one of gold and three of ivory. Bammer (1985, 54–57) also dated these finds to the second half of the seventh century.

³⁰⁸ Jacobsthal 1951.

³⁰⁹ Carter 1985, 225–248; see also Simon 1986, 27–31. Both Simon and Carter provide excellent summaries of the argument over the date of the deposit.

³¹⁰ Carter 1985, 232.

similarities to Antalya ivories, one may assume that Antalya figurines also date from the last decades of the seventh century.³¹¹

Our knowledge of how ivory carving production was organized at this time in Anatolia is very limited, but the relatively large number of ivories found at Ephesos makes the existence of a workshop there more likely.³¹² The Ionic touch in the rendering of Antalya C and the Ephesian “Oriental group” can be traced in their lively, soft and rounded forms. Yet these features are not enough to mark these figurines and their artists as purely Ionian. The Eastern character of their costume is indicated by parallels to Neo-Hittite and Phrygian fashions represented in Anatolian iconography (discussed in detail below). Furthermore, the details of the technique, such as the engraved eyebrows and carved pupils, are reminiscent of the Nimrud ivories.³¹³ Thus, a more proper label for such a hybrid style would be “Anatolian,” which gradually developed into the Ionian. As noted above, Boardman assigns the Antalya figurines, along with the Ephesian “Oriental group,” to a coherent seventh century Anatolian style in the minor arts, but surprisingly he describes this style as characterized by “block-like figures with no sensitivity to

³¹¹ Işık (2000, 76–80) proposes a narrower date, between 610 and 590.

³¹² Indeed, in his initial excavation reports, Hogarth (1908, 177) stressed that there is little doubt that the Ephesian ivories were crafted locally. He attributed the statuettes to an Ephesian ivory workshop because of their Ionic style and also because of the unique patterns engraved on their dresses. These patterns are also known from the decoration of the dresses on fragments of marble sculpture that must have been executed on the spot in Ephesos.

For new methods of identifying ivory-carving workshops and determining their relationship to one another, see Winter 2005, 23–42.

³¹³ Barnett 1957, 1982.

anatomical forms” and by little detail in the representation of costume.³¹⁴ It is easy to see that Boardman’s generalization is heavily based on the stylistic features of the silver figurine, Antalya A. In fact, a detailed reexamination of the Antalya figurines as a group shows exactly the opposite. The organic treatment of the forms and the detailed rendering of costume on such a small scale, especially in Antalya C and Antalya D, are striking. The natural treatment of forms was the defining characteristic of East Greek sculptural styles in the Archaic period.³¹⁵ One of the earliest examples of this characteristic is the Cheramyas Kore from Samos, often dated to around 570.³¹⁶ Looking at Antalya ivories, one can see that the origins of the Ionian artistic mentality, which informs the Samian Kore, lie in the visual arts of Archaic Anatolia.³¹⁷

³¹⁴ Boardman 2000, 88.

³¹⁵ Stewart 1990, 117.

³¹⁶ Almost all surveys of Greek art and archaeology present the Cheramyas Kore and Ischys Kouros from Samos as representatives of the East Greek artistic interest in soft, fleshy forms as compared to the rigid, linear forms seen in earlier examples of kouroi and korai from the Greek mainland. See, e.g., Pedley 2007, 187, figs. 6.58, 6.59. Not only the form, but also the drapery of Cheramyas Kore, whose veil is tucked into her belt, follow the Anatolian fashion, see the veil section in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

³¹⁷ Literary and archaeological evidence indicates that just like the Samian Heraion, the Ephesian Artemision was an international sanctuary revered and visited by Greeks and non-Greeks alike. Most famously known from Kroisos’s dedication of the columns of the Archaic Temple of Artemis, Lydian involvement in the cult at the Artemision is particularly important. Herodotos (I.92) mentions Kroisos’s dedication of the columns. The king’s name appears in fragmentary inscriptions on the surviving column bases of the Artemision, confirming Herodotos’s account. The continuous intermarriages between the Lydian royals and the lords of Ephesos (discussed in Hall 2002, 102) down to the time of Kroisos indicate that by the end of the seventh century, Ephesos was already a half-Lydian trading outlet on the seacoast. According to Herodotus (1.28), by the late seventh century the Lydian kingdom had subdued all the populations of Western Anatolia except for Lycians and Cilicians. One can imagine, then, that the subjects of the Lydian kingdom included artists of Phrygian, Mysian, Carian, and Greek origin all working at Ephesos and influencing one another. The fusion of these artistic traditions may have

Function

The rectilinear cuttings at the top of all three Antalya ivories indicate that the figurines were not freestanding votive offerings or objects of worship in the cult, but parts of implements.³¹⁸ Özgen speculates that these holes may point to their function as supports for a perirrhanterion.³¹⁹ Yet the figurines are too small to have served that function, and because they vary in height they could not have supported something evenly.³²⁰ Işık is not certain about the function of these cuttings. Through comparisons with the Ephesian ivories, he suggests that the cuttings of the Antalya ivories may have served as points of attachment to necklaces, making them amulets; or they may have been attached to cult implements, a suggestion confirmed by a thorough examination.³²¹

Like the Antalya ivories, the Spinner from the Ephesian “Oriental group” has a rectilinear cutting at the top of her polos.³²² She holds a distaff, which supports a ball of

contributed to the birth of Ionian style, which eventually became a popular choice for the large-scale sculptures, such as korai and kouroi, that were dedicated in the international sanctuaries of Ionia and elsewhere. Indeed, Rein (1992) explains the Anatolian influence in the costume of the East Greek korai as the result of a successful interaction between Anatolian and East Greek art in the sixth century. Rein links this artistic interaction to the fact that safe overland travel across Anatolia was made possible by the political unification of the region under Lydian Kings. Ridgway, however, (1993, 55, n. 2.52) points out that the exchange of artists and artistic motifs between Greece and Anatolia could have taken place already in the seventh century.

³¹⁸The cuttings are regular and measure slightly less than 1 cm² on Antalya C and D. The cutting on Antalya B measures approximately 0.5 cm².

³¹⁹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 26.

³²⁰ Antalya B: H. 7.6 cm; C: 17 cm; D: 16.2 cm.

³²¹ Işık 2000, 76.

³²² Hogarth 1908, 158.

wool, in her left hand, and a spindle in her right (**Fig 4.11**). The elongated form of the figurine and the cutting at the top suggest that the figurine itself may have been part (possibly a handle) of a distaff, perhaps used for the ritual weaving of a costume for the cult statue.³²³ In fact, the so-called Hawk-priestess from Ephesos, which is attached at the head to a long rod surmounted by a hawk, is now identified as the handle of a distaff (**Fig 4.12**).³²⁴ Bammer's discovery of Ephesos D, together with a shallow ivory double cup that neatly fits on the tongue-like protrusion at the top of her headdress, may be the most convincing evidence that some Ephesian figurines functioned as handles of implements (**Fig 4.13**).³²⁵ Interestingly, Ephesos D appears to hold a double cup reminiscent of the one of which she is the handle, just like the Spinner, who holds a distaff and probably functions as the handle of one. The tongue-like protrusion at the top of the Megabyzos's polos may indicate that he also was the handle of an object, possibly a libation cup (**Fig 4.10**).⁹¹ Indeed, along with the figurines, Hogarth found several broken ivory cups in the foundation deposit of the Artemision.³²⁶

³²³ Weaving clothes for the cult statue and "bathing" (i.e., cleaning) it were common practices in ancient Greek religion. Usually young maidens or priestesses were in charge. This must also have been the case for the cult statue of Artemis at Ephesos. Other famous examples include the weaving of the peplos for Athena Parthenos for the Panathenaic festival, and the weaving of the chiton for Apollo at Amyklai. Surviving lists of votive offerings from Miletos indicate that the Milesian women also dedicated their own clothing to the cult of Artemis Kithone (Artemis the chiton-wearer); see Cole 2004, 223–225.

³²⁴ Connelly 2007, 120.

³²⁵ Bammer 1985, 46–51.

³²⁶ Hogarth 1908, 106. The only ivory object found with the figurines in Bayındır D Tumulus is a small cup, which Özgen (Özgen and Özgen 1989, 194, no. 58) identifies as a pyxis lid. Measuring 2.5 cm in height and 5.2 cm in depth, the cup has two extensions: one with a circular piercing and the other with a vertical slit. The cup would have had a

Drawing an analogy between the Ephesian and Antalya ivories, one may assume that the Antalya figurines were the handles of libation or cosmetic cups or of distaffs. The functional parts of the implements either perished inside the tomb or were intentionally broken at the time of the burial to make them unusable. Whether or not they supported ornate cups or distaffs, the ivory figurines of the Bayındır D Tumulus could not have been private toilet articles. The related Ephesian group shows that such implements had religious value. They could have been sacred objects used in the ritual bathing or clothing of the cult statue, or votive offerings donated by worshippers. Indeed, surviving inventories from Greek sanctuaries of Artemis indicate that women dedicated their finest textiles, along with the tools they used in weaving and spinning, to mark transitional stages of life, such as puberty, marriage, and childbirth.³²⁷ Because of their perishable nature, the textiles did not survive, but excavations in different sanctuaries of Artemis have revealed jewelry, pins, belts, and fibulae, as well as tools such as spindles and distaffs, usually of precious material. Most if not all of these items of dress also appear at Ephesos and in the Bayındır D Tumulus. They were probably offerings, and as such they may have marked transitions in the life cycle of cult participants while communicating their social status. Thus, the Antalya figurines might once have supported the balls of precious thread that the tomb's occupant used to weave her bridal gown, or perhaps her

lid that swiveled horizontally on a peg inserted in the circular piercing, and could be latched with a clasp that fit into the vertical slit. The cup is a typological sibling of some of the broken ivory cups found in the foundation deposit of Artemision.

³²⁷ Best known are the inventories of the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron, with duplicates from the Athenian Akropolis. The lists of dedications to Artemis also survive from Miletos, a site very close to Ephesos and famous for its cult of Artemis Kithone. For Brauron, see Linders 1972; for Miletos, see Günther 1988; for sources and general discussion, see Cole 2004, 213–218.

first child's gown; alternatively, they might have supported cups containing sacred liquid, perhaps used for libation.

Although the comparanda for the Antalya figurines all come from sanctuaries, mainly in Ephesos, where they would have served as votives, the presence of the figurines in a tomb should not be surprising. The figurines may have originated as religious objects and subsequently been buried with the deceased; as grave goods, they would have accompanied her to the underworld as markers of her social and religious status. Indeed, Dörtlük, excavator of Tumulus D, thinks that the corner of the burial chamber where the Antalya figurines and several vessels were discovered had been specifically arranged as a funerary banquet and votive offering.³²⁸

The representation of humans in the decoration of sacred implements is a popular phenomenon in the ancient Mediterranean. Karyatids support libation bowls, bronze mirrors, *perirrhanteria*, or incense burners.³²⁹ According to Connelly, this use of anthropomorphism in sacred decoration may reflect the communality between a sacred implement and its user: in effect, the handle represents the user who holds it. If her theory is correct, the Ephesian and Antalya figurines, as handles of ritual implements, may very well have mirrored the appearance of the cult participants who used them.³³⁰ Indeed, a

³²⁸ Dörtlük 1988, 173.

³²⁹ For a fine example of a silver pitcher with a karyatid as a handle, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 150–151, no. 106; for a karyatid supporting a bronze incense burner from Delphi, see Connelly 2007, 129, fig. 5.8; for bronze karyatid mirrors from ancient Greece in the Archaic and Early Classical periods, see Congdon 1981. Congdon (1981, 12–18) also demonstrates that some of the karyatid mirrors were used for cult purposes, since at least six of them were found dedicated in sanctuaries.

³³⁰ Connelly 2007, 122. On special occasions, cult attendants themselves may have imitated the appearance of the deity they served, as attested in some literary sources.

detailed examination of the iconography, and especially the costumes of the Antalya figurines (discussed below) reveal the identity of the figurines as high-status cult participants.

Just as priests and priestess play the role of intermediaries between the human and the divine, the handles operate as intermediary devices for reaching the divine through ritual. This mediatory aspect of the Antalya ivories may also be traced in the poses of the figures. All three appear to be holding or touching something with their hands: Antalya B holds a long ritual necklace with both hands, Antalya C holds her daughter's hand and her son's leg while her son touches her high polos, and Antalya D holds a bird and a baby. This tactile motif in the figurines may echo their actual function in the hands of cult members.

Dress and Identity of the Antalya Figurines and Their Cult Associations

In the absence of literary testimony, it is difficult to determine whether Antalya figurines represent mortals or deities. Basing their arguments on iconography and also on the details of costumes, previous scholars present a tendency to attribute divine identities to the Antalya figurines, especially in the case of Antalya C and Antalya D. Yet, there is no consensus among the scholars whether these figurines represent Anatolian or Greek deities. The proposed identities for Antalya B and the silver Antalya A are even more

Connelly (2007, 104–115) also establishes that the cult attendants' imitation of the divine through their dress and attributes was already a common feature of ritual drama in Archaic times.

complicated, since the gender of these two figures is hard to determine. The examination that follows will show that there is no necessary reason to identify the figures as deities. Instead, they may represent a high-status cult participant in the service of an Anatolian goddess.

Antalya C and Antalya D (female cult participants-priestesses)

Işık and Börker-Klähn identify the subject of Antalya C as Leto and her children. Işık suggests that the early cult at Ephesos, which he thinks is the origin of the Antalya figurines, was related to Leto rather than Artemis.³³¹ He points to Ephesian coins from Roman times showing Leto and her twin children on her shoulders as evidence for the possible continuation of the Archaic cult of Leto at Ephesos.³³² Finally, Işık mentions the literary and archaeological evidence for the cults of Leto and Apollo in Lycia, namely in the sanctuaries at Letoon and Patara; the latter is also the legendary birthplace of Apollo. He uses these examples to illustrate the early existence of the cult of the divine family in Lycia, the location of Bayındır D.³³³ Börker-Klähn also cites the Roman-era coins as well

³³¹ Işık 2000, 80–83. This suggestion is based on Bammer's 1985 article, in which he relates the early cult at Ephesos to Demeter and Leto or Kybele. He also sees the Ephesian ivory figurines as representations of a goddess, possibly Demeter, Kybele, or Leto.

³³² Işık (2000, 81) also stresses that Apollo and Artemis become twins only later in the literary tradition. Thus, he argues that Antalya C agrees with the early literary tradition, in which Artemis is present during her younger brother's birth.

³³³ Işık 2000, 81.

as a statue type depicting Leto with Artemis and Apollo; she considers Antalya C as a seventh century prototype of these Roman images.³³⁴

Although their suggestion is attractive, Börker-Klähn's and Işık's identification of Antalya C as Leto with Apollo and Artemis is not convincing. First, there is no reason to iconographically link the Archaic Antalya C group with representations on Roman coins that appear hundreds of years later. The image on the coins may derive either from Euphranor's famous sculpture of Leto escaping from the Python with her children on her shoulders (Pliny NH XXXIV.77), or from Skopas's sculpture of the same group at Ephesos (Strabo XIV.1.20 [C 639]).³³⁵ Second, the archaeological evidence indicates that the cult of the divine family in Lycia, particularly in the sanctuary at Letoon, became important only towards the end of the fifth century.³³⁶

Roller, on the other hand, suggests that the figures in Antalya C represent Anatolian Kybele with her children.³³⁷ It is indeed true that the details of the mother's costume--the veil worn over her high polos and tucked into a large belt--and the locks of hair in front of her ears are typical of representations of Kybele (or Matar) in Archaic Anatolia.³³⁸ Yet none of these dozens of images shows the Mother Goddess accompanied

³³⁴ Börker-Klähn 2003, 79.

³³⁵ For representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis, see *LIMC* IV.I, 1992, 258, s.v. Leto

³³⁶ For the sanctuary at Letoon, see Courtils 2003, 132.

³³⁷ Roller 1999, 105.

³³⁸ The Mother Goddess was called Matar in the Phrygian language, but in the Greek world she was best known as Kybele. Greeks seem to have adopted the Anatolian cult of the Mother Goddess sometime in the early sixth century. They gave her a new name, Kybele, which derives from "Kubileya" (Phrygian, "of the mountain"), an epithet of the

by her children.³³⁹ In Anatolian representations of the goddess, her typical attributes are a beast of prey, which she usually holds in one hand, and a libation cup in the other hand (**Fig 4.9**).³⁴⁰ The items of dress--the polos, veil, and large belt--that are common to representations of both Antalya C and Kybele originate in ninth century representations of the Neo-Hittite goddess Kubaba and depict a specific Anatolian fashion (**Fig 4.8**). There is no reason, however, to regard such costumes as exclusively divine attributes. On the Carchemish reliefs, for example, the representations of priestesses of Kubaba bearing offerings are dressed like the image of the enthroned Kubaba that appears on the same wall (**Fig 4.14**).³⁴¹ The depiction of the priestesses on the Carchemish reliefs indicates that in Anatolia the polos was not just a divine attribute, but also a part of ceremonial costume (also discussed in chapter 2 of the dissertation). Thus, Antalya C may very well be a representation of a high-status cult participant, accompanied by her children, who is dressed in her best clothes for a special occasion. The figure of the mother may thus be compared to korai who were depicted in their best clothes and dedicated in Ionian sanctuaries as embodiments of high-status cult participants.³⁴²

Phrygian Mother Goddess; see Roller 1999, 2. For Anatolian Kybele, see also Naumann-Steckner 1993; Lane 1996.

³³⁹ The two beardless male musicians accompanying the famous Boğazköy Kybele can hardly be her children; they may be young attendants. See Roller 1999, 60, fig. 10. The discovery at Gordion of other reliefs featuring beardless male youths strengthens the hypothesis that the Matar was served by young male attendants who were not her children; see Roller 1999, 77, fig. 14.

³⁴⁰ Roller 1999, 56–58, figs. 7–9.

³⁴¹ For the Carchemish reliefs in general, see Vieyra 1955, 36–44; Ussishkin 1967.

³⁴² Compare especially the korai from the sanctuaries at Didyma, Miletos, Ephesos, and Samos. The identity of the Archaic korai is a controversial issue. For a discussion of

If this interpretation of Antalya C is correct, then the costume and poses of the two children may also provide clues about gender roles in the socio-religious sphere of the society that produced Antalya C. The young daughter, dressed as ornately as her mother, follows in her footsteps as a young cult attendant; her presence may signify the continuation of her mother's lineage as well as her religious tradition. The nude young boy sits high up straddling his mother's shoulder, perhaps auguring his future role as a hero and protector of the land.

Işık is the only author who speculates on the identity of Antalya D. Based on the remains of a baby the figurine holds in her left hand and a 'domestic' bird in the right hand, he considers the figurine as a representation of Aphrodite with the infant Eros.³⁴³ According to Işık, different from Greek representations of Aphrodite, Antalya D carries the features of an earlier Anatolian goddess in its iconography. Indeed, earlier representations of female figures holding or breastfeeding babies in one arm are known from Anatolian iconography.³⁴⁴ Yet, there is no clue whether these females are representations of deities, mortals, or mythical figures. Thus, Antalya D may well represent a mortal, perhaps shown in the context of a fertility cult.

Since the Antalya figurines were found in a tomb rather than a sanctuary, it is difficult to determine with which cult they should be associated. The tumulus in which the group was discovered has strong Phrygian connections both in construction technique

Archaic korai as portraits of ideal cult participants or of priestesses, see Karakasi 2003, 30, 38; Connelly 2007, 124–130.

³⁴³ Işık 2000, 82.

³⁴⁴ A nude ivory figurine from Samos holds a baby, see Işık 2000, Pl. 12. 2. On a Neo-Hittite relief from Karatepe, a female breastfeeds a toddler, Işık 2000, Pl. 12. 3.

and in burial goods. Since Kybele was the only deity worshipped in Phrygian Anatolia, one might relate the figurines to her cult. Yet typological connections between the Antalya figurines and the Ephesian ivories point toward the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Börker-Klähn proposed that the figurines were associated with the cult of Istustaja and Papaja, Neo-Hittite goddesses of Destiny who are believed to spin the thread of life, and whose cult might have been known at Ephesos.³⁴⁵ Of these three possibilities, the cult of Artemis Ephesia, a uniquely Anatolian goddess assimilated with Kybele at Ephesos, is the most likely candidate. Nonetheless, it is hard to be certain, since a similar iconography could have been used with a slightly different meaning in different contexts.

Though the literary evidence for Kybele and her cult is abundant in Greece, little is known of her cult attendants and the specifics of ritual ceremonies held in her honor in Archaic Anatolia, from which the cult was imported.³⁴⁶ Descended from the Neo-Hittite Kubaba, Kybele was a fertility goddess. The frequent occurrence of her cult monuments

³⁴⁵ Börker-Klähn 2003, 91–92. Since she identifies Antalya C as Leto with Artemis and Apollo, Börker-Klähn considers that Leto and her children were worshipped in connection with the cult of Destiny. Though attractive, this theory depends on the assumption that Neo-Hittites were present at Ephesos, which is based on the discovery there of a Hittite inscription written in Greek letters. But this lone inscription is not enough to prove the existence of a Neo-Hittite cult at Ephesos.

³⁴⁶ Kybele appears in many Greek and Roman sources, from Euripides' *Bacchae* and Aristophanes' *Birds* to Virgil's *Aeneid* and Catullus's poems. Imported from Anatolia in the early sixth century, her cult in Greece seems to have involved ecstatic dances of both male and female attendants accompanied by wild music. In Greece a tympanum gradually replaced the beast of prey that was the goddess's customary attribute in Anatolian iconography. Not only her attributes and name, but also her rites seem to have been Hellenized through connections with Greek deities such as Demeter, Dionysos, and Pan. The literary sources indicate that Greek Kybele maintained her foreign character, unlike divinities of other cults associated with Greek civic identity. In Archaic Anatolia, however, archaeological evidence implies that she was the goddess of the Phrygian state. The scarcity of comprehensible Phrygian texts from Archaic Anatolia makes it difficult to resolve these issues; see Roller 1999, 64–70.

on the edges of Phrygian city settlements--on walls and gates, along roads and edges of settled countryside, near funerary monuments, or in sanctuaries in remote landscapes--imply that she was also the goddess of boundaries.³⁴⁷ The beardless musicians accompanying Boğazköy Kybele, as well as the small figurines of beardless worshippers discovered at Gordion, show that she had young male attendants.³⁴⁸ The only known Archaic representations of her female cult attendants come from the fragmentary reliefs on the miniature temple shrine to Kybele discovered at Sardis, dating to 540.³⁴⁹

A good deal is known of the cult of Artemis Ephesia thanks to literary and archaeological sources. As a fertility goddess and protector of children, Artemis Ephesia had great importance for women from puberty to childbirth.³⁵⁰ Indeed, the votive offerings discovered in the sanctuary include different types of jewelry, weaving implements, belts, and fibulae, thus confirming the prominent role of female votaries in

³⁴⁷ Her common attribute, a beast of prey, also implies that rather than being specifically a fertility goddess, Matar was more generally the goddess of the natural world, whom people worshipped to gain control over nature in Archaic Anatolia.

³⁴⁸ See Roller 1999, 60, fig. 10 (Boğazköy Kybele); 77, fig. 14 (Gordion figurines). The beardless male figures from Gordion hold standard attributes of the Mother Goddess, a bird of prey and a bowl, implying their role as attendants.

³⁴⁹ The reliefs, on two sides of the shrine in three registers, are very shallow and damaged, which makes it difficult to discern the dress of the priestesses. See Dusinger 2003, 105, fig. 45. A later example is a fifth-century relief from Thasos that shows two female attendants approaching a shrine with a seated cult statue of Kybele. Though fragmentary, female attendants seem to be dressed in a similar manner as Kybele; Roller 1999, 158, fig. 45.

³⁵⁰ For the cult of Artemis in general, see Cole 2004, 198–230.

the cult.³⁵¹ According to Herodotus (I.26), the history of the cult went back to the 600s, when Ephesians dedicated their city to Artemis to prevent its destruction by Kroisos.

Apart from the foundation deposit discovered by Hogarth in 1906, Austrian excavations in 1980s revealed two separate cult areas beneath the precincts of the Kroisos temple. The rectangular cult building with an altar, to the west of the Kroisos temple, is dated to the seventh century, and the apsidal cult structure underneath the altar of the Kroisos temple is dated to the late eighth century.³⁵² Austrian archaeologists suggested the earlier existence of a dual cult of Demeter and Leto or Anatolian Kybele at the site, predating that of Artemis. Later on, however, Simon pointed out that the identification of the early cult of Demeter at Ephesos is based solely on a later Roman account and a few pig bones, an animal usually sacrificed to Demeter.³⁵³

On the basis of the Austrian excavation of the two cult areas, which were associated with Late Geometric pottery, Simon traced the cult of Artemis at Ephesos back to the early seventh century and proposed that the cults of Artemis and Anatolian Kybele coexisted at the site before the construction of the Kroisos temple.³⁵⁴ The popularity of the cult of Kybele in Anatolia and the discovery of votives with strong Phrygian and Lydian connections in the foundation deposit of the Kroisos temple seem to prove

³⁵¹ For the range of votive offerings discovered in the Archaic sanctuary at Ephesos, see Simon 1986, 34–38.

³⁵² Simon (1986, 30–33) presents a useful summary.

³⁵³ Bammer 1982, 81–87; 1985; Simon 1986, 33. Strabo (XIV.1.3 [C 633]) says that the cult of Eleusinian Demeter was introduced to Ephesos by its founder Androklos, but nowhere does he connect it with the cult of Artemis.

³⁵⁴ Simon 1986, 33. Simon (34) also rightly points out that if there was a pre-Greek ancestor cult at the site, it was probably that of Anatolian Kybele.

Simon's theory.³⁵⁵ Indeed, these votives, including the aforementioned figurines and a range of jewelry, both with "Oriental" and "Greek" qualities as Hogarth classified them, may have been intentionally offered together for the foundation of the Temple of Artemis Ephesia, a building in which the two original cults were fused into one.

Like Anatolian Kybele, Artemis is also a goddess of nature and boundaries. These common features might have brought these deities together in seventh century Ephesos, where they blended in the cult of Artemis Ephesia.³⁵⁶ Thus, the Antalya figurines could be related to the cult of either Anatolian Kybele or Artemis, or to the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Assuming that Kybele and Artemis merged relatively soon after they came into contact in Ephesos, it seems reasonable to associate them with the cult of Anatolian Artemis Ephesia.

One may question the Antalya figurines' association with the cult of Artemis Ephesia on the basis of their findspot in a tomb in northern Lycia. Literary and archaeological sources, however, testify to the popularity of the cult of Artemis Ephesia all around Ionia and at Anatolian sites.³⁵⁷ Easy to carry, the figurines and the implements they decorated could have traveled with cult devotees from the central sanctuary to

³⁵⁵ The foundation deposit of the Artemision also revealed gold and ivory pins and brooches and bronze fibulae. While the rich amount of gold attests to Lydian connections, the typology of the fibulae provides the Phrygian link. For the finds from the foundation deposit, see Hogarth 1908, 155–176; Jacobsthal 1951; Carter 1985, 225–248; Simon 1986, 27–31.

³⁵⁶ For the deities' association with nature and boundaries, see Cole 2004, 198, 201 (Artemis), and Roller 1999, 108–115 (Anatolian Kybele). In his examination of the imperial coins from western Asia Minor, Fleischer (1973, 215–216) traces the striking similarity in the Archaic features of the representations of several goddesses and posits a common ancestor, an Archaic Anatolian fertility goddess whom he names Ephesia.

³⁵⁷ See Fleischer 1973.

peripheral sites. Indeed, a similar ivory figurine also occurred in the so-called South Cellar accumulation at Archaic Gordion.³⁵⁸ As the figurines were moved from one context to another--for example, from a sanctuary to a private burial--they could have gained slightly different meanings, but because of their expensive material, they must have maintained their intrinsic value as symbols of prestige and religious devotion.

Antalya A and Antalya B (eunuch priests)

Ascertaining the identity of the subjects of Antalya A and B may strengthen the associations between the Antalya figurines as a group and the cult of Artemis Ephesia. Merely identifying the gender of the two figurines has been a problem, however. Özgen, Roller, and Akurgal considered them to be priests but did not discuss the matter in detail.³⁵⁹ But Işık, noting the figures' "female costume," which also appears on some of the clearly female Ephesian figurines, as well as the absence of a beard on either figure, identified both Antalya A and B as representations of an Anatolian goddess.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Although carved in less detail, the ivory figurine from Gordion has a costume and facial features similar to those of the Antalya and Ephesian groups; see Young 1966, fig. 5, pl. 74. On the basis of Corinthian Geometric pottery found in the same deposit, DeVries (2005, 42) dated this piece to the late eighth century. A silver figurine related to both the Antalya and Ephesos figurines in its pose and costume was last held by the Stanford Place Collection, Faringdon, England (inv. no. not known). The figurine was on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1999 to 2006. Unfortunately, the provenance of the figurine is unknown. I would like to thank Maya Vassileva for bringing this piece to my attention.

³⁵⁹ Akurgal 1992, 70; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 27; Roller 1999, 105.

³⁶⁰ Işık 2000, 3–7. See also Bammer 1985 in general for a reidentification of all Ephesian ivories as representations of a goddess.

The key to determining the gender of the two figurines is Antalya B. The clear absence of breasts on the figurine poses a challenge to Işık's argument. If we accept the premise that the same artist or workshop carved all of the Antalya ivories, it is hard to overlook his ability to differentiate the sexes. He clearly rendered the breasts of the Antalya C mother. Indeed, as the baby fat on the stomach of the little nude boy indicates, the artist even attempted to use physical features to render age. Thus, it is more reasonable to assume that the absence of breasts on Antalya B is intentional, indicating that a male is represented. His long, belted dress with sleeves, his polos, and the curly tresses of hair on either side of his face--all of which Işık treated as elements of "female costume"--and his clean-shaven face, like that of Antalya A, may indicate that both figurines are representations of priests, perhaps eunuchs, in ritual costumes.³⁶¹ Indeed, male cross-dressing at ceremonies honoring Artemis and Dionysus seems to have been an Anatolian tradition introduced to the Greek mainland in the sixth century via Ionia.³⁶²

³⁶¹ Akurgal (1992, 70–73) also considers the hunchbacked appearance and clasped hands of Antalya A to be a typical posture for a priest. Işık (2000, 81) disagrees with Akurgal by pointing out that the hunchback is due to the early date of the figurine, and that clasping hands is not a gesture unique to male representations.

Though unrelated to the cult of Kybele or Artemis, the image of an old beardless man watching the sacrifice of Polyxena on the frieze of the famous Polyxena sarcophagus from Gümüşçay in northwest Anatolia, dated to 500, may also reflect the appearance of eunuch priests. The old man, who leans on a stick and holds his nose as a sign of grief, wears a long dress. His prominent position in the middle of the long frieze implies his high status, perhaps in a religious institution in Troy. His beardlessness led some scholars to identify him as a female, but he is clearly differentiated from the females in the composition by his flat chest and also by his hunchback. For the Polyxena sarcophagus, see Sevinç 1996, 251–255, figs. 2–5; Draycott 2007, 97–108.

³⁶² Miller (1999, 232–236) provides an excellent discussion of cross-dressed komasts on a series of Attic vases called "Anakreontic," after the Ionian poet who dressed like a woman and introduced the fashion to Athens. Miller interprets the komasts as transvestites engaged in ritual activity. She sees the origin of the tradition of komastic

Furthermore, eunuchs who dressed and acted like females held important priestly offices in Anatolia; this custom dates back to the eighth century or beyond.³⁶³ Perhaps the best known of these eunuch priests are the Megabyzoi, who served Artemis at Ephesos and are mentioned in many literary sources from Xenophon to Pliny.³⁶⁴ Eunuch priests also served in the Anatolian cult of Kybele. Ancient Greek and Roman sources indicate that the eunuch priesthood was recognized as a distinctly shocking feature of the cult of Kybele in Greece and Rome.³⁶⁵ A series of epigrams from the second century describes a eunuch priest of Kybele as an emasculated character dressed in women's clothes and scented with women's perfume, wearing his long hair in dainty tresses.³⁶⁶

Although there are plenty of literary sources for the eunuch priests of Artemis and Kybele, there are no certain depictions of them in art. The only possible Archaic image of a eunuch priest is the aforementioned Megabyzos from the foundation deposit of the

transvestism in Archaic Anatolia. DeVries (1973, 32–39), on the other hand, regards these komasts as Athenians mimicking Lydians, whose fancy dress was considered effeminate by mainland Greeks.

³⁶³ See Roller 1998; Munn 2006, 157–169.

³⁶⁴ Xenophon (*Anab.* V.3.6) names “Megabyzos” as the sacristan of Artemis at Ephesos. Pliny (*NH* XXXV.93–132) describes paintings of two Megabyzoi by fourth-century artists. Quintilian (*V.*12.19–21) cites a Megabyzos as an example of a eunuch, in contrast with the virile Doryphoros. For a complete list of literary sources mentioning Megabyzoi of Ephesos, see Smith 1996. Smith questions the very existence of a class of eunuch priests called “Megabyzoi” in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, and suggests that the entire account may go back to the name of one specific priest, not necessarily a eunuch, who lived in the fourth century, but this theory is not widely accepted. The tradition of a eunuch priesthood at Ephesos is accepted by Burkert (1999, 62–63) and also by Munn (2006, 157–169).

³⁶⁵ For a thorough investigation of the eunuch priests of Phrygian Matar and Greek and Roman attitudes toward them, see Roller 1998.

³⁶⁶ *Anth. Pal.* VI.217–220, 234, 237, esp. VI.234.5.

Artemision at Ephesos (**Fig 4.10**).³⁶⁷ It was the absence of breasts that led Hogarth to identify the figurine as a Megabyzos. In the 1980s, during the Austrian excavations at the site, Bammer discovered another ivory figurine, which he named Ephesos D. The figurine is dressed just like the Megabyzos, but has a clear rendering of breasts (see **Fig 4.13**). Based on the similarity of costume, Bammer, and Işık and Connelly after him, reidentified the Ephesian Megabyzos as a female.³⁶⁸ This reidentification, however, relies on the application of modern gender codes to the figurine's costume. Western Anatolian/Lyidian male dress in the Archaic period had many elaborate features that looked effeminate to Greeks on the mainland.³⁶⁹ Even if vestmental gender codes in Anatolia were similar to those of mainland Greeks, Bammer's reidentification fails to take into account the cross-dressing of eunuch priests for cult practices.³⁷⁰ As Hogarth

³⁶⁷A later image of a eunuch priest from Anatolia appears on a votive relief from Kyzikos in northwestern Anatolia and is dated to 46. Dressed in “women's clothes”—a long dress and a veil covering the head—a priest on the relief approaches the altar of Phrygian Matar. The faces of the figures on the relief are not clear in detail, but the priest does not seem to have a beard. The Greek inscription accompanying the relief even gives his name, Gallus Soterides, “Gallus” being the Roman title for eunuch priests of the Mother Goddess; see Roller 1998, 121, fig. 1.

³⁶⁸ For the initial identification of the figurine as a Megabyzos, see Hogarth 1908, 155–176; for its reidentification as a female, see Bammer 1985, 57; Işık 2000, 80; Connelly 2007, 121–122. For a general discussion of the Megabyzoi in the cult of Artemis Ephesia, see Smith 1996, 323–335; Burkert 1999, 62–63; Munn 2006, 157–169.

³⁶⁹ For effeminate-looking Western Anatolian dress, see DeVries 1973, 33–34; also Wees 2005, 46. The richly decorated linen chitons and earrings worn by Anatolian men that are mentioned in Greek sources also appear in Anatolian art. The reclining man in the funerary banquet scene on the early fifth-century Karaburun fresco, for example, appears to wear an elaborate chiton, a hat, and earrings; see fig 3.1d.3 in this dissertation.

³⁷⁰ For cross-dressing in cultic activity and confusion over the gender of figures on Anakreontic vases, see Miller 1999, 230–236.

recognized, the clear absence of breasts on the Megabyzos, in contrast with the anatomy of similar pieces, indicates that the figure is male and presumably a eunuch priest.

Antalya A and B also look anatomically male, despite their “female” costume, suggesting that they too represent eunuch priests. The long beaded necklaces worn by the Megabyzos and Antalya B are not ornamental jewelry but signs of priestly authority.³⁷¹ If Antalya A and B represent eunuch priests, they were most likely priests of Artemis Ephesia. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that all four Antalya figurines, A, B, C, and D, are associated with the cult of Artemis Ephesia.

Identity of the Tomb Owner

The value of the burial goods in Tumulus D, especially evident in the abundant use of silver and ivory, implies not only the sacred character of the implements but also the high status of the deceased woman.³⁷² She was surely a member of an elite family, but her ethnicity is uncertain. The Phrygian character of the tumulus is evident from its construction as well as from the silverware--some bearing Phrygian inscriptions--and Phrygian fibulae found within the tomb. Yet the tumulus is located in northern Lycia, outside the recognized sphere of Phrygian or Lydian culture. The absence of any known ancient settlement near Bayındır complicates the situation even more.

³⁷¹ An earlier iconographical parallel to this necklace appears on Kubaba, on a broken 9th-century relief from Carchemish; see Roller 1999, 50, fig. 3.

³⁷² Marking the high status of their owners, spindles of gold, silver, and electrum are also known from Bronze Age tombs of females at Anatolian sites such as Alacahöyük, Horoztepe, and Karataş; see Barber 1994, 208–209.

In light of the silverware and the construction of the tomb as well as the iconography of the figurines, which recall Phrygian representations of Kybele, Dörtlük assumed that the deceased was Phrygian.³⁷³ Börker-Klähn also considered the deceased to be Phrygian, a princess married to a Lycian elite.³⁷⁴ Yet these scholars disregard the fact that the ethnic identity of the deceased might have differed from the ethnic identity of the artisans in the workshops where the figurines were made. Thus, for example, the silverware might have been made by a Phrygian, and the figurines might be Lydian imports.

Despite the Phrygian connections of the burial, Işık identifies the deceased woman as a Lycian. His argument rests on two factors: the findspot, and his own identifications of Antalya C as Leto with Apollo and Artemis, and of Antalya D as Aphrodite with the infant Eros. According to Işık the existence of these deities in the tomb of a Phrygian is impossible, since Phrygians worshipped only Kybele and did not have a large pantheon.³⁷⁵ As demonstrated above, however, there is no need to identify the Antalya figurines as divinities; in fact, their function as handles suggests that they represent humans who were high-status cult participants, perhaps priests and priestesses.³⁷⁶ There is also no need to associate these figurines with a specific ethnic

³⁷³Dörtlük 1988, 173–174.

³⁷⁴Börker-Klähn 2003, 103.

³⁷⁵Işık 2000, 85–86.

³⁷⁶ There are not many well-known examples of handles that represent deities. Bronze mirror handles from Archaic Greece show draped female figurines that are sometimes identified as Aphrodite or Helen of Sparta, but there is no agreement on this issue. See Congdon 1981, 13–18.

group. Instead, the figurines and the deceased woman they accompanied may simply be identified as Anatolian. Both the woman and the figurines may have served in the cult of Artemis Ephesia, a hybrid goddess who emerged from the fusion of Greek Artemis and Anatolian Kybele.

Conclusion

The label “Western Anatolian”--rather than Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian, Greek, or Neo-Hittite--best describes the style of Antalya figurines, as well as the identity of the woman in whose tomb the figurines were discovered. The distinctive features of the costume worn by the figurines reflect an Anatolian fashion, revealing the socio-religious status of the wearers in the real life. Parallel finds from the Archaic sanctuary at Ephesos establish the figurines’ date at the end of the seventh century and attest to their religious function. The ivory figurines served as the handles of implements, perhaps a distaff or a vessel, that were probably used in ritual activities related to the cult of Artemis Ephesia.

Chapter 5

Dress and Identity: The Tatarlı Paintings - Fifth Century BCE

Figural representations on the wooden walls of the so-called Tatarlı Tomb, the largest-known wood painting from the ancient Mediterranean, reflect the social and political influence of the Achaemenid rule on the local people of high-status in Anatolia. Located along the royal road between ancient Kelainai and Gordion, the painted beams of this tomb provide an excellent case study of the range of clothing available (worn in real life or known) to people living in the area in the fifth century. A thorough examination of these paintings, especially those of the east wall, in the context of dress and identity reveal that Western Anatolian elite adopted specific items of Achaemenid dress and Achaemenid courtly and military customs as means of aristocratic etiquette. This way, they associated themselves with the splendors of the ruling power, distinguishing themselves from the more humble locals as powerful vassals of the Persian King.

Following its looting by the villagers, the so-called Tatarlı Tumulus, at the border of ancient Phrygia and Lydia, was systematically excavated under the direction of Afyon Museum in 1970 (**map 1**). After the initial publication of some of the wooden paintings by Uçankuş, the tomb was forgotten and the rescued paintings were neglected in museum storage.³⁷⁷ In 2007, however, Latife Summerer's identification of four pieces of painted beams in the collection of Archäologische Staatssammlung in Munich, as part of the looted paintings from the east wall of the Tatarlı tomb brought the tomb a renewed attention.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁷ Uçankuş 1979 and Uçankuş 2002.

³⁷⁸ Munich beams are initially published by Calmeyer 1993 and Borchhardt 2000, but without any detailed explanation of their original context.

Following her discovery, and her further extensive research, Summerer continuously published both about the Munich timbers and also the painting program of the Tatarlı Tomb in general.³⁷⁹ Since they provide the most extensive figural imagery, in this study, I shall give a special attention to the painted beams of the east wall or the tomb's so-called Munich timbers.

Tatarlı Paintings in Context:

The so-called Tatarlı Tumulus is located in the village of Tatarlı, 30 km northeast of the city of Dinar in Afyon province. The tomb is 50 meters in diameter and reaches up to 6 meters in height. The chamber inside the tumulus is lined with juniper and cedar beams, which are smoothed in the inside and left rough on the outside. This wooden construction makes the Tatarlı Tomb one of the latest examples of the typical Phrygian wooden tombs.³⁸⁰ The additional stone dromos with a barrel shaped-roof, however, is a Lydian feature (**Fig 5.1**).³⁸¹ Providing an entrance to the chamber in the south, the

³⁷⁹ This case study could not have been possible without the information provided by Dr. Summerer in several publications. She published different aspects of the tomb in English, German, French, and Turkish. See Summerer 2007a, Summerer 2007b, Summerer 2007c, Summerer 2008, Summerer and Von Kienlin 2009, Summerer and Von Kienlin 2009a. Summerer also directed a recent exhibition, *Tatarlı Renklerin Dönüşü/The Return of Colors*, which united all the painted beams of the Tatarlı Tomb in a reconstructed version of the tomb, in Istanbul in the summer of 2010. I am grateful to Dr. Summerer for sharing all of her work on the Tatarlı tomb.

³⁸⁰ Wooden burial chambers underneath earthen and stone tumuli are typical of Phrygian burial tradition; the most famous one being the so-called "Tomb of Midas" or Tumulus MM from Gordion; see Young 1981, 79-102; Uçankuş 2002, 287-338, and also Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 32.

³⁸¹ Summerer 2007a, 140; Summerer 2007b, 4; Summerer 2008, 265; Summerer, L. and A. Von Kienlin, 2007. For a detailed examination of Lydian tumuli with dromoi see Roosevelt 2009, 139-151.

dromos must have been used for funerary ceremonies and for additional burials in later times.³⁸² Indeed, excavator of the tomb notes the skeletal remains of more than 15 individuals inside the chamber, and also the presence of several alterations in the structure to accommodate new burials.³⁸³ Underneath the earthen mound, the wooden chamber was additionally covered with a stone construction, which protected the wooden chamber from the outside pressure and helped preserve the paintings.

The paintings are executed in friezes on the smoothed beams lining the walls of the chamber (**Fig 5.2**).³⁸⁴ The height of the friezes varies on different walls and does not usually correspond with the height of the beams, usually extending over two beams.³⁸⁵ Each frieze is framed with black or dark red lines. The figures are first incised on the flattened wood surfaces, and then a variety of colors including red, brown, black, white, gray, blue, and yellow applied directly on the wood.³⁸⁶ The dendrochronological analysis of the painted timbers shows that the most beams (both those found in situ in the chamber

³⁸² Uçankuş (2002, 36-39) believes that as typical of other known Phrygian tumuli, the burial chamber was originally an enclosed room without a door, and the dromos is added later in Roman times in the second century AD for secondary burials.

³⁸³ Uçankuş 1979, 308-309; Uçankuş 2002, 25.

³⁸⁴ 4 to 8 beams lined the each side wall and 7 beams lined the gabled roof of the tomb chamber. Summerer 2008, 265; Summerer 2007a, 140.

³⁸⁵ The heights of the known registers range from 18 to 30 cm. see Uçankuş 2002, 27-33. Summerer (2008, 267) sees this use of variously sized friezes in the painting program as typically Anatolian. Various sized friezes can also be attested on the paintings of the sixth century Kizilbel tomb and fifth century Karaburun II tomb in Lycia.

³⁸⁶ Summerer notes this technique as peculiar to Anatolia. On other known wooden paintings such as the seventh century pinakes from Pitsa near Corinth and two wooden panels from Egypt, the figures were drawn on a stucco layer. Summerer 2007, 130.

and Munich timbers) come from the same tree cut sometime in 478.³⁸⁷ Summerer, however, based on stylistic details suggests a date closer to 450s for the paintings (discussed below).³⁸⁸

Most figures fill up the height of the friezes. No matter if they are shown riding or striding, the figures attain similar heights. Body proportions are not always accurate either; heads especially are disproportionately large. The spatial depth is suggested only in the overlapping of the riders. Some figures, especially the riders and their horses and also chariots (on the Munich timbers), are rendered in great detail, with special attention to costumes, harnesses, and decoration. Yet, except for the commander of the battle scene on the Munich beam from the east wall, the facial features of the figures are rendered sketchily. As noted by Summerer, the commander's eye on this frieze is foreshortened as is typical of the depictions on Early Classical vase painting (**Fig 5.3**)³⁸⁹ Despite the general Archaic features of the overall style and composition, this detail leads Summerer to date the tomb paintings to around 450 .

³⁸⁷ Summerer 2007a, 143-145. Uçankuş (2002, 41) referring to the very same dendrochronological analysis, says that the tree was cut sometime between 531 and 494. This is due to the fact that Peter Kuniholm, the analyst, changed his mind later and assigned the 478 date for the cutting of the tree, see Summerer 2007a, 145, n.51.

³⁸⁸ Summerer 2007a, 133-34.

³⁸⁹ Summerer 2007b, 6-7.

North Wall Paintings

The beams on the north wall of the chamber were found in situ during the rescue excavations. Five figural friezes are discernable over the eight beams, which lined the wall. The lower part of the wall, corresponding to the three beams at the bottom was cut in the middle to open a niche for secondary burials (**Fig 5.4**). The upper most frieze, extending over two beams has the depiction of two heraldically disposed crouching felines, of which only lower parts are visible. They must be interpreted as the tomb-guardians; as such representations of heraldic beasts are popular in the funerary iconography of Greece, Etruria, and Anatolia.³⁹⁰ The second frieze has two pairs of opposing warriors; all wearing similar crested helmets and carrying large shields, Anatolian war-sickles, and lances.³⁹¹ Their outfit includes tight pants, knee length socks (or leggings), slightly pointed shoes, and short tunics, possibly sleeved-chitons. The identical armor and raised heels of the soldiers led Summerer to identify the subject matter of the frieze as armed dance as a part of the funeral rites.³⁹² Only the figures on the left side of the third frieze are visible, a convoy of three chariots preceded by two large-scale striding figures wearing white sleeved-chitons. The fourth, and the best preserved frieze of the north wall has from left to right; seven overlapping winged bulls, running from right to left; traces of an animal; two diving birds; another animal, possibly a

³⁹⁰ Summerer 2008, 290, n.14.

³⁹¹ For Anatolian war sickles in general see Sekunda 1996: 7-17; also see 2008 Summerer 2008, 291, n. 24.

³⁹² Summerer 2008, 270. Uçankuş, however, sees this motif as a dual combat, Uçankuş 2002, 27-29.

panther; and a branch of a plant on the right edge. Summerer sees this frieze as the continuation of the third frieze with chariots and striding man and thus proposes the possibility of a hunt scene as the subject matter of the two friezes.³⁹³ Since its beam was cut off in the middle to accommodate a new niche, only a small portion of the fifth frieze survived. On the right edge of the frieze are traces of a walking figure wearing a sleeved tunic in red over his tight pants and a piece of furniture, a stool or a table. The presence of the latter indicates the possibility of a symposium or an audience scene.

South and West Wall Paintings

On the surface of a beam from the south wall, which provided the entrance to the chamber, only the lower parts of an antithetic feline group survive.³⁹⁴ There is not much known of the friezes of the west wall either. Most of its beams were either destroyed in antiquity to open new grave niches, or in modern times during the looting of the tomb. Only fragments of two friezes survived from this wall. One of the friezes, which probably extended over two beams, contained a processional scene, of which only two male attendants wearing short white tunics and knee length socks, and a large animal, possibly

³⁹³ Summerer (2008, 273; Summerer and Von Kienlin 2007, 79) calls this narrative arrangement as *boustrophedon*.

³⁹⁴ Uçankuş found this beam collapsed on the floor. He believes that this frieze is the only surviving part of the south wall paintings, which might have been identical (symmetrical) to the paintings of the north wall. He thinks other beams (and friezes) of the south wall were destroyed already in antiquity when a door and a dromos were added to the south. Uçankuş 2002, 32-33.

After the rescue excavations, this south beam, which was kept in the storages of Afyon Musuem along with other survived beams from north, east and west got deteriorated. Summerer notes, for example, that the heraldic animals described by Uçankuş are no longer visible. Summerer 2008, 274.

a bull, survive. Another frieze fragment, which also seems to have spanned two beams, also has a multi-figured processional scene. Both fragments are too deteriorated to detect any further details.

East Wall Paintings (The Munich Timbers)

During the rescue excavations, only the traces of the east wall beams survived, indicating that the beams were stripped from their original context. Two large figural friezes in four wooden pieces in Munich, however, match to the measurements of the lost beams from the east wall. Thus, the Munich beams, once looted from the tomb, are now assigned to this wall. The friezes span two beams, which were sawn into two halves to ease the transportation during the looting. The exact position of these beams on the wall is not certain, but the surviving two seem to belong on top of each other. The upper frieze, Munich I, has an extensive convoy scene with chariots and the lower one, Munich II, has a large battle scene. A detailed iconographic examination of these two friezes will be treated below.

Convoy Scene (Munich I)

The top frieze shows a procession of 19 human figures, 16 horses, and two chariots (**5. Plate 1, a-b**).³⁹⁵ Four men on foot lead the procession, which moves from right to left. All of these figures are dressed similarly in sleeved red tunics with vertical

³⁹⁵ Summerer (2008, 275) notes that the frieze was probably slightly longer with more figures. Based on the sawing marks, she identifies a human figure on a piece of beam at Afyon Museum, as belonging to this frieze, cut off during the looting. Munich beam is 2.12m and the part of the eastern wall, it was once placed measures 2.50m.

stripes in black or white on the sides, and red bashlyks. The second figure from the top leads a blue pack-horse, which carries a white load over a large red saddle.³⁹⁶ Another horse, next to the third figure, follows. This horse, rendered in dark brown, has a large black cloth and knotted forelock, recalling the Nisean breed horses, popular in Achaemenid Anatolia.³⁹⁷ Following this group of four, the most prominent figure of the frieze appears riding in a lavishly decorated, two-horse white chariot. Ornamental harnesses of the horses include red tassels and branches with bell-like objects projecting from their neck. The seated charioteer is not only distinguished by his large size compared to all other figures of the frieze, both those on foot or on horseback, but also by his dress. He wears the only bashlyk that is rendered in brown and also a white kandys with fur trimming, the latter indicated by curled brush strokes. He is followed by three spear-bearers, the first one also carrying a fan or a standard. They are all dressed similar to the first four footmen. Interestingly, the tips of their spears point down. A group of riders, dressed in tight pants decorated with zigzag patterns, striped tunics, and red bashlyks and equipped with the Achaemenid *gorytos* (quiver case) follow the spear bearers. Another figure, dressed like the footmen and the riders, leads a blue pack-horse which carries a wooden chest on a large red saddle. The procession continues with the most prominent vehicle of the frieze, a quadriga, again with lavishly decorated horses.

³⁹⁶ The white load on the horse appeared after later restorations, thus cannot be seen in the picture provided here. For this detail see the reconstruction in Summerer, L. and A. Von Kienlin, 2009a, 66, Pl. 2a.b.

³⁹⁷ The so-called Nisean horses are a highly praised special breed of horses with knotted forelocks and knotted tails mentioned in ancient sources and represented commonly in Achaemenid art of Anatolia and Persia. Other known representations from Anatolia come from Xanthos, Limyra, Karaburun, and Can. For detailed information on Nisean horses see Nolle 1992: 58 and also Draycott 2007, 83-84.

Since they are arranged in echelon, only the black horse at the front is completely visible. The horse has red trappings and again, tassels, and branches with bell-like objects, projecting from its neck. The quadriga carries a large wooden object, with a domed top, and possibly covered with a cloth. The identification of this object is crucial in determining the meaning of this procession and it will be discussed in detail below. At the end of the frieze, three figures, possibly women, wearing red beaded necklaces, and three riders dressed similarly to the central rider group follow the chariot.

Processional scenes with chariots carrying large loads seem to have been a popular motif in Anatolia from early fifth to late fourth century. Other well-known examples of the motif include grave stelai from Daskyleion such as the stele of Elnaf (**Fig 5.5**), the frescoes of the Karaburun II Tomb (**Fig 3.1d.5**), and the architrave frieze of the Mourning Women Sarcophagus. The funerary contexts of all these examples have led many scholars to identify this scene as an ekphora and the cargo of the chariot in the processions as the wood or clay coffin of the deceased.³⁹⁸ The squat form of the domed objects on top of the chariots is explained by assuming a diagonal placement of the sarcophagus on the vehicle, making only the short side visible.

There are two major arguments against the ekphora theory. According to Jacobs, rather than a funerary cart, the chariot carries a holy object in a box and thus the motif represents a religious procession, not specifically a funerary one.³⁹⁹ Yet, Jacobs fails to

³⁹⁸ For a useful summary of the pro-ekphora arguments see Draycott 2007, 14-16 and Summerer 2008, 279-280. Summerer (2008, 281) traces the origin of closed chariots with rounded tops used in funerary rites all the way back to the Hittite iconography and Hittite literary texts.

³⁹⁹ Jacobs 1992, 24-27.

explain the constant occurrence of these chariots in funerary contexts. Nolle proposes that the closed chariots in these processional scenes are *harmamaxa*, described in literary sources as four wheeled carriages usually used by traveling elite Persian women.⁴⁰⁰ Nolle believes that in a funerary context, they represent the vehicle containing the wife of the deceased, protected from stranger's eyes.⁴⁰¹ Two other suggestions proposed by different scholars challenge this theory. First, Ateslier shows that the same word *harmamaxa* is also used for monobloc, two-wheeled funerary carts that were specifically used to carry the deceased to the tomb and buried along with the deceased.⁴⁰² Second, Summerer points out the relatively usual representations of Achaemenid women in public, dismissing Nolle's "closed carriages for hiding elite Achaemenid women from the public eye" theory.⁴⁰³

Draycott, however, argues that the load on the chariots in these processional scenes might indeed refer to the closed carts carrying elite woman as Nolle initially suggested.⁴⁰⁴ Yet, Draycott especially in the case of Tatarlı convoy, stresses not the possible female occupants, but representations of these carriages as "a symbol of the high

⁴⁰⁰ Main literary sources that mention Harmamaxai are Herodotus I.199, VII.41, IX.76; Xenophon, *Anab.* I.2.16; *Cyr.* III.1.40; VI.4.11. Among these especially Xenophon emphasizes the usage of these by aristocratic women.

⁴⁰¹ Nolle 1992, 88-92

⁴⁰² Ateslier (2002, 82-83) points out a passage in Xenophon *Cyr.* VII.3.4, in which the dead Persian general is mentioned as being carried to his burial tumulus with a *harmamaxa*. Ateslier (2002, 85-86) also mentions three tumuli; BT-89 tumulus at Bintepeleer necropolis, Uçpınar Tumulus close to Balıkesir, and Aslanapa Tumulus close to Kutahya, all contained wheels (possibly of *harmamaxai*) discovered at their dromos.

⁴⁰³ Summerer 2008, 280; Draycott 2007, 84-85.

⁴⁰⁴ Draycott 2007, 69-74.

level and range of paraphernalia available to a local noble, as it was in the train of the (Persian) King himself.”⁴⁰⁵ She notes Herodotus’ mention of Xerxes’ departure from Sardis on his Greek campaign, in which the King rode seated in an open chariot (*harma*), but a *harmamaxa* was also provided, in which the King would sometimes ride (Herodotus VII.40-41).⁴⁰⁶ In this same text, Herodotus emphasizes the orderly ‘parade state’ of Xerxes’ army units, with the King in his chariot in the middle of the convoy, flanked by his famous personal army division called “Immortals.” According to this description, the convoy included cavalry at the front followed by spear bearers with their spears pointing down, the King, more spear bearers with upright spears, more of the cavalry unit and finally the marching infantry. A similar form of arrangement can be detected in the Tatarlı convoy. Herodotus also talks about well-equipped mercenary contingents of the Persian army and their local leaders, who were encouraged to mirror the military force of the Persian king and the grandeur of his immediate family (including the wife) following him during the expedition against Greece (VII.8-VII.39).⁴⁰⁷ Based on this information, Draycott sees the Anatolian convoy scenes with closed carriages as referring to the “kingly” wealth and the political inclination of the elite Western Anatolians commemorated in their tomb imagery. For the Tatarlı convoy, she reads it as a departure of a local dignitary to join the Persian king for a military campaign. Summerer, on the other hand, points out the downward tips of the footmen’s lances behind the white open

⁴⁰⁵ Draycott 2007, 72.

⁴⁰⁶ Draycott 2007, 71.

⁴⁰⁷ Xerxes promises rich gifts to the local leaders, who joined his expedition with well-prepared military forces. (Hdt VII.8).

chariot with the seated prominent figure, and the woman touching her hand to the quadriga (and to the coffin? on it) in the procession scene of Tatarlı as indicative of “mourning” and reaffirms the reading of the Tatarlı convoy as a funerary cortege.⁴⁰⁸ According to the latter interpretation, the chariot carries the deceased, who refers to the person buried inside the tomb. Yet, Summerer does not explain explicitly who is the prominent figure seated on the open chariot if the quadriga is carrying the deceased. The identity of this figure on the chariot, which will be discussed in detail below, might indeed help support Draycott’s interpretation of the motif as a departure scene. Yet this departure in the funerary context could have carried a two-fold meaning: an actual departure for war, signifying the heroism and the wealth of the dignitary and a metaphoric departure to the other world.

Dress and Identity: The theme of the convoy frieze

Three main questions arise when trying to read the Tatarlı convoy scene; what does the closed chariot with a rounded top carry? Who is the seated dignitary seated on the white chariot; is he the Persian king or a local dynast? And how is he related to the rest of the convoy, especially to the quadriga with the closed box?

As explained in detail above there is no consensus among the scholars trying to answer the first question. Some see the chariot as a funerary carriage, or a vehicle for carrying religious objects, others as a private cart for elite women or simply as a prestigious vehicle signifying the high status of its owner. In the case of Tatarlı convoy,

⁴⁰⁸ Summerer 2007a, 138. In a later publication, however, Summerer (2008, 276) links downward spear tips of these soldiers to the “Immortals.”

the closed chariot might represent both a prestigious vehicle, in which the deceased leader once rode in a military campaign, and also a funerary cart in which his body was carried to his tomb. The same cart could have served both functions.

The most prominent figure, at the center of the Tatarlı convoy, is the one seated in the chariot. He is distinguished from the rest of the convoy, by his large size (even though seated) and by his costume, especially his brown bashlyk and white kandys. Based on his courtly kandys, one may think of him as the representation of a Persian dignitary or even the Persian King.⁴⁰⁹ Yet, other known representations of Anatolian dynasts such as the dignitary of the Karaburun tomb, or Perikle on the sculptural frieze of his tomb at

⁴⁰⁹ Courtly and military dress of the Achaemenid era evolved drawing influences from Elamite, Mesopotamian, and Median sources. According to Arrian (*Anab.* VI.29.6), the so-called “Elamite royal robe” was replaced by a new royal garment called the “Achaemenid court robe” during the reign of Cyrus and it was used by the king and by the leaders in his army alike. Although details of this costume are not known, Darius and his ‘Immortal’ soldiers on the northern staircase of the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis may reflect the basic aspects of the Achaemenid court robe. The attire includes a long tunic with wide sleeves (or with an over-garment with wide sleeves), the pleats of the tunic gathered at the front, both the tunic and the over-garment lavishly decorated with appliquéés and seams. Herodotus (I.135; VII.62.1) mentions that instead of using the “traditional Achaemenid court robe”, the Achaemenid king and the nobility later adopted items of Median dress in the fifth century. Yet, as Sekunda points out (1993, 13) both fashions may have co-existed for sometime, especially in the case of king who might have continued to wear the Achaemenid court robe in traditional ceremonies. Xenophon (*Cyr.* VIII.1.40) describes most of these newly adopted courtly dress items of Median origin. He counts kandyses, purple tunics, anaxyrides, torques around necks, necklaces and earrings of the Achaemenid Persians. Greek representations of the fifth century Persian nobility point to another significant feature of the new royal costume, a purple tunic with a white central band running vertically at the front (as can be seen worn by Darius and some of the spear-bearers on the Alexander mosaic and Alexander sarcophagus). Similar tunics with variously colored central stripes may have been used to differentiate various regiments in the army (Sekunda 1992, 32). For the evolution of Achaemenid state and military costumes see Sekunda 1992 in general.

Limyra, wear similar attire, apparently indicating an Anatolian courtly fashion for dignitaries, possibly adopted from Persia.

The dignitary on the south wall of the Karaburun tomb provides the closest parallel to the charioteer of the Tatarlı convoy (**Fig 3.1d.5**) (also see chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the Karaburun II Tomb). Seated on a two-wheeled chariot, he, too, is followed by bashlyk-wearing attendants on foot and a horse chariot with a rounded box on it. As his peer at Tatarlı, he wears a white kandys with fur trimming (over his purple tunic), and a light colored bashlyk over his head. Unlike the Tatarlı convoy, Karaburun attendants do not seem to be equipped with weaponry, and they wear their bashlyks with the side flaps down, indicating that they are not soldiers ready for combat, but perhaps personal servants of the dignitary. Mellink interprets the Karaburun procession as a funerary convoy and the dignitary as a male successor of the deceased or the deceased himself, whose body is propped up and displayed in his fine clothes in a ‘throne-chariot,’ and whose burial goods (or funeral casket) are being carried in a box in another chariot.⁴¹⁰ Yet, it is more reasonable to read this convoy as a scene from the life of the deceased, who appears riding on the chariot. Indeed, presumably the same bearded dignitary also appears in real-life scenes on the other walls of the tomb, in a battle on the north wall and in a banquet on the east wall.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Mellink 1973, 301.

⁴¹¹ Whether or not “the banquet scene” refers to a real life experience is also controversial. The origin of the so-called “banquet couche” or “Totenmahl” motif goes back to the Near Eastern seals of the third millennium. The motif becomes popular in eastern Mediterranean at around seventh century. There are three different interpretations for the meaning; the first idea is that the motif represents a particular happy moment from

Considering the parallel imagery between the two painted tombs, one may also think of the Tatarlı leader on the open chariot as the representation of the deceased buried inside the tomb, possibly a local military leader. The rounded box on the quadriga in the same convoy might represent his aristocratic carriage or a vehicle carrying his rich paraphernalia in life, and at the same time, allude to his burial goods and funerary casket after death. He could have also appeared in the battle scene on the other Munich beam (discussed below) from the east wall, and perhaps in a symposium scene on one of the painted registers of the west wall. Indeed, the combination of banquet, convoy, and combat scenes are typical of the funerary iconography of Achaemenid Anatolia, other examples including Stele of Elnaf and Stele of Adda from Daskyleion.⁴¹² Used together, all of these themes might have expressed the wealthy and heroic life style of the deceased, also conveying his elite status.

When compared to Karaburun II convoy, the military emphasis of the Tatarlı procession is obvious. Attendants carry spears and the *gorytos*. They wear their bashlyks tied at the chin as if ready for combat. The spear bearers wear tunics with vertical stripes. The latter feature may also refer to special uniforms of special status warriors. Indeed, some of the Persian warriors on the Alexander sarcophagus wear sleeved tunics with frontal vertical stripes in different colors, possibly indicating different regiments in the

the life of the deceased, second opinion proposes a representation of the union of the dead family members in a happy hour in eternity, the final interpretation is that the motif represents funerary rituals for the deceased, performed by the surviving family and friends, see Dentzer 1982, 1-69.

⁴¹² For Daskyleion grave stelai, see Draycott 2007, 108-134 and cat. No 12 for the Stele of Elnaf and Cat. No 17 for the stele of Adda.

army.⁴¹³ This military emphasis of the Tatarlı convoy may reveal the identity of the deceased, shown on the open chariot, as an Anatolian general departing for a battle with his entourage. This theme matches well with the following frieze, the most extensive battle scene known in Anatolian iconography.

Battle Scene (Munich II)

The second frieze below the convoy scene on the east wall shows one of the most extensive battle scenes preserved in the funerary art of fifth century Western Anatolia (**5. Plate 2, a-b**). On the frieze, two opposing groups of warriors converge towards the center. The victorious group on the left consists of 12 combatants. Their commander, appears holding the beard of the other party's leader and plunging a dagger into his belly. Situated at the center of the frieze, this victorious commander is the frieze's most prominent figure. His facial features and elaborate costume are clearly articulated (**Fig 5.3**). He has a long black pointed beard and black hair, curved at the nape. He wears a rounded earring, a polos-like crenellated crown, and the so-called 'Achaemenid court robe': a red, sleeved-tunic with pleats gathered at the front and with appliqué edges (seams) sewn on the sleeves.⁴¹⁴ He also wears strapped shoes and carries a bow with duck's beak ends, a quiver, and a dagger. Although, rendered in less detail, the two archers on foot at the far left of the military group are dressed like the commander

⁴¹³ Sekunda 1992, 49. An earlier example is the Aktepe tomb paintings of the fifth century Anatolia. The two painted life-size human figures on the lateral walls of this Lydian tomb wear blue sleeved-tunics with red vertical stripes running on the sides. There is no detail to suggest a military identity for these figures, however. See Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 42-43, fig. 81.

⁴¹⁴ For the "Achaemenid court robe" see above n. 409.

indicating their similar status within the army.⁴¹⁵ Behind the commander is a white biga with a charioteer and an archer. Both the charioteer and the archer wear bashlyks and red tunics. Seven riders follow the chariot group. They all wear zigzag-patterned tight pants, tunics, and bashlyks in alternating colors of red, brown, and black. They carry double-curved bows and quivers. The knotted tails of their horses allude to the Nisean breed.

The enemy on the right comprises of 11 figures of infantry and cavalry, a smaller number of soldiers compared to the party on the left. Their commander is attacked by the Persian leader, a horse with its rider have already fallen dead on the ground; and the archer at the far right wounded by an arrow in his neck, all indicating the losing side. All of the soldiers, both the footmen and riders, are dressed similar to the riding archers of the left party, except for their tall pointed headdresses and rounded axes, features that identify them as Scythians.⁴¹⁶ Thus, the frieze depicts a battle scene between Persians and Scythians, in which Persians are victorious. Whether this scene refers to an historic event or a generic representation of Persians against a defeated enemy group is controversial.

Calmeyer interprets the scene as an historic battle, referring to the campaigns of Darius I against the pointed hat Scythians of Asia that took place in 513/512.⁴¹⁷ As Strabo implies (XV.3.15) Persian victory on these campaigns was celebrated until his time. Borchhardt further identifies the victorious commander at the center of the frieze as

⁴¹⁵ Summerer (2008, 18) notes that the only difference between the commander and these archers are the way they carry the quivers. Their quiver hangs around the waist unlike the commander who carries it over his back.

⁴¹⁶ Summerer 2008, 19-20.

⁴¹⁷ Calmeyer 1993, 14-15.

Darius I, based on his crenellated crown.⁴¹⁸ Summerer, on the other hand, sees this battle scene as a generic representation of a battle between Persians and the enemy, rather than a depiction of a specific historical event.⁴¹⁹ She proposes that the origin of this motif “Persians versus the defeated enemy” might go back to the painted pinakes commissioned by the Persian king mentioned by Herodotus.⁴²⁰ Thus, Summerer sees the Tatarlı painting as a modified variation of an earlier original. Similar battle scenes between Scythians and Persians in abbreviated form can be seen on seals used by Achaemenid nobles throughout the Empire (**Fig 5.6**). Yet, the extensive battle scene articulated in such detail on Munich II might indeed suggest that the scene refers to a historic or an epic battle, rather than being a simple generic pattern. One may argue that what is generic, here, is the use of the battle motif along with a convoy and possibly with a banquet scene (on the north wall of the tomb). This thematic program of battle, convoy, and banquet scenes occurs consistently in the fifth century Anatolian funerary art as a generic means for conveying the high social status of the tomb owners.

Dress and Identity: The theme of the battle frieze.

A detailed analysis of the dress of the figures can help answer several questions regarding the overall theme and the intended message of the battle frieze, whether historic or generic. These questions include: Who is the commander? Is he the Persian

⁴¹⁸ Borchhardt 2000, 95

⁴¹⁹ Summerer 2008, 27.

⁴²⁰ Herodotus IV. 88. 1.

king, a satrap or a local lord? Is the deceased person represented on the frieze? And who are the riding archers of the victorious side, Persians or Anatolian mercenaries?

As described above, the victorious commander at the center of the Tatarlı battle wears the “Achaemenid court robe.” Despite the detailed rendering of stitched seams, and central pleats, however, the Tatarlı example lacks the wide sleeves, a common feature of the particular robe known from other representations. Calmeyer links this feature to the inability of the painter in rendering such sleeves.⁴²¹ Summerer, however, relates it to the unfamiliarity of the painter in depicting such robes.⁴²² The Tatarlı commander is represented as plunging a dagger into his opponent. Depicting the right arm in action with a wide-sleeve would have obstructed the other details of his robe and also would have made the robe look inconvenient for combat. Thus, the lack of the wide sleeves on the Tatarlı beam can simply be the painter’s conscious omission. Indeed, on Achaemenid cylinder-seals, figures wearing the Achaemenid robe in combat scenes lack the wide sleeves (**Fig 5.7**)

The ‘Achaemenid court robe’ appears worn both by the Persian King and his soldiers alike in Achaemenid art. Just like the Tatarlı commander, the Immortals represented on the polychrome glazed bricks from Darius’ late sixth century palace at Susa wear lavishly decorated sleeved-tunics with pleats gathered at the front, carry spears, quiver boxes with hanging fringes and bows with duck’s beak tips (**Fig 5.8**). Instead of crenellated crowns, however, the Susa soldiers wear simpler headbands. The three kings, Cyrus, Cambyses and Tanuoxarkes, who ruled the Empire together in the

⁴²¹ Calmeyer 1993, 13.

⁴²² Summerer 2007b, 11.

mid sixth century, wear their ‘Achaemenid court robe,’ combined with crenellated crowns on an Achaemenid gem (**Fig 5.9**). The triarchy is also equipped with spears and quiver boxes with hanging fringes.

Borchhardt, by pointing out the combination of the ‘Achaemenid court robe’ with a crenellated crown (which he names the ‘royal kidaris’), identifies the commander of the Tatarlı painting as Darius I.⁴²³ This theory, however, rests on shaky grounds. First, unlike common representations of the Persian king, who is usually shown clad in smooth shoes, the commander wears strapped shoes.⁴²⁴ Kaptan, in her examination of the Achaemenid bullae from Daskyleion, shows that in combat scenes, victorious Persian warriors (not specifically kings) are always shown with the strapped shoes as opposed to the bare-footed enemy.⁴²⁵ Second, as Summerer notes, in Achaemenid art, the Persian King is almost never depicted as actively engaged in battle.⁴²⁶ Third, the two other archers of the victorious party on the Tatarlı battle scene are also clad like the commander. Furthermore, Summerer, in her excellent iconographic examination, shows that crenellated crowns are not unique to representations of kings, but a variety of non-royal people, including noble women and guards, appear wearing the headdress in Achaemenid art.⁴²⁷ Thus, the commander does not necessarily have to be a representation of the King

⁴²³ Borchhardt 2000, 95. Draycott (2007, 76) too considers this guy as a ‘royal Persian’ instead of a local lord.

⁴²⁴ See Calmeyer 1993, 14.

⁴²⁵ Kaptan 2003, 60.

⁴²⁶ Summerer 2007b, 23.

⁴²⁷ Summerer 2007b, 22. One example is the spiky crown of the seated woman on the Elnaf stele from Daskyleion, discussed in the polos-veil section of this dissertation.

Darius I, but should be considered the military leader of the victorious group. The artist's emphasis on the detailed rendering of this figure, however, indicates his higher status in the whole group. He could represent a satrap working at Kelainai, a satrapal seat located very close to the Tatarlı tomb or the tomb-owner, presumably a local lord, an ally of the satrap. Yet, the latter possibility can be dismissed since unlike the commander of the battle frieze, the lord riding in an open chariot in the convoy frieze above is un-bearded.

Borchhardt, who identifies the victorious commander of the Tatarlı battle as Darius I, considers the archer on the white chariot behind the commander as the tomb-owner, who is shown in the service of the Persian King.⁴²⁸ Borchhardt's argument sounds attractive, especially if one accepts the suggestion that the dignitary (tomb-owner) of the procession scene is also shown in a white chariot. Yet, his reasoning presents some problems. Borchhardt's identification of the tomb-owner lord is mainly based on the 'wide sleeves' of his dress. This detail of the attire is problematic. Only the upper part of the archer's dress is visible and in a much deteriorated state. Although Summerer also restores the dress of the archer with wide-sleeves, the position of the sleeves are awkward, with no arms projecting from it.⁴²⁹ The curvilinear line which led these scholars to classify this robe as with 'wide sleeves' could have simply been the stretched part of the bow, as the archer is shown shooting (**5.Plate 2.b**). Furthermore, the two white chariots on both friezes are slightly different in design, suggesting that they are not same

⁴²⁸ Borchhardt 2000, 95 – 96.

⁴²⁹ Summerer (2008, 14-15) identifies the dress of the archer as a "court robe", by noting the wide sleeves hanging down on one side. She further stresses the unlikely combination of a bashlyk and the court robe; the latter often combined with crenellated crowns and links this to the painter's reinterpretation of an Iranian model.

vehicle. The chariot on which the archer rides in the battle scene has a large curved poke with a bell at the end, while the chariot in the procession scene lacks it.

Despite these details, the archer on the chariot can still be identified as the tomb-owner-dignitary, shown in two different outfits, riding in different vehicles in two different contexts; a convoy and in a battle. Such identification can be supported by the parallel imagery of the Lycian lord on the frescoes of the Karaburun II Tomb in which the tomb-owner-dignitary is represented dressed differently in each of three different contexts.

Based on their costume, it is tempting to label the riding archers of the victorious side of the battle scene (behind the chariot) as ethnically ‘Persian.’ As is typical of the Persian cavalry of the fifth century (known mostly from Greek representations) they are clad in sleeved tunics, tight pants (anaxyrides) with decorated patterns, and bashlyks. Similar costumes, however, might have been adopted and used by mercenaries of the Persian army.⁴³⁰ Indeed, except for their headdress, the opposing Scythians in the battle scene, one of the most significant mercenary forces employed in the Persian army, are also shown wearing sleeved tunics and anaxyrides. Greek sources imply that Persian kings supplied their favorite commanders and nobility with fine clothes and equipment or encouraged them to have or produce their own.⁴³¹ As the story of Arsabes, a fifth century satrap of the Great Phrygia, indicates, the Anatolian satraps, who mimicked the power of

⁴³⁰ For the origin of bashlyks, tight pants, and sleeved tunics see chapter 3 in this dissertation.

⁴³¹ Xenophon (Cyr. VIII.3.1-3) mentions Cyrus the Great distributing ‘cloaks’ to his favorites. Herodotus (VII.8.4) mentions how Xerxes awarded those who joined his army with the best equipped forces.

the King in their territory, also provided their cavalry with uniform clothes and weaponry.⁴³² Thus, the Tatarlı archers can be considered as Anatolian mercenaries whose dress makes their leader, a favorite of the Satrap or the King.

Overall, the battle scene seems to refer to the courage and wealth of the tomb-owner-local lord or perhaps of his ancestors who were chosen to be part of the victorious Persian army. His entourage is represented as composed of ideal 'Persian soldiers' clad in the best uniforms and equipped with the best weapons, fighting in an orderly manner. If we accept the mid fifth century dating of the tomb, the tomb-owner or perhaps his father might have indeed fought against Scythians in an historic battle as part of the Persian army. Yet, the emphasis of the painting seems to be not the specific historic event itself, but the high standing of the tomb-owner as a liege of the Satrap or the Persian King.

Conclusion

The close examination of the iconography of the Tatarlı painted beams, especially the so-called Munich beams from the east wall of the burial chamber, reveal the identity claims of the tomb-owner/ the commissioner within the local sphere. Both the convoy and the battle scenes possibly refer to the personal deeds of the deceased buried inside. The choice of subject matter and the dresses worn by the figures indicate the local lord's intention of associating himself with the Persian court as the 'best-prepared liege' to join

⁴³² Polyaeus (VII.28.2) mentions how Arsabes took the dress and weapons of his cavalry unit, who betrayed him. See Sekunda 1992, 9-10.

According to Xenophon (Cyr. VIII.6.10) Cyrus the Great encouraged his satraps to command their given territory and raise mercenaries as exactly how he is ruling the Empire.

Persian army, perhaps competing with other elite Anatolians for such a distinction. Indeed, such wealthy and ambitious Anatolian lords, becoming part of the Persian King's army are mentioned in literary sources. The best known example is the story of a rich Lydian lord, Pythius, who hosted Xerxes and his army at Kelainai before his expedition against Greece. According to Herodotus, Pythius, who is also associated with the Mermnad dynast in later Greek sources, provided most of his wealth for Xerxes' cause and was ready to leave along with Persian army (Herodotus VII. 27-39).⁴³³ Yet, at the last moment he refused to take his eldest son, who was later killed by the infuriated Xerxes.

⁴³³ See Lewis 1999 for a detailed discussion of Pythius the Lydian in Greek and Roman Literature.

Chapter 6

Dress and Identity: The Friezes of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra- Fourth Century BCE

The friezes of the fourth century Heroon of Perikle at Limyra in Lycia constitute the third case study of this dissertation. The two long friezes on the cella walls of the monumental tomb depict large processions of mostly military figures dressed in a variety of costumes. A thorough analysis of these sculptural reliefs in the context of dress and identity reveals the historical importance of multi-ethnic mercenaries in the armies of the Western Anatolian dynasts, such as that of Perikle. This study also shows that in the fourth century, as was the case in the fifth century, local dignitaries, in order to reinforce their power, continued to dress like the Persian nobility, associating themselves with the ruling Achaemenid royalty. This association by fashion does not mean, however, that all the local rulers admired and obeyed the Persian authority. The fact that Lycian Perikle, who is dressed like Persian nobility on the friezes, rebelled against the Persians in the Satrap's Revolt indicates that Persian costumes lost their association with Great Persia and had become accepted symbols of authority and wealth. Furthermore, the overall sculptural program of the Heroon at Limyra reflects Perikle's knowledge and use of both Persian and Athenian socio-political customs to celebrate and elevate his own local power. Perikle and his entourage on the friezes appear as courtly as the Persian royalty on the Apadana reliefs, and at the same time as serene and as ideal as the Athenians of the Parthenon friezes.

The ancient town of the Limyra is situated on the eastern coast of Lycia, 150 km from modern Antalya (**map 1**). Although mentioned as the city of *Zemuri* in Hittite sources of the Late Bronze Age, the earliest known archaeological evidence from the city

dates from the eight century.⁴³⁴ The akropolis of Limyra, on a prominent hilltop, (316 m above the sea) dominates the plain below and the harbor. A continuous wall ties a lower residential area with the akropolis, the latter containing remains of several buildings including a castle and the monumental tomb of a local dynast, the so-called Heroon of Perikle (**Fig 6.1**). Despite the Persian authority controlling Western Anatolia in the fifth and fourth century, Limyra, just like its rival Xanthos, seems to have had its heyday as an independent Lycian city during the first half of the fourth century, under the rule of Perikle, whose name supposedly derives from his father's admiration for the Athenian strategos.⁴³⁵

Numismatic and epigraphic evidence indicate that Perikle, born around 435 to a local family with close ties to Athens, ruled Limyra between 380-360.⁴³⁶ Until his clash with Persians in 362, as a result of his participation in the Satrap's Revolt, Perikle seems to have been an influential figure not only at Limyra, but in eastern Lycia generally.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Stanzl 1999, 155.

⁴³⁵ Borchhardt 1999, 40; Keen 1998, 155-156.

⁴³⁶ Keen 1998, 167.

⁴³⁷ Keen (1998, 166-167), based on numismatic and epigraphic evidence and also Greek literary sources, outlines the events that took place during Perikle's career as follows: Perikle together with Trebbenimi rules Limyra with influence over eastern Lycia; he rules alone after the death of Trebbenimi, and starts the construction of the Heroon, his monumental tomb at around 370; Perikle, initially a pro-Persian, breaks with Persia, after the Persian satrap of Sardis, Autophrades appoints Arttumpara and Mithrapata as rulers to control western and eastern Lycia (respectively) after the death of Erbinna of Xanthos; Perikle defeats Arttumpara and takes Telmessos; He becomes active against Persians in the Satrap's Revolt (370-362), and the crushing of the Revolt in 362 brings the end of Perikle.

Satrap's Revolt is an unsuccessful revolt of the satraps of Western Anatolia against the Persian king Artaxerxes II (reigned 404–359/358). It is led by Ariobarzanes, Persian

Two different views of Perikle exist in the current scholarship. The first sees him as a westerner, who from the very beginning “saw himself as a latter-day Pericles (of Athens), inspired by the vision of a free, independent Lycia united against Persian deposition.”⁴³⁸ The second sees him as a loyal vassal to the Achaemenid authority only to become the king’s enemy after his involvement in the Satrap’s Revolt.⁴³⁹ The first theory is based on the Lycian ruler’s name, his monumental tomb, which stylistically recalls buildings of the Athenian Akropolis, and his involvement in the Satrap’s Revolt. The latter theory depends merely on the interpretation of the motifs on the friezes of his Heroon as pro-Achaemenid.⁴⁴⁰ The following investigation of the Heroon friezes will show that both theories have some truth in suggesting both Athenian and Persian influences on the Lycian ruler. Yet, there is no need to see Perikle as the local imitator of the Athenian general or a strictly pro-Achaemenid ruler. He seems to have been a uniquely Anatolian leader, who created his own socio-political ideology by utilizing Persian, Athenian, and Western Anatolian cultural and artistic traditions.

satrap (provincial governor) of Phrygia, who cultivated the friendship of Athens and Sparta.

⁴³⁸ Bryce 1980, 379, also see Bryce 1986, 111 on this view of Perikle.

⁴³⁹ Borchhardt 1976, 66-67; 121-123, Borchhardt 1999, 49-52; Keen 1998, 157-158.

⁴⁴⁰ Borchhardt 1976, 66-67; 121-123, Borchhardt 1999, 49-52.

Limyra Friezes in Context:

The Heroon of Perikle

Fully excavated between 1969 and 1976 and published by Jurgen Borchhardt the Heroon of Perikle is situated on a rock-cut platform on the southernmost rim of the fortifications of the akropolis (**Fig 6.1**).⁴⁴¹ Overlooking the residential plain below, the monumental structure consists of a high podium topped by a tetrastyle amphiprostyle structure, which contains a burial chamber entered from the south (**Fig 6.2**).⁴⁴² The ground plan of the mausoleum covers an area of 10x7 m. The decoration of the Heroon includes large karyatids, in the manner of the earlier Erechtheion marking the tomb of the legendary king of Athens; akroteria; carved rosettes on the anta-capitals and at the upper zone of the peristyle; lion-head waterspouts running along the lateral sima, and finally the figural friezes on the outer cella walls.

Borchhardt, mainly on stylistic grounds, dates the Heroon to 370. Bruns-Ozgan, however, lowers the date to the second half of the fourth century and questions its attribution to the local dynast Perikle.⁴⁴³ Borchhardt's dating of the tomb and attribution to Perikle are based on three premises: the coins that Perikle minted at Limyra, several

⁴⁴¹ Main sources about the Heroon and its reliefs are Borchhardt 1976; Borchhardt 1993; Borchhardt 1999; Boardman 1995; Ridgway 1997.

⁴⁴² According to Borchhardt (1999, 46) the burial room still contains the remains of the kline and traces of other tomb furniture.

The high podium recalls Athenian akropolis bastion and the orthostat pedestal below the Erechtheion korai. Ridgway 1997, 94.

⁴⁴³ Bruns-Ozgan 1987, 90.

local tombs bearing his name in inscriptions, and the style of the Heroon, which is contemporary with Perikle's rule. Borchhardt also argues that the "portrait" of Perikle on coins resemble a prominent figure, whom he identifies as Lycian Perikle, on the west frieze of the Heroon.⁴⁴⁴ Bruns-Ozgan disagrees with Borchhardt by pointing out the occurrence of Perikle's name on coins and in inscriptions not just at Limyra but elsewhere in eastern Lycia, suggesting that he might have been buried in another city. She also sees the stylistic features of the Heroon at Limyra as belonging to the second half of the fourth century.⁴⁴⁵ Yet, the common mention of Perikle as the most well-known leader of eastern Lycia even in later Greek sources, and the Heroon's unique monumentality, compared to other tombs known from the area, suggest that the tomb should indeed be attributed to Perikle.⁴⁴⁶ Keen's thorough examination of Perikle's career shows that just as Erbinna of Xanthos, who was influential in western Lycia, Perikle was the most prominent figure at Limyra and eastern Lycia until 362. Thus, the monumental tomb at Limyra, reminiscent of the Nereid Monument of Xanthos built a decade earlier to honor the heroized Erbinna, could not have been belonged to someone else. Excavations revealed several votive offerings on the northern side of the terrace that houses the Heroon, and indicate the continuation of the hero cult for the deceased Perikle until the end of Hellenistic Period.

⁴⁴⁴ Borchhardt 1976, pl. 60. 2.3.

⁴⁴⁵ Bruns-Ozgan 1987, 82-83 and 90.

⁴⁴⁶ Keen 1998, 165, (Theopompus describes Perikle as the king of Lycians- Book XII, Biblu. 120.a; also Hellenistic Polyannus (V.42) mentions him.

Akroteria and the Karyatids

On the south and north facades four karyatids on each side support the Heroon's roof (**Fig 6.3**).⁴⁴⁷ According to Borchhardt, the inspiration for the karyatids comes directly from the Erechtheion of the Athenian Akropolis.⁴⁴⁸ Yet, the typology and the style of the female supports point to a local production. Each figure stands on a tall cylindrical base with large kalathoi on their heads. The karyatids wear a chiton, buttoned along the arms, a peplos over the chiton, and a long veil over the head in typical Anatolian fashion. They wear high-soled sandals, and also bracelets ending with lion's heads. They are holding a range of objects in their hands, including rhyta and phialai. All figures have slightly varied elaborate hairdos, pointed wavy hair lines (rendered in a different thickness for each figure) above the forehead extending and falling down the chest and the upper arms in the form of long twisted tresses (**Fig 6.4**).⁴⁴⁹ The stiff and linear treatment of the details such as the folds of the drapery or the lack of plasticity in the rendering of the body underneath the drapery contrast sharply with the style of Erechtheion karyatids, and suggest the involvement of a local sculptural school imitating Greek formulas.

⁴⁴⁷ For general discussion of these Karyatids see Borchhardt 1976, 27-45; Borchhardt 1999 47-48; Ridgway 1997, 98-99.

⁴⁴⁸ Borchhardt 1999, 47.

⁴⁴⁹ According to Ridgway (1997, 98) these tresses are indication of youth as well as being an Archaistic touch to the supports. Such tresses are known from earlier Anatolian iconography for example the girl on Antalya C, the silver priest Antalya A (though his tresses are thicker and shorter), and the so-called Megabyzos of Ephesos have similar hairs, indicating that the style was a popular hairdo fashion.

Borchhardt identifies the Heroon karyatids as Horai and Charites based on a comparison to Pausanias' description of Horai and Charites on the throne of the Zeus, at the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (V. 11. 7).⁴⁵⁰ He names the tall kalathoi over the heads of the karyatids as poloi, and thus justifies his identification of these females as belonging to the divine sphere. Yet, as explained in detail in chapter three of this dissertation, the "polos" is not specifically a divine attribute.⁴⁵¹ Indeed, the items the female supports hold suggest that they are earthly figures, possibly young priestesses, setting an ideal model for the visitors of the tomb, who would offer votives or pour libations.

Unlike the rigidity of the karyatids, the plasticity in the style of surviving akroteria from the Heroon comes closer to the fourth century styles of the Greek sculpture. The best preserved of all is the central akroteria of the north gable. Perseus, the legendary hero highly popular in Lycia, appears holding the head of Medusa, while standing over her headless body (**Fig 6.5**). Unlike Greek representations, he wears a bashlyk with a pointed top and also a long cloak fastened at the shoulders.⁴⁵² The sunken eyes, prominent eyebrows, and the open mouth of the hero are reminiscent of the "Skopaic style" known from Tegea.⁴⁵³ The corner akroteria of the north are fragmentary,

⁴⁵⁰ Borchhardt 1999, 47.

⁴⁵¹ See chapter 3, polos section in this dissertation.

⁴⁵² Borchhardt (1976, 123) sees Perseus on the akroteria as an 'easterner leading the west', thus again emphasizing Lycian Perikle's support for the Achaemenid rule. Yet, Özgen and Özgen (1988, 53), however, see this Perseus as a reminder to the Persian king that he too was once ruled by a Greek. For general discussion see Keen 1998, 158.

⁴⁵³ Ridgway 1997, 96-97.

but possibly depicted the fleeing sisters of the Medusa.⁴⁵⁴ The akroteria on the southern gable are also very damaged, but the remains of a beardless face and a horse suggest that the central akroterion on that end was of another myth associated with Lycia, Bellerephon on Pegasos slaying the Chimaira.⁴⁵⁵ Amazons might have decorated the corners on this side.

Friezes

Figural friezes adorn the east and west walls of the cella on the outside (**Fig 6.2**). Each frieze consists of three blocks 2m long, which together form a frieze 6m in length. A later discovery of a small fragment of a frieze that possibly went around the corner suggests that the frieze might have continued to the south, where the doors of the tomb chamber would have been, but not much is known of the south frieze.⁴⁵⁶ Unfortunately, more than 50% percent of the east frieze is also lost, leaving us with the relatively better-preserved west frieze to provide a general interpretation of the motifs in the sculptural program.

Both west and east friezes depict a convoy in procession moving from north to south, from the castle towards the city of Limyra (**Fig 6.6; 6. Plate 1, a-c; Fig 6.7;**

⁴⁵⁴ Borchhardt 1999, 47.

⁴⁵⁵ Bellerephon, who was born from Medusa, when Perseus cut her head, as part of his deeds, killed the fire-breathing Chimaira in Lycia.

⁴⁵⁶ Borchhardt 1976, 49.

6. Plate 2, a-b) They were initially thought to be mirror images, but the later discovery of additional fragments from the east frieze show that the procession scenes on both friezes are slightly different.

West Frieze

The convoy scene in the west frieze includes 45 figures, some preserved only fragmentarily (**6. Plate 1, a-c**).⁴⁵⁷ The procession starts with a chariot driving left to right. Behind the chariot-driver a heavily armored and bearded figure with a raised right hand turns back to the opposite direction and gives the sign of departure (**6. Plate 1, a, no. 38**). The lower part of this prominent figure is not visible, but possibly he should be thought of as getting onto the chariot. The whole convoy starts to follow behind him. Immediately behind him are eight figures on foot. They are military and civic officials and musicians clad in different fashions. Following them at the center of the convoy are again six variously attired riders in pairs. The rider at the center, who is shown in full profile without any overlapping, appears to be the most prominent among them (**6. Plate 1, a, no. 22**). Behind the riders, bringing up the rear of the convoy come, the hoplites armed with various kinds of helmets. Thus, from right to left the frieze can be observed in three main groups: first, the phalanx group; second, the riders group; and third the figure getting on the chariot and the group of striding males following him.

The arrangement of figures, especially of the hoplites in the phalanx group, recalls Roman historical friezes, in which figures in the back are shown only as disembodied heads with their bodies hidden behind those standing at the front. The

⁴⁵⁷ Borchhardt 1976, 49-51 and 58-66 for full descriptions.

hovering feet of the soldiers in the back rows suggest that the sculptors of the west frieze intended three different ground levels, which perhaps detailed later by the painter.⁴⁵⁸ The “stacked” appearance of the figures on different ground levels, conveys a sense of human mass and gives a kind of perspective to the two dimensional frieze, a feature unknown in contemporary Greek sculpture.⁴⁵⁹ This treatment, and also the concave rendering of the soldier’s eyes might indicate that the frieze of Heroon is chronologically more advanced than the nearby Nereid Monument built sometime between 390-380, thus again suggesting the dating the Heroon to 370 .⁴⁶⁰

One of the peculiarities of the frieze is the rich variety of costume. Most of the phalanx group wears long-sleeved tunics and leggings below the lappets of their breastplates, the latter variously made of leather or metal. There is no sign of shoes or sandals, perhaps as Borchhardt suggests, they might have been rendered in paint.⁴⁶¹ Three main types of helmets are, half round Attic helmets, with forehead, nape, and cheek protection (**6. Plate 1, a, nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14**); egg-shaped helmets with protection at the nape and with protrusion on the forehead and which ends in rolls at the temples (**6. Plate 1, a, no. 6**); and the so-called Thracian helmet, with a rounded top

⁴⁵⁸ Borchhardt 1993, 353.

⁴⁵⁹ Ridgway 1997, 96.

⁴⁶⁰ Ridgway 1997, 97.

⁴⁶¹ Borchhardt 1976, 58.

falling forward (**6. Plate I, a, nos. 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 15**).⁴⁶² Some of the helmets have crests at top. The soldiers carry lances, shields and swords.

The riders of the group in the middle of the procession also wear long-sleeved tunics over tight pants (anaxyrides). Well known from the riders of Alexander sarcophagus, the colors of which are well preserved, the Limyra riders' pants must have been brightly patterned in paint.⁴⁶³ Two of the figures at the center (**6. Plate 1, a, no. 22 and no. 26**) also wear kandyes with fur lining over their shoulders.⁴⁶⁴ Most of the riders wear bashlyks, but that of no. 22 is distinguished from the other bashlyks by its upturned pointed top falling forward. Borchhardt classifies this headdress as the *orthe tiara* worn only by the Persian king.⁴⁶⁵ Hence, he names this figure as the Persian king Artaxerxes II, an identification, which will be discussed in detail and dismissed below.⁴⁶⁶ As mentioned earlier in the third chapter of this dissertation, the fashion for tight pants, long sleeved chitons, combined with kandyes, and bashlyks is well known from the Achaemenid art of Anatolia. The horses of the rider group have the knotted tails and forelocks as typical of the "Nisean" breed, representations of which are also well known in the Achaemenid art

⁴⁶² Borchhardt 1976, 63-64.

⁴⁶³ As discussed in detail in chapter 3, these pants, usually worn by the Persian cavalry, were called anaxyrides and remarked on their colorfulness in Greek sources.

⁴⁶⁴ See kandys section in chapter 3, for a full examination of this jacket with false sleeves.

⁴⁶⁵ See bashlyk section in chapter 3. In Xenophon Anab II.5.23. Tissaphernes mentions the tiara on the head only the King may have upright. For a detailed discussion of the Achaemenid king's headdress see Tuplin 2007.

⁴⁶⁶ Borchhardt 1976, 59.

of Anatolia.⁴⁶⁷ Unlike the hoplite group, the riders do not carry any military equipment. The riders wearing helmets at the back of the group might be an exception, but their fragmentary nature prevents us discerning any weapons. Despite this fact, Borchhardt reconstructs these “weaponless” prominent riders as carrying lances in their left hands, which are not visible in the preserved parts of the frieze (**6. Plate 1, b**).⁴⁶⁸ This peculiar lack of any military equipment for the riders in a military procession might be explained by an Achaemenid military custom, in which riders would have servants who carry the weapons for them.⁴⁶⁹

The group of the frieze behind the chariot contains 11 figures, including the charioteer (**6. Plate 1, a**), Number 38, the focus of the group getting onto the chariot, wears a heavy muscle corselet above his sleeved chiton and a pilos- helmet. He is the only bearded figure in the whole frieze. Among his followers, Numbers 31 and 35 and also the charioteer wear the egg-shaped helmet with nape or cheek protection, and the rest wear the Greek petasos. The small petasos-wearers at the front of the frieze (**6. Plate 1, a, nos. 34-37**) wear sleeved tunics and cloaks fastened at the shoulders.

East Frieze

In the original context, the east frieze might have been more significant than the west since the entrance to the Heron’s temenos is on the east. The fragments of the east

⁴⁶⁷ For Nisean horses also see chapter 3 in this dissertation. Nolle 1992: 58 and also Draycott 2007, 83-84 (other examples come from Apadana, Daskyleion, Xanthos, Karaburun).

⁴⁶⁸ Borchhardt 1976, 75-76.

⁴⁶⁹ This possibility is also mentioned by Borchhardt 1976, 75-76.

frieze, (including the two new fragments discovered after Borchhardt's initial publication) indicate that this side also had a procession scene led by a chariot and a figure calling for departure, civic and military officials following him, a rider group, and the phalanx (**Fig 6.7, 6.Plates 2, a-b**). Overall, the costume repertory of the surviving figures is similar to that of the west frieze, but the newly discovered fragments show that the execution, the composition and the numbers of figures wearing a variety of costume and headgear are slightly different.⁴⁷⁰ There seems to be more petasos-wearers among the group behind the chariot. In the west frieze, all people with the exception of the man getting into the chariot appear in strict profile, reminiscent of the linear style of the Parthenon frieze.⁴⁷¹ The new fragments of the east frieze, however, display a more relaxed arrangement with petasos-wearing men turning towards each other as if in conversation (**6. Plate 1, b, nos 22-24**). Borchhardt, through comparison with figures in dialogue on the Apadana procession scenes, sees this motif as Achaemenid in origin.⁴⁷² Yet, a similar composition with figures turning and facing each other, in a static processional arrangement, also occurs on the Parthenon friezes.⁴⁷³ The treatment of space on both east and west friezes of the Heroon is the same, but the styles are slightly different, perhaps indicating different artists. The figures of the west frieze have clear

⁴⁷⁰ Borchhardt 1993, 351-359.

⁴⁷¹ The "linear style" of the otherwise dynamic Parthenon frieze lies in the quiet and orderly arrangement of the idealized figures in the Panathenaic procession.

⁴⁷² Borchhardt 1993, 353, Pl 41, 2.

⁴⁷³ See especially the seated divinities on the so-called Peplos frieze. See Pedley 2007, 262, fig. 8.23.

outlines, while the east frieze (slightly higher than the west) exhibits a greater sensitivity to plasticity and painterly effects (**Fig 6.6, Fig 6.7**).⁴⁷⁴

Dress and Identity of the Figures: The Themes Represented on the Heroon Friezes.

According to Borchhardt, the themes represented on both friezes emphasize Perikle's kingly power and his loyalty to the Persian king Artaxerxes II, shown prominently at the center of each frieze among the riders (**6. Plate 1, a, no. 22**). Borchhardt identifies the west frieze as a military procession; and the east as a departure scene for royal hunt, both led by Perikle and the officials in his court, followed by the king Artaxerxes II and other Persian officials on horsebacks and finally the mercenary troops on foot.⁴⁷⁵

Borchhardt's interpretation is mainly based on two key figures, Number 38 and Number 22 (**6. Plate 1, a**), which he identifies as Perikle and Artaxerxes II respectively according to their costumes. Furthermore, he supports his theory with comparisons from ancient literature, in which departure scenes of the Achaemenid army with large number of mercenaries is described in detail.⁴⁷⁶ A re-examination of the costumes on these figures, however, might suggest different identities and thus, slightly different themes.

⁴⁷⁴ Borchhardt (1976, 80) also suggests that the western frieze might be slightly later in date.

⁴⁷⁵ Borchhardt 1976, 66-67; Borchhardt 1993, 356; Borchhardt 1999, 49-52.

⁴⁷⁶ His main comparison for the theme depicted on the west frieze is a section from *Anabasis* in which Cyrus (brother of Artaxerxes II, the Persian king) proudly displays his army to the Cilician queen, by asking his soldiers to perform a military procession (Anab

There is no doubt that the most prominent figure of the west frieze is Number 22, who is shown at the center in full profile (**6. Plate 1, a**). Borchhardt's interpretation of this figure as the Persian king Artaxerxes II is mainly based on his pointed and upturned bashlyk, which he classifies as the *orthe tiara*.⁴⁷⁷ Some of the other riders (possibly high-status court officials) accompanying him are dressed similarly with sleeved tunics, kandyes, tight pants, and bashlyks, but only Number 22, has the upturned version of the headdress. Yet, Borchhardt's classification of this headdress is not enough to identify this figure as the Persian king. In Anatolia, the upturned bashlyks appear in several other contexts worn by people other than the Persian king. For instance, a mounted cavalryman wears the pointed headdress on the early fourth century, Yalnizdam grave stele (**Fig 6.8**) and Erbinna of Xanthos wears it on the Nereid Monument (**Fig 3.1d.8**). As Ridgway rightly points out it is also very unlikely that Perikle, who rebelled against the Persian king in the Satrap's Revolt, would show Artaxerxes II, who suppressed the Revolt and brought the end to Perikle's rule, on his own tomb.⁴⁷⁸ The construction of the Heroon might have been completed slightly before 370, before the break out of the Satrap's Revolt, but still one would expect to see the local dynast represented as the most prominent figure on his own tomb rather than as a secondary figure, a subordinate to the Persian king.

I.2.14), see Borchhardt 1999, 49-50.

⁴⁷⁷ See bashlyk section in chapter 3. In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (II.5.23), Tissaphernes mentions the tiara on the head only the King may have upright. For a detailed discussion of the Achaemenid king's headdress see Tuplin 2007.

⁴⁷⁸ Ridgway 1993, 96.

Borchhardt identifies the second most prominent figure, Number 38, in the west frieze, as Perikle in his full armor getting into a quadriga and dramatically gesturing back, as if calling the followers to depart for battle. According to Borchhardt, the figures following him on foot represent the military and civic officials in his court and his bodyguards; and the three small petasos-wearing figures at the front (one of them playing a trumpet)⁴⁷⁹ represent the *paj* group, young aristocratic boys educated in the court as part of an Achaemenid institution who accompanied the king as servants in public and took care of the horses in royal hunt.⁴⁸⁰ This interpretation allows Borchhardt to argue that this part of the frieze shows Perikle as a vassal of the Persian king whose court and army took up Achaemenid customs.⁴⁸¹ Borchhardt further supports his theory through iconographic comparison of Number 38 with representations of bearded Perikle on Lycian coins (**Fig 6.9**).⁴⁸² Perikle, on these coins, wears a cloak, of which only the part fastened at shoulders is visible. He has large eyes and thick-eyelids, mane-like hair recalling representations of Herakles, and full lips. All these features on such a small scale might suggest that the coins indeed exhibit some individual characteristics of Perikle. Yet, it is more reasonable to call these representations as idealized generic renderings, rather realistic portraits of him. Also, as Ridgway points out this comparison is not valid since facial features of

⁴⁷⁹ Borchhardt mentions the other small petasos-wearer as carrying the king's coat, a detail which really is not visible on the frieze. Borchhardt 1999, 49.

⁴⁸⁰ Borchhardt 1993, 352.

⁴⁸¹ Borchhardt 1976, 121.

⁴⁸² Borchhardt 1976, pl. 60. 2.3.

Number 38 on the relief are not clear enough to make direct correlation with the representations on the coins.⁴⁸³

If Number 38 is not Perikle and Number 22 is not Artaxerxes II, then who are these prominent figures? Ridgway believes both figures are Perikle, who “is twice emblematically shown as a person of military rank and political power amidst his faithful followers, without specific reference to events and places.”⁴⁸⁴ Yet, she misses the fact that Number 38 is bearded and Number 22 is not, indicating that these figures portray different people.

One plausible explanation is that Number 22 is indeed Perikle himself, and the Number 38 is one of his leading generals, whose identity is lost to us. It is not surprising to see the local ruler dressed in kandys, tight pants, and bashlyk, dress items usually associated with Persians. The investigation in chapter two of this dissertation shows that, in the fifth century, these clothes were variously adopted and used by Anatolians as luxury items symbolizing their high-status. In the fourth century, however, in their Anatolian context, these costumes might have lost their direct association with the Great Persia and have become simply symbols of authority and royalty. In the case of Limyra friezes, Perikle’s and his followers’ adoption of Persian clothing customs does not necessarily make them subordinate followers of the Persian authority, but instead might imply Perikle’s royal ambitions.

⁴⁸³ Ridgway 1997, 94.

⁴⁸⁴ Ridgway 1997, 96.

It is harder to decipher the motifs represented on the fragmentary east frieze. The new fragments discovered indicate that the figure leading the convoy, (**6. Plate 2, a, no 16**), corresponding to Number 38 in the west frieze, wears a petasos. Most of his body is damaged, but his outstretched arm suggests that he, too, is directing the convoy for some sort of departure or entrance. As would be typical for a representation of an oriental ruler and his entourage, the figure might be calling out the beginning of the royal hunt. Indeed, Borchhardt suggests that on the east side the Dynast Perikle (**6. Plate 2, a, no 16**) is shown as a hunter setting out, just as he is shown as a warrior setting out for war in the west (**6. Plate 1, a, no. 38**). To support his theory, Borchhardt points out the greater number of petasos-wearers, whom he identifies as the *paj* group, who accompany Persian royalty in images of hunts.⁴⁸⁵ The above investigation of the west frieze has shown that Borchhardt's identification of Number 38 as Perikle is unreliable. Given, the fragmentary nature of the east frieze, it is also problematic to identify Number 16 as Perikle. Number 16 could simply be a leading figure in Perikle's entourage. Furthermore, though an attractive theory, the interpretation of the overall theme on the east frieze as departure for a royal hunt presents some problems.

Hunting in royal parks was a vital courtly activity in the Persian Empire, signifying the kings' or princes' prowess. This custom is taken up by Alexander the Great

⁴⁸⁵ Borchhardt 1993, 352-353.

It is important to note here that most of the known hunt scenes from fourth century Macedonia also include petasos-wearing figures, suggesting that the headdress had a peculiar function associated with hunt. Among the examples are the hunt fresco on the façade of the tomb of Philip II (see Andronikos 1984, 106-118), the Stag Hunt and Lion Hunt mosaics from Pella (Dunbabin 1999, 14, fig.12).

and continued into the Hellenistic period.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, generic hunting scenes appear as a common royal motif in early fourth century and afterwards, both in Western Anatolian and Greek iconography. To elevate the commemoration of the royal participants as heroes, hunt scenes are often juxtaposed with battle scenes. A famous example from fourth century southeastern Anatolia are the long friezes of the Alexander Sarcophagus, in which Abdalonymus of Sidon appears as hunting and as fighting in a battle along with Alexander the Great.⁴⁸⁷ The theme also appears on the fourth century monumental tombs of the neighboring Lycian cities of Limyra, such as the architrave friezes of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, and the temenos friezes of the Heroon at Trysa.⁴⁸⁸ In all of these examples, the hunt motif includes mounted warriors with long spears and swords attacking boars, lions, or bears. In none of them do chariots or an extensive marching phalanx group appear.⁴⁸⁹ In the fragmentary east frieze of the Heroon at Limyra, there is neither a trace of a prey nor a warrior attacking an animal. Thus, if the relief indeed contained a large phalanx group as restored by Borchhardt, the “suggested” “departure for hunt” scene would be a unique variation.

⁴⁸⁶ As the famous hunt scene on the architrave fresco of the Tomb of Philip II indicates the royal hunts became popular in Macedonia, even earlier than Alexander the Great.

⁴⁸⁷ Pedley 2007, 314-315, figs. 9.37, 9.38

⁴⁸⁸ Ridgway 1997, 82 (for the Nereid Monument) and 91-93 (for the Heroon at Trysa). The hunt scene on the Nereid Monument also contains a petasos-wearing trumpeter, see Borchhardt 1976, Pl. 30, 1).

⁴⁸⁹ One exception is the long frieze of the King’s sarcophagus from Sidon, in which quadriga is present in the hunt scene. Yet, the composition is not as static as the east frieze of Limyra; the horses of the chariot on Sidon sarcophagus appearing as mounting over a lion. Borchhardt 1976, Pl. 27, 1.

One final question, regarding the dress and identity of the figures on Limyra reliefs remains crucial in understanding the overall theme of the friezes, and that is whether the phalanx and cavalry groups of the west frieze are Lycians in Greek and Persian costumes or Greek mercenaries and Persian nobles? Borchhardt thinks that except for Perikle, depicted as setting out for hunt and war at the beginning of each frieze, none of the figures are Lycians.⁴⁹⁰ He refers to the common mention of Greek mercenaries in the Persian and dynastic armies of Western Anatolia in literary sources and thus identifies the phalanx as Greek mercenaries. By pointing out their dress and also “Persian breed horses” they are riding, he interprets the riders as Persian nobility, including king Artaxerxes II. Thus, he sees the overall message of the frieze as “the pillars of the rule of the Lykian king, Perikle, are Persian authority and Greek mercenaries”⁴⁹¹ Yet, a re-examination of these figures seems to disprove Borchhardt’s theory.

As already demonstrated above, the kandys, bashlyk, and tight pants do not ethnically identify the riders as Persians since most of these items of clothing were adopted by Anatolians.⁴⁹² The “Persian breed” or “Nisean” horses, also frequently appear in the fifth century Anatolian iconography, possibly suggesting the rider’s elite status.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ Borchhardt 1976, 121-122.

⁴⁹¹ Borchhardt 1976, 122.

⁴⁹² As discussed in detail in chapter 3, the kandys was even adopted by Greek women.

⁴⁹³ Nolle 1992, 58 and also Draycott 2007, 83-84.

Furthermore, unlike the usual representation of Persians, none of the Limyra riders have beards, and thus are in accord with the usual representation of Lycians as clean-shaven.⁴⁹⁴

The great variety of helmets of the soldiers in the marching phalanx might indeed imply the artist's intention to depict mercenaries of Greek, Thracian, Persian, and Anatolian origin. Borchhardt classifies the military equipment of the phalanx as Greek indicating the ethnic identity of the soldiers.⁴⁹⁵ Yet, the state of both friezes is too fragmentary to trace any individual detail in the weaponry. The diversity in headgear is not just restricted to the phalanx, but also appears in the cavalry group and to the chariot group. Besides bashlyks, Attic and Thracian type helmets, egg-shaped helmets, a pilos-helmet, and petasoi are depicted as worn by the convoy participants. One doubts that the artist would take such detailed measures in the rendering of the headgear if his intention were merely to convey stylistic variety.

The above re-evaluation of the Limyra friezes, then, shows that Perikle wearing a pointed bashlyk might have been depicted at the center of each frieze, accompanied by his court and military officials, Lycian soldiers, and mercenaries of differing ethnicities in a procession. In the west frieze, it is probable that his entourage is setting out for war or coming back from a victorious battle. Borchhardt's suggestion of "departure for hunt" theme for the east frieze, however, is uncertain. The military character of the frieze might

⁴⁹⁴ Borchhardt 1976, 122 (footnote 507) also notes this feature as a major argument against his identification of the figures as Persians.

⁴⁹⁵ Borchhardt 1976, 64-66. Yet the evidence from ancient sources contradicts with his conclusion. According to Herodotus (II.156-58), the hoplite soldiers hired by Psemetichos in the seventh century included Lycians as well as Ionians, both ethnicities presumably armed in the same manner. Hoplite equipment had become standard throughout much of the Mediterranean.

indicate that this convoy is war-related. If Perikle and his entourage are setting out for war on the west frieze, they might have been depicted as reentering the city after the victory on the east, or vice versa. Though probable, it is hard to determine if these military processions refer back to historic events in the dynast's life.⁴⁹⁶ Only two of Perikle's military victories are recorded in literary sources: his defeat of the Persian Arttumpara, and his taking over of Telmessos.⁴⁹⁷ There are no detailed accounts of these events and even if the friezes refer to specific events or places, they are presented in a generic way. The main emphasis is on the power of Perikle, whose court and army reflect the symbiosis of Greek, Persian, and Anatolian customs, celebrating and reinforcing the mighty authority of the deceased dynast. He is shown wealthy and influential enough to have many faithful followers and mercenaries just like Persian satraps, while his royal status and rights to rule Limyra are justified through his adoption of the courtly Achaemenid conventions.

At first glance, the overall theme of the Limyra friezes, military processions glorifying and justifying the Lycian dynast's right to rule, might seem slightly different from themes common in Lycian iconography. Yet, a general consideration of the sculptural program of the Heroon at Limyra together with its akroteria and karyatids, suggests that the theme is uniquely Anatolian.

⁴⁹⁶ Ridgway (1997, 96) proposes that because of the "the duplication of the theme" on both sides and because of "the lack of any historic reference" the subject matter should be generic rather than historic.

⁴⁹⁷ Keen 1999, 166-167.

The usual thematic program of Lycian funerary iconography presents a mixture of real-life exploits (both historic and symbolic) with mythological or epic stories that glorify/heroize the deceased.⁴⁹⁸ The tradition goes back to as early as the sixth century as is well represented in the frescoes of the Kızılbél Tomb.⁴⁹⁹ The friezes of the Nereid Monument, for example, present the dynast, Erbinna's real-life (courtly and military) activities, which become "progressively more symbolic and eventually merge with those of epic heroes and mythological figures to suggest eternal afterlife in another world."⁵⁰⁰ Similarly, the sculptural program of the Heroon at Trysa, built for an unknown Lycian dynast, mixes historical depictions (most of them difficult to identify) with mythological stories. On the temenos walls of the Heroon at Trysa, the deeds of Perseus and Theseus, amazonomachies, and centauromachies appear side by side with city siege scenes, which refer to historic places or events.⁵⁰¹ There is no mythological or epic reference on the Limyra reliefs. Yet, the military procession of Perikle and his retinue takes place just under Perseus and Bellerephon who crown the Perikle's Heroon as central akroteria on the two gables. Thus, the prowess of Perikle merges with those of the Lycian heroes, reinforcing the local dynast's epic roots.

⁴⁹⁸ Ridgway 1997, 101-102.

⁴⁹⁹ Mellink 1998.

⁵⁰⁰ Ridgway 1997, 81.

⁵⁰¹ For the themes of the friezes of the Heroon at Trysa, see Ridgway 1997, 91-93.). More recently, Barringer (2008, 171-202) discussed the thematic program of the reliefs of Heroon of Tyrsa in relation to the hero cult in Western Anatolia.

The karyatids and the overall shape of the Heroon at Limyra also complement the friezes. The style of the karyatids and the idea of a monumental tomb with a high podium is at home in Western Anatolia, yet, the very use of female supports and processional friezes on the cella walls echo the buildings of the Athenian Akropolis, namely the Erechtheion and the Parthenon. As is the case with other monumental tombs of Western Anatolia such as that of Mausolos or Erbinna, the construction of the Limyra Heroon must have begun during the lifetime of the dynast.⁵⁰² Thus, Perikle, as the patron, had a control over his tomb's architectural and sculptural program. If this were the case, then, the decoration of his Heroon reveals Perikle as a local power with his rule justified through his legendary roots, demonstrating that the commissioner and the tomb owner, Perikle, was a well-educated man, who knew of the success of the Athenian Akropolis program in reinforcing the power of Athenian Empire and also the startling fame of the luxurious royal customs of the Persian rulers. He seems to have utilized images from both East and West to celebrate his power, independent from both Persian and Greek authorities. The friezes of the Heroon Limyra reflect Perikle's political ideology.

⁵⁰² Ridgway 1997, 102.

Bibliography

Abbreviations from *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000) 3-24.

Åkerström, Å. 1966. *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*. Lund: Gleerup.

———. 1978. Ionia and Anatolia- Ionia and the West, the Figured Architectural Terracotta Frieze: Its Penetration and Transformation in the East and in the West in the Archaic Period. In *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, edited by E. Akurgal. Vol. 1, 319-327. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Akurgal, E. 1961. *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*. Berlin: W.de Gruyter.

———. 1962a. "The Early Period and the Golden Age of Ionia." *AJA* 66: 369-79.

———. 1962b. *The Art of the Hittites*. New York: H.N. Abrams.

———. 1968. *The Birth of Greek Art: The Mediterranean and the Near East*. London: Methuen.

———. 1992. "Zur Entstehung der ostgriechischen Klein- und großplastik." *IstMitt* 42: 67–81.

———. 2001. *The Hattian and Hittite Civilizations*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture.

Andronikos, M. 1984. *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.

Atasoy, N., ed. 2001. *Ipek: The Crescent & the Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*. London: Azimuth Press.

- Ateşlier, S. 2001. Observations on an Early Classical Building of the Satrapal Period at Daskyleion. In *Achaemenid Anatolia; Proceedings of the International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma 15-18 August 1997*, edited by T. Bakır, 147-168. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Bäbler, B. 1998. *Fleissige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen. Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre Archäologische Hinterlassenschaft*. Stuttgart; Leipzig: Teubner.
- Bakır, T., ed. 2001. *Achaemenid Anatolia; Proceedings of the International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma 15-18 August 1997*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Balcer, J.M. 1984. *Sparda by the Bitter Sea: Imperial Interaction Western Anatolia*. Brown Judaic Studies 52. Chicago: Scholars Press.
- . 1985. "Fifth Century BC Ionia: A Frontier Redefined." *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 87: 30-42.
- Bammer, A. 1985. "Neue weibliche Statuetten aus dem Artemision von Ephesos." *ÖJh* 56: 39-57.
- . 1991-1992. "Multikulturelle Aspekte der frühen Kunst in Artemision von Ephesos." *ÖJh* 61: 17-54.
- . 1996. *Das Artemision von Ephesos: das Weltwunder Ioniens in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Barber, E.J.W. 1992. *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- . 1994. *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times*. New York: Norton.
- Barnett, R. D. 1957. *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories, with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.
- . 1982. *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East (and Adjacent Countries.) Qedem 14*. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Barringer, J. M. 2008. *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Basirov, O. P. L. 2001. Achaemenian Funerary Practices in Western Asia Minor. In *Achaemenid Anatolia; Proceedings of the International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma 15-18 August 1997.*, edited by T. Bakır, 101-107. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Bayburtluoğlu, C., and Ç. Özgünel, eds. 2001. *Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu İçin Yazılar = essays in honour of cevdet Bayburtluoğlu*. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi.
- Bellinger, R. 1962. "Textiles from Gordion." *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 46: 5-34.
- Bennett, M. J. 1997. *Belted Heroes and Bound Women: The Myth of the Homeric Warrior-King*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bezantakos, N.P. 1987. *Ἡ ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική μίτρα. Ἑρμηνεῖα τῶν σχετικῶν κειμένων ἀπὸ τὸν Ὅμηρο ὡς τὸν Νόννο*. Athens: Kardamitsa.
- Blegen, Carl, John Caskey, Marion Rawson, and Jerome Sperling, eds. 1950. *Troy: General Introduction: The First and Second Settlements*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Boardman, J. 1961-62. "Ionian Bronze Belts," *Anatolia* 6: 179-189.

———. 1995. *The Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period*. London: Thames and Hudson.

———. 1999. *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*. 4th ed. London: Thames and Hudson.

———. 2000. *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art*. London: Thames & Hudson.

———. 2001. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze to Late Classical*. London: Thames & Hudson.

———. 2006. *The World of Ancient Art*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Bonfante, L. and J.L. Sebesta, eds. 1994. *The World of Roman Costume*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Bonfante, L. 1975. *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

———. 1989. "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art." *AJA* 93:543-70.

———. 1990. "The Naked Greek. How Ancient Art and Literature Reflect the Custom of Civic Nudity?" *Archaeology* 43:28-35.

———. 1993. "Etruscan Nudity." *Source Notes in the History of Art* 12:47-55.

Borchhardt, J. 1976. *Die Bauskulptur Des Heroon von Limyra*. Berlin: Gebr Mann Verlag.

———. 1993. "Zum Ostfries des Heroons von Zemuri/Limyra." *IstMitt* 43: 351-359.

———. 1999. *Limyra Zemuri Taslari: Likya Bolgesi'nde Limyra Antik Kenti'nin Gizemli Sularinda Yapilan Arkeolojik Arastirmalar*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari.

- . 2000. "Narrative Ereignis- und Historienbilder im mediterranen Raum von der Archaik bis in den Hellenismus." In *Krieg und Sieg. Narrative Wanddarstellungen von Altägypten bis ins Mittelalter*, edited by M. Bietak, 81–136. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Borchhardt, J., R. Jacobek, A. Dinstl, and S. Schallaburg, eds. 1990. *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien*. Wien: A. Schroll.
- Börker-Klähn, J. 2003. "Tumulus D von Bayındır bei Elmalı als historischer Spiegel." In *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma, 11–12 ottobre 1999*, edited by M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M.-C. Trémouille, and P. Vannicelli, 69–105. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche.
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of Persian Empire*. Translated by P.T. Daniels. Winona Lake: Eisenbraun.
- Brixhe, C. 2004. "Corpus des inscriptions paleo-phrygiennes." *Kadmos* (Suppl. 2) 43:108–118.
- Bronner, O. 1971. *Isthmia: Excavations by the University of Chicago, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies*. New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies.
- Brosius, M. 1996. *Women in Ancient Persia (559-331 BC)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bruns-Özgan, C. 1987. Lykische Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. *IstMitt* 33. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Bryce, T. and J. Zahle. 1986. *The Lycians: A study of Lycian History and Civilization to the Conquest of Alexander the Great*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Bryce, T. R. 1980. "The Other Perikles." *Historia* 29: 377–381.

- . 1986. *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Bunnens, G. 2000. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*. Vol. 7. Louvain: Peeters Press.
- Burke, B. 2005. "Textile Production at Gordion and the Phrygian Economy." In *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, edited by Lisa Kealhofer, 69-82. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Burke, R. B. 1998. *From Minos to Midas: The Organization of Textile Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia*. Ph.D. diss., University of California.
- Burkert, W. 1999. "Die Artemis der Epheser: Wirkunstmacht und Gestalt einer Großen Göttin." In *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*, edited by H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger, 59–70. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Cahill, N. 1988. "Tas Kule: A Persian-Period Tomb Near Phokaia." *AJA* 92 (4): 481-501.
- . 2002. "Lydian Houses, Domestic Assemblages, and Household Size." In *Across the Anatolian Plateau: Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, edited by David C. Hopkins, 173-85. Boston: The American School of Oriental Research.
- Cairns, D. L. 2002. "The Meaning of the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture." In *Women's Dress in Ancient Greek World*, edited by L. Llewellyn-Jones. London: The Classical Press of Wales.
- Calmayer, P. 1993. "Zwei mit historischen Szenen bemalte Balken der Achaemenidenzeit." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 43: 7-18.
- Carter, J. B. 1985. *Greek Ivory-Carving in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods*. New York: Garland.
- Casabonne, O. 2004. *La Cilicie A L'epoque Achemenide*. Paris: De Boccard.

- Cecchini, S.M. 2000. "The Textile Industry in the Northern Syria during the Iron Age According to the Evidence of the Tell Afis Excavations." In *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, edited by G. Bunnens, 211-33. Louvain: Peeters Press.
- Childs, W. A. P. 1978. *The City-Reliefs of Lycia*. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 42. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Cig, M. I. 2005. *Bereket Kültü ve Mabet Fahışeliği*. Ankara: Kaynak Yayınları
- Cohen, B., ed. 2000. *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. Leiden: Brill.
- Coldstream, J. N. 2003. *Neolithic Greece*. New York: Routledge.
- Cole, S. G. 2004. *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Collon, D. P.M. et al. 2010, July. *Anatolia*.
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/22897/Anatolia>. (18 December 2010).
- Congdon, L. O. K. 1981. *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece: Technical, Stylistic, and Historical Considerations of an Archaic and Early Classical Bronze Series*. Mainz: von Zabern
- Connelly, J. B. 2007. *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Courtils, J. 2003. *Ksanthos Ve Letoon Rehberi*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Dentzer, J.M. 1982. *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe siècle avant J.-C*. Rome: École Française de Rome.
- DeVries, K. 1973. "East Meets West at Dinner." *Expedition* 15: 32–39.

- DeVries, K., ed. 1980. *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young*. Philadelphia: University Museum Papers 1.
- . 1980. “Greeks and Phrygians in the Early Iron Age.” In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young*, edited by K. DeVries, 33-50. Philadelphia: University Museum Papers 1.
- . 1988. “Gordion and Phrygia in the Sixth Century B.C.” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 7: 3/4, (Special Issue on Phrygian Art and Archaeology): 51-59.
- . 2000. “The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians.” In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Constructions of the Other in Greek Art*, edited by B. Cohen, 338-363. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2005. “Greek Pottery and Gordion Chronology.” In *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, edited by L. Kealhofer, 36-55. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology.
- Dörtlük, K. 1988. “Elmalı Bayındır Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı.” *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 10: 171–174.
- Draycott, C.M. 2007. “Dynastic Definitions: Differentiating Status Claims in the Archaic Pillar Tomb Reliefs of Lycia.” In *Anatolian Iron Ages 6: the Proceedings of the Sixth Anatolian Iron Ages Symposium held at Eskişehir, Turkey 16 – 19 August 2004*, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies supp.* 20, edited by A. Sagona and A. Çilingiroglu, 103 – 134. Louvain: Peeters Press.
- . 2007. “Images and Identities in the Funerary Arts of Anatolia, 600-450 BC: Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia.” PhD diss., Oxford University.
- . 2010. “What does “Being “Graeco-Persian” Mean? An introduction to the papers.” In *Bollettino di Archeologia Online. Proceedings of the 17th AIAC 2008 (special volume)*, edited by M. Dalla Riva.

http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=66&Itemid=66 (10 January 2011).

- Dunbabin, K. 1999. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dusinberre, E. R. M. 2005. *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*. University Museum Monograph. Vol. 3. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- . 2003. *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dutz, W.F., S.A. Matheson, F. Ghani, and A. Bakhtiar. 1997. *Parsa (Persepolis)*. Tehran: Farhangsara Yassavoli.
- Fleischer, R. 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden: Brill.
- Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 1974. *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils. Samos XI*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag.
- Furtwängler, A. 1900. *Die antiken Gemmen; Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*. Berlin: Gesecke & Devrient.
- Gates, J.E. 2002. "The Ethnicity Name Game: What Lies Behind 'Graeco-Persian'?" *Ars Orientalis* 32: 105-132.
- Garrison, M. B. 2001. "Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period; Glyptic Insights and Perspectives from Persepolis." In *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma 15-18 August 1997*, edited by T. Bakir, 65-82. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.

- Geddes, A. G. 1989. Review of *The Mitra; Ἡ ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική μίτρα. Ἑρμηνεῖα τῶν σχετικῶν κειμένων ἀπὸ τὸν Ὅμηρον ὡς τὸν Νόννο* by N. P. Bezzantakos. *The Classical Review* Vol. 39: 101-103.
- Gezgin, I. 2007. *Arkaik ve Klasik Dönemde Batı Anadolu*. Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık.
- Goetze, A. 1947. "The Priestly Dress of the Hittite King." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 1, 176-86.
- Greenewalt, C.H., and M. L. J. 1980. "Lydian Textiles." In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young.*, edited by K. DeVries, 133-145. Philadelphia: University Museum Papers 1.
- Günther, W. 1988, "'Vieuxat inutilisable' dans un inventaire inedit de Milet." In *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque. Actes du colloque international d'epigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de Jacques Tréheux*, edited by D. Knoepfler and N. Quellet, 217–237. Geneva: Université de Neuchâtel, Faculté des Letters.
- Hall, J. M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2002. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hampe, R., and E. Simon. 1981. *The Birth of Greek Art: From the Mycenaean to the Archaic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1953. "Ionia, Leader or Follower." *Classical Philology* 61: 1-37.
- . 1975. *From Croesus to Constantine*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

- . 1978. "Lydian Relations with Ionia and Persia." In *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology.*, edited by E. Akurgal. Vol. 1, 25-35. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Hawkins, J. D. 1981. "Kubaba at Karkamiš and Elsewhere." *AnatSt* 31: 147–176.
- . 1982. "The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia." In *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean world, tenth to eighth centuries B.C. Cambridge Ancient History III*, edited by J. Boardman. Vol. 3, 372-441. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Helbaek, H. 1963. "Textiles from Catalhoyuk." *Archaeology* 16: 39-46.
- Hogarth, D. G. 1908. *Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemesia*. London: British Museum.
- Hirschmann, R. 2000. Mitra. *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Vol 8: 292-93. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler.
- . 2001. Polos. *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Vol 10:39. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler.
- . 2002. Kopfbedeckungen. *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Vol 12/1:1036-39. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler.
- Isager, J., ed. 1994. *Hekatomnid Caria and the Ionian Renaissance: Acts of the International Symposium at the Department of Greek and Roman Studies, Odense University, 28-29 November, 1991*. Odense, Denmark: Odense University Press.
- Işık, F. 2000. *Die Statuetten von Tumulus D bei Elmalı—Elmalı Tümülüsü Yontucakları Lykia Anadolu Akdeniz Kültürleri V*. Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi.

- Gleba, M., C. Munkholt, and M-L. Nosch. 2008. *Dressing the Past. Ancient Textiles Series 3*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Jacobs, B. 1987. *Griechische und Persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft. SIMA 78*. Göteborg: P. Åström.
- Jacobsthal, P. 1951. "The Date of the Ephesian Foundation-Deposit." *JHS* 71:85–95.
- Jenkins, I. 2006. *Greek Architecture and Its Sculpture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Johnston, S.I. 2004. *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, E. 1980. *The Ionians and the Hellenism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kaptan, D. 2001. "On the Satrapal Center in Northwestern Asia Minor: Some Evidence from the Seal Impressions of Ergili/Daskyleion." In *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma 15-18 August 1997*, edited by T. Bakir, 57-64. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- . 2002. *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire. Achaemenid History 12*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Karakasi, K. 2003. *Archaic Korai*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Kealhofer, L., ed. 2005. *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Kearns, J. M. 2003. "Greek and Lydian Evidence of Diversity, Erasure, and Convergence in Western Asia Minor." *SyllClass (Syllecta Classica)* 14: 23-36.

- Keen, A. G. 1998. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, C. 545-362 B.C.* Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Supplementum 178. Leiden: Brill.
- Kellner, H. J. 1991. "Grouping and Dating of Bronze Belts." In *Urartu: A Metalworking Center in the First Millennium B.C.E*, edited by R. Merhav, 141-161. Jerusalem: Israel Museum.
- Kenneth, S. 1988. "The Early Phrygian Period at Gordion: Towards a Cultural Identity." *Source; Notes in the History of Art* 7: 3/4, (Special Issue on Phrygian Art and Archaeology): 9-15.
- Klebinder, G. 2001. "Bronzegürtel aus den Artemision von Ephesos." In *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos*. (Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Sonderschriften Bd. 37), edited by U. Muss, 111-122. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.
- Knauer, E. R. 1978. "Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat. A Study of the Impact of an Ancient Near Eastern Garment on the West." *Expedition* 21: 18-36.
- Kohler, E. 1981. "Belts." In *Three Great Early Tumuli. The Gordion Excavation Final Reports 1*, edited by R. S. Young, 236-239. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Kyrieleis, H. 1980. "Archaische holzfunde aus Samos." *MDAI* 95: 87-147.
- . 1981. *Führer Durch Das Heraion Von Samos*. Athen: Krene-Verlag: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- . 1993. "The Heraion at Samos." In *Greek Scantuaries: New Approaches*, edited by N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, 125-53. New York: Routledge.
- Lane, E. N., ed. 1996. *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren*. Leiden: Brill.

- Larson, J. 1995. *Greek Heroine Cults*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lewis, S. 1999, January. "Who is Pythius the Lydian?" *HISTOS* 2 (The Electronic Journal of Ancient Historiography at the University of Durham.)
<http://www.dur.ac.uk/Classics/histos/1998/lewis.html>. (24 December 2010).
- Linders, T., and G. Nordquist, eds. 1987. *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas, 15. Stockholm: University of Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, distributors.
- Linders, T. 1972. *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*. *SkrAth* 4, 19. Stockholm: P. Åström.
- . 1984. "The Kandys in Greece and Persia." *OpAth* 15: 107-114.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. and S. Blundell, eds. 2002. *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*. London: Classical Press of Wales.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2003. *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*. London: Classical Press of Wales.
- Malkin, I., ed. 2001. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Masson, O. 1991. "Anatolia: Anatolian Languages." *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C. Cambridge Histories Online*, edited by J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, E. Sollberger and C. B. F. Walker.
 DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521227179.019.(11 December 2010)
- Mellink, M. J. and J. V. Canby, eds. 1986. *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development : Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*. Wisconsin Studies in Classics. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Mellink, M. 1969. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1968." *AJA* 73: 319-331.
- . 1971. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1970." *AJA* 75: 245-255.
- . 1972. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1971." *AJA* 76: 257-269.
- . 1973. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1972." *AJA* 77: 293-307.
- . 1974. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973." *AJA* 78: 351-359.
- . 1975. *Review of Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* by R. Fleischer. *Hauptblatt* 50 (1972-1973), 243-51.
- . 1976. "Local, Phrygian and Greek Traits in Northern Lycia." *Revue Archeologique* 1: 21-34.
- . 1978. "Mural Paintings in Lycian Tombs." In *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, edited by E. Akurgal. Vol. 2, 805-809. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- . 1980. "Archaic Wall Paintings from Gordion." In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young.*, edited by K. DeVries, 91-9. Philadelphia: University Museum Papers 1.
- . 1983. "Comments on a Cult Relief of Kybele from Gordion." In *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens*, edited by R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, 340–360. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern.
- . 1991. "Anatolia: The Native Kingdoms of Anatolia." In *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the*

Sixth Centuries B.C. Cambridge Histories Online, edited by J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, E. Sollberger and C. B. F. Walker.
DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521227179.018. (11 December 2010).

- . 1998. *Kızılbél: An Archaic Painted Tomb Chamber in Northern Lycia*. Archaeological Monographs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania for Bryn Mawr College.
- Miller, M. C. 1991. "Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?" In *Dining in a Classical Context*, edited by William J. Slater, 59-81. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- . 1997. *Athens and Persia in the Fifth century B.C.: A study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. "Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos." *AJA* 103: 223–253.
- Morris, S. 1992. *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Müller, V. K. 1915. *Der Polos: Die griechische Götterkron*. Berlin: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei.
- Munn, M. H. 2006. *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2008. "Kybele as Kubaba in a Lydo-Phrygian Context." In *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks, and Their Neighbours. Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, September 17–19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*, edited by B. J. Collins, M. Bachvarova, and I. Rutherford, 159–164. Oxford: Oxbow.

- Muscarella, O. W. 1967. "Fibulae Represented on Sculpture." *JNES* 26: 82–89.
- . 1992. "The Neo-Elamite Period Sculpture." In *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, edited by P. O. Harper, F. Tallon and J. Aruz, 200-1. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- . 2003 "The Date of the Destruction of Early Phrygian Period at Gordion." *Ancient West and East* 2: 225-252.
- Naumann-Steckner, F. 1983. *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst. IstMitt-BH* 28. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.
- Nolle, M. 1992. *Denkmaler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion: Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst. Antike in der Moderne*. Berlin: Akademia Verlag.
- Nosch, M-L. B., and C. Gillis. 2007. *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society. Ancient Textiles Series 1*. Oxford : Oxbow Books.
- O'Brien, J.V. 1993. *The Transformation of Hera: A Study of Ritual, Hero, and the Goddess in the Iliad*. Savage, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Oakley, J and R. Sinos. 1993. *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*. Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press.
- Oakley, J.H. 2004. *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Özder, L. 1999. *İç Anadolu Bölgesi Geleneksel Kadın Başlıkları*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı.
- Özgen, İ., and E. Özgen. 1988. *Antalya Museum*. Ankara: Turkish Republic, Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

- Özgen, İ, and J. Öztürk. 1996. *The Lydian Treasure: Heritage Recovered*. Istanbul: Turkish Republic, Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
- Özgen, İ. 1982. "A Study of Anatolian and East Greek Costume in the Iron Age." PhD diss, Bryn Mawr College.
- Özgüç, T., and R. Temizer. 1988. *Inandiktepe: Eski Hitit Çağında Önemli Bir Kült Merkezi = an Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Özgüç, T. 1957. "The Bitik Vase." *Anatolia* 2: 57-78.
- Özyar, A. 1991. *Architectural Relief Sculpture at Karkamish, Malatya, and Tell Halaf: A Technical and Iconographic Study*. Ph.D diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- Pedley, J. G. 2007. *Greek Art and Archaeology*. 4th ed. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Pipili, M. 2000. "Wearing on Other Hat: Workmen in Town and Country." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Constructions of the Other in Greek Art*, edited by B. Cohen, 150-180. Leiden: Brill.
- Polat, G. 1998. *Anadolu Akhaemenid Dönemi Plastik Eserleri*. Ph.D diss., Ege Üniversitesi.
- Prayon, F. 1987. *Phrygische Plastik: Die Früheisenzeitliche Bildkunst Zentral-Anatoliens und Ihre Beziehungen zu Griechenland und zum Alten Orient*. Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte. Vol. Bd. 7. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.
- Ramage, A., and P. Craddock. 2000. *King Croesus' Gold: Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining. Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 11*. Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, in association with British Museum Press.
- Rein, M. J. 1993. *The Cult and Iconography of Lydian Kybele*. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

- Rein, M. J. 1992. "‘Anatolianism’ and the Costume of the East Greek Korai," *AJA* 96: 342–343.
- Richard, E. 1981. "Gordion Textiles." In *Three Great Early Tumuli. The Gordion Excavation Final Reports 1*, edited by R. S. Young, 294–310. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Ridgway, D. 2002. "Ancient Greeks and (Others) West and East." *Ancient West and East* 1:13–19.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1970. *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- . 1990. "Birds, "Meniskoi," and Head Attributes in Archaic Greece." *AJA* 94: 583–612.
- . 1993. *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*. 2nd ed. Chicago: Ares Publishers.
- . 1999. *Prayers in Stone : Greek Architectural Sculpture ca. 600-100 B.C.E.* Sather Classical Lectures, v. 63. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1997. *Fourth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Roccos, L. J. 2000. "Back-Mantle and Peplos: The Special Costume of Greek Maidens in 4th-Century Funerary and Votive Reliefs." *Hesperia* 69: 235–265.
- . 2006. *Ancient Greek Costume: An Annotated Bibliography, 1784-2005*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co.
- Rohner, D. D. 1993. *A Study of the Hair Styles on Greek Korai and Other Female Figures from 650-480 B.C.: A Dating Tool to Clarify Workshops, Regional Styles and Chronology*. Ph.D. diss, University of Colorado at Boulder.
- Roller, L. E. 1983. "The Legend of Midas." *Classical Antiquity* 2: 299–317.

- . 1984. "Midas and the Gordian Knot". *Classical Antiquity* 3: 256-271.
- . 1991. "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult." *JHS* 111: 128-143.
- . 1998. "The Ideology of the Eunuch Priest." In *Gender and Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by M. Wyke, 118–135. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 1999. *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rolley, C. 1994-99. *La Sculpture Grecque*. Paris: Picard.
- Roosevelt, C. H. 2006. "Symbolic Door Stelae and Graveside Monuments in Western Anatolia." *AJA* 110.1: 65–91.
- . 2009. *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Root, M. C. 2002. "Medes and Persians: The State of Things." *Ars Orientalis* 32:1-16.
- . 2007. "Reading Persepolis in Greek: Gifts of the Yauna." In *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, edited by T. C, 177-224. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1923. "Notes on the Economic Policy of the Pergamene Kings." In *Anatolian studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, edited by W.H. Buckler and W.M. Calder, 380-1. London: Manchester University Press.
- Roth, M.T., H.A. Hoffner, and P. Michalowski. 1995. *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. 6th vol. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press.
- Sekunda, N. 1992. *The Persian Army*. London: Osprey Publishing.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Sevinç, N. 1996. "A New Sarcophagus of Polyxena from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay." *Studia Troica* 6: 251–264.
- Simon, C. G. 1986. "The Archaic Votive Offerings and Cults of Ionia." PhD. diss., University of California.
- Singer, I. 2008. "Purple Dyers in Lazpa." In *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbours: Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-cultural Interaction, September 17-19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta*, edited by B. J. Collins et al., 67-72. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Sinn, U. 1984. "Ektypon. der sog. hera-kopf aus Olympia." *AIM* 99: 77-87.
- Smith, J. 1996. "The High Priests of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos." In *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren*, edited by E. N. Lane, 323-335. Leiden: Brill.
- Stanzl, G. 1999. "The Ptolemaion at Limyra and Its Recently Discovered Curvature." In *The Appearance and Essence: Refinements of Classical architecture – Curvature*, edited by L. Hasalberger, 155-173. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Stewart, A. F. 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Strobel, K. 2001. "Phryger-Lyder- Meder: Politische, Ethnische und Kulturelle Grössen Zentralanatoliens bei Errichtung der Achaimenidischen Herrschaft." In *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma 15-18 August 1997*, edited by T. Bakir, 43-55. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.
- Summerer, L. and A. Von Kienlin, 2007. "Kelainai: Afyon'daki Pers Kenti." *ArkeoAtlas* 6: 74-83.

- . 2009. “Une tombe perse retrouvée.” *Archeologia* 465: 50-57.
- . 2009a. “Rückkehr der Holzmalerei.” *Antike Welt* 6: 65-72.
- Summerer, L. 2007a. “From Tatarlı to Munich: The Recovery of a Painted Wooden Tomb Chamber in Phrygia.” In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia*, edited by I. Delemen, 129-136. Istanbul: Türk Eskiçag Bilimleri Enstitüsü Yayınları.
- . 2007b. “Picturing Persian Victory. The Painted Battle Frieze on the Munich Wood.” *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 13: 3-30.
- . 2008. “Imaging a Tomb Chamber: The Iconographic Program of the Tatarlı Wall Paintings.” In *Ancient Greece and Ancient Persia. Cross-Cultural Encounters. Proceedings of the International Conference at Athens 11-13 November 2006*, edited by S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatsi, 265-298. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Şare, T. 2010. “An Anatolian Ivory Figurine from Elmalı: Cultural Hybridization and a New Anatolian Style.” *Hesperia* 79: 53-78.
- Şimşek, C. 1999. “Antik Dönemde Çürüksu (Lycos) Vadisinde Kültürel ve Ekonomik Yasam.” *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 92: 2-8.
- Temizer, R. 1979. *Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi*. 5th vol. Ankara: Ak Yayınları.
- Tölle-Kastenbein, R. 1977. “Zur Mitra in klassischer Zeit.” *RA* :23-36.
- Trinkl, E. 1994. “Ein Set aus Spindel, Spinnwirtel, und Rocken aus einem Sarkophag in Ephesos.” *ÖJh* 63: 80–86.
- Tuna, N., Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch., eds. 1998. *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism: Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Archaeology*,

History and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia : Ankara, 3-4 June 1995.
Ankara: Center for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment:
METU, Faculty of Architecture Press.

Tuplin, C. 2007. "Treacherous Hearths and Upright Tiaras: The Achaemenid King's Headdress." In *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire..* edited by C. Tuplin, 69-80. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Uçankuş , H. T. 1979. "Afyon'un Tatarlı Kasabasında Bulunan Phryg Tumulusu Kazısı" Proceedings of VIII. *Türk Tarih Kongresi 1. Ankara 11-15 Ekim 1976*, edited by anonymous, 306-334. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

———. 2002a. *Ana Tanrıça Kybele ve Kral Midas'ın Ülkesi Phrygia*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

———. 2002b. "Afyon'un Tatarlı Kasabasında Bulunan Phryg Tumulusu Kazısı," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 106: 23-51.

Ussishkin, D. 1967. "On the Dating of Some Groups of Reliefs from Carchemish and Til Barsib." *AnatSt* 17: 181–192.

Varinlioglu, E. 1992. "The Phrygian Inscriptions from Bayındır." *Kadmos* 31: 10–20.

Vassileva, M. 2005. "The Belt of the Goddess: Phrygian Tombs versus Greek Sanctuaries." In *Stephanos Archaeologicos in Honorem Professoris Ludmili Getov*, edited by K. Rabadzhiev, 91–101. Sofia: Sofia University Press.

Vieyra, M. 1955. *Hittite Art, 2300-750 B.C.* London: A.Tiranti.

Voigt, M. 2006. "Yassihoyuk, Baskent Gordion." *Arkeoatlas* 5, 28-34.

- Wees, H. 2005. "Trailing Tunics and Sheepskin Coats: Dress and Status in Early Greece." In *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, edited by L. Cleland, M. Harlow, and L. Llewellyn-Jones, 44–51: Oxford: Oxbow.
- Winter, I. J. 2005. "Establishing Group Boundaries: Toward Methodological Refinement in the Determination of Sets as a Prior Condition to the Analysis of Cultural Contact and/or Innovation in First Millennium B.C.E. Ivory Carving." In *Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Art of the First Millennium B.C.E. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 210, edited by C. E. Suter and C. Uehlinger, 23–42. Fribourg: Academic Press.
- Young, R. S. 1966. "The Gordion Campaign of 1965." *AJA* 70: 267–278.
- Young, R. S., ed. 1981. *Three Great Early Tumuli. The Gordion Excavations: Final Reports I*. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

CURRICULUM VITAE
TUNA ŞARE
Department of Art History
Voorhees Hall, 71 Hamilton Street
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
(732) 979-6458
tunasare@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ

Doctoral Program in Art History (Fellow/Teaching Assistant)

Special fields: Art and Archaeology of Anatolia in the Iron Age, Classical Art and Archaeology, Museum Studies

2005-May, 2011(expected)

Dissertation entitled *Dress and Identity in the Arts of Western Anatolia: From the 7th through the 4th Fourth Centuries B.C.E*

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ

M.A. in Art History and Certificate in Museum Studies

2003-2005

MA thesis entitled '*Marriage to Death*' on the *Polyxena Sarcophagus from the Troad*

Bilkent University, Ankara, TURKEY

B.A. in Archaeology and History of Art

2003

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Rutgers University, English Writing Program, New Brunswick, NJ

Instructor – “Expository Writing”

Fall 2010-Spring 2011

Rutgers University, Classics Department, New Brunswick, NJ

Instructor – “Masterpieces of Greek and Roman Art”

Fall 2007

Instructor – “Ancient Cities of the Classical World”

Fall 2006

Rutgers University, Department of Art History, New Brunswick, NJ

Instructor – “Introduction to Art History”

Summer 2009

Instructor – “Later Greek Art”

Summer 2008

Teaching Assistant – “Introduction to Art History”

2006-2007

Teaching Assistant – “Early Greek Art”

Spring 2008

Teaching Assistant – “Introduction to Contemporary Art”

Fall 2008

Teaching Assistant – “The Art of the Body: Visual Culture and Medicine”

Fall 2009

Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Art History Department, Canakkale, Turkey

Teaching Assistant – “Islamic Art in Anatolia”

Fall 2003

CURATORIAL EXPERIENCE

Rutgers University, Department of Art History-Visual Resources Center, New Brunswick, NJ

Slide Curator – Conducted bibliographic research on recent academic books on Ancient Near Eastern, Classical, and Islamic Art, updated the slide collections’ database, and edited course web pages.

2009-2010

Princeton University, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton, NJ

Curatorial Assistant – Conducted field research in ancient city of Antioch (Antakya) and wrote the Turkish catalogue for the upcoming exhibition, “*Archival photos of Antioch: a visual reconstruction of the ambience and appearance of the sites, including Antioch, Daphne and Seleucia at the time of the excavations (1932-1939)*”

2006

Princeton University Art Museum, The Department of Later Western Art Princeton, NJ

Intern – Conducted bibliographic research on the Renaissance, Baroque, and Modern Paintings in the collection and did provenance research of new acquisitions

2005

Brooklyn Museum, The Department of Prints and Photographs, Brooklyn, NY

Intern – Researched and catalogued 19th century photographs of Ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian Archaeological Sites

Summer 2005

PUBLICATIONS

“*An Archaic Ivory Figurine from a Tumulus near Elmalı: Cultural Hybridization and the Birth of a New Anatolian Style.*” *Hesperia* 79 (2010) 53-78.

“*Arakhne’s Loom: Trailing Golden Tunics of Lydia*” (in progress)

LECTURES ON PAPERS

“*Problems in Ancient Anatolian Art and Archaeology: ‘Orientalizing,’ ‘Hellenizing,’ or ‘Anatolian?’*”, TAG 2011 Conference, University of California Berkeley, May 2011.

“*Contested Culture: The Elmalı Ivory Figurines and Their Historiography*”, Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting, Anaheim, CA, January 2010

“*Cultural Hybridization and the Birth of the Ionian Style in Ancient Anatolia: The Case of Elmalı Figurines*”, The American School of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, November 2009

“*An Ideal Anatolian Mother: Dress, Identity, and Ritual in Archaic Asia Minor*”, Classical Association of Canada Annual Meeting, held at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, May 2009

“*Marriage to Death on the Polyxena Sarcophagus*” presented at the “Text and Image” Conference, Rutgers University Classics Department, New Brunswick, NJ, April 2006

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK AND RELATED EXPERIENCE

American School of Classical Studies, Athens

Student – As a visiting member of the year long program joined research trips to Lycia region in Turkey under the supervision of Dr. John Camp **Fall 2007**

As a member of summer program involved in research trips to ancient sites and museums in Greece under the supervision of Dr. Daniel Levine **Summer 2006**

Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Department of Archaeology, Turkey

Field Research Assistant – Assisted Dr. Michael Greenhalgh, (Australian National University) in field trips in the Troad Region (north-western Turkey), researched and photographed archaeological sites and the use of ancient spolia in modern villages in the Troad **Fall 2003**

Salerno University Tito Archaeological Excavations, Salerno (Italy) directed by Alessandra Ricci of Koç University

Excavator –Involved in fieldwork **Summer 2001**

Bilkent University Hacimusalar Archaeological Excavations, Elmalı (Antalya–Turkey) directed by Dr. İlknur Özgen of Bilkent University

Excavator and Registerer – Involved in fieldwork and cleaned and catalogued the found artifacts **Summer 2000**

AWARDS

Mary Bartlet Cowdrey Fund For Dissertation Research **2009**

Art History Research/Travel Grant, Rutgers University **2006**

Teaching Assistantship, Rutgers University **2006-2009**

High Educational Council of Turkey Doctoral Fellowship for study in USA (Tuition grant and monthly salary for living) **2003– 2007**

Teaching and Research Assistantship, Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University **2003**

Bilkent University Outstanding Undergraduate Student Scholarship **1998-2003**

AFFILIATIONS

Archaeological Institute of America
 American School of Oriental Research
 American Research Institute of Turkey in Ankara
 American School of Classical Studies at Athens

LANGUAGES

Turkish- native language
 English- speak and read with high proficiency
 French –read with proficiency
 German –read with proficiency
 Latin – reading knowledge

REFERENCES

Dr. John Kenfield III, Associate Professor of Greek and Roman Art, Department of Art History, Rutgers University. E-mail: john.kenfield@gmail.com

Dr. T. Corey Brennan, Andrew W. Mellon Professor-in-Charge of the School of Classical Studies, American Academy in Rome. E-mail: tcb@rci.rutgers.edu

Dr. Clemente Marconi, James R. McCredie Professor in the History of Greek Art and Archaeology, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. E-mail: cm135@nyu.edu

Dr. Larissa Bonfante, Emerita Professor in Classics, New York University. E-mail: larissa.bonfante@nyu.edu

Illustrations

CHAPTER 2

Textile Production and Textiles (Fabrics and Patterns)



Fig 2.1 Zincirli funerary relief



Fig 2.2 A square golden costume appliqué
from a Lydian burial



Fig 2.3 Toprakkale Medallion



Fig 2.4 Apadana Group III-Armenians



Fig 2.5 Apadana Group VIII- Cilicians



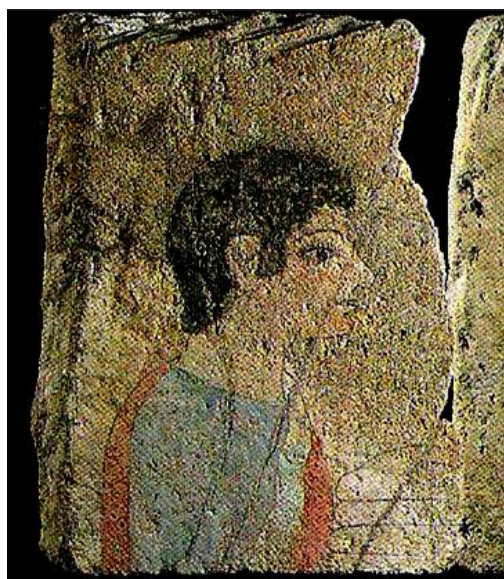
Fig 2.6 Apadana Group IX- Cappadocians



Fig 2.7 Apadana Group XII- Ionians and Lydians



Left Fig 2.7a Apadana Group XII, detail with the textile bearers



Right Fig 2.8 Harta Fresco

CHAPTER 3

Popular Dress Items and Their Social Significance

3.1 Headresses

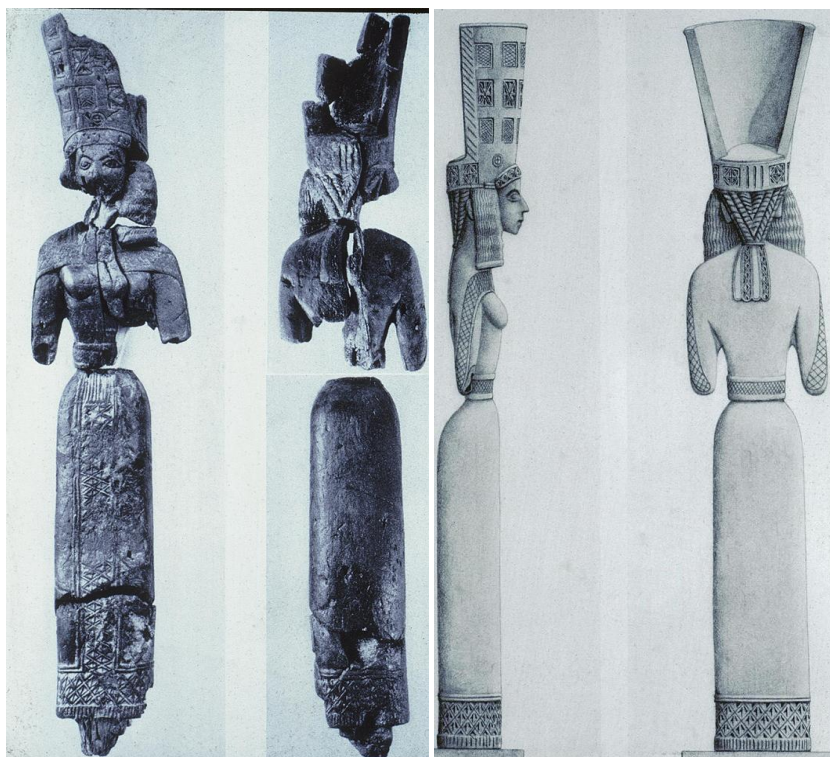
3.1a Polos



Fig. 3.1a.1 Boğazköy Kybele



Fig. 3.1a.2 Detail of Kubaba of Carchemish



Samos

Fig. 3.1a.3 Hera of**Fig. 3.1a.4** Salmanköy Head



Fig. 3.1a.5 Etlik Kybele



Fig. 3.1a.6.7 Roman statues of Ephesian Artemis



Fig. 3.1a.8 Dipylon Figurine



Left Fig. 3.1a.9 Lyons Kore



Right Fig. 3.1a.10 Phrasikleia Kore



Fig. 3.1a.11 Berlin Kore



Fig. 3.1a.12 Olympia Head

3.1b Griffin Crown



Fig 3.1b.1 Drawing of the Gordion Fresco



Fig. 3.1b.2 Panathenaic amphora sherd with Athena



Fig. 3.1b.3 Snake Goddess of Knossos



Fig. 3.1b.4 Terracotta idols from Karphi

3.1c Veil and Veiling

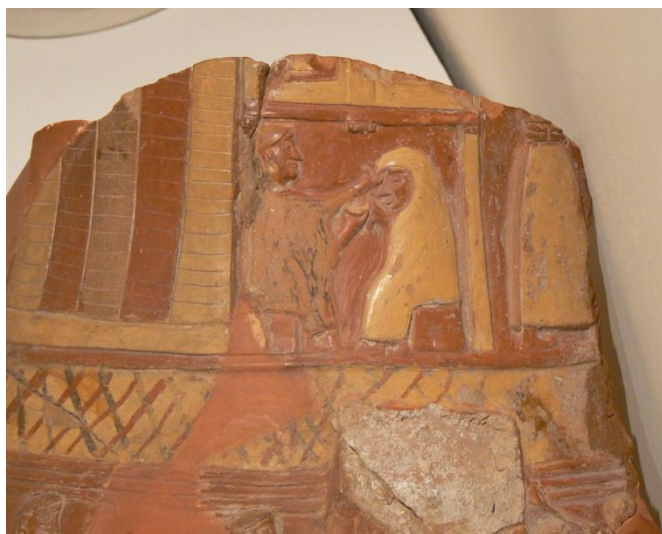


Fig. 3.1c.1 Detail of the Bitik Vase



Fig. 3.1c.2 Samian kore head with stephane-veil



Fig. 3.1c.3 Old Smyrna kore head with stephane-veil

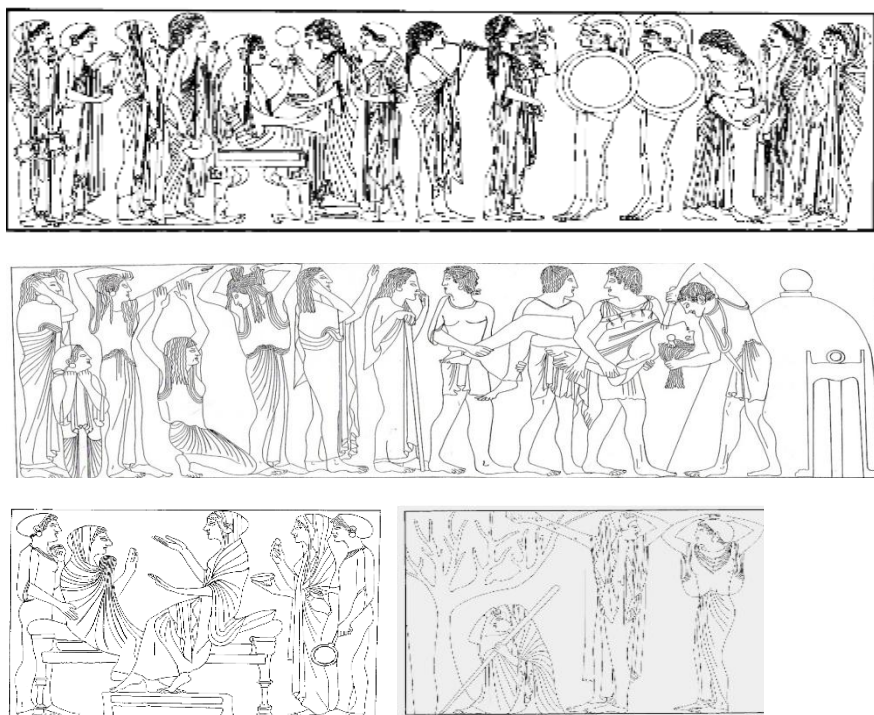


Fig. 3.1c.4 Polyxena Sarcophagus, drawing of the reliefs



Küçük gruplar halinde
Phrygler Gordios'un önc
başkent seçti. Başla
görünümündeki kent, İ

Fig. 3.1c.5 Kalehöyük Fresco



Fig. 3.3a.6 Daskyleion architectural relief with bonnet-veil wearing riders



Fig. 3.1c.7 Detail of the Daskyleion Stele

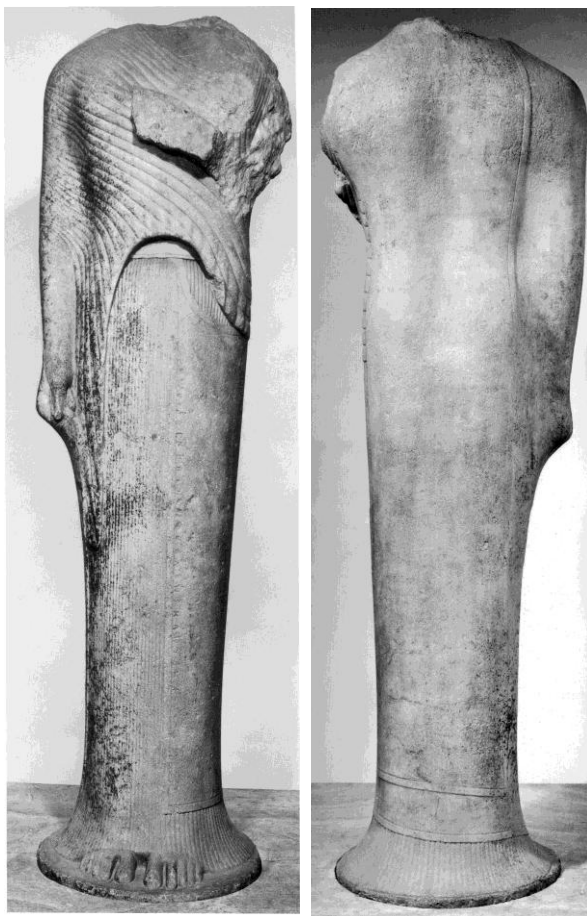


Fig. 3.1c.8 Cheramyas Kore



Fig. 3.1c.9 Ephesian ivory statuette

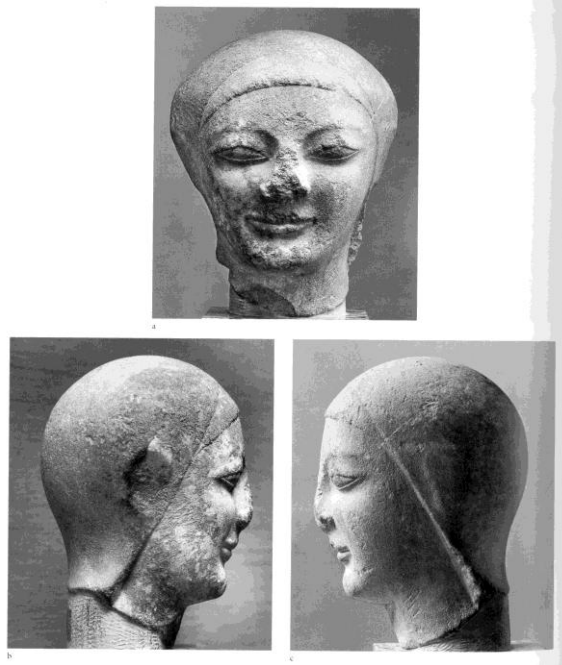


Fig. 3.1c.10 Kore head from Miletos



Left Fig. 3.1c.11 Kore head from Didyma



Right Fig. 3.1c.12 Column drum of Cyme



Fig. 3.1c.1 Votive relief from Miletos



Fig. 3.1c.14 Spartan Hero Relief



Fig. 3.1c.15 West frieze of the Harpy Tomb

3.1d Bashlyk



Fig 3.1d.1 Warrior god of Hattusha with a bashlyk-like helmet



Fig 3.1d.2 Delegation I (Median lead by Persian Envoy) on Apadana Reliefs



Fig 3.1d.3 West wall fresco with the banquet scene in Karaburun II



Fig 3.1d.4 North wall fresco with the battle scene in Karaburun II



Fig 3.1d.5

South wall fresco with the procession scene in Karaburun II (Color detail of the bashlyk-wearing dignitary in the chariot and the attendant of the procession)



Fig 3.1d.6 Harta Fresco



Fig 3.1d.7 Daskyleion Architectural Relief



Fig 3.1d.8 Erbinna and his attendants on the Nereid Monument

3.1e The Phrygian cap: Myths and Facts



Left Fig. 3.1e.1 Bronze “Phrygian Helmet”



Right Fig. 3.1e.2 Ankara Head

3.2 Tunics, Overcoats, and Pants

3.2a Sleeved Tunics



Fig 3.2a.1 Twelve warrior gods wearing knee-length sleeved tunics from Yazılıkaya



Fig 3.2a.2 King Warpalawas from Ivriz



Left Fig 3.2a.3 Sahankaya Stele

Right Fig 3.2a.4 Akraiphino Grave Stele

3.2b Kandys



Fig 3.2b.1 Orthostat reliefs from Alacahöyük



Fig 3.2b.2 Orthostat reliefs from Alacahöyük, sacrificial procession led by the king and the queen



Left Fig 3.2b.3 Detail of the dignitary holding the straps of his kandys from Kararburun II tomb



Right Fig 3.2b.4 Detail from Apadana reliefs with a figure holding the straps of his kandys



Fig 3.2b.5 A fire-altar from Bunyan in Kayseri, with a kandys-wearing figure holding a barsom



Fig 3.2b.6 Barsom holding figure wearing a red kandys on an architectural relief from Daskyleion



Fig 3.2b.7 Achaemenid Bulla from Daksyleion with a kandys-wearing figure



Fig 3.2b.8 Reconstructed view of the kandys-wearing figures on the side friezes of the Heroon at Limyra



Fig 3.2b.9 Young woman wearing a kandys on an Attic marble funerary stele

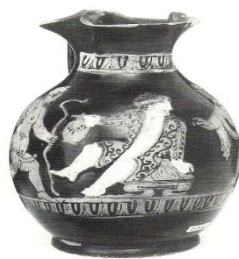


Fig 3.2b.10 Boy wearing a kandys on an Attic red-figure chous

3.2c Pants (Anaxyrides)

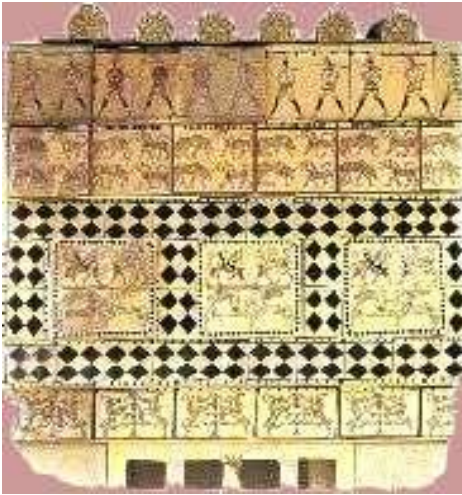
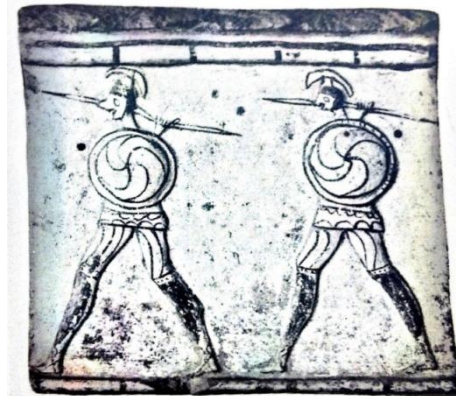
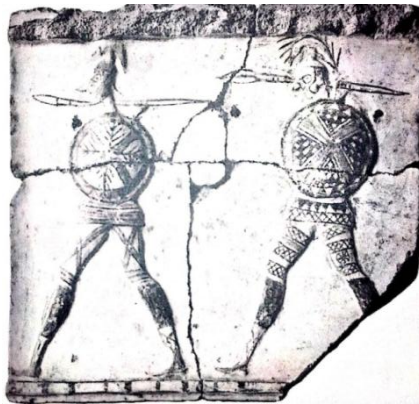


Fig. 3.2c.1 Pazarlı Revetments, reconstruction



Figs 3.2c.2a-2b-2c Pazarlı Revetments

3.3 Belts

3.3a Urartian Belts



Fig 3.3a.1 Urartian belt of the 1st group, Processions of Mounts and Chariots



Left Fig 3.3a.2 Urartian belt of 3rd group



Right Fig 3.3a.3 Urartian belt of 4th group

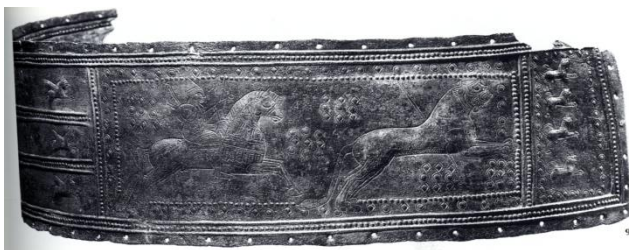


Fig 3.3a.4 Urartian belt of 5th group



Fig 3.3a.5 Urartian belt of 6th group



Fig 3.3a.6 Urartian belt of 9th group

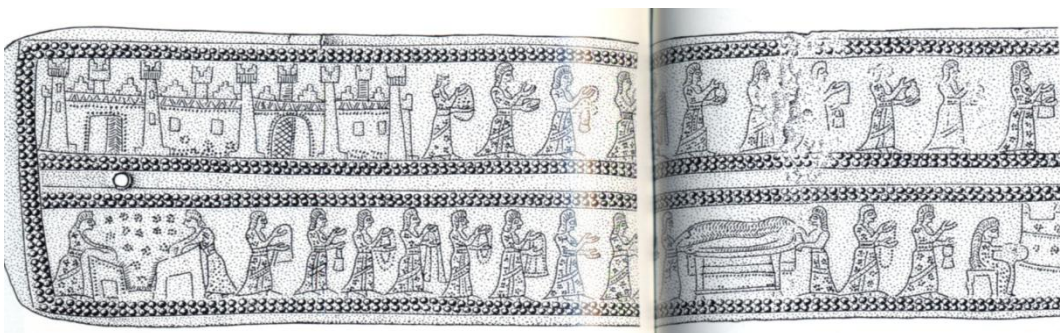


Fig 3.3a.7 Urartian belt of 11th group

3.3b Phrygio-Ionian Belts

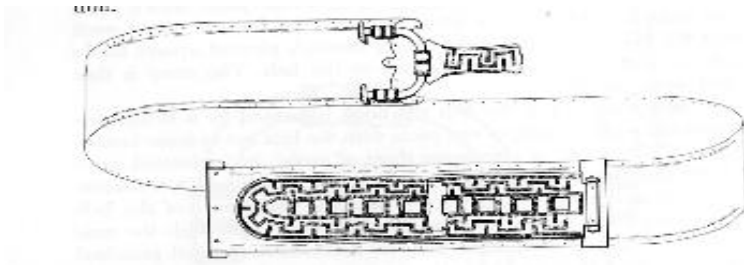


Fig 3.3b.1 Drawing of a typical Phrygio-Ionian belt with a catch plate and fibula-type buckle and hook



Fig 3.3b.2 A bronze Phrygio-Ionian belt from Ephesos

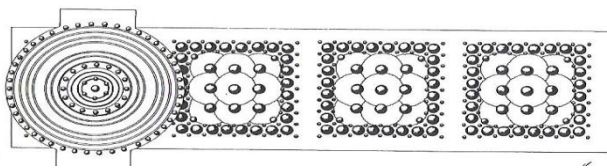


Fig 3.3b.3 Restored bronze and leather belt with rectangular plaques and studded disk from Tumulus MM at Gordion

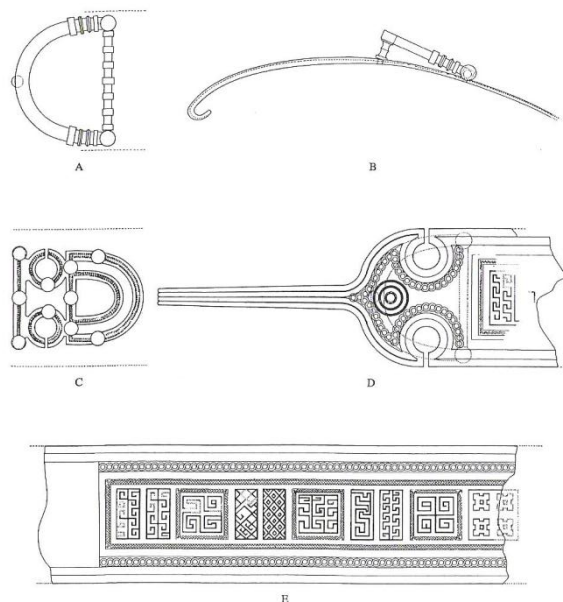


Fig 3.3b.4 Restored bronze belt from Tumulus P, Tum P 34

A-Handle, B- Profile of the Hook, C-Catch Plate, D- Hook and Belt end, E-Engraved decoration from the central band



Fig 3.3b.5 Silver belt from Bayındır D



Fig 3.3b.6 A warrior in procession, wearing a hooked belt, from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish



Fig 3.3b.7 Back side of the Roman statue of Artemis Ephesia, found in the Prytaneion at Ephesos

CHAPTER 4**Dress and Identity: The Case of Antalya Figurines of the Sixth Century****Fig 4.1** Antalya C



Fig 4.2 Antalya C, Detail of the Girl



Fig 4.3 Antalya D, Detail of the Boy



Fig 4.4 Antalya C, Detail of the head with a rectilinear opening



Above Fig 4.5 Antalya A

Below Fig 4.6 Antalya B



Fig 4.7 Antalya D





Fig 4.8 Kubaba relief from Carchemish



Fig 4.9 Kybele Relief from Gordion



Fig 4.10 Megabyzos



Fig 4.11 Spinner



Fig 4.12 Hawk Priestess



Fig 4.13 Ephesos D



Fig 4.14 Carchemish relief with offering bearer priestesses

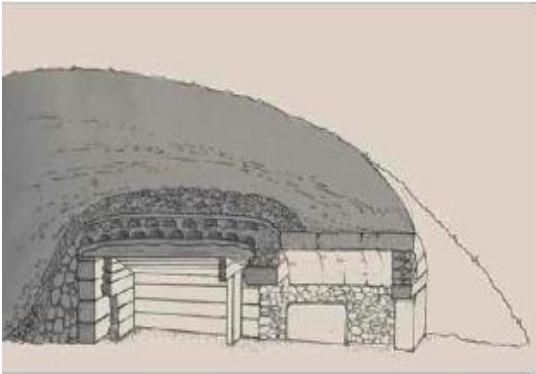
CHAPTER 5**Dress and Identity: The Case of Tatarlı Paintings of the Fifth Century**

Fig 5.1 Cross-section from the diagram of the Tatarlı Tomb



Fig 5.2 Computer generated reconstruction of the wooden chamber with painted walls



Fig 5.3 Detail of the commander from the battle scene from east wall



Fig 5.4 Reconstruction of the north wall

5. Plate 1. Munich Timber (Munich I) with the convoy scene from the east wall of the Tatarlı Tomb



5. Plate 1. a. Munich Timber with the convoy scene. Photo by Kal-Uwe Nielsen



5. Plate 1. b. Reconstruction of the Munich Timber with the convoy scene. Drawing by Ingrid Dinkel



Fig 5.5 The Stele of Elnaf frieze with the chariot scene

5. Plate 2. Munich Timber (Munich II) with the battle scene from the east wall of the Tatarlı Tomb

5. Plate 2. a. Munich Timber with the battle scene. Photo by Kai-Uwe Nielsen





5. Plate 2. b. Reconstruction of the Munich Timber with the battle scene. Drawing by Ingrid Dinkel



Fig 5.6 Persians battling Scythians on an Achaemenid cylinder seal

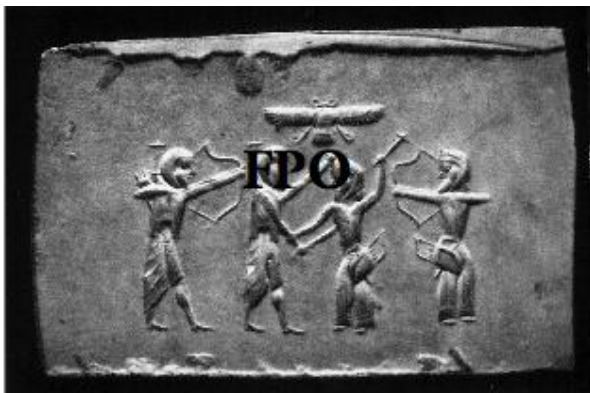


Fig 5.7 Cylinder seal with battling Achaemenid soldiers wearing the “Achaemenid court robe’ without the wide sleeves

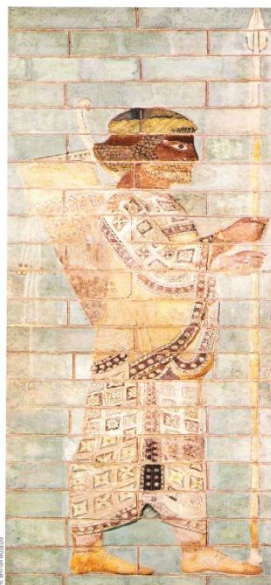


Fig 5.8 An Achaemenid soldier on polychrome bricks from Darius’s 6th palace at Susa



Fig 5.9 An Achaemenid gem with the three Persian Kings

CHAPTER 6

Dress and Identity: The Case of the Friezes of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra of the Fourth Century

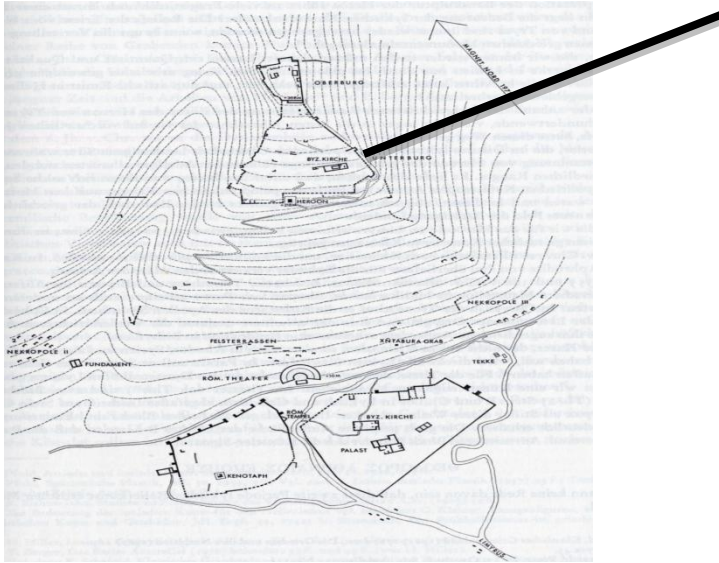


Fig 6.1 The plan of ancient Limyra with the Heroon of Perikle



Fig 6.2 Reconstructed view of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra

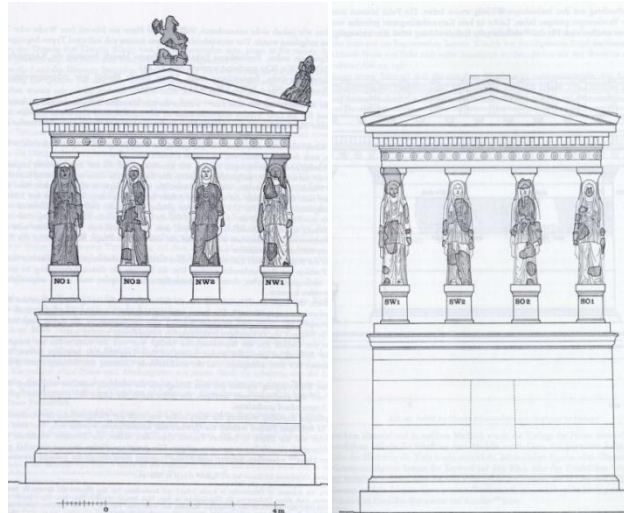


Fig 6.3 The reconstructed view of the Heroon karyatids (North and South)

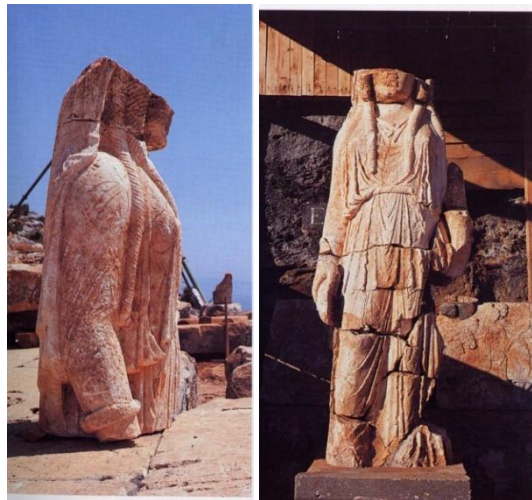


Fig 6.4 One of the karyatids from the north, before and after the restoration



Fig 6.5 Central akroterion with Perseus and Beheaded Medusa

Fig 6.6 Parts of the west frieze displayed in Antalya Museum



Phalanx Group



Rider and the chariot Groups

6.Plate 1. a. Drawing of the west frieze based on the surviving fragments

b. Borchhardt's reconstructed drawing of the west frieze

c. Borchhardt's colored reconstruction of the west frieze

6.Plate 1. a.



No 22

No 26

No 38

6.Plate 1. b



6.Plate 1. c.

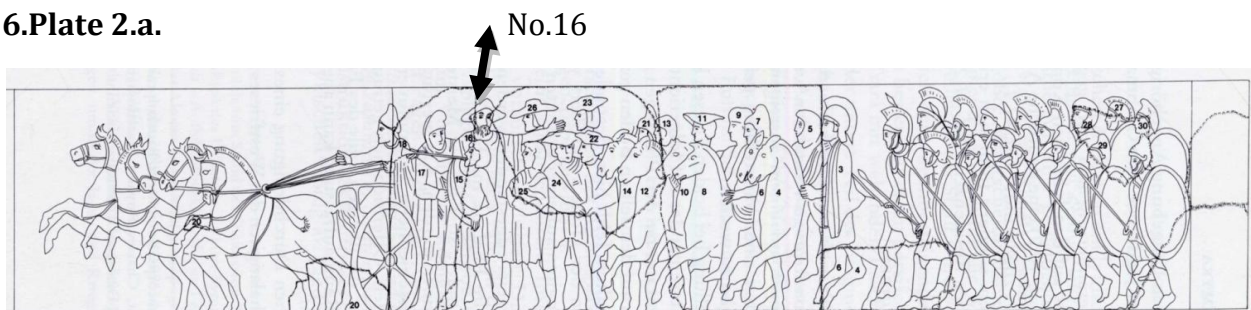




Fig 6.7 A Fragment of the east frieze, displayed in the Antalya Museum

6.Plate 2. a-b. Borchhardt's reconstruction of the east frieze based on all surviving fragments

6.Plate 2.a.



6.Plate 2.b.

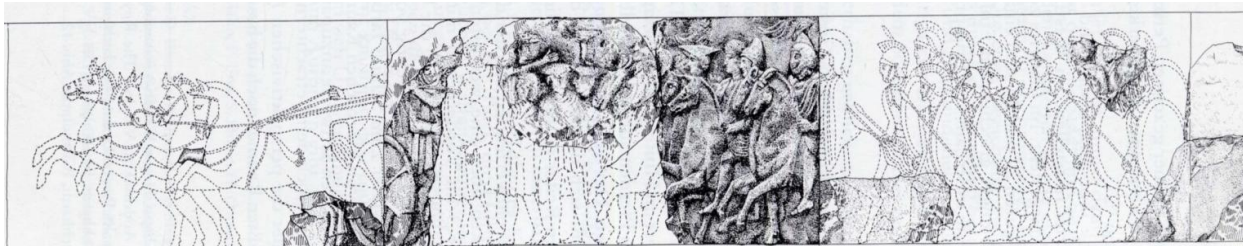
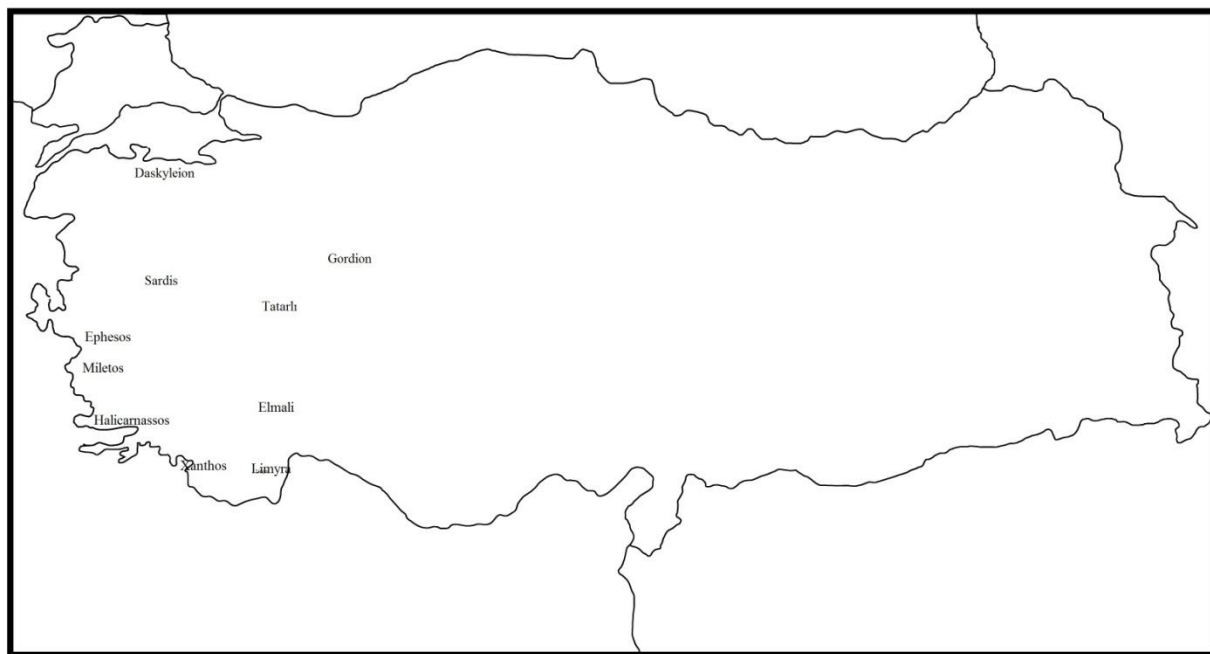


Fig 6.8 Mounting warrior with an upturned bashlyk on the so-called Yalnizdam Grave Stele

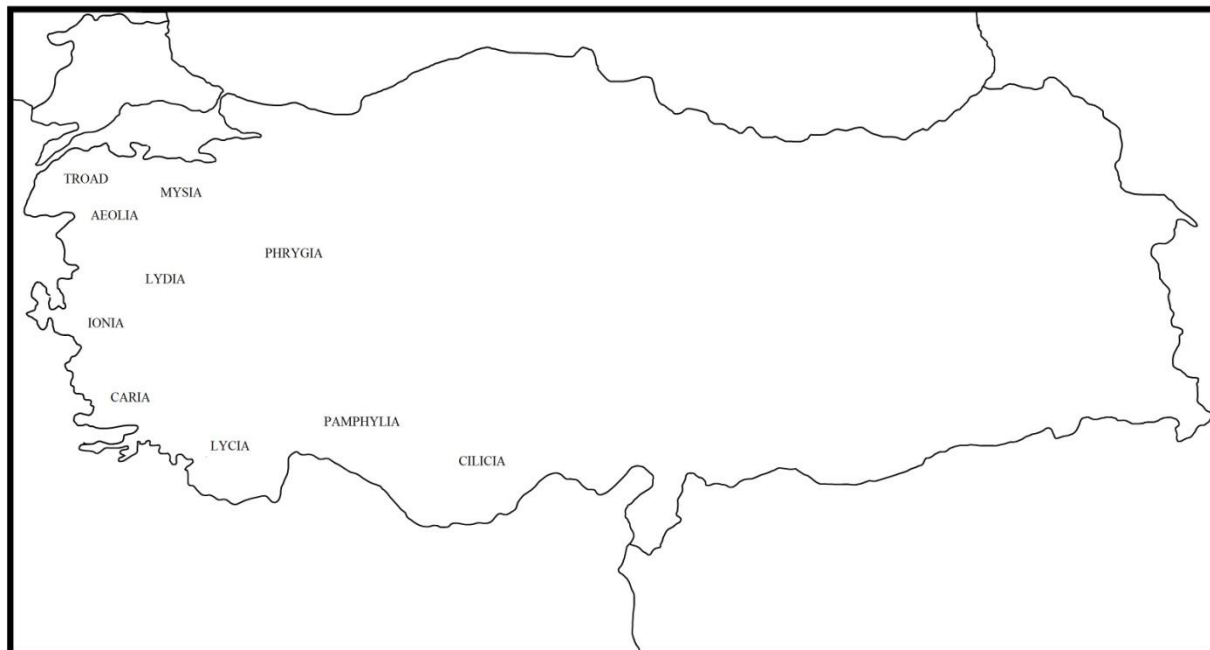


Fig 6.9 Lycian coin with the image of Perikle on the obverse

MAPS



Map 1 Western Anatolian sites mentioned in this dissertation.



Map 2 Ancient Districts of Western Anatolia.