

A PERSIAN DEMON ON CLAZOMENIAN SARCOPHAGI: HVARNAH  
*KLAZOMENAI LAHİTLERİ ÜZERİNDE BİR PERS CİNİ: HVARNAH*

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## A PERSIAN DEMON ON CLAZOMENIAN SARCOPHAGI: HVARNAH

### *KLAZOMENAI LAHİTLERİ ÜZERİNDE BİR PERS CİNİ: HVARNAH*

Dr. Muhammet Hamdi KAN

#### Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Klazomenai Lahitleri üzerindeki bir takım kanatlı figürler üzerine farklı bir bakış açısı sunmaktır. Pers-Helen kültürel ilişkileri üzerine son yıllarda artan araştırma ve yayınlar, bazı eserler üzerindeki belirli unsurların yeniden değerlendirilmesini elverişli kılmaktadır. Ayrıca, Klazomenai Lahitleri üzerine çok sayıda ve oldukça başarılı doktora tezleri üretilmiş olmakla birlikte, yayınların azlığı da dikkat çekicidir. Pers-Helen kültürel etkileşimi en iyi biçimde, birbiriyle de doğal olarak yakın ilişki içindeki inanç ve mezar pratiklerinde izlenebilmektedir. Klazomenai Lahitleri de her ne kadar sınırlı bir süre zarfında ve sınırlı bir coğrafyada üretilmiş son derece spesifik eserler olsalar bile, bu sınırlılık Pers-Helen kültürel ilişkileri üzerine son derece faydalı veri üretme potansiyeline sahiptir. R.M. Cook'un (1981) katalog numaralarına sadık kalınarak bu yayında da D.3, G.4, 32, 33, 34 ve 35 olarak anılan örnekler üzerindeki kanatlı figürlerin diğer lahitler ve çağdaş farklı eserler ile karşılaştırılması, Pers kültüründeki "tanrısal talih" Hvarnah kavramı ile bir bağlantıya işaret etmektedir. Buradan hareketle Hvarnah ile bağlantılı kavramlar ve bunların Helen kültüründeki yansımaları üzerine daha da detaylı çalışmalara ihtiyaç vardır. Zira, "Krali

#### Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to present a different point of view for some of the winged figures on Clazomenian Sarcophagi. The increasing research and publications on relations between Persian and Hellenic cultures allow scholars to re-examine the specific features on some artefacts. Also, even though there are several and successful PhD thesis on Clazomenian Sarcophagi, there is a lack of publications as well. The interaction between Persian and Hellenic cultures can be most clearly observed on religious and funerary practices, which are obviously in close relationship. Even though the Clazomenian Sarcophagi are unique artworks of a very limited period and region, this limitation of time and space provide a quite useful data on Persian-Hellenic cultural relations. The comparison of winged figures on D.3, G.4, 32, 33, 34, and 35 (referenced to the catalogue IDs of Cook, 1981), with other sarcophagi and contemporary examples from different art works, points out a connection between Persian "god given fortune" Hvarnah. So, the concepts of Hvarnah and its interpretations in Hellenic art should be studied in detail. Because, as the "Royal Hvarnah" and Tykhe connection alongside gems and coins of the same period indicates, it is

Hvarnah” ile Tykhe arasında aynı döneme ait gemler ve nümizmatik buluntular yoluyla kurulabilen bağlantıdan da hareketle, bu çalışmanın asıl konusunu teşkil eden “Kişisel Yaşam Ateşi Hvarnah” belli ki tek bağlantı noktası değildir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Klazomenai Lahitleri, Siyah Figür, Kırmızı Figür, Pers, Hvarnah.

quite obvious that the “Personal Fire Hvarnah”, which is the main topic of this paper, is not the only influence of this demon on western art and culture.

**Keywords:** Clazomenaian Sarcophagi, Black Figure, Red Figure, Persian, Hvarnah.

The painted terracotta sarcophagi of Clazomenae are one of the most significant and unique materials of archaeological literature. They attracted a great interest since their discovery and there have been a certain number of publications and arguments on their chronology, stylistic features, painters and production centres. Most of these are collected by R.M. Cook.<sup>1</sup> Cook’s publication was the most complete and so the only handbook for the subject by the date it was published; and still, it is. Although the excavations started in Clazomenae in the exactly the same year with the monography’s publication, and changed the entire chronological table of Cook immediately<sup>2</sup>, and even there are some unpublished PhD studies regarding the new data<sup>3</sup>, there is still no publication as complete and detailed as Cook’s. Concerning the excavation results, the overall production period of the sarcophagi is between the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>4</sup>

The decoration patterns on the sarcophagi are direct followers of the ones on the vases of the same technique, region and period.<sup>5</sup> But something should not have been forgotten is that these sarcophagi are very different examples than the pottery, considering their size, use and decoration panels. So, even though the leaders are the vase painters and their products, with their larger market and artistic features, sarcophagi might have used the same technique and patterns with different motivations.

In the significantly large inventory of figures painted on the Clazomenian Sarcophagi, one of them is especially eye catching. The winged female figures on the head-pieces of canonical sarcophagi of D.3, G.4, 32, 33, 34, and 35, (referenced to the catalogue IDs of Cook, 1981) are to be examined in this paper, regarding their connections with the variations of an important and major demon in contemporary Persian mythology: Hvarnah.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Bakır, 1983; Bakır, et al., 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Hürmüzlü, 2003; Güngör, 2006; Zeren, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Yılmaz, 2002: 77.

<sup>5</sup> Zeren, 2014: 41-43.

## Description

## D.3 (Fig.1):

The sarcophagus described as “a later work of Dennis Painter, when he had developed a richer and more adventurous style”<sup>6</sup> by Cook, found in Clazomenae and now rests in Paris, Louvre Museum. It is 213x95/72x56/52cm of dimension.<sup>7</sup>

The headpiece of the sarcophagus is decorated with a four-winged female figure looking back, flanked by chariots, buds under and in front of horses, as the upper corner strip has double row of palmettes and the upper panel a sphinx. The sidepiece is decorated with the twin cable and alternately palmettes and lotus flowers. The lower panel has a panther with reserved head and body and astragal above. There is meander and rosette decoration on the lower corner strip as the footpiece is decorated with a bull between a lion and a panther.<sup>8</sup>

The decoration characteristics have been discussed by Cook in detail, supported by comparisons between earlier Borelli Painter and later Albertinum Type sarcophagi;<sup>9</sup> but the motivation of this discussion seems to be focused on dating, rather than the iconography.



Fig.1

<sup>6</sup> Cook, 1981: 17.

<sup>7</sup> Cook, 1981: 16.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl.18, Fig.10.

<sup>9</sup> Cook, 1981: 17.

## G.4 (Fig.2):

This piece is preserved as a badly warped part of the lid, with dimensions 88x33cm with maximum length preserved 116cm; and is said to be from Clazomenae. All areas of the recovered piece are decorated in Black-figure.<sup>10</sup>

The underside and inside of the lid are simply painted black. A plastic palmette is preferred for the rich at each end. The only surviving end panel is decorated with a column with Ionic capital, reserved on dark ground. The running palmette is preferred for the upper edge, while scales for the lower edge and the horizontal surface above. Three pairs of hoplites fighting, hoplite, pair of hoplites fighting with a flying bird on the shield blazon of the fourth one, has been depicted on the left side panel, from left to right. There is the broken meander above and below the panel. The frame of the panel is consisting of broken meander, lotus and palmette, broken meander, egg and dart motives at top; similar, except no lower band of broken meander at sides; and meander cross and solid square at bottom, with broken meander, lotus and palmette, egg and dart at the edge. Hoplite looking back, a winged female figure looking back and holding a flower (because of the flower her left lower wing is omitted) flanked with winged hoplites holding back horses, the leg of a hoplite (?) and a bird by the first hoplite, have been depicted on the right side panel. The rest of the decoration pattern of the panel is similar to the left side, except there is no broken meander on edge. Under and inside of the lid are painted dark.<sup>11</sup>

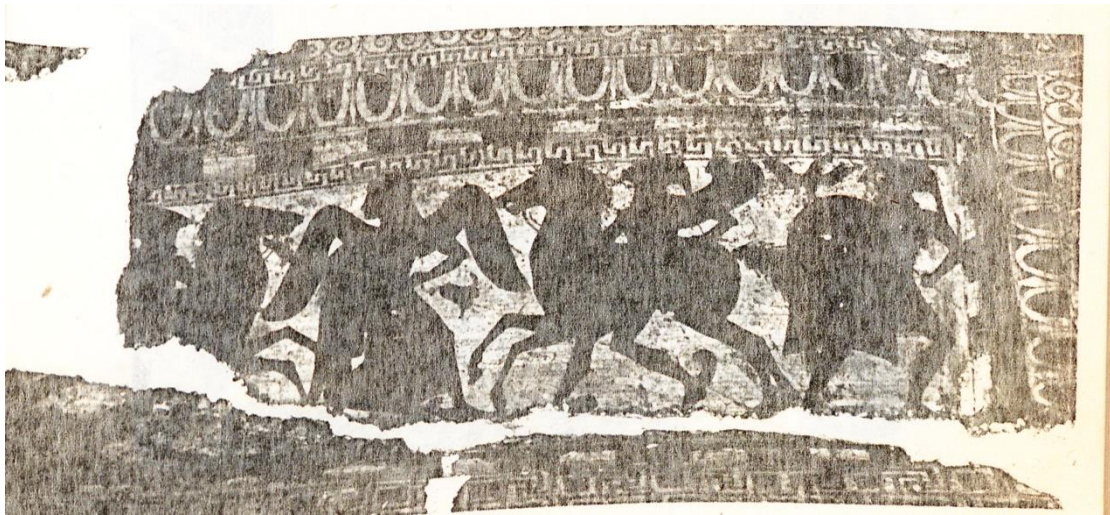


Fig.2

<sup>10</sup> Cook, 1981: 35.

<sup>11</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 49.

## G.32 (Fig.3):

The face and a part of the box of the sarcophagus, which is found in Clazomenae, is preserved, and is resting in Istanbul Museum, with dimensions 208x77/55x36cm.

The headpiece and the upper panel are decorated in black figure. A winged female figure, looking back, flanked by galloping chariots and dogs and flower in field have been depicted on the headpiece. There is a band of broken meander, running palmette, egg and dart above the scene. A band of lotus and palmette has been preferred for the upper corner strip while there is a sphinx on the upper panel with meander and star below it. The sidepiece is decorated with Cable and palmette. There is a goat on the lower panel with broken meander above and alternating dots below it. There is meander and star on the lower corner strip, while a lion and a ram on the footpiece. Cook thinks probably the mouth of the lion is closed since there are no bristles on the body.<sup>12</sup>



Fig.3

## G.33:

It is resting beside the G.32, in a similar condition with dimensions 213x89/60cm, and found In Clazomenae as well. Its head-piece is quite badly preserved, and no details can be seen from the published photo; so the description and detections have to rely on the observations made by R.M. Cook;

<sup>12</sup> Cook, 1981: 48, n.101, Pl. 74.

as it was impossible to visit the sarcophagus during the Covid-19 restrictions in time this paper is prepared.

Black figure is preferred for the headpiece and upper panel. A winged female figure looking back flanked by galloping chariots and dogs and flower in field have been depicted on the headpiece. There is a band of broken meander, running palmette, broken meander, leaf and dart, broken meander above the scene, with broken meander at sides and broken meander and astragal below. Lotus and palmette are depicted on the upper corner strip. A griffin with broken meander above and meander and star below, has been preferred for the upper panel. The sidepiece is decorated with cable and palmette. There is the head of a hoplite on the lower panel with meander and star on the lower corner strip. A goat between a lion and a panther has been depicted on the footpiece.<sup>13</sup>

G.34 (Fig.4):

The sarcophagus which is said to be from Clazomenae<sup>14</sup>, is now in Oslo University Ethnographic Collection and preserved in dimensions 215x107/72cm.

The headpiece and the upper panel are decorated in black figure. The headpiece is decorated with a winged female figure flanked by hoplite who runs outward after a galloping chariot with winged youth driving and a dog, with flower in field. The upper corner strip has lotus and palmette decoration while there is a griffin on the upper panel. Sidepiece is decorated with Cable and palmette. A goat is depicted on the lower panel while the lower corner panel has meander and star. There is a lion, a boar and a panther on the footpiece.<sup>15</sup>



Fig.4

<sup>13</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 75.

<sup>14</sup> Cook, 1981: 49, n.103.

<sup>15</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 73.



## G.35 (Fig.5):

It is said to be from Clazomenae<sup>16</sup> and rests in Berlin with only the face is preserved with dimensions 218x92/75cm.

Red figure is preferred for the headpiece and upper panel. There is a winged female figure with a shield, flanked by dog and hoplite holding back a horse, flowers in field, a bird behind each hoplite. There is complex whirligig on the shield blazon. There is a band of meander cross and star on the upper corner strip, and a centaur on the upper panel. Sidepiece is decorated with cable and palmette. There is a goat rising and looking back on the left lower panel, while there is a pawing goat on the right one. Meander is preferred for the lower corner strip. There is a lion and a panther with bristles as lion, with head pointing forward.<sup>17</sup>



Fig.5

## G.38 (Fig.6):

Face and box are preserved and found in Smyrna, and still is in İzmir. Dimensions are 197x78/67x40cm.

The headpiece and upper panel are painted in black figure. On the headpiece, there is a running and looking back winged youth, flanked by dogs and youth holding back a pair of horses. A band of running palmette above and broken meander can be observed below this scene. Egg and dart and astragal are on the upper corner strip. There is a lion with broken meander above and below it, on the upper panel. Sidepiece is decorated with cable and palmette. Lotus and two half palmettes are depicted on the lower panel with broken

<sup>16</sup> Cook, 1981: 50.

<sup>17</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 82, Fig.55.29.

meander above. Lower corner strip is decorated with meander. There is a goat between two panthers on the footpiece.<sup>18</sup>



Fig.6

### Discussion

Obviously, the sarcophagi listed in the Description part of this paper are not the only examples with a winged woman figure. G.23<sup>19</sup> and probably G.24<sup>20</sup> (standing by the horses of a chariot), G.28<sup>21</sup> (mounting with a spear in hand), and G.41<sup>22</sup> (driving and holding a spear as well) also represent winged women though not at the centre but other places of the headpieces. There are also winged women in upper panels of E.6<sup>23</sup> (holding lions) and G.3<sup>24</sup> (holding snakes[?]). But apparently none of these seem to have four wings. Having four wings, does not seem to be related with movement though, as most of the two-winged figures seem to be in action more than the four-winged ones.

Cook doubts any attributes on these winged female figures are more than a type from the artistic repertory, in context with the scene.<sup>25</sup> But he also acknowledges different ideas on the subject.<sup>26</sup> Most commonly interpreted figure among the four-winged women of Clazomenian Sarcophagi is the red-figure one on G.35, probably because of the easily observable details thanks to the technique used. Although it has mostly been taken for Athena, Cook states

<sup>18</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 79.1, Fig. 37.

<sup>19</sup> Cook, 1981: 45, Fig.29.

<sup>20</sup> Cook, 1981: 45, Fig.30.

<sup>21</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 64-65.

<sup>22</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 81.

<sup>23</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 25.2.

<sup>24</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl. 47.1.

<sup>25</sup> Cook, 1981: 121.

<sup>26</sup> Cook, 1981: 121, n.92.

that “*anyhow by Attic standards, a shield is less diagnostic of Athena than a helmet – to say nothing of the aegis –*”; and he enlists a number of early references mentioning “protective goddesses”, Iris, Eris, Cybele, Artemis (Potnia Theron) and Nike as well.<sup>27</sup> In a more recent paper, Ürkmez states that this figure is Athena, with references to the earlier publications mentioned above.<sup>28</sup> Apart from the red-figure example of G.35, none of the four-winged females of the sarcophagi has been even attempted to be identified such clearly.

While the dating of the whole sarcophagus inventory has been changed since Cook<sup>29</sup>, it would be wise to reconsider the iconographic interpretations of the sarcophagi mentioned above, under the perspective of Persian socio-cultural activities in Anatolia, starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and effects of which can be followed through the Roman Period.<sup>30</sup> Zela in Cappadocia (60km south of Amasya, Turkey) represents the western-most border of the direct Persian cultural expansion, as Strabon mentions the site as a sacred city in his time as well as Achaemenid Period; and according to him there was a Persian Pantheon in Anatolia, established as early as Kyros’ reign.<sup>31</sup> Research on Zela mostly focuses on Roman period, though the excavations in Oluz Höyük reveals Achaemenid evidence 50km north-west of the ancient site.<sup>32</sup> So, it would be safe to suggest Classical Zela might have been located in Oluz Höyük, although there is no archaeological evidence of this pantheon yet. If one travels further west from Cappadocian Plains, the characteristics of Persian influence on religious practices changes. Greek deities under Persian influence can be seen in Western Anatolia, instead of a Persian Pantheon, gods of which followed their mortal soldiers deep into foreign territory. Brosius states Artemis Persike as a Persianized Hellenic Goddess, rather than a Hellenized Persian deity.<sup>33</sup> Also, Strabon again mentions a rich and organized Persian priesthood system in the region.<sup>34</sup>

At this point, a Persian concept of “God given Fortune”: Hvarnah, should be examined in relation with winged figures on Clazomenian Sarcophagi. Shahbazi (1980) published a quite detailed paper on winged symbol of Hvarnah and its substitutes in the Hellenistic and Sasanian Periods.<sup>35</sup> There are two variations of Hvarnah in Persian religion: one in relation with the royalty and King himself, his authority and fortune; while the other is for all Persians and Persian Land, as well as ordinary animals and supernatural beings.<sup>36</sup> This figure seems to have “*a particular relation with the falcon, manifested in its outstretched falcon wings*”.<sup>37</sup> The important thing in the manner of this paper about Hvarnah,

<sup>27</sup> Zahn, 1908: 171; Boardman, 1970: 101, n.2; Cook, 1981: 122, n.92.

<sup>28</sup> Ürkmez, 2015: 21.

<sup>29</sup> Yılmaz, 2002: 77.

<sup>30</sup> Strabon, *Geographika*, 15.3.15.

<sup>31</sup> Strabon, *Geographika*, 12.3.37.

<sup>32</sup> Dönmez, 2013: 106; Dönmez, 2018: 27-29.

<sup>33</sup> Brosius, 1998: 238.

<sup>34</sup> Strabon, *Geographika*, 15.13.15.

<sup>35</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 120, n.4.

<sup>36</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 121, with references.

<sup>37</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 126.

is that it appears in physical form and leave a person in death or unworthiness, or both.<sup>38</sup>

In addition, the winged figures of death iconography have been considered in two concepts. First to be the *psykhopompos*, the soul bearer<sup>39</sup>, carrier of the souls of the death to the afterlife; while the second interpretation to be the soul itself, leaving the world of the living.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding these three suggestions, each of which should be accurate for different examples, the four-winged females of Clazomenian Sarcophagi should be examined separately.

#### D.3:

The four-winged figure on the headpiece of D.3, is slightly different from the rest with a high and pointed hood. Also, the upper pair of wings seem to be the falcon wings of characteristic depiction, while the lower pair are different. But this difference between the pairs of wings, is apparently caused by the painter's negligence on details, as the wings of two sphinxes on upper panels are designed different as well. Also, the positioning of the winged figure and the chariots does not offer enough space for falcon wings below. As it is known, starting with a sphinx of him on the footpiece of a sarcophagus painted by Borelli Painter<sup>41</sup>, positioning is not among the strongest talents of Dennis Painter.

Even though the details of the hood are not observable, it seems like an eastern feature, as well as the blossoms that touch the wings below. The lotus is considered to be in relation with death in several cultures, primarily in Egypt, in connection with Horus.<sup>42</sup> Transition of this connection from Egypt to Mesopotamia is quite clear and easily observable,<sup>43</sup> but the important part is there are winged demonic figures in Mesopotamia, even before the Persian Hvarnah, depicted with lotus.<sup>44</sup> Sidal also mentions mortal humans holding lotus as symbol of death, in Hellenic culture.<sup>45</sup>

The winged figure on this sarcophagus seems to be trying to hold back the chariots with her hand gesture. Although at the first glance this might seem like the figure is under attack somehow, alternatively this gesture might be emphasising an attempt to stop and protect the mortals from a fatal action.

#### G.4:

As mentioned above in the description, there is a winged female figure looking back, holding a lotus flower and because of the flower, her left lower wing is omitted. The same lotus-death connection is obvious here as well. This

<sup>38</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 126.

<sup>39</sup> For the eastern and especially Persian connections of soul bearer Sirens on Lycian Grave Reliefs of Classical Period, see Karademir - Özdemir, 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Ürkmez, 2015: 20, with references.

<sup>41</sup> Cook, 1981: Pl.4, Fig.3.

<sup>42</sup> Morenz, 1962: 221.

<sup>43</sup> Ürkmez, 2015: 23, with references.

<sup>44</sup> Sidal, 1986: 46.

<sup>45</sup> Sidal, 1986: 57.

time the winged hoplites seem to be holding back their horses themselves, rather than the winged figure trying to stop them. This depiction also supports the gesture of the winged female on D.3, as this deity is not under attack, but it shouldn't be attacked. In Persian culture, Hvarnah is considered to be protected by soldiers against any kind of hostility.<sup>46</sup> Also, the idea of foretelling death by a winged demon holding lotus is not unique, as there is a similar depiction in Kızılbel which is studied in detail regarding this manner (and even in comparison with Clazomenian Sarcophagi) by Ürkmez. Ürkmez's study is quite important to connect Lycian and Ionian examples of death iconography in Persian period, even though it lingers around conventional interpretations of this winged figure as western deities.<sup>47</sup>

G.32 and G.33:

G.32 might be the most interesting and important example in the concept of this paper.

The black-figure of Clazomenian Sarcophagi is different from the one on the pottery, because the decoration area is larger and so the incision is not a useful method to stress out the details, as it would be weak to observe on large figures if conventional tools to be used, and larger tools might damage the decoration beyond control. The use of white paint instead of incision on large decoration areas of the sarcophagi, makes it difficult to comfortably observe the details, as white is the easiest and quickest fading colour in the inventory of the ancient terracotta painters. Regarding this fact, the observations on the black-figure scenes especially on the head-pieces of the sarcophagi should rely on silhouettes and require a great attention.

The winged figure at the center of the head-piece of G.32 seems alone at first glance. But after a careful look, an extra leg and an extra arm can be observed (Fig. 3). Of course, it is impossible to observe the figure in detail, because of the facts mentioned above; but it can be claimed that there may be a human figure holding or trying to hold on to the winged figure. This time the flanking chariots are galloping without holding back and there is no attempt from the winged figure to stop them. Their target shouldn't be the demon itself but the human figure, they even may not be aware of it; and the winged-female seems to be ready to fly away. The first idea might be that the demon is prepared to carry the mortal being out, away from danger; but the unusual position of this figure suggests it is "trying" to hold on to the demon, not the other way around. Winged figure does not show any attempt to rescue the mortal, on the contrary it is about to leave him.

This interpretation of the scene, in connection with the lotus flower in field, points to the death moment of a mortal in the battlefield. As it is mentioned above, Shahbazi points out that the personal Hvarnah of a person leaves them in death or unworthiness, or both.<sup>48</sup> So it can be claimed that here, on the head-piece of G.32, a Hellenised version of Hvarnah seems to be depicted.

<sup>46</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 126.

<sup>47</sup> Ürkmez, 2015: 20-22, with references.

<sup>48</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 126.

G.33 is very similar with G.32, even these sarcophagi should be painted by the same painter, but this is to be studied in a different paper, along with some other examples of the same group. Although it is not possible to observe G.33 as detailed as G.32, because of the heavy damage on its head-piece, it might be safe to suggest that the winged figure seen on it should be painted in the same manner, as the rest.

G.34 and 38:

The winged figure on G.34 is commonly identified as Gorgo,<sup>49</sup> and the head, running posture and position of the arms leaves little doubt on that. Also rest of the figures on the scene seem to be running away from it, and this fits the description of Gorgos by Aiskhylos,<sup>50</sup> as terrifying and monstrous creatures instilling fear in people.

The figure on G.38 is quite different from the one on G.34, even though the posture seems similar, it must be male, as it is naked. Also, the galloping horsemen and the dogs are not running away but heading towards it. So, this male figure cannot be Gorgo in any manner, as the scene is obviously not the hunting of Medusa by Perseus. Apparently, this is another four-winged demon associated with death.

G.35:

The red-figure head-piece of G.35 is the most easily observed example among the sarcophagi mentioned in this paper, because of the technique that was used. As mentioned above, the winged female figure at the center of the scene is commonly identified as Athena, with some rejective suggestions as well.<sup>51</sup>

Regarding this sarcophagus, the respectful gestures of mortals (both humans and animals) support the idea of a deity rather than a demon. Krichner claims this figure to be Athena Promachos.<sup>52</sup> But lacking Aegis and the helmet (it can be argued that this figure has a helmet, but even if it is a helmet, it is not the one we used to see with Athena. Of course, one may argue that this is caused by the lack of space above the scene.), this Athena Promachos suggestion seems to be questionable. Although there is the shield, and the wings which we see on some other Athena figures, these features almost always seen with Aegis.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, there are similar Athena depictions on Clazomenian Sarcophagi, with wings and helmet and Aegis, like E.8 which is considered in a transition group between the early canonical painters and the late canonical Albertinum Group;<sup>54</sup> and F.17.<sup>55</sup> The difference between the winged figures on G.35 and these sarcophagi might be the result of the different new technique used, or the painter might have tried to picture something else.

<sup>49</sup> Ürkmez, 2015: 26-27.

<sup>50</sup> Aiskhylos, *Prometheus*, 800.

<sup>51</sup> See n. 27.

<sup>52</sup> Krichner, 1987: 119 f.

<sup>53</sup> Baring and Cashford, 1993: fig.17, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Cook, 1981: 24, Pl.23, Fig.55.28.

<sup>55</sup> Cook, 1981: 24-30, Fig.19, Pl. 36.

### Other Examples

The Persian cultural influence on Anatolia is a long-time discussed topic, as there are arguments on whether the Persian have influenced the region or the other way. But something that should not have been forgotten is, cultural interaction always works two sided. As mentioned above, there is epigraphic and also archaeological evidence of direct Persian intervention by royal and religious institutions, as far west as Zela and Oluz Höyük. For far western interaction, Persianized Hellenic features can be seen together with Hellenized Persian ones.<sup>56</sup>

Two stamps found in Daskyleion are quite important as one of them might show that a Babylonian artist might have been taken to Daskyleion, after the Conquest of Babylon by Persian King Kyros the Great.<sup>57</sup> Bakır also states that there are stellae and architectural remains discovered in and around Daskyleion, since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> Those stellae are considered to be erected in front of the tumuli of important officers or priests of Persian origin, or under Persian cultural influence, as there are Aramic (and Phrygian on one example) inscriptions on them.<sup>59</sup> This “Anatolian-Persian Style” as it is mentioned by Bakır, indicates that there is a mutual interaction between two cultures, and it would be more than easy for the artists to see each other’s creations.

The finds from Zela, Oluz Höyük and Daskyleion, alongside the examples from Lycian tombs and more, shows an undeniable relation between Hellenic and Persian cultures, no matter which one of them influencing the other. But one could claim that there should be a more solid connection concerning the winged figures and Hvarnah itself. Another important find group shows significance in that matter: Gems.

The very detailed monography of J. Boardman on Greek Gems and Finger Rings, sets up the connection quite clearly.<sup>60</sup> “A grotesque frontal sphinx with, over its head, one of the very rare Greek copies of an eastern winged sun disc”<sup>61</sup> is a good example of one of the western implications of heavenly winged figures of Persian religion. And Shahbazi claims the sun disc and its variations to be in relation with “Royal Hvarnah”, the god given fortune of the royalty and kingdom, connections of which he puts forth with the Hellenistic Tykhe.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, there are two very interesting and important examples on gems.<sup>63</sup> One of them has been identified as Hermes or Iris by Boardman.<sup>64</sup> He indicates that these “subjects are eastern in inspiration” and also references a series of Archaic coins

<sup>56</sup> Brosius, 1998: 238.

<sup>57</sup> Bakır, 2003: 12, n.30.

<sup>58</sup> Bakır, 2003: 9, with references.

<sup>59</sup> Bakır, 2003: 9.

<sup>60</sup> Boardman, 1994.

<sup>61</sup> Boardman, 1994: 145, fig. 190.

<sup>62</sup> Shahbazi, 1980: 130-131.

<sup>63</sup> Boardman, 1994: Pl. 286-287.

<sup>64</sup> Boardman, 1994: 143.

(through to the 4<sup>th</sup> century) from Mallos/Cilicia to trace the eastern deities translated into an Iris carrying a disc-phiale.<sup>65</sup>

### Conclusion

Starting from the heavily eastern figure on Dennis' sarcophagus D.3 and stretching through the late canonical sarcophagi of Albertinum Group with more Hellenized depictions, the four-winged figure on Clazomenian Sarcophagi shows different attributes of different characters, emerging from both western and eastern myths. A chronological approach makes the picture a little more understandable. D.3, with the most obvious eastern touches of Dennis Painter, represents the earliest example, while G.32 and probably G.33 (which seem to belong to the same painter) might be considered as some kind of iconographical transition, as "Hvarnah leaving a dying soul" might be a possible explanation of the scene. In the later canonical sarcophagi, there are different interpretations of this four-winged figure, associated with Gorgo (G.34), Athena (E.8, F.17 and probably G.35) and other western deities and demons (see Discussion). This chronological line makes the process of Hellenization of a Persian demon, even clearer.

Clazomenian Sarcophagi represent a very unique and specific group of Hellenic art and may not be considered as a "concept creator" branch of artifacts, because of their limited production centres and even more limited production period; but the period and locations of production also represent a very strong connection with Persian cultural existence in the region and therefore the sarcophagi may provide a very useful and practical starting point for studies on "Persian influence on West Anatolian death iconography", in connection with other find-groups.

It is quite obvious that the concepts of Hvarnah and its interpretations in Hellenic art should be studied in detail. Because, as the "Royal Hvarnah" and Tykhe connection alongside gems and coins of the same period indicates, it is quite obvious that the "Personal Fire Hvarnah", which is the main topic of this paper, is not the only influence of this demon on western art and culture.

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<sup>65</sup> See n. 64.



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