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KURZER VORLÄUFIGER BERICHT ÜBER DIE GRABUNGEN IN SINOPE DER KAMPAGNEN 1951 - 1953

Dr. Ludwig *BUDDE*

Der Hauptgrabungsplatz A der *Kampagne 1951* liegt auf dem Gelände des Sinoper Stadtparks. Hier stiessen wir gleich zu Beginn der Grabungen auf die Überreste eines Tempels (Taf. I, Abb: 1, 2) und eines zugehörigen Altars auf der südlichen Schmalseite. Von den Aufbauten des Altars ist fast die ganze untere Stufe aus Marmor erhalten, von denen des Tempels die Euthynterie aus Kalksteinblöcken und Teile der ersten Stufe aus Marmor mit dahinter liegenden Lagen aus Kalksteinblöcken. Die Gesamtlänge des Tempels beträgt 15 m; auch die Breite von 8,60 m steht aufgrund der genannten Reste der Aufbauten fest. Mit Sicherheit lässt sich weiter aus den ringsumlaufenden Stufen schliessen, dass es sich um einen auf Stufen gestellten Tempel handelt. Über Grundriss und Ordnung des Tempels konnte keine Klarheit gewonnen werden. Doch kam in den Schuttschichten des Tempels eine grosse Anzahl von Exemplaren und Bruchstücken architektonischer Zierglieder aus Ton mit figürlichem und ornamentalem Schmuck (Taf. II, Abb: a, b) zutage, die nach Massen und Stil zu dem Tempel gehören. Die auffallenden Unterschiede in der Qualität und dem Stil einzelner Stücke sind nur zum Teil durch gelegentlichen Ersatz zerstörter Teile des Tempelaufbaus zu erklären. Die älteren Exemplare zeigen einen strengen Reiz, eine grosse Schönheit und eine Festigkeit und Klarheit der Formen, die Vorläufer des bestehenden Tempels in der archaischen und klassischen Zeit voraussetzen. Insgesamt lassen sich fünf Gruppen

architektonische Zierglieder unterscheiden deren vorletzte zu dem freigelegten Tempel des hohen Hellenismus gehört.

Die Datierung des aufgefundenen Tempels in das Zweite Jahrhundert v. chr. wird bestätigt durch die Masse der Keramik, die über seinen erhaltenen Resten gefunden wurde. Es handelt sich in der Hauptsache um hellenistische Ware, die mit römischer Keramik vermischt ist.

In den Schuttschichten um den Tempel wurden ausser den schon genannten architektonischen Resten zahllose Gefässcherben, eine Anzahl von Terrakotten, Geräte, sowie Mauern, Pilaster, Wasserleitungen, Gebälke u. a. m. gefunden. All das stammte von einer Reihe öffentlicher Gebäude und Privathäuser, die uns zeigten, dass dieser Bezirk dauernd ein Mittelpunkt des öffentlichen Lebens gewesen ist.

Die im Tempelbezirk zutage gekommenen Kleinfunde reichen von der archaischen Periode bis in die osmanische Zeit. Eine phrygische Amphora kam mit anderen Resten phrygischer Ware unter dem Tempelfundament zutage; eine Reihe von Votivterrakotten stellen Gottheiten dar, darunter Serapis (Taf. II, Abb: 3, d) Dionysos, Herakles und eine weibliche Gottheit, Kore oder Isis, (Taf. II, Abb: 3, c). Dazu kommt eine Anzahl von Terrakottaköpfchen von archaischer Zeit bis in die römische Periode.

Welcher Gottheit der Tempels geweiht gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit sagen. Einige Anzeichen weisen auf Serapis hin. So wurde die Inschrift CIG. 4159, die sich auf einen

in der Nähe des Inschriftsteines befindlichen Serapistempel bezieht, nach Robinson (a. O. 315) im Bezirk dieses Tempels gefunden. Mehrere Terrakottafiguren eines Stieres, die aus dem Tempelbezirk stammen, kommen als Stütze für die Richtigkeit der vorge-schlagenen Benennung hinzu.

An der Ostseite des Tempels stehen die Fundamente und die erste Steinlage eines älteren kleinen Bauwerks, das vom Hopfplaster des Tempels überdeckt worden ist. Seine Bestimmung Naikos oder Altar ist ungewiss. Um einen Altar eines Vorgängers des freigelegten Tempels kann es sich nicht handeln, da unsere Grabungen in der Umgebung dieses Bauwerks, zumal in der Nordsüdrichtung, keine Reste eines älteren Tempels zum Vorschein brachte.

Die oberste Lage der Fundamentblöcke des Tempels an der Südseite liegt teilweise einem durch den Bau des Tempels zerstörten Kieselmosaik auf. Zu dem gleichen Niveau gehören Mauerreste und Teile eines Hopfplasters, die durch die Keramik und Schichtefolge in das vierte Jahrhundert datiert sind.

Graben B in der Nähe des Nordhafens ergab unterhalb einer hohen Aufschüttung in 2,5 m Tiefe zahlreiche Reste von Wandmalereien mit plastischen Gesimsen und Kapitallen aus Stuck. Aus einem Bothros dieses Grabens stammt die älteste griechische Keramik der bisherigen Grabungen in Sinope.

Zwei Gräben C und D vermittelten wichtige Erkenntnisse über die Ausdehnung des antiken Sinope. Graben C liegt im nördlichen Teil der Stadt innerhalb der Begrenzungen durch die Stadtmauern. Die ältesten Anlagen sind an dieser Stelle hellenistisch von der Wende des zweiten zum ersten Jahrhundert. Die Häuser des Grabens D, in der Nähe des Kadinhams, gehören nach Aussage der keramischen Funde der klassischen Zeit an.

In ihnen wurden wie in jedem der bisher in Sinope ausgegrabenen antiken Häuser Terrakottafiguren eines Stieres gefunden, die auf die einheimische Verehrung eines Stiergottes, wohl des Serapis, schliessen lassen.

Eine der Hauptgrabungen der Kampagne 1951 war die teilweise Freilegung der antiken Nekropole bei der Kibritfabrik. Bei der Anlage dieses unvollendet gebliebenen Gebäudes ist leider ein grosser Teil des Friedhofes zerstört worden. Zu den hierbei gemachten Funden gehört die Grabplastik eines Löwen aus dem fünften Jahrhundert sowie die Lekythos mit der Darstellung einer Mänade auf der Applike vom Ende des gleichen Jahrhunderts. Unsere Gräberfelder A und B hatten die Ausmasse von ca 17 zu 10 m, bzw. 10 zu 9 m. Es handelt sich um insgesamt 92 freigelegte Gräber, die zeitlich vom frühen 6. Jahrhundert bis in die römische Periode reichen. Die in Olynth durch Robinson bei der Freilegung der dortigen griechischen Nekropole gemachten Beobachtungen gelten in allem wesentlichen auch für die griechische Nekropole in Sinope. Die Mehrzahl aller freigelegten Gräber waren Erdbestattungen der verschiedensten Form. Über die Hälfte hiervon waren mit Ziegeln aus Terrakotta im Haustyp bedeckt, der Rest der Bestattungen erfolgte in Kisten aus Terrakottaplatten oder aus Holz; einige wenige waren mit Terrakottaplatten in flacher Lage bedeckt, ein einziges Grab hatte eine steinerne Umfriedung mit einer Stele am Fussende, wieder andere Leichen waren ohne festen Schutz in den Boden gelegt. Brandgräber kommen mit einer einzigen Ausnahme nur in der Form von groben Amphoren vor. Die Beigaben der Gräber sind von unterschiedlicher Art, Lekythen, Pyxiden, Lampen, Messer, Schmuck,

Münzen, Gläser, zerbrochene Scherben u. a. m.

Ausser dem Friedhof bei der Kibritfabrik müssen noch weitere griechische Friedhöfe in Sinope angenommen werden. Spuren davon wurden allerdings in unmittelbarer Nähe der Stadt nicht gefunden. Von einer griechischen Begräbnisstätte etwas ausserhalb der Stadt in den Bahçeler stammt eine schöne Grabstele. Nachforschungen an der Fundstelle brachten nur eine Anzahl klassischer Scherben zum Vorschein. Suchgräben, die 1952 an der Fundstelle einer hervorragenden Tierkampfgruppe zweier Löwen und eines Hirsches (Taf. III, Abb: 4) in unmittelbarer Nähe der eben genannten Begräbnisstätte gezogen wurden, brachten neben einer kleinen Anzahl klassischer Scherben und einem einfachen mächtigen Steinsarkophag eine ausgedehnte Steinsetzung zutage, die als Fundament des verlorenen Grabbaus oder Sockels für das Monument gedient haben wird. Durch den Gesamtbefund dieser Sondagen ist die Löwenkampfgruppe mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit als Teil eines Grabmonumentes des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. erwiesen.

Ein römischer Friedhof liegt ausserhalb der Stadt auf der Ostseite am Hang des Berges in Höhe einer Anzahl von grösseren und kleineren Tumuli. Bei den römischen Gräbern handelt es sich im allgemeinen, wie kleinere Sondagen ergaben, um steinerne Sarkophage mit Beigaben meist in der Form von Gläsern.

Von den zahlreichen Tumuligräbern in der näheren und weiteren Umgebung der Stadt haben wir 1951 zwei zu öffnen begonnen. Die Arbeiten konnten nicht zu Ende geführt werden. Scherben und die Tonstatuette eines Stieres erweisen die Tumuli als hellenistisch.

Christliche Gräber wurden an mehreren Stellen im Nordteil der Stadt innerhalb der Mauern und beim Prinzessinnengrab festgestellt. Ausmass und Ausführung der Gräber sind von unterschiedlicher Art. Im allgemeinen handelt es sich um Einfassungen aus Steinen oder um monumental ausgestaltete Gräber. Die Beigaben waren wenig ergiebig, beschränken sich auf Glasreifen und bronzene Kreuze.

Kleinere Sondagen zur Erkundung der trajanischen Wasserleitung, zur Erforschung von Kultgrotten, der Erforschung des antiken Wegenetzes liefen neben den Hauptgrabungen her.

In der zweiten Kampagne in Sinope im Herbst 1952 wurde der Hauptgrabungsplatz des Vorjahres nach allen Seiten, besonders nach Norden hin, erweitert. Die ausgedehnte Grabung rings um das Prinzessinnengrab sollte die Umgebung des Tempels und die Besiedlung dieses Stadtteiles klären. Dabei wurden an einzelnen Stellen mehrere Bauperioden festgestellt. Der Gesamtbefund ist durch diese ständigen Veränderungen und teilweise grossen Zerstörungen späterer Bauanlagen äusserst kompliziert. Die ältesten Gebäude dieses Bereichs gehören dem fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr. an, die jüngsten sind Teile der weitausgedehnten Palastanlage spätrömischer Zeit, von der Teile den ganzen Tempelbezirk überbaut haben. Das Gelände fiel in antiker Zeit stark nach Norden hin ab, sodass ein Teil der Häuser späthellenistischer und römischer Zeit auf Terrassen gestellt war. Die Kleinfunde reichen bis in das Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. hinauf. Durch datierte griechische Schichten liess sich für eine Anzahl phrygischer Scherben eine chronologische Entwicklung gewinnen. Für die unmittelbare Umgebung des Tempels ergab diese Grabung auf drei Seiten

desselben Reste der alten Einschliessung, die wegen ihrer symmetrischen Zuordnung zum Tempel und aufgrund eines Kapitellfundes auf dem Boden dieser Einschliessung als Stoa angesprochen werden darf. Das dorische Kapitell passt gut zu der Datierung des Tempels. Die sonstigen in der Grabung gefundenen Architekturteile gehören im allgemeinen der römischen Periode an. Interessant ist eine Fülle von Amphorenstempeln mit wechselvollen und einfallsreichen Firmenzeichen. Bei allen Grabungen in Sinope traten Exemplare dieser Gattung auf.

Ein in der Nähe der Hauptmoschee angelegter Graben... bestätigte die Erfahrungen des Vorjahres durch Graben C. Ausser byzantinischen Häusern wurden Teile eines ausgedehnten römischen Gebäudes des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. angeschnitten. Zu letzterem gehört das schöne farbenreiche Mosaik mit Mustern von Tieren, Früchten und geometrischen Figuren.

Eine Anzahl kleinerer Untersuchungen können an dieser Stelle nur erwähnt werden, so die bereits oben erwähnten Sondagen in Bahçeler und die systematische Erforschung der näheren und weiteren Umgebung der Stadt und Landschaft Sinope. Die Ruinen einer grossen Anlage im Osten der Stadt wurden vermessen und aufgenommen. Die Technik des Mauerwerks liess bereits die Entstehung der Anlage in byzantinischer Zeit vermuten, was durch Suchgräben in den als byzantinische Kapelle verwendeten Raum und 1953 in den Haupträumen der Anlage bestätigt worden ist. In dem Hauptsaal lag über einem zementartigen Boden eine 1-2 m dicke Schicht aus herabgefallenen Gusswerk der Decke. Unter dem Boden kam ein mit mächtigen Mauerlöcken überdachtes und aus Ziegeln sorgfältig gemauertes Grab zutage, leider ohne Beigaben. Der

ursprüngliche Gesamtkomplex der Palastanlage scheint in späterer byzantinischer Zeit als Kloster benutzt worden zu sein. Der langgestreckte Raum hat sich als offener Hof erwiesen.

Hatte es sich in den ersten beiden Kampagnen der Grabungen in Sinope in den meisten Fällen um Gräben gehandelt, die ausserhalb der noch aufrecht stehenden, in den unteren Teilen teilweise antiken Mauern lagen, so blieb für die dritte Kampagne 1953 die dringende Aufgabe, die Zahl der Gräben innerhalb der Mauerbegrenzungen nach Möglichkeit durch viele weitere an verschiedenen Teilen der Stadt zu vermehren. Die gesamte Nordseite der Stadt musste nach unseren bisherigen Erfahrungen für die älteren Perioden auscheiden. Der Schwerpunkt wurde deshalb in den Süd- und Westteil der Stadt verlegt. Die Arbeiten streckten sich vom Ende August bis Ende Oktober ohne Unterbrechung bei günstigen Wetterbedingungen hin.

Graben K konnte mit besonderer Erlaubnis der zuständigen Stellen in dem weitausgedehnten Komplex des Kale angelegt werden, wo wir seit Beginn der Grabungen in Sinope die antike Akropolis vermuteten. Im Graben K kam unter einer hohen Aufschüttung und Gebäuderesten türkischer Zeit in etwa 2 m Tiefe ein byzantinisches Haus zum Vorschein, mit Resten der Innenausstattung. Römischer Mauern und Funde kamen darunter nicht zutage, nur Mauerreste von Gebäuden hellenistischer und klassischer Zeit. Nicht weniger als 6 grosse Bothroi störten diese Schichten. Aus Bothros 6 stammt das schöne Fragment eines hellenistischen Steingefässes mit dem Relief eines Stierkopfes. Die Nordseite des Kale ist also, wie der Gesamtbefund es ergeben hat, in früher griechischer Zeit nicht besiedelt gewesen.

Graben M wurde in einem Terrassengarten in der Nähe des Marktplatzes auf der Südseite der Stadt angelegt. Überraschender Weise ergab er nur Häuser byzantinischer, römischer und hellenistischer Zeit. Unter den Häusern folgt eine mächtige Sandschicht, die in einer Tiefe von 7,86 m noch nicht zu Ende ging. Die Grabung lehrte deutlich, dass der schmale Teil der niedrigen Halbinsel ursprünglich unter dem Meer gelegen hat.

Nicht weit von *Graben M* entfernt wurde auf ebenerem Terrain neben dem Hamam *Graben L* angelegt. Nach Wegnahme kleinerer byzantinischer Mauerreste wurde in einer Tiefe von 6 m Teile eines römischen Hauses mit dem breiten Eingang auf der Südseite freigelegt. Die Arbeiten wurden in tieferen Lagen sehr erschwert durch das Grundwasser, doch konnten ältere Maurteile nicht festgestellt werden.

Das Gleiche gilt für *Graben N* im südlichen Ostteil der Stadt. Hier liegen unter dem römischen Boden sämtliche weiteren Schichten im Grundwasser, das bei Ausschöpfungsversuchen stets nachströmt. Die hellenistische Mauer aus langen Quadern im Nordteil des Grabens muss zu einem monumentalen Bau gehört haben.

In der Kampagne 1953 gelang es auch endlich, einen *Graben O* im Innenhof der Hauptcami anzulegen. Dieser Platz ist seit dem 13. Jahrhundert n. Chr. nicht mehr gestört worden. Unmittelbar unter dem byzantinischen Niveau, zu dem der Brunnen im Nordteil gehört, kam die spätrömische Schicht mit Resten von zwei Mosaiken zutage, von denen das figürliche Mittelfeld des einen zum grossen Teil zerstört ist. Die bis auf den gewachsenen Boden herabreichende Mauer der Westseite ist die Außenmauer eines weiteren Gebäudes dieser Zeit, dessen Innenwand mit Stuck belegt ist. In der zweiten Schicht unter dem

Mosaik lagen die Reste zweier Häuser hellenistischer Zeit. Etwas jünger ist der mächtige Brandofen in der Westecke des Grabens. Die dritte, klassische Schicht sass unmittelbar auf dem gewachsenen Boden auf. Bis zu ihm reichte auch der Pithos der zweiten Schicht herab. Die kesselförmigen Gebilde des gewachsenen Bodens sind die gleichen, die sich zahlreich unter dem Meeresspiegel an der Nordseite befinden und bereits im Altertum als Charakteristikum Sinopes erwähnt werden. Auch hier ergab sich der Beweis, dass die Halbinsel aus dem Meere sich erhoben hat.

Von den reichen Beigaben dieses Grabens sind die und eine grosse Zahl Terrakottmasken des Serapis, die u. a. in dem Herd gebrannt zu sein scheinen, hellenistischer Lampen hervorsuheln. Der Ring kam unter der hellenistischen Schicht zutage.

Kleinere Nachuntersuchungen im Tempelbezirk brachten in einem Graben nordwestlich des Tempels die beiden prachtvollen römischen Marmorbildnisse frühaugusteischer Zeit ans Tageslicht, republikanischer bzw. Von denen das Männerbildnis als gesandere künstlerische Leistung hervorrage.

Ein wichtiges Ergebnis der Kampagne 1953 stellte schliesslich die Freilegung der ersten drei Schichten des *Kocagözhüyük*, im Vorlande Sinopes, etwa 16 km von der Stadt entfernt bei dem Demirciköy gelegen, dar. Der ca. 60 m lange und 50 m breite Hüyük ist das Anhängsel eines langgezogenen Hügels, der nach dem Meere zu, zu einer Hochebene verbreitet, sanft abfällt. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten bisher bekannt gewordenen Hüyüks ist der *Kocagözhüyük* seit der Bronzezeit nicht mehr besiedelt worden, sodass die Kulturen unmittelbar mit der Oberfläche beginnen. Von den beiden Gräben

A und B auf der südlichen Hälfte des Hüyüks wurde nur Graben A bis zu einer Tiefe von 2 m weitergeführt. Er ergab drei Schichten, deren Ablagerungen durch eine starke Lehm-schicht, die von den Häusern und Dekken der Rundhütten stammt, jedesmal abgeschlossen sind. Am Boden der Schichten wurden eine Reihe von Hüttenböden gefunden, darin mehrere Herdstellen.

Am besten sind die Anlagen der untersten dritten Schicht angelegt und erhalten, mässig die der beiden oberen, die auch geringwertiger zu sein scheinen. Die Zerstörung erfolgte jedesmal durch Brand. Die Herde der ersten und zweiten Schicht haben ovale Form und sind aus Steinen, die in Lehm eingefasst sind, und abgerundeten Lehmziegeln gebildet. Die Herde und Öfen der dritten Schicht sind von völlig andersartiger Form, oblonge Gebilde, aus feinem roten Ton gebildet. In und bei den Herden lagen in allen Fällen Vasen und Gefässe, Mahlsteine, Steingeräte, Geräte aus Knochen, Spinnwirtel und Webgewichte, dazu eine gewaltige Menge von Keramik. Letztere ist durchweg mit der Hand gemacht. Meist ist es Ware aus poliertem schwarzen, braunen hellgrauen, gelben und roten Ton. Manche Vasen und Scherben sind mit einfachen weissgefüllten Ritzmustern versehen, andere mit Rippen, Buckeln, Knöpfen u.a.m. Die häufigsten Formen sind Schalen und Näpfe mit Ansätzen oder Henkeln, breitmündige Kannen, scharfprofilierte Amphoren, Schüsseln, tiefe Töpfe, kugelförmige Vasen mit Ösen, Becher und Tassen mit und ohne Standfläche. Es gibt Reste riesiger Pithoi aus Ton oder Stein, wie auch eine Anzahl von Tonfüssen zerstörter Töpfe. Aus der an einer Stelle des Grabens A angeschnittenen nächstfolgenden 4. Schicht stammt u. a. ausgezeichnete gut gebrannte schwarzpolierte Keramik mit feinem Glanz und

eingetieften Verzierungen. In der 3. Schicht überwiegt die rotpolierte Keramik aus feingebranntem Ton, wie die einhenkligen Becher und die flache Schale. In der zweiten Schicht ist grösstenteils weniger sorgfältige Keramik enthalten, teilweise aus schlecht gereinigtem Ton und weniger sorgfältig gebrannt. Die feine rotpolierte Ware der dritten Schicht tritt nur noch selten auf. In der ersten Schicht herrscht die Ware mit braunem, hellbraunen und grauen Überzug vor. Die meisten Gefässe dieser und der zweiten Schicht haben keine Standfläche. Im Gegensatz zu den älteren Beispielen der Ösenvasen der dritten Schicht, die glatt gelassen sind, sind die der 1. und 2. Schicht mit eingeritzten Mustern dekoriert, die teils in lockerer Form als Zickzack- und Wellenlinien den weichen Gefässkörper umziehen, teils durch ihre präzise Anordnung die straffe Struktur des Ornamentträgers unterstreichen.

Das Bild dieser Kulturen wird durch Kleinfunde mannigfacher Art, darunter auch Tonidole, bereichert. Gräber sind bisher nicht gefunden worden.

In Formen und Einzelheiten zeigen die aufgefundenen Kulturen des Kocagözhüyük Anklänge an die von Troja I und besonders Troja II. Parallelen zur Yortankultur sind gleichfalls festzustellen. Verwandte Stücke finden sich unter den Funden der türkischen Grabungen in Kara Samsun. Doch beweisen gerade die bezeichnenden Formen der Keramik des Kocagözhüyük manches Besondere und Einmalige, was in der Abgeschlossenheit dieser Gegend vom mittleren und westlichen Anatolien seine Begründung finden mag.

Durch Oberflächenfunde ist in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft zum Kocagözhüyük 1953 ein weiterer Hüyük der gleichen Zeit bei Hacıoğlanköy in dem dortigen Maltepe nachgewiesen.

EXCAVATIONS BY THE WALKER TRUST (ST. ANDREWS) ON THE
SITE OF THE GREAT PALACE, CONSTANTINOPLE.
PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE WORK DONE IN 1952 AND 1953

D. Talbot RICE

Excavations on a portion of the site of the Great Palace had been carried out on behalf of the Walker Trust during four seasons before the war, when a large peristyle court and an extremely fine mosaic pavement had been discovered. A report on the work was published in 1947. The mosaics were covered over temporarily in 1939. Work was resumed in 1952, under the direction of the writer of this article. They were carried on a more extensive scale in 1953, partly under his direction, and partly under that of Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, Director of the British School at Rome. That season, in addition to work on the original site, a full examination of the building known as "The House of Justinian" was also undertaken, and an architectural study of the area was made by Mr. G. U. S. Corbett, Librarian of the British School at Rome. Work on the main site was carried on in 1954. A detailed publication of the work done will be issued in 1957. In the meantime this preliminary notice is offered, at the invitation of the Director of the Department of Antiquities at Ankara.

Our first task in 1952 was to assure the adequate conservation of the superb mosaic floor which had been unerted in earlier seasons. The second was to extend the excavations with the object, first of seeing if mosaics survived in other parts of the structure, and secondly of determining more precisely the date of the mosaics themselves. Our third aim

was to throw more light on the nature and identity of the building to which the mosaics belonged: a tentative identification of the peristyle court and its mosaics with a structure known as the Heliakon of the Pharos had been made in the first report on the excavations (1).

The mosaic floor disclosed in the earlier work had originally formed the floor of the colonnades of a great peristyle court. Mosaics were well preserved on the north-eastern side; the south-eastern side had not been examined; mosaics on the other two sides were fragmentary. In 1952 practically the whole of the north-eastern side (Pl. 1, A, A 1 and A 3) was roofed over. Fragmentary mosaics from other sites (A. 6 and F) were lifted, and were installed in the arcades of a bazaar-like street, the Arasta Sokak, which ran across the site. The mosaics are thus now adequately preserved, and they can also be seen in a satisfactory manner. Indeed, the site is now virtually a "mosaic museum", and as such has been opened to the public as a separate section of the Museum of Antiquities of İstanbul (2).

(1). *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, Oxford, 1947, p. 15.

(2). I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere indebtedness, as well as that of the Walker Trust, to Bay Aziz Ogan, Director of the Museum of Antiquities, for his constant help during the execution of this work. I should also like to thank Bay Reha Arican who undertook the difficult task of lifting the mosaics.

With the safety of the mosaics assured, work in connection with our more truly archaeological aims could proceed, and trenches intended to investigate further the extent of the mosaic floor were dug in three places, namely along the whole south-eastern side of the court (Pl. 1, K, C), at the south-eastern extremity of the north-east side, under the street known as the Torun Sokak (Pl. 1, T), and under a wall of the Arasta Sokak, along the inner margin of the mosaic (Pl. 1, A, A 1). A large trench in the first area disclosed the inner and outer retaining walls of the peristyle court, but unfortunately no mosaics whatsoever remained. Under the Torun Sokak, however, they proved to be well preserved, and an area some seven by six metres was unearthed. At the side of site A, A 1, a considerable portion of the border, averaging about 1 metre in width, and extending over a length of some six metres, was also laid bare. Mosaics from both these areas were lifted in 1953 and 1954.

Although it was disappointing to find nothing on the extensive south-east side of the peristyle, the good state of preservation and the interesting character of the compositions found in the other two areas to some extent compensated for this. The section of border in area A, A 1 was particularly interesting, for it was composed not only of scrolls, inhabited by animals and birds of a very lively character, but also by a great human head (Pl. 2). In position this head corresponds to the bearded heads of Oceanus previously found as parts of the border, but its nature was more interesting, for it represented a moustached figure, which would seem almost to be a portrait of some barbarian chieftain, done from the life. The hair, however, is conventionalised, and mingles with the scroll, and the colouring of the moustache is not naturalistic, for

blue and green tesserae are used. This great head is something well nigh unique in late antique art, and from the artistic as well as the technical point of view, it is one of the finest examples of early mosaic that have come down to us. Cubes of blue and green glass are used with very subtle effect beside those of coloured marbles in the scroll, in the face, and, more especially, in the animals and birds which appear amidst the foliage. The man who executed it was a real master, and the work here is of finer quality than much of that in the main area of the floor itself.

The mosaics found below the Torun Sokak, like those previously discovered in area A, are arranged in three parallel registers, and show a number of separate compositions. These include, nearest the inner border, a man leading a camel, with two boys on its back. One of the boys holds a bird before him (Pl. 3). In the middle register is shown a mounted hunter with a spear, who is chasing two deer. In front of them is a tree, which extends into the register above. Beyond it is a bear, devouring a small animal, probably a lamb. Behind the rider is a tree, and behind again a tower-like water fountain, of a type similar to those appearing in Pompeian paintings. On the uppermost register is a mule, which carried a bundle of sticks on either side as well as a rider. But the rider is being kicked off, and is seen upside down behind. The mule has a very wicked look in its eye, and this is one of the very few examples of humour that appear in the art of the period. The mosaics were overlaid by a layer of very hard cement, over which a later pavement of marble had been laid. This cement was harder than the setting bed, so that the cleaning of the mosaics was very difficult.

With the objective of furnishing a more sure dating for the mosaics two

excavations were undertaken below their setting bed. This was made possible by the fact that they in places were lifted and removed. The more extensive of these excavations was on site F (See Pl. 1). The excavations disclosed the fact that an earlier building, apparently a bath, had been destroyed in order to permit the construction of the peristyle court. Its walls and floor had been cut through for the foundations of the outer sustaining wall of the peristyle, and its walls had, over the rest of its area, been levelled off to permit the laying of the mosaic floor rather more than a metre above it (Pl. 4). Some fragments of unglazed pottery lamps, which bore the cross as the main theme of their decoration, were unearthed at the very base of the outer wall of this building. Its walls were constructed of bricks $34 \times 34 \times 5$ cm. in size. A number were extracted, and rather more than half of these bore stamps. Some of these stamps were single lined, and contained the name ΓΑΙΟC or ΓΑΙΟΥ others contained the same name, but shown in the form of a cruciform monogram (pl. 5). It has so far proved impossible to find any stamps exactly comparable to these. The name ΓΑΕΙΟC or ΓΑΕΙΟΥ appears on a number of stamps of sixth century date (1), but these are mostly two line, rather than single line stamps; or, when in the form of a monogram, have the letter Γ at the right hand side instead of at the top. In general they would seem to be later than the stamps found in our "bath" building. Further study of this material may permit more exact conclusions. At the moment, however, all that can be said is that the pottery fragments suggest, though they do not absolutely prove, a date after 330, and

that the brick stamps suggest the fifth century. From this it may be argued that though the date originally proposed for the mosaic, that is, between 410 and 420, is not precluded, a rather later one would seem perhaps more probable. In the "notitia urbis" it is recorded that there were originally several private houses in this part of Constantinople (1). It seems probable that the "bath" building was part of one of these, and that it was destroyed, with other similar private buildings, when the Palace of the Emperors was enlarged.

A second excavation of similar type was undertaken on site A 4 (Pl. 1) where a deep trench was dug right down to virgin soil, which is here a heavy yellow clay. This trench was dug entirely through filling, which had been brought from elsewhere at a number of different periods. Numerous very small fragments of pottery were found in this filling, of Roman, Hellenistic and fifth century Greek date. The stratification served to prove that the curious stone arch below mosaic level which had been noted in the "First Report" was actually a later insertion, put in to strengthen the structure after the mosaic floor had fallen into disuse.

The most extensive part of the excavation, however, was that undertaken in the exercise ground of the Aygır Deposu, to the southeast of the peristyle (2). Work here was undertaken with the primary objective of identifying the site. Two groups of substructures were already known in this area (See Pl. 1); they had been planned by Mamboury and Wiegand, and termed respectively D b and

(1). Seeck, 230.

(2). I take this opportunity of thanking the Director of the Aygır Deposu for permission to dig and for numerous facilities accorded.

(1). I have to thank the late M. E. Mamboury for bringing this stamp to my notice. It occurred in situ in the Magnaura palace as well as in other sixth century buildings.

D c. (1). Our excavations were conducted in the unearthed area between them.

Substructures of a very massive character were discovered in this area, and they serve to prove that the site was occupied by buildings of very considerable size and importance, at an early date. At least five distinct building periods are represented. The earliest work was executed in friable greenstone of a very distinctive character. The same stone was found in the rear wall, at the opposite end of the peristyle court. This greenstone was used for a vaulted substructure, which was subsequently ruined, and then repaired in brick and concrete. There followed a second and more thorough collapse, which must have involved all the vaults, and much of what remained of them was then removed to make way for an entirely new structure from the ground upwards. This new building was in large limestone blocks, and its walls were extremely thick and massive. It seems to have terminated towards the sea in a great apse (Pl. 6). One of the side walls of the structure was traced from the apse in the landward direction as far as the outer wall of the peristyle where it formed a corner. Only a section of the corresponding wall on the opposite side could be examined, but it was possible to reconstruct the plan of the building on the basis of what look found. Between these side walls there were two transverse walls, both pierced by arches. That furthest from the sea corresponded with the outer wall of the peristyle, though because of the slope of the ground its foundation was at a lower level. The other transverse wall, which was pierced by three openings, stood about half way between the peristyle and the apse (See plan, Pl. 7). One of the openings in this transverse wall

is shown at the back of Plate 8. The semi-arch at the side of it belongs to yet another period of reconstruction, which was done partly in the same massive blocks — they must have been reused — and partly in brick. This period of reconstruction probably coincided with the erection of a number of piers, walls and vaults in brick, inside the great stone walled structure. These brick structures appear in the fore part of Plate 8, and are shown again in Plate 9; a further portion of the great stone wall is visible here behind the brickwork at the centre of the picture. The object of all these brick walls and vaults must have been to hold up the floor of the building above, and this floor was at much the same level as the mosaic pavement of the peristyle court. The two must have been associated one with the other. Indeed, the plan that results (Pl. 7) is one quite usual in late Roman and early Byzantine times; it is an apsed building with a peristyle court or atrium in front of it. A throne room or a church would be equally possible, but the comparatively small size of the apsed building and the essentially secular character of the mosaics of the peristyle suggest that the former is a more probable identification.

The brickwork shown on Plate 9 is not all of the same period, for in places repairs and minor additions can be distinguished. The last of these is probably to be assigned to the tenth century. By the twelfth century the building had fallen into disuse, for it was already being used as a dump for rubbish, in which numerous fragments of glazed pottery were found. These are quite easily datable.

In addition to the brick reconstructions inside the great stone walls, a further important addition was made on the outside. It is shown in Plate 10, where the great stone wall appears at

(1) Die Kaiserpaläte von Konstantinopel. Berlin, 1934.

the back of the picture and the addition, in alternating brick and stone courses, on the left. Actually nine course of brick alternate with one of large stone blocks. This is the structure associated with the Pharos in the First Report. The work is in a technique usually associated with the sixth or seventh century. It is probably slightly earlier in date than the building on the opposite side of the great stone structure, surveyed by Mamboury and Wiegand as building D b.

A tentative chronology of the building periods may be suggested as follows:

(1). Work in greenstone. Perhaps to be associated with private dwellings on the site (see above). IV century, or before.

(2). Repairs to above, in brick and concrete. IV century.

(3). Construction of the main sub-structures in great stone blocks. This is probably contemporary with the peristyle and the mosaic pavement. V century.

(4). Construction of the building outside this, identified as the Pharos in the first report. VI or VII century.

(5). Modifications to the great stone structure, reusing some of the stone blocks and also brick. VI or VII century.

(6). Extensive reconstruction inside the great stone structure in brick. Perhaps VII century.

(7). Minor modifications in brick. Perhaps X century.

(8). Desertion of the building. XII century.

(9). Erection of the square building published by Mamboury and Wiegand as D c. XV century.

Though these suggestions are for the moment purely tentative, it is possible to draw a few definite conclusions from them. Firstly, the identification of Mambory D c. as the church of St Elias, which was proposed in the First Report, must definitely be discarded, for there are no Byzantine foundations here which can be associated with a church of any sort. Secondly, it seems most unlikely, on account of its form and character, that the brick and stone structure adjoining this is to be identified as the Pharos. Thirdly, our main edifice would seem to take the form of a massive apsed building, standing up on the side towards the sea in a most imposing manner, and having, on the landward side, a great peristyle court in front of it. In the final report on the excavations, which we hope to issue 1957, an attempt will be made to identify this in the light of the evidence afforded by the texts relating to the Great Palace.

In addition to the work undertaken on the main site, a thorough examination, accompanied by excavation, was given to the structure known as the House of Justinian. Excavations showed that the original sea wall must have stood some 4.60 metres behind the present one. At a subsequent date an outer wall was built in front of it, and at the same time further concrete structures were added between the two. The platform on which the building known as the House of Justinian stands is in reality made up of these three walls. The original sea wall, which was little more than a metre wide, was however, at some time or another removed in greater part, leaving what appears to be a trench between the new outer wall and the new inner structure. Both of these are of hard concrete, and the impression of the original wall, where it had been removed, remains, as if photographed upon the concrete. The structure above, the so called House

of Justinian, is also of two periods, both later than the construction of the second or outer sea wall. The marble window jambs and other architectural features all represent material reused from some other building. Archaeological evidence proves that the second or outer sea wall is post Justinianic; it may tentatively be assigned to the seventh century. Comparisons with masonry elsewhere suggest that the original sea wall, now

in part destroyed, and surviving only as a negative impression on the later concrete, should be assigned to the Theodosian age. The structures above, the so called House of Justinian, must be later than the seventh century. The earlier work might perhaps be of the eighth, the later is more probably tenth. There is no evidence to suggest that any part of this structure has any connection with Justinian.

1953 EYLÜLÜNDE GÖLENYEDE (MARMARİS) YAPILAN
ARAŞTIRMA

George BEAN - Aşkîdil AKARCA

Gölenye, doğusu denizle, diğer üç ciheti dağlarla çevrili, Marmaris'in 8 km. kadar cenubunda, Hisarburnundaki eski Amos (Asarcık) şehrinin aşağı yukarı 6 km. şimalinde, küçük bir ovanın kenarında kurulmuş mütevazî bir köydür. Köyden 8 dakika mesafede Bakıcak denen mevkide, 1933 tarihlerinde mektep inşa etmek maksadı ile kazı yapılırken beyaz mermerden kitabeli güzel bir stel meydana çıkmış ve Marmaris'e götürülmüştür. Ne yazık ki, orada belediye binasında eşik taşı olarak kullanılmış ve üzerindeki yazı hemen hemen tamamıyla aşınmıştır. M.Ö. aşağı yukarı 200 senelerine tarihlenen bu stel Fraser ve Bean *Rhodian Peraea and Islands* No. 15 de neşredilmiştir. Yazının okunabilen kısmında Diodorus Siculus V, 62 de adı geçen Kastabos *temenos*'undan bahsedilmekte ve kitabenin sonunda stelin Apollon Samnaios'un kutsal sahasına dikilmesi için talimat verilmektedir. Apollon kutsal sahasının bundan dolayı Bakıcak'ta veya Bakıcak yakınlarında bulunması pek muhtemel görüldüğünden tapınağı meydana çıkarmak ümidi ile burada bir araştırma yaptık. Fakat ümidimiz gerçekleşmedi.

Yaptığımız sath araştırmaları ile ovanın dört bir köşesine dağılmış antik bloklar tesbit ettik. Bunlar arasında büyük bir binaya ait parçalar vardır. Üç taraflarında muhtelif derinlikte yivler veya yuvalar bulunan, Gölenye arkasındaki dağlardan kesilmiş olan mavimsi kalker bloklar bilhassa göze çarpar (Res. 1 - 2).

Ovada üç nokta dikkatimizi çekti:

1) Bunlardan ilki kitabenin bulunduğu Bakıcaktır. Burada, cenuptaki dağlardan ovaya doğru bir boyun vasıtasıyla uzanan alçak, mahrutî bir tepe vardır. Bugün bu boyunun üzerinde 20 m. uzunluk, 10 m genişlikte, apsisinden başka pek bir şeyi kalmamış, duvar içciliği kötü, bir kilise yıkıntısı görülmektedir. Kilisenin içinde yanlamasına açtığımız bir yarmada hemen ana toprağa varıldı ve ancak dar yan odanın horasan zemini meydana çıktı. Zeminde birçok insan kemiklerine rastlandı. 1933 de kitabeli stel işte burada bulunmuştur. Bu boyunun üzerinde bu sebeplerden dolayı, kiliseden daha önceye ait bir yapının bulunmadığı kati gibidir. Burada, yukarıda adı geçen blokların gösterdiği büyüklükte bir bina için de kâfi saha yoktur. Kilisenin işgal ettiği sahaya ilâve olarak setleme suretiyle daha 5 m. genişlikte bir yer temini mümkündür. Nitekim ne zamana ait olduğu bilinmeyen bir takım duvarlar cenupta ve şimal doğuda böyle bir setleme yapıldığını gösteriyor. Bununla beraber, yine de, bu saha bir mâbet için kifayetsizdir. Kitabeden dolayı pek muhtemel görünmesine rağmen, Apollon Samnaios'un kutsal sahasının burada olmadığı kanaatindeyiz. Kitabeli stelin kilisenin inşaatında kullanılmak üzere — belki yan odaya açılan kapının lentosu olarak — getirilmiş olmalıdır. Bakıcak'taki kalıntılar oldukça yakın zamana ait gibi görünüyor. İhtimal, harabeleri dağın eteğinde Bakıcak'tan

denize doğru uzanan bir köy ile muasır-
dı.

2) Alâkamızı bundan sonra ovanın şimalbatısında Örenardı denen mevki çekti. Burada arazinin, dağın eteğine doğru hafifçe meyillendiği yerde, sağlam bir temel üzerine oturan büyük bir set duvarının kalıntısı vardır (Res. 3). Duvarın en alt sırası ile temellerin antik olduğundan şüphe yoktur. Duvar işçiliği ve temellerde meydana çıkan çanak çömlek kırıkları esas inşaatın Roma İmparatorluk çağına ait olduğu kanaatini veriyor. Duvarın üst kısmı ise yıkılan antik duvarın malzemesinden harçlı olarak yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Bu duvarın desteklediği düzlükte büyük bloklardan yapılmış bir takım duvar izleri görünüyordu; fakat meydana çıkarılınca kötü bir işçilik gösterdikleri, ve toprak üzerine öylece konmuş oldukları görüldü. Bu iç duvarlar, daha sonraki bir tarihte, antik bloklar yettiği kadar kullanılmak ve geri kalan kısmı gayrimuntazam bloklarla tamamlanmak suretiyle inşa edilmiştir. Örenardında kabaca yontulmuş dar bir eşik taşı ile yukarıda bahsedilen gruba dahil, yivli büyük bir blokta başka, ne bir mimari parça, ne de Roma çağından önceye tarihlenebilen çanak çömlek kırığı bulundu. Yine burada da vaziyetin uygunluğuna rağmen, seddin üzerinde bir mâbedin mevcudiyetini gösteren hakikî bir delil yoktur.

3) Alâkamızı çeken üçüncü nokta, ovanın şimaldoğusunda Kumlu Örencik denen, denize yakın bir yerdir. Burada Bakıcaktakinden hayli büyük bir kilise yıkıntısı vardır. İnşaatta hem antik bloklar, hem de 6 ncı asra ait bir Bizans kilisesinden kalma sütun başlıkları (Res. 4), korkuluk ve kaplama levha parçaları kullanılmıştır. Kilise doğu taraflarında birer apsis bulunan iki esas bölümden ibaret olup, ikisinin arasında yine apsisli dar bir sahn yer almıştır. Şimal bölümün, şimal tarafında, ara sahn benzer küçük bir sahn daha var-

dır. Şimal bölümün uzunluğu 30.20 m., genişliği 6.60 m. olup batısında 3.25 m. mesafede 7.40 m. kutrundaki yuvarlak bir yapının 0.70 m. kalınlıkta olan duvarı başlamaktadır. Her iki bölümün içinde birer yarma açtık; zemin şimal bölümünde mermerle, cenup bölümünde ise mahallî olarak "balat taşı" denen yumuşak, sarımsı bir taşla döşenmiştir. Döşemelerin altında daha eski bina izine rastlamadık. Şimal bölümünde ihtimal bir sütun başlığına ait, tezyinatlı ve yazılı bir parça bulundu (Res. 5). Konveks olan yüzlerin birinde beyzi bir çerçeve içinde 21 - 30 mm. yüksekliğinde harflerle yazılmış kırık bir kitabe ile köşede bir defnedali vardır.

Ζώπυμ [οξ]
Κυ^οε [ρ]
Νή [η]

Bu tamamlama şekli doğru ise, kilisenin "Dümena'ya kutsal olduğu ve sütun başlığının bu Dümena'ya ithaf edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Fakat bu tamamlama çerçevesinin içindeki boş sahayı mütenasip bir şekilde dolduramayacak kadar kısa görüldüğü için, yukardaki tamamlamanın şüpheli olduğunu kabul etmek lâzımdır.

Yukarıda bahsedilen büyük mimarlık bloklarından bir kaç misale Kumlu Örencik'te de rastladık.

Gölenye'nin iki saat kadar cenupbatısında, Dereyüzü denen yüksek bir vadide harçsız, gayrimuntazam büyük bloklarla örülmüş duvarlar olduğunu işitince oraya da gittik. Derin bir boğazı geçtikten sonra ulaşılan Dereyüzü, Gölenye ovasından 500 m. kadar yüksektedir. Burada 50 m. uzunlukta, 25 m. genişlikte, dört tarafı duvarlarla desteklenmiş, şimaldoğu - cenupbatı istikametinde uzanan büyük bir platform vardır. Duvar işçiliği Res. 6 da gösterilmiştir. Platformun düz sathını şimdi bir ev kısmen işgal etmektedir; cenupdoğuda

duvardan 7 m. mesafede ve bu duvara paralel kısa bir duvar parçasının toprak içinde uzandığı görülüyor. Platformun üzerinde antik başka kalıntıya rastlanmıyorsa da, civarda Gölenye ovasındaki lere benzer dört adet yivli blok, bir ceviz ağacı altında yatan kesme bloklar, alt kısmı konveks; üst kısmı spiral yivli, 0.25 m. kutrunda bir sütun mevcuttur.

1933 de Bakıcakta bulunan stele dönecek olursak, bunun Amos'tan bura-

ya inşaat taşı olarak getirilmiş olması, bu araştırmalarımız neticesinde pek muhtemel görünmektedir. Amos'ta bulunan ve Fraser ve Bean *Rhodian Peraia and Island* No. 12 de neşredilen bir kitabede Apollon Samnaios'tan bahsedilmektedir. Bu ilâhın mâbedinin veya kutsal sahasının Amos'ta olduğu ve mevzubahs stelin oraya dikilmiş olduğu ihtimalini, Gölenye'nin durumu karşısında kabul etmekteyiz.

TEST EXCAVATIONS AT GÖLENYE (MARMARIS), 1953

George BEAN - Aşkıdil AKARCA

Gölenye is a modest village at the head of a small flat plain, bordered by the sea on the east and encircled by mountains on the other sides, some 8 km. south of Marmaris and about 6 km. north of the site of Amos at Hisarburnu (Asarcık). Some 8 minutes from the village, at a spot called Bakıcak, in or about 1933, digging was begun with the object, later abandoned, of building a school. During the digging a fine inscribed stele of white marble came to light and was transported to Marmaris. Unfortunately it was there used as a threshold-block in the Belediye building, and nearly all the writing was totally effaced. The stele is published in Fraser and Bean *Rhodian Peraea and Islands* No. 15, and dates to about 200 B. C. In the surviving legible portion mention is made of the *temenos* at Kastabos referred to by Diodorus Siculus V, 62, and at the end instructions are evidently given for erecting the stele in the precinct of Apollo Samnaios. It appeared therefore not unlikely that the precinct of Apollo was at or near Bakıcak, and the present operations were undertaken in the hope of finding it. This hope was not in the event fulfilled.

A surface examination of the plain revealed great quantities of ancient blocks, among them certain in particular that had evidently belonged to a large building. These show on three sides grooves or sinkings of varying depth, and are cut from the bluish limestone of the neighbouring hills (Figs. 1 and 2). They are now lying scattered to the four corners of the plain.

Three points in the plain attracted our particular attention.

1) The first of these was Bakıcak itself, where the stele was found. At this point a low conical hill projects into the plain from the mountains on the south, to which it is joined by a saddle. This saddle is now occupied by the ruins of a church some 20 m. long by 10 m. wide, of poor quality masonry, of which little is standing apart from the apse. A trench driven across the church came almost at once to virgin earth, and revealed only the cement floor of a narrow side-chamber. In this chamber were numerous bones of several persons, lying above the floor. It was here that the inscribed stele was found in 1933. On these grounds alone it seems certain that no building earlier than the church ever stood on this saddle. Non indeed is there room here for a building of the size indicated by the architectural blocks mentioned above. In addition to the area occupied by the church, a further space of some 5 m. all round might be obtained by terracing (and some remains of walls, of dubious date, on the south and north-east suggest that this was done); such an area is quite inadequate for a large temple. In spite of the attractive nature of the site, we feel sure that the precinct of Apollo Samnaios was not here. The inscribed stele must have been brought here to serve in the construction of the church, perhaps as the lintel of a door leading to the side-chamber. In general, the remains at Bakıcak seem to be of quite modern date, apparently contemporary

with a village whose ruins extend all along the foot of the hills from Bakıcak to the sea.

2) We next turned our attention to a spot called Örenardı, in the north-west corner of the plain. Here, a little above the plain, where the ground slopes gently up to the foot of the mountain, are the remains of a massive terrace-wall, shown in Fig. 3. The wall rests on a solid foundation, well constructed; this, and the lowest course of the wall itself, are undoubtedly ancient. From the style, and from the sherds unearthed beside the foundation, we should judge it to be of Roman date. The part of the wall was evidently put together later from the blocks of the collapsed ancient wall; much lime-mortar was used in the process. On the level ground supported by this wall, several other walls apparently constructed of a large blocks were visible protruding above the earth; but the excavation of these showed them to be in every case of very poor quality, and to rest merely on the earth. All these interior walls, were evidently built at a late date, the blocks of the ancient wall being used so long as the supply lasted, after which they were completed with irregular rubble blocks. Below them we found nothing but virgin soil. Apart from a narrow threshold-block, only roughly squared, and a large grooved architectural block belonging to the group mentioned above, we found no architectural material whatever, nor any sherds earlier than the Roman period. Here again, despite the very suitable situation, there is no real evidence to suggest that a temple stood on this terrace.

3) The third point to which we directed our attention is at Kumlu Örençik in the north-east corner of the plain, close to the shore. Here are the ruins of a Byzantine church considerably

larger than that at Bakıcak; ancient blocks have been used in its construction, and also column-capitals (Fig. 4) and fragments of balustrades and thin slabs of marble veneer deriving from an earlier Byzantine church of the sixth century. The church now standing seems to have comprised two main naves, each with an apse at the east end; between and joining them is a narrow aisle, and a similar aisle adjoins the northern nave on the north. The northern nave measures 30.20 m. by 6.60 m.; outside it on the west, at a distance of 3.25 m., is the wall, 0.70 m. thick, of a round structure 7.40 m. in diameter. We sank a trench across both naves; the floor of the northern is of marble; that of the southern of a soft milkstone. Below the floors we found no trace of any earlier building. In the northern nave we unearthed a fragment of an ornamental block, apparently a capital, shown in Fig. 5. The angle between the faces is decorated with a laurel-branch; the faces are convex, and on one of them, inside an oval panel with double rim, is an incomplete inscription in letters 21 - 30 mm. high.

Ζώσιμ [ος]

Κυβε [ρ]

Νη [τη]

If this restoration is correct, it is to be inferred that the church was sacred to "the Pilot", to whom the capital is dedicated by a certain Zosimus. It seems, however, that the restoration is insufficient to fill the available space symmetrically, and it must be considered uncertain.

Learning that similar large grooved architectural blocks were to be seen at a spot called Dereyüzü about two hours south-west of Gölenye, we paid a visit to this place also. At the south end of a small plain, 500 m. above the

plain of Gölenye and approached by a mountain path up a steep gorge, is a large platform some 50 m. by 25 m. in area, orientated NE - SW and supported by a wall on all four sides. The style of the masonry is shown in Fig. 6. The level surface of the platform is now partially occupied by a house; near the east corner we found a short stretch of wall, now buried, 7 m. from the south-east wall and parallel to it, but no other visible ancient remains. But in the near neighbourhood of the platform we saw four grooved architectural blocks similar to those on the plain of Gölenye, and under a walnut - tree a number

of ancient blocks, including a late column 0.25 m. in diameter; this column is convex - fluted in its lower part, spiral - fluted in its upper part.

With regard, therefore, to the inscribed stele found at Bakıcak, our conclusion must be, on the evidence available, that it was in all probability brought there from the site of Amos at Hisarburnu. Apollo Samnaios is in fact mentioned in an inscription found at Hisarburnu (Fraser - Bean *Rhodian Peraea and Islands* No. 12), and it seems now highly likely that his temple or precinct was there, and that the inscribed stele was originally erected in it.

KARATEPE RESTORASYON ÇALIŞMALARI (1952 — 1953)

Doç. Dr. Halet ÇAMBEL

Seyhan ili Kadirli ilçesinin ormanlık doğu bölgesinde, ilk olarak 1946 yılında açığa çıkarılıp ta ilim dünyasına tanıtılan (1) ve 1947 yılından itibaren kazılmasına başlanılan (2) Karatepe geç Hitit devri hudut kalesi harabesi çalışmaları, 1952 denberi nihai neşriyatta hazırlık mahiyetinde aydınlatıcı çalışmalar dışında, şimdilik kapanmış sayılmış ve müzecilikle ilgili restorasyon safhasına intikal ettirilmiş bulunmaktadır.

Karatepe'nin, daha ortaya çıkarıldığı ilk günlerdenberi, ilim dünyasına geniş bir alâka ve devamlı bir dikkat ve ehemmiyetle takip edilegeldiği malûmdur. Bu alâkanın asıl temeli, açığa çıkarılan iki iç kale kapısında mevcut olup ta, hiyeroglif hititçesinin nihai olarak çözülebilmesi içinde katî rolü oynayabilecek mahiyetteki fenike - hitit hiyeroglif bir bilinguis teşkil eden yazıtlarıyla, esas sıra ve tanzim şekilleri geniş ölçüde mahfuz bulunan büyük sayıdaki heykeltraşlık eserleri ve mimarî kalıntılardır (3).

(1) H. Th. Bossert ve Halet Çambel, Karatepe, yeni bir Etili harabesi (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınlarından) İstanbul 1946.

(2) H. Th. Bossert, B. Alkım, H. Çambel, N. Ongunsu ve I. Süzen, Karatepe kazıları. (Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınlarından) Ankara 1950 ve B. Alkım tarafından Belleten 1948'den itibaren kazı raporlarına bk.

Kazı, Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğünün ve İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesinin iştirakleriyle yapılmış, aynı fakültenin öğretim üyeleri tarafından yürütülmüştür.

(3) Yazıtlardan ve diğer malzemeden anlaşıldığına göre harabe, hükümet merkezi Adana ovasında bulunan Danuna'lar hükümdarı

KAZI SONUNDA HEYKELTRAŞLIK ESERLERİ VE YAZITLARIN DURUMU:

Kazı sonunda heykeltraşlık eserleri ve yazıtlar, muhafaza, hâl ve durumları bakımından şöyle bir manzara arz ediyordu: Birer giriş koridoru ve uçlarındaki ikişer yan odasıyla bir T-şekli gösteren iki kale kapısı boyunca sıralı bulunan kabartma ve yazıtlar, kaba bir bazalttan yapılmışlardır ve yer yer büyük ölçüde harap ve noksandırlar. Güney-batı giriş yolu eserleri, yığın halinde koridorun ortasına devrili, kısmen de kırılıp dökülmüşlerdir. Bu sahanın yan odalarından biri tamamen boşalmıştır. Diğer odada eserler, üst kısımlarından yarı yarıya, çokçası da yarından da çok noksan olmak üzere, ancak üçte bir nisbetinde mevcut. Aynı girişin iç alanındaki boğa kaideli muazzam ilâh heykeli yere devrili; başı darmadağın, kolları kopmuş, boydan boya fenike yazıtlı olan gövdesinden bir çok kısımlar kırık ve noksan. Öbür kuzey doğu giriş koridoru eserleri, çok daha iyi durumda ve asıl orijinal hallerinde yerli yerlerinde ayakta olmakla beraber, yine de, üzerinde durdukları taş dolgu zemin ve temelin yer yer çöküp bozulması neticesi, birçok yazıtlı kaide taşları kırık dökük. Heykel ve kabartmalarda nisbeten zarar az. Aynı kapı sağ yan odası, tamamen parçalanıp dağılmış bir kapı aslanı ile yere düşük vaziyetteki bir hitit hiyeroglif steli dışında, eski

Asitavandas tarafından muhtemelen M. Ö. 8 inci asır sonlarında kurulmuş, kralın adını taşıyan ve kuruluşundan kısa bir müddet sonra düşman istilâ ve yağmasına kurban olmuş bir hudut kalesidir.

orijinal halinde. Zarar, ancak eserlerin yüz sathlarının yer yer kavlayıp dökülmüş olmasından ve bazı irili ufaklı çatlaklardan ibaret. Buna karşılık sol yan oda, hemen hemen bomboş. Hattâ bir kısım kaide taşları bile yerlerinde değil. Ancak, o da kısmen noksan bir hitit hiyeroglif steli, yarım bir kuş avı sahnesi ve bir de muazzam bir sfenksin, pek harap vaziyette dörtte bir kısmı ayakta kalabilmiş.

BELİREN ACİL PROBLEMLER:

Kazı sırasında açığa çıkarılan eserlerin mevcut halleri, ilk günlerde, oldukça iyi bir durumda ve dayanıklı gibi gözüküyordu. Fakat en kısa bir zamanda bu durum süratle değişmeye başladı. Kazıdan önce, zamanında yıkılmış yapıların kerpiç döküntüleri, moloz ve taş, toprak altında, az çok mütecanis, koruyucu bir muhit ve vasat içinde, âdetâ kalıplanmış halde bozulmadan mahfuz kalabilen, fakat kazı sonunda, birden açığa çıkıverip te, soğuk-sıcak, yağmur-güneş gibi değişik, zıt hava tesirleri ile yüzyüze kalınca, kendi günlerinde esasen geniş ölçüde yangın ve çeşitli tahripler görmüş ve üzerlerinden gelip geçen uzun asırlar boyunca, her geçen gün daha da yıpranmış bulunan eserler, üstelik, kaba, bol damarlı ve gayri mütecanis dokulu bir bazalt cinsinden yapılmış oluşlarının da tesiriyle kısa zamanda ve gittikçe hızlanan bir bozulup dağılma seyrine kapılmışlardır. Her çalışma mevsimi baş ve sonlarında, eserler üzerinde yapılan dikkatli incelemeler, mevcut çatlakların bir yıl evvelisine kıyasla daha da genişleyip açıldıklarını, sath kavlamalarının her geçen gün biraz daha çoğalıp, daha da tehlikeli olma yüz tuttıklarını, üstelik çoklukla damarlar istikametinde, en zayıf mukavemet hatları boyunca yeni yeni çatlaklar belirmeye başladığını, sath kavlamalarının da yer yer düşüp dağılmakta olduklarını açığa vurmuştur. Bu seyirde, en önemli tahrip âmîli şüphesiz, soğuk - sıcak, yağ-

mur ve güneşin zıt tesirleri olmuştur. Karatepe'de güneş, gündüzleri yakıcıdır. Hararet güneşte 65 dereceyi bulur, ve bu ateş altında eserler, üzerlerine elle dokunulamıyacak kadar kızarlar, ve arkasından ekseri zamanlar, bol, şiddetli öğle sonu yağmurları gelir. Kaba, yanmış, ve kurumuş bazalt, yağmur sularını içer. Geceleri de çokçası 15° C'a kadar düşen soğuklar olur. Ertesi günü yine sıcaklar.. ve böylece, çatlaklar ve kavlamalar arasına sızıp dolan sular, hızla buharlaşıp genişler ve bu tahripkâr seyir sürer gider. Ayrıca Karatepe kabartma ve yazıtları, aynı cinsten kaide taşları üstüne, kaide taşları da moloz taşlardan yapılmış bir zemine oturtulmuşlar, eserler sıkletin zemine, düzenli ve ayrı ayrı her noktaya müsavi, yeknasak yayımını temin maksadile, kaide taşları ile moloz zemin arasına yekpare ağaç hatıllar yerleştirilmiştir. Hatılların zamanla çürümüş oluşu ve moloz zeminde yer yer meydana gelen çöküntüler neticesi, zaten az çok bozulmuş bulunan o muazzam ağırlıktaki üst kitleler müvazenesi, kazı sonunda, eserlerin daha evvel önden ve arkadan dayanmakta oldukları sıkı toprak destek te ortadan kalkıverince, bütün bütüne bozulmuş, eserlerin yekdiğerlerine yaptıkları karşılıklı yan taziyelerin de tesirile, bazı eserler kuvvetle öne, bir kısmı da yanlara meyletmek suretile tehlikeli bir duruma girmeye başlamışlardır.

Bu vaziyet karşısında Karatepe'de, her şeyden önce, vakit geçirilmeden, hiç değilse mevcutların idame ve muhafazaları vazifesiyle yüzyüze bulunuluyordu.

"Her hafriyat bir tahribattır" sözü bir hakikattir. Bir hafriyat sırasında, maksatsız, düşünülüp hesaplanmadan bir taş bile kaldırmak, sonunda, alınacak netice üzerinde şu veya bu şekilde geniş ölçüde tesirli olur ve üstüste gelen bir yanlışlar topluluğu, bir hafriyatı, sonunda bir tahribata çevirebilir. Bu ba-

kımdan her hafriyat, onu yapan ve yaptırınları, zincirleme bir mesuliyet yükü altına sokar. Bu hakikat, Karatepe misalinde, az çok değişik bir mânada, kendini bir kere daha belli eder olmağa başlamıştı: şöyle ki, eğer eserler, şu veya bu şekilde hemen kurtarılamıyacaklarsa, onları, çıkarıldıkları gibi, tekrar toprağa iade etmek ve yarın kendilerini yeni baştan oradan çıkarıp, aynı zamanda kurtarabilecek daha müsait şart ve imkân-lara sahip nesilleri beklemek üzere, benderlerine terketmek, belki de en doğrusu olurdu. Filhakika iş, kazıp deşmekle, toprakaltı tarihî hazineleri sadece meydana çıkarmakla bitmiş sayılmaz, asıl dâva onların muhafaza ve idameleri şart ve imkânlarını, hem de zamanında sağlayabilmektir. Bilhassa Karatepe ve emsali gibi, birer âbide vasfı taşıyan ender misallerde en ehemmiyetli amelî problemler, asıl kazıdan sonra başlamak icabeder.

Muhafaza ve idame işi yapılmadıkça, ayrıca önem ve sayıları hemen hemen mevcutlara yakın olan, şekil ve muhtevaları, ancak kırık dökük binlerle parçanın birleştirilip yapıştirilmaları yolu ile kavranabilecek olan eserler restore edilmedikçe, ilim ve müzecilik bakımından kaybedilmişler demektir. Mevcutlar neşredilmekle, ilim için kazanılmış sayılsalar bile, bu, hem noksan ve sakat bir iş olur, hem de, asırlardan devralınagelen tarihe malolmuş kıymet ve servetlerin, eskiden oldukları gibi, hattâ daha da mükemmelleştirilmiş halde gelecek nesillere intikal ettirebilmeleri vazife ve mesuliyeti, kazıyı yapan ve yaptıran nesile düşer.

MUHAFAZA - İDAME PROBLEMİ:

Muhafaza ve idame denilince akla ilk gelen soru, şüphesiz, "nerede?" sorusu olacaktır: bir müzede mi, yerli yerinde mi? Arkeolojik eserler mevzuunda bu sorunun cevabı, ilk nazarda tabiati-

le "teşhir" icap ve imkânlarıyla alâkalı olmak gerektir. Yani bu bakımdan maksat, onların, kabil olduğu kadar, en geniş ziyaretçi ve ilgili topluluklarınca gezilip görülebilmelerinin sağlanmasıdır. Buna göre, yerli yerlerinde bırakılmaları veya en yakın herhangi mahallî bir müzeye nakillerinden çok; yol, vasıta, barınma şart ve imkânları bakımından en elverişli büyük şehirlerin merkezî müzelerinde toplanmaları fikir ve temayülü, esasında, hep bu teşhir icabına dayanır. Ayrıca, bu gibi yerlerde idame ve bakım şartları da diğer herhangi bir yerde olabileceğinden daha elverişli bulunacaktır ki, bu da tabii aynı temayülü destekler mahiyettedir. Ancak "teşhir", bu mevzuda, oldukça ağır basın ve zaman zaman da yerinde olan küçümsenemeyecek bir unsur olmakla beraber, işin sadece tek cephesidir. Unutulmamalıdır ki, arkeolojik veriler, ekseri hallerde, asıl yerleri, öz muhitleri, mimarlık kalıntıları, kabartma ve yazıtları ve nihayet toptan yapılaş maksat, şart ve icapları içinde bir bütündürler. Estetik vasıfları ne olursa olsun, tek tek parçaların, malı oldukları topluluklardan koparılıp, şu veya bu müzeye nakilleri ve oralarda, değişik, yabancı, anonim bir hava içinde teşhirleri, taşıyageldikleri asıl mâna ve kıymetlerinden çok şeyler kaybettirecektir. Bu itibarla, şu veya bu mimarî bir kompleks içinde yer alıp ta, belirli mimarî mâna ve fonksiyonları olan bir eserler topluluğu, zaruret halinde nakilleri bile icabetses, yeni yerlerinde, eskiden oldukları şekilde, aynı şart ve icaplara uygun olarak, — seyirciye göre — aynı irtifa ve aynı seviye farklarıyla düzenlenemeyeceklerse, "teşhir"den kastolunan maksat geniş ölçüde kıymetinden kaybedecektir. Yine bu cümleden olarak, bir kompleks içinde zamanında var olup ta, sonradan kırılıp dökülmüş olanların da, imkân elverdiği nisbette derlenip toplanmaları (restorasyon), asıl bütün içine

ithalleri de ayrıca ve aynı derecede önemli olmak gerektir.

Nihayet, bugün artık müzecilik, sırf maziden edinilmiş peşin hüküm ve itiyatlara, hattâ halin mevcut şart ve imkânlarına değil, daha çok yarına, geleceğe bakmaktadır: dün şöyle idi, bugün böyledir ama, yarın her halde başka olacaktır. Bugün belki de yol yok, vasıta yok, imkânlar kıt ve noksandır, fakat gelecekte, az, az, yavaş yavaş ta olsa, hepsi yapılacak, hepsi olacaktır. Çalışmaların bugüne göre değil, yarına göre ayarlanması icabeder.

KARATEPE BAKIMINDAN AMELÎ ŞART VE ÖZELLİKLER:

Ayrı ayrı mevzuların, kendi kendilerine hâs başka başka reel şartları ve özellikleri vardır. Tek tek misallerde, şu veya bu yönden "doğru" veya "yanlış"tır diye, bir tek hükme takılıp kalmak ve buna dayalı, umumileştirilmiş, toplu, mücerret prensiplere varmak çok zaman yanlış ve hatalı olur. Bir problemin çözümünde, eserlerin zaman ve mekân içindeki geçmiş ve mevcut durumları, âcillik dereceleri, taşınacakları yerlerin genel şartları, yol, vasıta vaziyeti, eserlerin hacim ve ağırlık bakımından taşınabilme imkânları, tahmini gider hesapları v.s. gibi bütün hal ve icaplar, ayrı ayrı, teker teker değil, bir bütün olarak, karşılıklı münasebet ve tesirler çerçevesi içinde en hassas bir mihenge vurulmak esastır. Bu yapılmadıkça çıkarılacak hüküm, çok zaman isabetsiz, hattâ zararlı olacaktır.

Bütün nazarı mütalâa ve icaplar bir yana, kazı sonunda Karatepe, sırf amelî ve maddî şartlar bakımından da özellikler taşıyordu: bir kere taşımak, öyle kolay, basit bir iş değildi, mevcut imkânlar içinde hattâ imkânsızdı. Bir imkân olarak ileri sürülen Ankara Hitit Müzesi'nde henüz hazır bir yer yoktu. Bu işe tahsisi mümkün sayılan salonun, henüz üstü bile örtülmemişti, kaldı ki, her biri en az 20×20 m. hacmindeki iki kapı,

haliyle bu salona sığdırılamazdı. Sırf bu maksat için restore edilmesi düşünülen Kadırlı'deki Alacami de yine aynı bakımdan müsait görünmüyordu, üstelik maksada elverişli bir hale sokulması işi, muazzam bir masraf ve zaman sarfını icabettirir mahiyetteydi. Adana'da yeniden kurulacak veya mevcutlar arasından ayrılacak yeni müze meselesi ise henüz bir proje halinde bile değildi. O halde "taşımak" fikir ve temayülünün tahakkuku, ancak en az 20×20 m. hacminde hassaten bu maksada ayrılacak iki yeni salonun inşası gibi, uzun vadeli bir şarta bağlı kalıyordu. Ayrıca, sayıları yüzü aşan Karatepe heykeltraşlık eser ve yazıtlarından her biri en az yarım tonla 1 ton arasında, ve bir çok hallerde hattâ iki ve daha fazla tonluktu. Üstelik geniş ölçüde bozulup dağılma halinde oluşları yüzünden de uzun mesafelere akla gelen herhangi bir vasıta ile taşınamazlardı. Tek taşınma şartı, büyük, hususi vasıf ve şartları haiz vinçli kamyonlar tedariki olabilirdi. Bu takdirde de, hâlen jipler dışında, en basit motorlu nakil vasıtalarına bile kapalı bulunan yollarının, hem de eserlerin sarsılmadan taşınabilmelerini sağlayacak şekil ve evsafa yaptırılması gerekecek, bu da şüphesiz muazzam bir masrafa ve daha da önemlisi uzun bir zamana ihtiyaç gösterecekti. Bir ihtimal olarak akla gelebilecek olan Ceyhan nehir yolunun ise, eserlerin tâ tepeden Ceyhan kıyılarına kadar indirilebilmeleri güçlüklerini yenmek, sonra da sallarla yapılacak böyle bir nakliyatın tehlikelerini göze almak gibi, hiç te küçümsenemeyecek mahzurları vardı.

Bu şartlar altında tek çıkar yol, eserlerin yerli yerlerinde restorasyonlarından ibaretti. Bu husus, 1952 yılı başlarında Millî Eğitim Vekâleti Eski Eserler ve Müzer Genel Müdürlüğüne bir karara bağlanmış ve Türk Tarih Kurumunun da iştirakile İtalyan Millî Eğitim Vekâleti Roma Merkezî Resto-

rasyon Enstitüsü ile işbirliği halinde restorasyon faaliyetine geçilmiştir.

Yakın alâka ve yardımlarile restorasyon çalışmalarını mümkün kılan Marif Vekili Tevfik İleri, Müsteşar Reşat Tardu, Seyhan Milletvekili Dr. Sedat Barı, Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürü Dr. Cahit Kınay, Şube Müdürleri Necati Dolunay ve Saim Ülgen, Türk Tarih Kurumu ve İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürü Aziz Ogan ve Müze elemanları, Adana Valisi Ahmet Kınık, başta Mehmet Yaylalı olmak üzere Adana Müzesi mensupları, Kadirli Kaymakamı Kemal Küçüktepepınar, Jd. Yb. Mahmut Paksoy ve bize her hususta büyük kolaylıklar gösteren Kadirli halkına teşekkür borcumuzdur.

1952 VE 1953 ÇALIŞMALARI VE NETİCELERİ:

İlk tecrübe ve hazırlık mahiyetinde olan 1952 yılı çalışmaları, maddî imkânların ve buna bağlı olarak bu işe ayrılabilen zamanın gayetle mahdut bulunmasında, ayrıca restorasyon ekibi kadrosunun da dar olmasına rağmen (4), her türlü tahmin ve tasavvurlar üstünde başarılabildiği, ve bu devrede 20 ye yakın yeni kabartmanın, ya tama yakın, ya da ana hatlarıyla meydana çıkarılmasını sağlamıştır. Ancak bu devreden edinilen tecrübeler, mümkün mertebe daha uzun süreli faaliyetlerin, gerek verim, gerekse masraftan tasarruf bakımlarından çok daha elverişli olacağı neticesini vermiş, bu esasa dayanılarak, 1953 çalışma devresi, haziran başlarından ekim sonlarına kadar beş ay sürebilecek şekilde ayarlanmış, restorasyon ekibi geniş-

letilmiş (5), ayrıca Vekâletçe Karatepe'ye davet olunan Roma Merkezî Restorasyon Enstitüsü Direktörü Prof. Brandi'nin de iştirakiyle çalışmalar, esaslı ve devamlı bir şekil ve plâna bağlanmıştır.

Bu esaslar dahilinde yürütülen 1952 ve 1953 yılları çalışmalarından alınan toplu neticeler kısaca şöyledir:

RESTORASYON:

1 — Binlerce kırık heykel ve yazıt parçasından (Lev. X, 1) çoğu birleştirilip ayıklanmak suretile restorasyonun en güç kısmı kolaylanmış, böylelikle noksan olan 9 aslan ve sfenksten (biri baştan başa hitit hiyeroglif yazıtlı olmak üzere) 3 aslan ve bir sfenks tama yakın halde birleştirilmiş, geri kalan 5 i ana hatlarıyla meydana çıkarılmış, ayrıca bir aslan ve bir sfenks te (Lev. XII, 8-9) hemen hemen tam olarak yaptırılmıştır.

2 — 30 a yakın yeni kabartmanın birleştirme işi, ya kısmen, ya da tamamen bitirilmiştir (Lev. XII, 6-7).

3 — Aşağı kazı sahasının tamamile boş olan sol yan odasına ait 8 yeni kabartmadan 6 sı tam halde (Lev. XIII, 10-13), diğer ikisi ve ayrıca aynı odaya ait bir aslan ve bir sfenks te büyük ölçüde yaptırılmak suretile bu odanın yeniden doldurulması imkânı sağlanmıştır.

4 — Aynı odanın harap vaziyette bulunan kaide taşları restore edilmiş, ve çökmüş haldeki moloz taş temeller baştan başa 0,60×0,30 m. lik beton temelle sağlamlaştırılmıştır.

5 — Bu arada, heykeltraşlık eserleri ve yazıtların, mevcutlar arasında bulunamıyan irili ufaklı, şekilli şekilsiz bazı parçalarının, civar arazinin kesif çalılıkları arasında veya toprak altında aranmasına başlanmış, her iki kapıya ci-

(4) Doç. Dr. Halet Çambel başkanlığında Roma Merkezî Restorasyon Enstitüsü restoratörlerinden Ali Rıza Caravella, Dr. Eva-Maria Bossert ve Nail Çakırhan iştirakile.

(5) Restorasyon ekibine Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü yapıcı-taşçı teknisyenlerinden Fehim Zeybek ve Saim Tuğrul'un katılmaları suretile gerek memlekette bu sahada eleman yetiştirmeye başlamak, gerekse Karatepe'deki işleri daha geniş ölçüde ele alabilmek yoluna gidilmiştir.

var yamaçlarda yapılan sondajlar, kısa zamanda pek önemli birçok parçaların bulunmasını sağlamıştır.

6 — Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğüne heyete katılan iki yapı teknisyeninin varlıklarından faydalanılarak pek harap vaziyette olup her gün biraz daha çökmekte bulunan kuzey-doğu kapısı sol iç burç duvarının restorasyonu tamamlanmış ve tamamen boşalmış bulunan aynı burcun iç satih tesviyesi yapılmıştır (Lev. X, 2 - 3).

MUHAFAZA - İDAME :

Prof Brandi iştirakile yerinde, eserler üzerinde yapılan müşahede ve incelemeler, eserlerin tahripkâr tesirlerden muhafazaları ve idame tedbirleri alınmadan, restorasyon işine harcanacak masraf ve emeklerin, sonunda boşa çıkmak tehlike ve zorunda kalacağı netice ve kanaatini vermiştir. Prof. Brandi, bu hususta Vekâlete verdiği raporda, Karatepe için, en uygun, en sağlam ve aynı zamanda en estetik muhafaza şeklinin "betonarme açık bir çatı" şekli olabileceği teklif ve tavsiyesinde bulunmuş ve bu maksatla Roma Merkezî Restorasyon Enstitü mimarı Franco Minissi tarafından hususi mahiyette bir de proje hazırlanmıştır.

Ancak eserlerin halihazır durumlarının, açıkta bir kış daha geçirmelerine katiyen elverişli bulunmadığı göz önünde bulundurulurken, şimdilik, en ucuz, en kestirme yoldan, oluklu saç kaplı, muvakkat bir çatı ile muhafazaları çaresine başvurulmuştur (Lev. XI, 4 - 5).

Nihayet, yine Prof. Brandi raporunda, etraftan kazı sahasına kolaylıkla girebilecek olan insan ve hayvanların eserlere verebilecekleri çeşitli zarar ihtimallerini önlemek üzere, aşağı ve yukarı giriş kapıları sahasının, mümkün mertebe geniş çevreli birer muhafaza parmaklığı içine alınmaları tavsiyesinde bulunmuş, fakat 1953 tahsisat imkânları daha iyisine imkân vermediğinden, bu husus, şimdilik, o da ancak aşağı girişin 1600 m² çevreli bir ağaç parmaklıkla çevrilmesi şeklinde yerine getirilebilmiştir.

NETİCE :

Daha henüz çalışmalar sona ermiş değildir. Restore edilmiş veya edilecek eserlerin asıl yerlerinin ve orijinal sıralarının tâyin ve tesbiti, eskiden oldukları şekilde yerli yerlerine yerleştirilmeleri ve nihayet bu suretle kapı binaları komplekslerinin eski orijinal hallerine ircaı gibi, daha pek çok iş ve halli gerekli daha pek çok problem vardır ve çalışmalar ilerleyip geliştikçe, şimdiden henüz sezilemeyen, kendini açığa vurmuş birçok yenileri daha ortaya çıkabilecektir. Nasıl ki her kazının kendi kendisine has özellikleri ve bu özelliklerin başka herhangi bir yerde aynen tatbik ve kopye edilmeleri imkânsız hususi hal çareleri varsa, bir harabe restorasyonu da aynı şekilde orijinal problem ve hal çareleri ortaya çıkarır. Bunların birçok hallerde önceden tahmin ve tâyinleri hemen hemen imkânsız olur ve bunlar ancak faaliyet seyri içerisinde belirirler, tecrübe ile hususi şart ve icaplara göre çözümler ve restorasyon ekipleri de ancak, böyle bir seyir içinde yuğurulup yetiştirilirler.

Bununla beraber, daha şimdiden söylenebilir ki, Karatepe restorasyon tecrübe ve çalışmaları, bu kabil eserlerin yerli yerlerinde restorasyonları prensibinin isabet ve kıymetini bir kere daha açığa vuracak mahiyette olmuştur. Harabenin daha iki yıl önceki haliyle bugünkü az çok derlitoplu çehresi, aynı tipte eserler vermiş olup ta, bu eserleri müzelere naklolunmuş bulunan mâruf Zincirli hüyükünün halihazır harap ve terkedilmiş hali arasında yapılacak küçük bir karşılaştırma, işin inkâr edilemez önemini açık bir delili mahiyetinde olacaktır. Bugün elde mevcut imkânlar henüz ne kadar dar ve yetersiz bulunursa bulunsun, adım adım, yavaş yavaş ta olsa bu yol, memleket tarihi kıymetlerinin idame ve muhafazalarını sadece sağlamakla kalmıyacak, en yakın bir gelecekte mamur ve bakımlı tarihi merkezleriyle Anadolu'yu, en kestirme yoldan, özlenen turistik inkişafa ulaştıracaktır.

RESTORATION ACTIVITIES AT KARATEPE (1952 - 1953)

Doç. Dr. Halet ÇAMBEL

After the first enthusiasm over the impressive alignements of sculptured and inscribed panels of the citadels unearthed at Karatepe had subsided, it soon became apparent that the orthostats were in a rather desolate state of devastation.

Of the two T-shaped gateway buildings, consisting each of a central passage with two lateral chambers, much had been destroyed. In the southwestern gate the orthostats of one side-chamber had completely disappeared, in the other only a few subsisted, mostly in fragmentary state, while others were found face-downward in the corridor. Of the colossal inscribed statue, the head, arms and a great many fragments of its inscribed torso were missing. In the north-eastern gate, which was relatively better preserved, the orthostats of the entrance passage and of the right wing were almost all found standing in place (though in part badly damaged through surface-flaking and wide, deep fissuring), while in the left chamber they had completely disappeared with the exception of 3 fragmentary ones. This meant that about 40 % of all of the orthostats and sculptures had disappeared and been turned into the thousands of basalt fragments found all over the place.

The factors of this devastation were manifold: the destruction and burning of the citadel by the invaders; the effects of weather and wear during the subsequent centuries, such as the upsetting of the general equilibrium of the orthostats through the disappearance of the wooden beams underlying the

stretcher-courses on which they were placed and the sinking of the underlying level through the emptying of the rubble-stone filling below, thus causing the heavy panels to lean or fall forwards or sideways, dislodging and breaking those next to them; the coarseness of the basalt which readily fissured along its veins of least resistance; the infiltration of earth into the cracks and the gradual but forced enlargement of these by plant roots penetrating into them.

This process was accelerated and aggravated and proceeded with ever increasing speed once the monuments were unearthed. Panels that had seemed intact during excavation appeared to deteriorate readily, once freed from their protective earthen medium and exposed to the sharply opposed effects of the strong and sudden alternating sun and rains of the region: the coarse and fissured basalt burning hot under the scorching sun is suddenly saturated with water and as suddenly dried out again; cracking and surface-flaking grows and thrives.

For the excavators as for the Directorate General of Antiquities the situation involved was equally urgent and problematical. Publication could envisage either a mere publishing of the 60 % of more or less well preserved orthostats and of the remaining 40 % in their fragmentary and mostly nondescript state or an attempt at the recomposition of the whole through the recomposition of the fragments. Experience showed that the latter would not be possible through a mere joining of the

fragments bearing bits of reliefs or texts, as these do not necessarily link up directly with one another (due to lacking parts, etc.), but ever so often come together on a common underlying fragment. The recomposition, therefore, had to involve not only the comparatively limited number of figured fragments but the enormous amount of amorphous ones. However, this too proved insufficient for publication, as the heavy fragments would not keep together and the photographing, drawing and measuring necessitated their being firmly stuck together. Another issue advening was that a restitution of the panel sequences in their original order if possible would necessitate both the recomposition of the stretcher courses and a very close study of their possible order of alignment, which, experience here also showed, could not be achieved on the basis of the contents of the representations, but almost exclusively on a archaeological-technical one. The second alternative therefore meant restoration.

For the Directorate General of Antiquities the situation was not much different. Preservation was inevitably necessary and at Karatepe meant urgently stopping the process of continuous destruction. If this could not be done, it would have been far more advisable never to have unearthed the monument, and, as this now was a fact, even to cover it up again and leave it to the care of generations better equipped for the purpose.

Preservation could evidently be envisaged either on a minimal scale, that is, saving the 60 % of better preserved panels and sorting out the figured fragments individually and to the exclusion of the shapeless ones (thus giving up all hope of future recomposition), or on a maximal scale,

that is, the preservation of the recomposed monument in as far as this was still possible. Both of these possibilities obviously meant: a partial or a more or less exhaustive restoration.

The choice of the first alternatives in the case of both excavator and Directorate of Antiquities would have meant more than merely a loss of 40 % on a simple arithmetical basis. The sculptures and inscriptions all form part of two complete and rounded-up building complexes of relatively short existence, never subjected to subsequent repair or reconstruction. The texts are bilingual and repeated in more than one version, now incomplete. The reliefs show an unusual heterogeneity of foreign elements and influences. All these points corroborate the fact that the individual slabs or fragments are not only significant in themselves but even more so as part of a continuous sequel, a complete whole, liable to a very exact interpretation of all the different issues involved. The addition of each newly recomposed orthostat, whether a relief or a text and the determination as far as possible of its original place in the sequel is thus more than just one more panel, it is - figuratively speaking - not an arithmetical or physical accumulation, but rather a geometrical or chemical one. Restoration on a maximal basis seemed therefore advisable.

The next problem that now at once arose was "where?". In regard to archaeological monuments this question is usually answered by "exhibition to the largest possible public at the greatest convenience", that is, exhibition in a central or provincial museum, where the means of restoration and preservation are usually more expedient. In the case of Karatepe, different aspects had, however, to be taken into consideration, some being a

matter of principle, others a matter of practical possibility.

Theoretically, a monument made to form a whole, such as the two building complexes with their alignments of sculptured and inscribed orthostats should not be torn apart and, if possible, should not be torn out of its original environment, if it is not to lose much of its significance and in a sense be destroyed. In fact the significance of the finds of Karatepe is much less inherent in the individual panels - of fairly mediocre and provincial quality - than in the disposition and the Significance of the whole, and a reexhibition should absolutely have to respect all the proportions of this disposition (both in width as in height) if the general impression is not to be falsified.

On this basis the preservation of the Karatepe finds in a museum would practically have meant the need for covered space large enough to hold the two gates comprising each an area of at least 20×20 m on about 6 m of height. None of the available museum space either in Ankara, Adana or even in Kadirli (where the antique "Alacami" had at first seemed appropriate) would have been in the least sufficient to this end. Moreover, the above-mentioned state of the orthostats and sculptures weighing up to 1,5 tons and more as well as the actual state of the roads would render impossible their transportation by land, without breaking them into a thousand pieces, while in a conceivable transport over the river Ceyhan, all the imponderable risks and responsibilities of a transportation by raft would have to be faced. Besides all these, the speed of destruction at Karatepe made it imperative to act at once, without the possibility of waiting for the realisation of the prerequisites for adequate museum space or better roads.

Under these conditions the only

alternative left was the restoration of the monument on the site itself. A decision to this effect was taken by the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of the Turkish Ministry of Public Education early in 1952 and restoration activities begun in collaboration with the Central Restoration Institute (Rome) of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction and the help of the Turkish Historical Society in view of publication.

Our thanks are due to all those who helped in realising the project, mainly Messrs. Tevfik İleri, Minister of Public Instruction, Reşat Tardu, Counsellor, Dr. Sedat Barı, Deputy of Seyhan, Dr. Cahit Kınay, Director General of Antiquities, Necati Dolunay and Saim Ülgen, Sub-Directors, the Turkish Historical Society, the Faculty of Letters of the University of İstanbul, Aziz Ogan, Director of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul, Ahmet Kınık, governor of Adana, the members of the Adana Museum, chiefly Mehmet Yaylalı, Kemal Küçüktepepınar Prefect of Kadirli, Mahmut Paksoy Commander of Gendarmerie and the citizens of Kadirli for their continual generous help.

THE FIRST TWO CAMPEINGS OF RESTORATION (1952 and 1953):

A short preliminary campaign carried out in September - October 1952 on a tentative basis, which offered the preliminary experience for further work and made possible the recomposition of almost 20 new reliefs (completely or in the main), was followed by a longer campaign in 1953 lasting for about 5 months (June - November) with a larger team (1). Prof. Cesare Brandi,

(1) The team consisting in 1952 of the author, Ali Rıza Caravella of the Roman Institute and Dr. Eva-Maria Bossert was enlarged in 1953 with Fehim Zeybek and Saim Tuğrul, both stone-cutting technicians attached to the Directorate General of Antiquities. Nail Çakırhan was a voluntary member through out.

Director of the Roman Institute joined the expedition on invitation of the Turkish Ministry to inspect the work and draw up a general working plan together with the author. The results of the two campaigns may be very shortly summarised as follows:

Restoration: Through the sorting out and joining activity the confusingly enormous number of unattributed fragments was cleared and the hardest part of the recomposition work alleviated (Pl. X, 1). Of the missing 9 lions and sphinxes belonging to both gates, 3 lions (one of them completely covered with Hittite hieroglyphic inscription) and a sphinx (Pl. XII, 8-9) could be recomposed almost completely, the remaining 5 only partially. About 30 new reliefs were recomposed partly or completely (Pl. XII, 6-7, Pl. XIII, 10-13). Supplementary soundings were carried out on the slopes below the two gates and resulted in the discovery of a great number of new fragments, among them a considerable number that had been found to be missing during recomposition and could at once be put into their place.

The actual restoring activity, i.e. the dowelling and sticking together of the recomposed fragments was mainly concentrated on the almost empty side-chamber of the north-eastern gate. Of the orthostats which must have belonged here, one Hittite hieroglyphic slab and 5 reliefs (4 of them absolutely new) were completely, another 2 (new equally), as well as a lion and a sphinx almost completely restored. All the broken stretchers still in place (among them one with HH-inscription) as well as 4 new ones were equally restored and provided with a continuous solid and invisible cement foundation 30 cm. deep. The main preparations for the putting back

in place of the orthostats was thus completed.

With the aim of saving the general appearance of the ruins and of stopping further destruction, all the walls and the tower connected with the south-western half of this same gate were restored and the filling, emptied through the crumbling of the walls, brought up to its original level (Pl. X, 2-3).

Preservation: Confronted with the imperative necessity of covering up the two gateways without further delay, in order to stop the continuous and catastrophic process of destruction, and thus saving the restoration work from becoming devoid of all sense, it was decided to construct a provisional shelter of local wood and corrugated iron, pending the completion of studies for a permanent roof. With further funds granted by the Directorate of Antiquities and the kind help of the citizens of Kadirli, the north-eastern gateway could thus be completely covered (Pl. XI, 4-5) and circumscribed with a wooden fence, while the south-western one could be sheltered only very partially and very temporarily.

The project for the permanent shelter, which, according to Prof. Brandi's proposal has been foreseen as a laterally open, light, tent-like covering, interfering minimally with the monument but of utmost durability and simplicity combined with a possibly low cost of construction, has in the meantime been designed by architect Franco Minissi of the Roman Central Institute of Restoration. The news of a ministerial decision to build a new touristic road to Karatepe may be considered a further point in justifying its execution.

Conclusively it may be said, that the task is yet far from completion, that much patient work has yet to be done and many a delicate problem - first and foremost that of the original alignment of the panels - yet to be solved. All the problems cannot yet be foreseen, for just as the excavation of every site brings with it its own problems and specific solutions that cannot be copied or applied elsewhere, so the restoration of a monument too has its original and specific problems and solutions which often cannot be foreseen, but come up in the process of

the work, in which the working teams also are trained and formed.

However, an appraisal of the possibilities of recomposition and restoration at Karatepe can already be attempted and seems to surpass all initial hopes and expectations. It seems in fact, that, if work can be continued on the same basis, it will be possible to achieve a fairly complete recomposition of the original sculptures and inscriptions and there will be nearly enough of them to fill in almost completely the empty rooms and spaces of the two gates where they once had stood.

November, 1953

İSTANBUL ADALET SARAYI İNŞAAT YERİNDEKİ YENİ KAZILAR

Rüstem DUYURAN

Sultanahmet Meydanı, Binbirdirek Sarnıcı ve Divanyolu arasındaki geniş sahayı kaplıyan İstanbul Adalet Sarayı inşaat yerindeki kazılara 1953 yılı Aralık ayının başından itibaren tekrar başlanmış olup, halen de devam edilmektedir. Bu defaki kazılar inşaat sahasının kuzeyinde, Azize Eufemia Martyrionu ile Divanyolu ve Binbirdirek Arasında kalan (C) sahasında yapılmaktadır (1).

Toprak kazısı için mevsim çok gayri müsait olmakla beraber, eski mimarlık vesair arkeolojik kalıntıların toprak ve moloz kütleleriyle birlikte sökülüp atılmamaları için kazı sahası Arkeoloji Müzelerinin daimî kontrolü altında bulundurulmakta ve evvelki yıllarda olduğu gibi, bazı önemli noktalarda da gerekli arkeolojik müdahaleler yapılmaktadır.

Bu defaki kazılara, daha evvelce kısmen temizlenmiş olan büyük havuzun batı tarafında başlanmıştır. Sonradan havuza çevrildiği anlaşılan ve yarım daire şeklinde birtakım nişlerle çevrili olan bu yuvarlak yapının tamamı halen meydana çıkarılmıştır. Bunun arka tarafında kısmen kesme taş bloklar, kısmen de tuğla ile işlenmiş ve bu yuvarlak yapıdan bir parça daha geç inşa edilmiş olduğu anlaşılan dik dörtgen şeklinde büyük bir yapı kalıntısı daha meydana çıkarılmaktadır. (Resim 1) Halen görülen kısımların tetkikinden anlaşıldığına göre bu yapının iç kısmı yuvarlak bina

(1) Adalet Sarayı sahasındaki ilk devre kazıları hakkında yayımladığımız I inci ve II raporlar için bak:

İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı No. 5 (1952, sah: 23 ve devamı) ve No. 6 (1953, sah: 21 ve devamı).

havuz haline sokulduğu sırada bir sarnıcı çevrilmiştir.

Büyük yuvarlak yapı ile Martyrion arasındaki sahanın kazılması sırasında 11. ve 12. asırlara ait moloz ve birtakım ehemmiyetsiz yapı kalıntıları arasında bazı heykeltraşlık parçaları ele geçti ki, bunlar malzeme, teknik ve devir bakımından birkaç yıl evvel Silâhtarağa'da meydana çıkarılan ve halen Arkeoloji Müzelerinde teşhir ve muhafaza edilmekte olan eserlerle büyük bir benzerlik arz etmektedir (2).

Bulunan bu parçaların çoğu beyaz mermerden mamûl kol ve bacaklara aittirler. Gövde aksamından iki parça bulunmuştur. Bir tanesi su mermerinden mamûl olup çıplak bir insan gövdesinin bir parçasıdır. Diğeri beyaz ve siyahımtırak kurşunî renkli bir mermer blokudan işlenmiş bir Triton heykelciğine aittir (Resim 2). Eserin boyu 46 cm. olup, başı, boynu ve sağ kolu tamamen, sol kolu dirsekten itibaren kırılmıştır ve maalesef bu parçalar bulunamamıştır. Gövde kısmı beyaz mermerden mamuldür. Pullu pullu işlenmiş olan bacak kısımları siyahımtırak kurşunî kısımdan yontulmuştur.

Heykeltraşlık eserlerinin bulunduğu muahhar yapı kalıntıları ve moloz kütlelerinin naklinden sonra Martyrionun kuzey duvarı ve buna ekli olan kısımların esaslı surette etüd edilmeleri imkânı hâsıl olmuştur ki, buna göre ilk plânda müphem kalmış olan bazı hususların tashihi icabetmektedir.

(2) Silâhtarağa'da bulunan eserler hakkında müzemiz arkeologlarından Zekiye Başak tarafından hâşiye (1) de sözü geçen yıllığın 4. (1949) ve 5 inci sayılarından (1952), sah: 51 de devamı) bilgi verilmektedir.

KAPPADOKYADA BULUNAN BİR ATEŞ SUNAĞI

K. BİTTEL

K. Erdmann ikna edici delillerle (1) Persepolis civarında (2) Nakşırüstem'de kayalara hâk edilmiş olan iki ateş sunağının Akamenid devrinden değil de, Sasanidler zamanından kalma olduğunu ispat ettiğinden beri, İranın bu eski çağlarına aidiyeti katiiyetle tespit olunabilen bu cinsten başka orijinal eser meydana çıkarılmamıştır. Fakat Akamenid ve postakamenid devire ait kaya reliefleri ve mühürler üzerine hâk edilmiş ateş sunakları bu nevi anıtların tip ve görünüşüne dair (3) bize takribî bir fikir vermektedir. Hiç olmazsa iki sunak şeklinin kullanıldığı neticesine varılabilir: dört köşe gövdeli, masa şeklinde sunak ile

muhtemel olarak Asuri örneklerden ilham alan küllah biçimli sunak.

Fakat İran topraklarında bugüne kadar görülmiyen bu nevi anıtlardan birine İran kültür sahasının hududunda bulunan Kappalokya gibi bir bölgede raslamamız dikkate değer.

Ankara Kalesindeki müzenin deposunda kaba alçı taşından 0,55 m. yükseklikte ve 0,37 m genişlikte küçük bir sunak vardır. Bu eser geçen harp senelerinde Kayserinin (Caesarea Cappadociae) (4) 35 km doğu kuzey doğusunda bulunan Bünyan kasabasından müzeye gönderilmiştir. Sunağın Bünyanda mı, yoksa civarındaki başka bir kasabada mı bulunmuş olduğu katiiyetle anlaşılmamıştır (5). Fakat buluntu yeri olarak ancak bu bölgenin bahis mevzuu olabileceği şüphe götürmez. Sunağın dört köşeli yüksek gövdesi iki ayaklı bir kaideye dayanmakta ve üstü çift kademeli bir plâk taşımaktadır. Kaidenin ve bilhassa üst plâkın kenarları kısmen vuruk, kısmen de iyice kırıktır. Gövdenin dört tarafında geniş kenar bordürleri vardır. Bunlar kaidenin üst kısmı ve plâkın alt kenarı ile birlikte 0,32 m yükseklikte ve 0,25 m genişlikte dört köşeli birer oyma

(1) K. Endmann, Die Altaere von Naqsh-e Rostem (Mitteilungen der Deutschen Oriental-Gesellschaft N° 81, 1949, 6 v.d.). Önce zikrolunan: K. Endmann, Das iranische Feuerheiligtum (Leipzig 1941) 12 v.d.

(2) F. Sarre - E. Herzfeld, Iranische Felsreliefs (Berlin 1910) Tablo 10.

(3) Kaya relieflerinde: Nakşırüstem'de kral mezarları (F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien 32) ve Persepolis'te (aynı 33, 34). Deh-i No reliefi İssakawand (Sarre - Herzfeld a.O. 63. Abb. 22 Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 14. Plâveten: N. C. Debevoise, Rock reliefs of Ancient Iran [Journal of Near Eastern Studies 1, 1942, 86 v.d.]. G. Hüsing, Der Zagros und seine Völker 33 Abb. 19 [Tschaemaen i İsmail adı altında]. E. Herzfeld, Early History of Iran 206 Fig. 316. Surdasch'ta Qizqapan kaya mezarı (C. J. Edmonds, A tomb in Kürdistan: İraq 1, 1934, 183 v.d.) Dukkan'ın altında Kel-i Daud Sarpul civarında (Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 13 Abb. 8. Sarre - Herzfeld a. O. Abb. 21) Debevoise a.O. 88 Fig. 4). Silindir mühürlerde: A. U. Pope - Ph. Acherman, A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present [London - Oxford 1938] IV. Tab. 123 F.

(4) Kısaca zikrolunan: Archaeologischer Anzeiger 1944/45, 68 d. K. Bittel, Grundzüge der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens (2. Aufl., Tübingen 1950) 104. Bünyanın eski adı Sarımsaklı idi (Kiepert, Karte von Kleinasien, Bl. C IV Kaisariye: Sarymsakly).

(5) Bu mesele halen yerinde soruşturulmaktadır. Dr. Nîmet Özgüç'e bazı açıklamalar, Dr. Hâlet Çambel'e fotoğrafları borçluyum. Yazımı yazmak için meslektaşım K. Erdmann ile konuşmalarımдан istifade ettim. Hepsi ne burada teşekkür etmeği bir borç bilirim.

sahası teşkil etmektedir. Her dört tarafta da sahayı iyice dolduran ve ancak ehemmiyetsiz teferruatta birbirinden ayrılan sağa dönmüş birer erkek figürü yassı relief olarak hâk edilmiş bulunmaktadır. Figürün kısımları şunlardır: yüzü tamamen açık bırakılan bir başlık, sağ kolu açık olan uzun bir manto, ökçeli yüksek çizmeler ve hafifçe indirilmiş olan sağ kolun ucundaki elde çarpık olarak yukarıya doğru tutulan bir demet çalı (üç çal parçası tefrik edilebiliyor). Kalkık olan sol elin açık parmakları üzerinde yuvarlak dipli, yassı bir kap durmaktadır. İki bacak ve ayak arka arkaya resmedilmiş olduğu gibi, figür büyük gözleri, kalın burnu ve sivri sakalı ile tam mânasiyle profil olarak görülmektedir. Dört relief arasındaki fark — dördünün de aynı şekilde muhafaza olunmadıkları bir tarafa bırakılırsa — ehemmiyetsizdir. B ve C'de mantonun alt kıvrımı A ve D'dekinden daha yüksektir. C ve D'de ayaklar hafifçe üstüste gelmekte, esasta aynı şekilde düzenlenmiş olan kıvrımlarda ufak tefek farklar görülmektedir.

Sunağın dört cephesinde de erkek figürünün aynı hareketi yaparken ve aynı eşyaları taşıırken resmedilmek istendiğine şüphe yoktur. Reliefteki kıyafet ve çalı demedi bu hareketin tefsirini sınırlandırıp kolaylaştırmaktadır. Figür, ateş kültüründe rolü olan bir rahibe veya bir *Mag*'ı temsil etse gerektir. Avesta'da tarif edilmiş olan kült şekillerine göre (6), rahipler *barsman* denilen kutsal dallardan bir demet tutarak, dualar ve şarkılar okuyarak ibadete iştirak ederler. Kültün kendisi de sunağın üzerinde temiz tutulmuş odunların çayı çayı yanmasıdır. Odunun safiyetini bozmamak için insan nefesinin bile değmemesi lâzımdır. Bu sebepten ateşe yaklaşan rahiplerin ağız-

(6) A. Christensen, Die Iranier (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III) 1. München 1933) 157 vd.

ları *paitidama* denilen bir bezle örtüldür. Bahsi geçen relieflerde gerçi ağız örtülmüş değildir, fakat bunlar sunağın ateş kültürüne ait olduğuna dair belli deliller taşımaktadır.

Yazısız olan bu anıtın tarihlendirilmesi için dış şekli ve reliefleri çukuş noktası olarak almak gerektir. Akamenid masa sunakları ile benzerlik mevcut olmakla beraber, teferruatta görülmemektedir. Nakşirüstem ve Persepolis'te bulunan ve Gizqapan mezarının kapısı üstünde görülen relief sunakların üç kademeli birer kaidesi ve üç kademeli plâkları vardır. Bunlar yukarıya doğru hafifçe incelen dört köşe gövdeleri örterek iyice yükseltmektedir. Bundan başka Persepolis ve Nakşirüstem'deki sunakların cephelelerinde — muhafaza derecesine göre görülen — kademeleri birer kapı resmedilmiştir. Halbuki bahis mevzuu olan sunakta aralarında sadece alçak basamaklar bulunan ve umumiyetle az yükselen ikişer kaide ve ikişer plâk görülmektedir. Ayrıca yan cepheler relief taşımaktadır ki, buna ateş sunaklarında hiç raslanmaz. Kımıldatılması mümkün olan sunağın sağlam bir temel üzerine dikilmiş olarak, kaide ile birlikte basamaklı bir anıt teşkil etmiş olması düşünülebilir. Bütününün alçak oluşu da bu ihtimali desteklemektedir (7). Bununla beraber, Kappadokya sunağının üst kısmının iki plâktan ibaret oluşu da yine bir fark teşkil etmez. Çünkü bu teferruat üzerine daima tatbik olunan sıkı kaidelerin mevcut olup olmadığını kestirmek imkânsızdır.

İran ve Kürdistanda bulunmuş olan bu neviden anıtlar gerçi bu kaidelerin mevcudiyetine delildir. Meselâ, Persepolis'te yalnız ateş sunakları üç kademeli olmakla kalmıyor, hattâ Büyük

(7) Resimlerdeki tasvirilere itimad ediliirse, Akamenid ateş sunakları aşağı yukarı yarım adam boyunda idi.

Kralın ibadet yapan heykeli de üç basamaklı bir kaide üzerinde (8) duruyor. Burada üç sayısına riayetin umumî bir kaide olduğu intibahı uyanmaktadır. Fakat İssakawand'da (Deh i No) bulunan iki sunağın — reliefi tam o yerde bir hayli bozulmuş ise de — üç basamaklı kaideleri olmadığı muhakkaktır. Fotoğraflarından anladığıma göre, seyircinin sağına düşen tarafta azamî iki basamak vardır (9). Gallig de çizdiği eskizde iki basamak, halbuki Herzfeld ancak bir basamak göstermektedirler (10). Fakat Kappadokya'da bulunan sunak eski İran ateş sunaklarına ait tektük bilgilerimize kaide, gövde ve plâkı bakımından o derecede uymaktadır ki, mukayese unsurları arasında ba-

(8) Sarre a. 0.32 - 35.

(9) Sarre - Herzfeld a. 0. Abb. 21; Hüsing a.O. 33 Abb. 19.

(10) K. Gallig, Der Altar (Berlin 1925) Tab. 15, 9; Herzfeld, Early History of İran 203 Fig. 316. Sık sık sikkeler üzerinde tasvir olunan Sasanid ateş sunakları (F. D. J. Paruck, Sasanian Coins [Bombay 1924], devam) çoğu zaman iki basamaklı kaide üzerindedir. Bu meydana üst ve alt plâkta basamakların sayısı birbirine uymaz. İmparatorluk devrinden kalma Küçük Asya sikkelerinde üzerlerinde yakılan sunular bulunan sunaklara raslanılır. Fakat ancak bazıları Pers kültü ile münasebette görünüp, ateş sunağı adını alabilir. Bunu aşağıdaki sunaklar için iddia edebiliriz: Hierokaisarei (B. C. Head, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia [London 1901] 103 No. 7; Pers Artemis büstü ile Avers), Hypaipa'da (Head a. 0.109 No. 11, 113 No. 31, 114 No. 37, 117 No. 49, 118 No. 55 ve Pl. XII 8; Imhoof - Blumer, Lydische Stadtmünzen Tab. IV. 10; Amaitis'in bir tetrastrym tapınağında sunak), Zela'da (Waddington, Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure I 1 [2. basım, Paris 1925] 159 No. 4 Pl. XVI 13. Wroth, Catalogue of Greek Coins, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and the Kingdom of Bosphorus (London 1889) 41 No. 2 Pl. VII 10; aynı şekilde terasty tapınak bilhassa tevsiik olunabilen [Strabon XI 8,4 ve XII 3,37] Pers kültüne yaramaktaydı. Sikkelerdeki tasvir sunağın daha yakinen anlatılması için yeter derecede vazih değildir. Zela'daki sunak ihtimal ki dört köşe gövdeli, tek basamaklı kaideli ve düz plâklı bir sunaktır.

zı ufak farklar oluşu bunun bir ateş sunağı olmadığını ileri sürmeğe yetmez.

Relief de kanaatimizi desteklemektedir. Duruşun, kıyafetin, rahibe has eşyaların ve umumiyetle üslûbun Akamenidler devrinde gelişen formlara uydukları şüphe götürmez (11). Kıyafet Persepolis reliefleri için de kullanılan tâbirle Med kıyafetidir. Kappadokya relieflerindeki kıyafet postakamenid olup, Seleukid devri olarak tarihlendirilen İran anıtlarından bâriz şekilde farklıdır (12). Muhtevaya gelince, bildiğime göre, bilinen *barsman* taşıyıcıları arasında (13) hiçbirinin sol eli başka bir işle meşgul olarak gösterilmemekte, nasıl ki açık parmaklarla bir kabın taşınması için de Akamenid sanatında güvenerek zikredilebilecek başka bir misal yoktur (14). Buna mukabil bu jestin Babil - Asur sanatında birçok örnekleri vardır. Belki burada bir Asurî tesir bahis mevzuudur (15). İhtimal

(11) Başlık ve manto: Berlindeki gümüş heykeltçik (Sarre a. 0.43; Survey IV Pl. 108 A).

(12) Debevoise a. 0. 87 d.

(13) Ergüli (Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien Tab. 14 sağda); Oxus hazinesinden alınmış altın (O.M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus [second edition, London 1926] Tab. 14). Frata-dara sarayının relief blokları, Persepolis/Is-takhr'da (Debevoise a. 0. Tab III) bu blok-ların ait olduğu binaya "Saray" demektedir, halbuki Erdmann bunları bir ateş tapınağı saymaktadır: Das iranische Feuerheiligtum 29 d).

(14) Bununla beraber, yukarıda adı geçen gümüş heykeltçiğin el ve parmak (Not 11) durumu ve bir lotüs çiçeği tutuşu çok benzemektedir. İraq 1, 1934, 186 Fig. 2'de çıkan desende Qizqapan sunak reliefinin üzerindeki madyondaki küçük figür küçük bir kabı aynı şekilde tutmaktadır. Fakat Edmond's a.O. 187'de sol elde görülen eşyanın bir kap olup olmadığı tespit edilemez fikrindedir.

(15) Birkaç misal: H. Schaefer - W. Andrae, Die Kunst des Alten Orients (Berlin 1925) Tab. 500 (Assurnasirpal III), 502 (dto), 504, 514 (Salmanassar III.), 529, 542/3 (Assurbanipal) v.s.

(15 a) Debevoise a.O. 105

kap bir içki sunuşuna, belki de elde bir dal tutularak yapılan *haoma* kurbanına yaramakta idi.

Bu yazıda mukayese unsuru olarak zikredilen anıtların bir kısmı İran tarihinin Akamenid devrine: meselâ, Nakşirüstem, Persepolis, Deh i No; bir kısmı da ilk Seleukid devrine aittir: Kel i Dand, Persepolis, İstakhr (relief blokları) (15 a). Elimize geçmiş olan anıt parçaları o kadar azdır ki, bu eski eserlerin tamamını şöyle dursun, başlıca unsurlarını bile tanımaktan uzağız. Bu sebepten de tipik unsurları geçici olanlardan tefrik edememekteyiz. Her yeni bulgu, meselâ, bahsi geçen sunak, bilgilerimizi zenginleştirmeye yarıyabileceğine göre, önce kendi kendine değerlendirilmelidir. Bunun için de sunağın bulunduğu yer üzerinde incelemeler yapmak gerektir.

Kappadokya, Lydia, Pontos ve Kommagene ile birlikte Küçük Asya memleketleri arasında İranın tesirine en açık olan bir yerdi. Bu tesiri doğrudan doğruya açığa vuran belgelerin hemen hepsi gerçi daha sonraki zamanlara aittir. Bir Pers adı taşıyan Ariarathid soyu sadece Darius zamanından kalma bir kral hanedanı olduklarını iddia etmekle kalmıyor, Mag'ı öldürmüş olan Yedi Perslerden birinden ve kraliçe Atossa'dan neşet ettiklerini ileri sürüyorlardı (16). Gerçi bu iddialar kısmen saray tarihçilerinin uydurduğu şeylerdir, fakat Hellenistik devirde Kappadokya hanedanlarının ne istikamete meyletiklerini açığa vurur. Kappadokya takviminde ay isimlerinin eski Pers isimlerinden gelme olduğu (17), Mith-

ra'ya Kappadokya'da tapanlar bulunduğu (18), Amaitis'in Zela'da yani Pontos bölgesinde büyük bir tapınağı olduğu (18 a) bilinmektedir. Eserini Kappadokya'nın Roma eyaleti oluşundan (İ. s. 17) az önce yazan Strabon Mag'ların idaresi altında bulunan ateş kültünü tafsilâtlı bir şekilde tasvir etmektedir (19). Demek ki bu kült ilk imparatorluk devrine kadar (20) Kappadokya'da canlı, hattâ ehemmiyetli bir kült olarak kalmıştır. Bu kült Zarathustra dini mi, yoksa Benveniste'nin ispat etmek istediği gibi (21) Babilden mülhem ve değişikliğe uğramış eski İran dini miydi — ki öyle ise, bu dinin nispeten eski bir zamanda Kappadokya'ya geçmiş olduğu ileri sürülebilir — bu sual ancak ikinci derecede bir ehemmiyeti hâizdir. Bizi bu mevzuda alâkadar eden nokta bu İran kültünün Kappa-

(18) Fr. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (3. Aufl., Leipzig-Berlin 1923) 27 not 1. Bütün Küçük Asyada olduğu gibi, Kappadokyada da Mithra kültüne ait anıtlardan pek azı bilinmektedir. Son zamanlarda mevcut malzemeye ilâveler de olamamıştır (bk. Fr. Cumont; *Mithra en Asie Mineure, Anatolian Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler* [Manchester 1939] 67 v. d.)

(18a) Bu mevzuda son eser: S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* 86 v.d. (*Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* XL, Lund 1946). Wikander'in nazariyesine göre, ateş kültü bütün İrana yayılmış bir kült değil, Anahita kültüne bağlı olarak II inci Artaxerxes zamanından itibaren tutunmuş bir kültürdür.

(19) Strabon XV 3, 15.

(20) A.H.M. Jones'un (*The cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* 180) Strabon'un Kappadokya hakkındaki malzemesini "some thirty years earlier", yani eserinde anlatısından birkaç yıl önce topladığı iddiası kabul edilse bile doğrudur. Ateşe tapma âdeti Küçük Asyada İ. s. 5 inci asıra kadar tektük yerlerde muhafaza olunmuştur (bk. Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 1, 10).

(21) E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts* (Paris 1929) 50 v.d.

(16) Diodoros XXXI 19. İlâveten J. Marquart *Philologus* 54, 1896, 489 v.d.'da (= *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran* I).

(17) Bk. Marquart, *Untersuchungen II* (= *Philologus Suppl. Bd. X Heft 1*) 214 d. L. H. H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des Alten Iran* (Leipzig 1938) 479.

dokya'da mevcut oluşu ve sonradan da Ariarathid hanedanının ve bilhassa Ariarathes Eusebes Philopator'un (İ. Ö. 163-130) Hellen dinine olan meyillerine rağmen, kültürün burada tutunabilmesidir. Bu da gösterir ki, İran kültürü memlekette kök salmış ve eski bir geleneğe dayanmış bulunuyordu. Nazari olarak bu geleneğin Med devrinde başlamış olması kabul edilebilir, fakat Kappadokya'nın Med devrindeki durumuna dair elimizde hiçbir vesika bulunmadığından ispat olunamaz. Anlaşıldığına göre, o zamanlar imparatorluğun batı kısımları siyasi bakımdan doğuya bağlı olmakla beraber, İranlı unsurlarla karışmış değildi. Bu yavaşta ihtimal daha sonraları, devlete sağlam bir düzen verip (22), İranlılara büyük topraklar dağıtan İnci Darius zamanında olmuştur. Ateş kültürü de Kappadokya'ya o zaman yerleşmiş ve sonraları Strabon'un devrine kadar devam etmiş olsa gerektir. Demek oluyor ki, yalnız tarihî şartlar gözönünde tutulursa, Bünyan sunağı uzun bir tarih devresinin içine girebilir.

Fakat Bünyan Kappadokya'nın hücre, geçitsiz bir bölgesinde değil, tahminlerimize göre, memleketin fiilen merkezini teşkil eden bir kısmında bulunuyordu. Burası eski Argaios, bugün Erciyes Dağı bölgesi ve geniş Kaisareia (Kayseri) vâdisidir. Tarih boyunca havâlinin merkezi birkaç defa değişmiş, fakat daima adı geçen vâdinin

hudutları içinde kalmıştır. İsa'dan önce 2 nci bin yılda Protohatik, sonra Asuri ve onu müteakip Hitit Kaneş şehirleri kuzey doğu kısmında, Prehellenik, Hellenik ve Roma devrinde Mazaka — Eusebeia — Kaisareia şehirleri de Argaios silsilesinin kuzeyinde yer almışlardır. İustinianus ve Bizans zamanında Kaisareia ve Selçuklarla Osmanlıların Kayserisi ise kuzeye bakan ovada kurulmuştur. İ.Ö. 4 üncü yüzyılda Kappadokya satrapları vakit vakit İris ırmağı üzerinde Gaziura (bugün Turhal)'da oturdukları halde, Mazaba daima memleketin kültür ve ticaret merkezi ve ihtimal eski Hyparkh ve Satrapların başkenti olarak kalmıştır. Argaios eteklerinde bulunan Kilikya Mazaka ile birlikte Kamisares ve Damates'in hyparkhia'sını teşkil etmiş ve Damates'in oğlu Sisines vasıtasıyla Ariarathid'lerin hâkimiyet bölgesine geçmiştir. Bünyan'a gelince, Mazaka vâdisinin doğu kenarında ve böylelikle Kappadokya'nın asıl merkez bölgesinin içinde bulunmaktaydı.

Sunağın meydana çıkarıldığı yer başka bakımdan da bize ufuklar açmağa elverişlidir. Bir volkanik yaylanın tam sınırında bulunmaktadır. Bu yaylanın birkaç kilometre güney batısında Argaios dağının paraziter maden cürüfları vardır ki, G. Bartsch'ın incelemeleri neticesinde (22 a), bunlar İlkçağın başlangıcında sönmüş olan esas yanardağın (23) son indifa faaliyeti ile meydana

(22) Kappadokya Krallığının batısında daima mühim bir rol oynamıştır; İran'a az çok benziyen memleketin tabiatı buna yardım etmiş olsa gerektir. Xerxes'in Yunanistan seferinde ordunun toplanma yeri olarak mevsuktur (Herodotos VII 26). Toplanma yeri olan Kritalla Ramsay'e göre Tyana ovası veya Kybistra'ya yakın ovadır. (Journal of Hellenic Studies 40, 1920, 89). Fakat Kritalla'nın mevkii ancak Xerxes'in hangi yoldan geldiği bilinmekle tâyin edilebilir, halbuki doğudan Pylai, yani Kilikya kapularından geçerek mi, yoksa kuzey yoluyla mı geldikleri bilinmemektedir.

(22 a) G. Bartsch, Das Gebiet des Erciyes-Dağı und die Stadt Kayseri in Mittel-Anatolien (Jahrbuch der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover 1934/35, 114 v.d.).

(23) Bartsch'ın jeolojik araştırmaları yeni bir faaliyet izi meydana çıkarmamıştır. R. Oberhummer ve R. Zimmerer'in (Durch Syrien und Kleinasien [Berlin 1889] 177 ve 179) Argaios'un mart 1880'de tekrar volkanik faaliyete geçtiği iddiasına karşı Bartsch ne düşündüğünü açıklamamaktadır. Fakat bu kaye her halde ancak sert bir yer sarsıntısı bahis mevzuu olsa gerek (bunun için bk. V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie (Paris 1890) I 305). Fa-

na gelmişlerdir. Bartsch Strabon'da tasvir olunan (24) yeraltı yangınları ile İlkçağ coğrafyacısının zamanında yamaç indifalarına sebebiyet veren bu yanardağ kanalları ile haklı olarak bir münasebet görmektedir. Tabii ateşin bu şekilde tezahür ettiği bu bölgede ateş kültüne bilhassa önem verildiği (25) şaşılacak bir nokta değildir. Bahsi geçen sunak Argaios civarında birçok benzerleri olan bir *ateşgâha* ait olsa gerektir. Kappadokya'da Strabon'un da işaret ettiği gibi, ateş kültünün bu kadar yaygın oluşu bu ateşgâhın mevcudiyeti ile izah olunur. Yanardağlardan başka, eski bir tanrı merkezi sayılan Argaios dağının da bu bölgeyi İranlı ateş kültüne açmış olması çok muhtemeldir. Herodotos Perslerin kurban kesmek istedikleri zaman bir dağın zirvesine çıktıklarını ve göğe en yüksek tanrı olarak tapındıklarını (25 a) anlatır. Herodotos'un anlattığı bu kültün İran dininin halk arasında yayılmış bir şekli olup, bunun yanında belli tapınakları ile bir de resmî hanedan kültünün bulunduğu kabul edilir.

kat bu arada indifaadan eser olduğu da Ch. Textier'in 15.8.1934 yer sansımı üzerine (Comptes - rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, 19 octobre 1835, I 231, ve Vivien de Saint - Martin tarafından Description Historique et Géographique de l'Asie Mineure [Paris 1852] II 236'da tekrar edilmiş) raporundan anlaşılmaktadır. Bu eserde şöyle denmektedir: "Il s' éleva du pied de l'Argée, non pas quelques flammes comme au temps de Strabon, mais une épaisse fumée d'où s'échappèrent, avec d'effroyables détonations, des colonnes de feu." Aynı hâdiseden B. Poujoulat da bahsetmekte (Voyage à Constantinople, dans l'Asie Mineure, en Mésopotamie, à Palmyre, en Syrie, en Palestine et en Egypte I 297 d.; Paris 1840).

(24) Strabon XII 2.

(25) Bu ve bunun gibi tabiat hâdiseleri başka yerlerde de buraların ateş tapmağı olarak seçilmesine âmîl olmuştur. Bk. Erdmann a. 0.27 Not 186 ile (sayfa 80).

(25 a) Herodotos I 131: Zeus'e en yüksek dağların tepelerinde kurban kesmek âdetleridir, bütün semaya da zaten Zeus derler.

İran'da bu kültün Arilerden önce de kutsal sayılan eski dağlara da yerleşmiş olduğu sanılır (26). Argaios dağının yazılı metinlerde tanrı merkezi olarak (27) zikrolunması ve Kaisareia'nın sikkelerinde de görülmesi aynı şeyin Kappadokya için de vârit olabileceğine delildir. Fakat bu sikkelerde Argaios tepesinde duran tanrının başında şualar açan bir taç ve ellerinde bir asâ ile bir kürre görülmesi tefsiri biraz güçleştirmektedir. Bu tanrı Helios'un bir benzeridir denebilir. Fakat bu iddia da ancak bölgenin tamamen Hellenleştiği bir zaman için ileri sürülebilir. Halbuki kültün kendisi o zamandan çok daha eskidir. Sydenham bu tanrıya belli bir isim vermemek ve sadece "genius of Argaeus" deyip, kültü "was to some extent coloured with orientalism" (29) olarak tefsir etmekte bence haklıdır. Bu iddia doğru olsa gerektir, hattâ tersine olarak kült o zamanlar, yani yayılma devri bir hayli ilerlemişken, Hellenik bir mahiyet aldı denebilir. Eski Anadolu kültürlerinde dağ tanrıları o kadar büyük ve belli bir yer tutmaktadırlar ki, Argaios'un en yüksek ve hâkim bir dağ olarak bir külte sahip olmaması imkânsızdır. Erciyas'a daha eskiden verilen ismi bilseydik, muhakkak ki Hitit dağ tanrıları arasında da adını bulabilirdik (30). Zira Hitit metinlerinde dağın ismi aynı zamanda dağı temsil

(26) Erdmann a. 0.7 (Herzfeld, Archaeological History of Iran 4'e müracaatle).

(27) Solinus XIV 4. Maximus Tyrius diss. VIII 8.

(28) E. A. Sydenham, The coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia (London 1933) 19 d. W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria (London 1899) Pl. VIII - XIII (Argaios üzerine metin S. XXXVIII d.).

(29) Sydenham a. 0.20.

(30) E. Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites (=Revue Hittite et Asiatique VII 1946 - 47,3 d.) Dağ tanrıları: S. 25, 38, 44, 47, 52, 55, 71, 76, 83, 87.

eden tanrının da ismi olarak gösterilir. Kutsal Hitit dağlarının Roma İmparatorluğu devrine kadar isim değiştirerek birer kült yeri olduğuna dair belgelerimiz vardır. Argaios kültünün de aynı şekilde devam ettiği kabul olunabilir. İmparatorluk devrinden kalma paralarda dağın tepesinde tasvir olunan tanrı da Argaios'u temsil etse gerektir (31). Fakat bu tanrının Hellenistik tanrılara benzetilmiş olması da ayrıca mümkündür (32). Erciyas'ın doğusunda (3916 m) esas zirvenin kayaları içine oyulmuş olarak 15 m uzunluğunda, hafifçe yuvarlatılmış ve ortasında bir havalandırma kuyusu bulunan (33) bir dehliz vardır. Bunun bu kadar yüksek ve oturlan yerlerden bu kadar uzak bir mevkide keşifler için bile inşa edilmiş olmasına imkân yoktur. Erciyas bölgesini çok iyi bilen Bartsch'in da tahmin ettiği veçhile, burası dağ tanrısının kültüne yarayan bir "yüksek tepe" olsa gerektir.

Bütün bu düşüncelerimizden şu

(31) Karşılaştır: Maximus Tyrius diss. VIII 8: *Ἡδρος Καππαδοκίας καὶ λεο's καὶ ὄρεος καὶ ἀγᾶλμα*

(32) Caracalla zamanından kalma Kayseri paraları vardır, bunların üzerinde iki, üç, ve dört tanrı Argaios dağında durur vaziyette gösterilmektedirler: Sydenham a. 0.110 No. 473, 111 No. 480 v.d. Traianus'un bir Dîdrachme sikkesinde (Sydenham a. 0.67 No. 206) dağ üzerinde U veya lyra şeklinde bir işaret görülmektedir. Sydenham (a. 0.19 ve 67) burada kraterin tasvir edilmek istendiği kanaatinde dir. Bence bu pek muhtemel değildir. İhtimal eski (ve tanrıyı temsil eden?) bir semboldür.

(33) Maahtef buna dair elimizde ne fotoğraf, ne de sarıh tasvirler vardır. İlk farkına varan: H. F. Tozer'dür, 2.8.1879 tarihinde (Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor [London 1881] 127). Şuralarda zikredilmiştir: Murray-Wilson, Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc. (London 1895) 54. H.H.v.d. Osten, Discoveries in Anatolia 1930 - 31 (Oriental Institute Communications 14 (Chicago 1933) 112 v.d.). E. Ritter, Erdjias Dag (Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins).

netice çıkıyor: Argaios tanrı merkezi olan kutsal bir dağdı; ayrıca volkanik bir bölge olan Kappadokya'nın merkezini teşkil etmekte ve bahsi geçen sunağın ait olduğu devirde bu bölge son yanardağı indifalarına şahit olmaktaydı. Besbelli ki, böyle bir yer İran ateş kültüne zemin olmağa uygun ve mevkii bakımından ehemmiyetli bir kült merkezi teşkil etmekteydi. Bugüne kadar Anadolu'da bulunmuş olan iki Pers anıtının siyasî bakımdan önemli merkezlere yakın yerlerde meydana çıkmış olması da bir tesadüf eseri sayılamaz: Ergili anıtı (34) Küçük Phrygia Satraplığının merkezi olan Daskyleion bölgesinde ve Kappadokya sunağı da Katpatuka Hyparkh'ı ile Ariarathid'lerin merkezi olan Mazaka'da bulunmuştur. Bu gibi merkezlerde İran kültü kendini daha iyi muhafaza edebilmiş ve hücre bölgelerde olduğu gibi, mahallî Anadolu kültürlerinin tesirine uğramamıştır. İki rahibi ağızları örtülü olarak ve ellerinde *barsman* tutarak bir çitin önünde ve çok yüksek bir sunağın karşısında tasvir eden (35) daskylitik reliefin tarihi takribi bir katıyetle tespit olunabilir. Çünkü bu relief besbelli ki bir Yunanlı tarafından yapılmış, fakat sanatkâr Pers olan muhtevaya zamanının bazı özelliklerini katmıştır. G. Mendel eserin 5 inci asrın son çeyreğinde, Herzfeld ise 5 inci asırdan 4 üncü asıra geçiş zamanında yapıldığını ileri sürdüler (36). Bu tarihlendirmeden uzaklaşmamak gerektir. Çünkü bilhassa çitin kısaltılmış çapraz tasviri daha eski bir zamana ait olamaz. Hattâ Mendel'in teklif ettiği tarih bile fazlaca eskidir. Eserin aşağı yukarı 400 yılında yapılmış olduğunu kabul etmek yanlış olmasa gerektir. Her halde anıt çok uzun zaman yerinde kalmamıştır, çünkü Granikos savaşından sonra Pers kültürünün Daskyleion'da muhafaza olunamadığı muhtemeldir. Açıkladığımız veçhile, vaziyet Kappadokya'da başka idi. Fakat

Küçük Phrygia merkezine yakın bölgede bulunmuş plan relief Kappadokya sunağının tarihlendirilmesine yarıyamaz, çünkü bir Yunanlı sanatkarın 400 yılı civarında Hellespontos'ta Perslerin hizmetinde çalışması, Kappadokya'ya dair bütün bilgilerimize dayanarak mümkün görünemez. O zamanlar Hellen sanatkarları Kappadokya'da daha faaliyete geçmiş olamazlardı. Bu yüzden sunağın reliefleri batı tesirinden tamamen uzak olmakla beraber, Ergali anıtından çok daha yakın bir zamana ait olabilirler. İ.Ö. 2 nci yüzyılın ortasını hudut olarak aşmamak gerektir. Çünkü kült relieflerinde arkaik unsurların kullanılması kabul edilse bile, o zamandan sonra hellenleşmiş olan Mazaka'ya yakın bulunan bu doğu bölgesinde de Hellen tesirinin izlerini taşımayan bir eserin meydana gelmesi imkânsızdır. Sunak, ateş kültü için daha o zaman kullanılmış olabilir, fakat her halde daha evvel, yani Akamenid veya eski Seleukid zamanında yapılmıştır. Daha kesin bir tarihlendirme bence henüz mümkün değildir. Gerçi relief Aka-

menid relieflerine uymakta ve kıyafet ile kıvrımların tasvirinde postakamenid-seleukid anıtlarının özellikleri görülmemektedir (37). Fakat doğu Anadolu'da bu devirlerden kalma hiçbir heykel veya relief bulunmadığından, Kappadokya'da İran ve Suriye'de görülen gelişmenin mevcut olup olmadığına ve Kappadokya'da Akamenid'lerden sonra da muhafazakâr bir durumun devam edip etmediğine dair karar verilemez.

Sunak, önceleri tek başına dikilmiş olamaz. Strabon "pyraïtheia"ların içinde ebedî ateş bulunan (38) cella'larla çevrilmiş olduğundan bahseder. Strabon'un zamanından evvel de Kappadokya'da böyle tapınaklar mevcuttu. Demek oluyor ki, Bünyan bölgesinde böyle bir ateş tapınağının bulunduğu kabul edilebilir. Küçük Asyada bu cinsten bir anıta henüz raslamadığımızdan, mimarî şeklini bilmek bizim için değerli olurdu. Sunağın bulunduğu yeri tam tespit ettikten sonra, böyle bir tapınağın da meydana çıkarılması temenni edilir.

K. BİTTEL

HITTITE BRONZES AND OTHER NEAR EASTERN FIGURINES IN
THE FOGG ART MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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We are grateful to the former Director General of Antiquities and Museums, Dr. Cahit Kınay, for his kind invitation to contribute to the series *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* and to the present Director General, Dr. Kâmil Su for his courteous assistance. We take this occasion to express our best wishes upon the revival of this notable periodical as an organ of Turkish and international scholarship.

It seemed suitable to present in the following article three Hittite bronzes which have to the Fogg Museum. We have added four other pieces, a Phoenician terracotta head, a goat, which may have come from a border region of Anatolia, a bull, which for a while was considered Urartean, and finally a Babylonian terracotta figurine (1).

The bronze figurines made in the second and first millenium in Anatolia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine are as yet imperfectly classified and dated. A valiant attempt to bring some order

(1) We are indebted to R. J. Gettens, formerly Chief of Technical Research of the Fogg Art Museum and now Fellow for Technical Research at the Freer Art Gallery, Washington, D.C., for the analysis of the bull head, no. 5, which we include as an Appendix. Additional information on on technical aspects was given by Bruno Bearzi, of the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Mr. Perlie Dyar Chase generously gave permission to include in this article a terracotta head in his possession. To R. J. Barnett we owe a debt of gratitude for information on pieces in the British Museum. into this material had been made by

Valentin Müller (2). A substantial number of pieces has been brought together by H. Th. Bossert, and the material bearing on Phoenicia has been surveyed by R. Dussaud (3). Some additional pieces and groups have been treated since, and a brilliant discussion of the "Lebanese Mountain" group has just been published by H. Seyrig (4). Unfortunately, the majority of the bronze figurines known have come from scientifically supervised excavations; and the pieces that have been excavated

(2) *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* (1929), chapters VI and VII, pls. 36-45; also *AJA* 36 (1932) 14.

(3) *Altanatolien* (1942) figs. 348-368, 581-596, 606-616, 1165-1174, 1183. *Altsyrien* (1951) figs. 158, 159-161, 570, 573-618, 1181. R. Dussaud, *L'art phénicien du IIe millenaire* (1949), 52, ff., figs. 18-21, 25-34, 27, 43-45.

(4) Ugarit: C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 1 (1938) 126 ff. *Ugaritica* 2 (1949) 79 ff., figs. 31, 34, pls. 17-21.

Byblos: P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, Haut Commiss. Syrie, Service des Art. *Bibl. archeol. hist.* 11 (1929) pls. 50 f., 61.

A. Parrot, *Syria* 29 (1952) 44 ff., pls. 1-2

E. Porada, *Berytus* 8 (1942) 57 ff., pl. 8.

G. Loud, *Megiddo* 2 (1948) = OIP 62, pls. 233-239.

W. Deonna, "Statuettes de bronze syriennes". *Musees Suisses* 1 (1948) 4-7, figs. 1-2.

G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Arch Anz* 50 (1953) 50 ff. *Altetruskische Plastik* (1936) 24 ff., 55 ff.; and *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 229.

H. Seyrig, "Statuettes trouvées dans les montagnes du Liban", *Syria* 30 (1953) 24 ff., pls. 9-12, with further bibliography.

F. Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 2. *Tillaeg til Billedtavler* (1941) pl. 17, Br. 2-5.

have tended to emphasize the great diversity of existing local styles and the difficulty of dating types, many of which seem to have persisted over long periods of time. One of the most popular motifs, the lance-swinging warrior, is represented by examples from Byblos, Lebanon, Syria, Antarados, Tortous; Şarkışla (Vilâyet Sivas); in Crete, Mycenae and Tiryns; a hoard on Delos; in Thermon; and finally in East Prussia. Yet the time range cannot be narrowed down beyond the statement that such warrior bronzes occurred from the fourteenth to the eighth century B.C. (5) We have as yet much to learn and the suggestion which we make must needs be regarded as tentative.

(1). Figs. 1, 2, 12 a. Marching male figure with conical cap and torque. Museum number 1943.1120. Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest. 13.7 cm., without base 11.4 cm.

The bronze is cast solid, apparently in one piece with the small flat platform and a large looped peg below the base. The right hand is missing; and the front left corner of the platform is slightly bent. The head is also forced out of its original vertical position. Patina runs from blackish brown to dark olive. The metal underneath seems to be a very coppery bronze, reddish gold in color. The lower part of the platform and the looped peg underneath are left rough, but the figurine is tooled to careful smoothness. Traces of abrasive tooling can be discerned under

magnification-parallel thin fine lines, as if from wires. A rather large cutting tool was used for such details as edge of cap, mouth, fingers, toes, and hem of garment. The deep holes for the eyes, which were presumably fitted with inlays, seem to have been gouged with a drill or punch. The man wears a tall, rounded conical cap, which is separated from his forehead, but merges into head and neck in the back. A double torque, cast separately, is clamped around his neck, the ends meeting on the nape. In his left hand he holds a goblet; some light strokes decorate its edge.

In its present state, the upper part of the body of the figurine seems to be nude. He wears a thick kilt reaching to his knees; the decorated hem of an "overfold" is indicated over the upper left leg by rather crude diagonal strokes. He is barefoot. The figurine was originally covered with some other metal, probably with thin gold leaf; long deep grooves designed to fasten such overlay run from top of cap to between the shoulder blades; on both upper arms (cf. Fig. 2); down his right side from armpit to lower edge of kilt; and down the back side of both lower legs. Similar grooves and a somewhat similar base are seen on a figurine from Tartous (6), which also had inlaid eyes. The technique of covering a figurine with gold leaf is represented in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, and Anatolia. If we may take a Hittite figurine purchased in İzmir as a guide, the face as well as the body and garments were so covered (7). The sharp cutting of fea-

(5) V. Müller, *op. cit.*, 112 ff., who also lists pieces from Baalbak, Killiz, Kutahia, and Troy. Cf. G. Loud, *Megiddo 2* (1948) pls. 235, 239, from Levels IX and V B.

Şarkışla: N. Özgüç, *Dergi 5* (1949) 36, 52, figs. 13-14, now in Hittite Museum, Ankara. Probably late Hittite Empire.

The hoard under the Artemesium of Delos contained objects from the fourteenth through the eighth century B.C. J. Delorme, *BCH 71-72*, (1947-48) 148-261, pl. 39.

(6) Louvre. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 54 f., figs. 20-21; Perrot-chipiez, *Hist. de l'art 3* (1885) fig. 277.

(7) Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Bossert *Alt A. 60*, figs. 587-588. "Hittite Empire".

G. Loud, *Megiddo 2* (OIP 62, 1948) pl. 273, stratum VI or VII. Hama: Bossert *AS* fig. 606, "wohl Neues Reich" though found

tures, particularly of nose and mouth, is caused in part by the need for clearly defined forms over or into which the gold leaf could be bent.

The piece is clearly designed as a unit with the base, as the pegs continue the line of lower legs. In its basic construction the figurine displays a curious intermingling of flatness and roundness. Although quite thick and well-rounded about the shoulders, the upper part of the body is flat like a slab. The lower part with the kilt is well-rounded and turned diagonally. The head, too, is quite three-dimensional with its rounded cap neck. Nose, chin, arms, and left leg jut energetically forward. The large feet are planted firmly on the ground so that the walking motion is not too emphatic.

It is difficult to envisage the original glowing appearance of this walking man, to which the vitality of inlaid eyes must have contributed greatly. As it stands now, the figure has an air of compact power and a hint of a ferocious grin which seems to animate the angular features of the face.

As so often, it is difficult to decide whether a god or a human is represented. In principle, a walking figure carrying a vase denotes an "offering" therefore a ministrant, a king or a priest. On the other hand, the gilding would seem to speak in favor of a divine personage. The vase is held by gods on seals of Syro-Cappadocian and of the Second Syrian Groups (1600-1350 B.C. (8). A conical vase is carried by

in level E, 1000-700 B.C. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 54 ff., (Tortous and Byblos) 62 ff., Ugarit, also figs. 31, 34.

(8) E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, 1, P. Morgan Library (Bollingen Series 14, 1948) 114, 126, nos. 900, 947, 949. For use of vases in temples of Ugarit, cf. C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 2 (1949) 45 f.; and fig. 13 for another seal showing a walking figure with jug and cup.

a nude male bronze figure and by a draped female figure with polos (crown) from Syria (9). Finally, a goblet is carried as an offering by a queen on a newly discovered ivory relief from Ugarit (10). The cap, in this simple form, without horns, is not infrequent but also not conclusive, as its wearers are themselves not closely unidentified (11). On the seals of the Second Syrian group male figures with rather similar "rounded" or "oval" cap but different garments are described as gods or kings. In one instance, a walking figure with this headgear carries a spouted vase and is identified as a god; in another, he seems to have a double torque around his neck (12). Only so

(9) A shall walking Hittite Bronze figure with cap holding a similar cup is in the collection of Mr. Albert Gallatin; but the style is quite different. Bronze with conical vase held by standing man: V. Müller, *op. cit.* 127, 132, pl. 39, fig. 388; Gottheil, *Studies in Hist. of Religion presented to C. H. Toy* (N.Y. 1912) 361 ff., pl. Müller quotes for vases, *Jdr* 42 (1927) 7. Standing woman: Bossert AS fig. 584, no description.

(10) Ivory: C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Illustrated London News* (March 27, 1954) 489, fig. 7.

(11) Bossert: *Alt. A.* fig. 587, Izmir; 591, Tarsus; 609, Arapkir; 618, Alishar; 716, Cilician seal; Müller, *op. cit.*, 115 ff., assigns the first to Syria, the other two to Asia Minor and quotes for the "flattened cone cap" a bronze from Baalbek, Lortet, *La Syrie* (1884) p. 611, reproduced; and figs. 401, Hamburg; 403, from Thermon; 411, Berlin.

"Syrian Idols", Ny Carlsberg, 2. *Tillaeg*, pl. 17, Br. 4-6. The majority of figurines then, seem to belong to Asia Minor. The bronzes, Müller, 112, fig. 399, from Lebanon and the bronzes from Tartous, Bossert AS fig. 580, are warriors and their thinner head gear intended for helmet.

Seated gods from Megiddo: Dussaud, fig. 44. G. Loud, *Megiddo* 2 (1948) pl. 235. Level IX, 237 f., Level IV or VII (1400-1100 B.C.).

(12) Porada, *Corpus*, 125 f., 131, 134, discusses these figures with "oval headgear", nos.: 944, 949 (vase), 950 E (torque?), 952, 973 E (king), 989, 1025 E. Schaeffer *Ugaritica*

much is clear - that the cap is worn in scenes of peaceful offering or bounay and is not intended as a helmet. The kilt and the torque do not seem to provide decisive evidence, since they are worn by gods well as by humans.

There is one difference between the figures on the Syrian seals and the Fogg figurine; none of the walking "oval cap" figures of the seals wears the kilt with overfold on left thigh, though other figures of the seals do. The kilt occurs in the time of the Hittite Empire and in "Late Hittite" art, but there seems to be no exact way of determining its earliest occurrence (13).

If the cap and the kilt would seem to permit any date from 1600 to 1200 B.C. or even later, the torque points to the upper limit of this range. C.F.A. Schaeffer has argued that the torque-bearers and the remarkable figurines wearing torques belong in the Middle Bronze phase (ca 2100-1800) of Syria and Phoenicia, and while this may be putting matters too precisely, it seems on the whole probable that the Fogg figurine cannot be separated by too long an interval from other figurines which wear torques (14).

2 (1949) 42, fig. 16, god accompanied by lion (1600-1365 B.C.). However, Bossert, *AS* fig. 825, calls figures of this kind "worshippers". Cf. *Alt.A.* fig. 716, from Cilicia = Hogarth *AS* 6:181, seal of Indilimma, servant of Iš-chara.

(13) C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 2 (1949) 78, remarks that the kilt is worn under the cloak and taken off in strenuous action. He considers that it may have come from Egypt. For later usage cf. E. Akurgal, *Spaethethische Buldunst* (1949) 30 f., who observes that with Late Hittites the "kilt" is actually part of a short "Leibroek" covering the upper part of the body.

(14) C.F.A. Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, 71 ff., fig. 31, pls. 17 ff., dates the Ugarit silver figures with gold torques ca 2000-1800 B.C. He identifies the torque bearers as gods. Cf. Bossert,

To proceed to physical details of the figurines, the large head with emphatic, angular features seems nearest to some Syrian warriors placed by E. Porada about 1700 (15), to the figurines from Firnis and İzmir (*Alt. An.* 584-587), a head from Jabbul (Gabbul), and a bronze from Mishrife (16).

Looking at the bronze from the viewpoint of style it is easier to say what it is not than what it is. It is not one of the typical "Byblos bronzes" (17). It does not show any pronounced Egyptianizing traits characteristic of Reshef figurines and a certain number of other Syrian bronzes (18). It does not belong to the very striking group of "heavy-weights", large, heavy, men and women with huge heads who were made in the mountains of Lebanon (19). On the other hand, it does not belong with the small group of figurines, mostly in precious materials which are so similar to the large sculptures of Boğazköy and Yazılıkaya as to be virtually certain witnesses of the art of the Hittite court (20).

AS fig. 598, from Homs. Bossert, *AS* fig. 584 (genuine?) seems to have four torques. The Megiddo figurines with neck-rings or torques have a wider time range. G. Loud, *Megiddo* 2, pls. 233: 4-5, 234: 13, 235: 20, 23, from Levels XIII to VII.

(15) E. Porada, *Berytus* (1942), 57 ff.

(16) Bossert, *AS*, figs. 576, 434, 585-587. The Ugaritic figure, 19th-18th century, has a similar nose; the Jabbul head shows a similar "slashed" formation of the mouth and outline of the cap. It is dated by Bossert around the middle of the second millennium.

(17) For example, Dussaud, fig. 18.

(18) Dussaud, figs. 29, 34, 37. V. Müller, figs. 372, 374.

(19) V. Müller, 107 ff., figs. 376-386. Bossert, *AS* figs. 588-591, 607-609. Hanfmann, *Arch. Anz.* 50 (1935) 52, figs. 2, 4. A list of thirty-one pieces is given by Seyrig, *Syria* 30 (1953) 26-30. He dates them 2000-1500 B.C.

(20) V. Müller, 104 ff., figs. 369, 371. Bossert, *Alt. A.*, figs. 589-596. On the bronzes, figs. 581-583, see below.

We must therefore seek among the less well-defined material for parallels for details and see to what degree the results may be confirmed on general grounds of style.

The "oval" cap seems to represent an adaptation of the Hittite-type headgear to the outline of Egyptian crown. This assimilation was most likely to occur along the Syrian and Phoenician coast, where Egyptian and Hittite fashions mingled. Figurines with comparable headgear come from Eastern Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine. As far as they are datable—and only that in Megiddo comes from a stratified excavation—they have been dated in the second millennium and usually in the time of the Hittite Empire. If the parallel with "oval" caps seen on the seals of the Second Syrian group is valid, it would provide an approximate location and a time-range from 1600-1350 B.C. These comparisons then point to the range from 1700-1400 B.C. and to North Syria as a possible place of origin.

If we attempt to draw an outline of stylistic development for some North Syrian bronze figurines, it would seem to run from the Sub-Sumerian figures of Tell Jedeideh (21) to the flat idols of Ugarit (22) where the "bird nose" profile indicates the survival of a tradition related to Tell Jedeideh. Porada's "warriors with the feather helmet" form the next step (23). Then a more

corporeal style appears to set in; its distinctive characteristic lies in the rounding of previously angular forms and in nearly sensuous refinement of metal surfaces. In this development the famous seated goddess in the Louvre (24) may represent an earlier phase, of the same school that later produced the Fogg figurine. In grim expressiveness, the head from Jabbul is probably the nearest kin (25).

Still later the same Syrian school developed toward greater softness and animation. The famous, closely related walking figures from Latakiah and Boğazköy (26) still recall some aspects of the Fogg figurine. By this time, (1350-1250? B.C.) not only figurines but even artisans may have travelled from Syria to the Hittite capital.

(2) Figs. 3-4. Large seated male figure with conical cap. Museum number 1943.1119. Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest. Provenance unknown. H. 31.5 cm. According to Bruno Bearzi, cast solid in a sand mould. Partly pitted; corroded metal on ears and under arms. The latter may be a different metal and come from material used to fasten the figure to the throne.

There is little if any evidence of detail work with chisel. This accounts for the vague cast of features. The

fig. 575. V. Müller, fig. 387. Seyrig, *loc. cit.*, 46, rightly says that the "flat" sequence, which we are discussing, runs parallel with the voluminous bronzes of his "Lebanese Mountain Group".

(24) Bossert, *AS*, 581. *TEL II*, 100 D-E = 9. Contenau, *La civilisation phénicienne* (1926) 210, fig. 69 = Collection Hoffmann, from "Beyrouth". Related: E. Grant, *Ain Shems I* (1931) pl. 11; *Megiddo 2* (1948) pl. 236: 24, Level VIII.

(25) For the stocky proportions cf. the figurines from Ugarit and Tortosa, Bossert, *AS*, figs. 576, 580. Perhaps related in style: *Megiddo 2* (1948) pl. 235:23.

(26) Bossert, *Alt. A.*, figs. 581-583, *AS*, fig. 577 (with wrong caption).

(21) Tell Jedeideh: Bossert, *Alt. A.*, figs. 437-438, ca. 2800-2000 B.C. Seyrig, *loc. cit.*, 45, pl. 12.

(22) Schaeffer, *Ugaritica 2* (1949) 82 f., pls. 17 ff. Bossert, *AS*, figs. 592-595. (Berlin; Reber). D.K. Hill, *The Fertile Crescent* (Baltimore, 1944), 25, fig. 22, seem to belong to this early geometric style rather than to that of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. A. Parrot, *Syria 29* (1952) 44 ff., adds new pieces and dates the group 1660-1400 B.C. Cf. also Met. Museum New-York no. 32.18.1-5.

(23) *Berytus 9* (1942) 57 ff. Bossert, *AS*,

hands are lost. The neck was broken; it has been soldered and painted over with black paint. Under the seat of the figure there is a stump; it seems possible that this was originally a peg to fasten the figure to a throne and that it has been cut down (27). The metal is soft, copper-like, and markedly reddish in color. The surface patina varies from dark brown to a medium green.

The figure wears a small pointed cap. Eyebrows are indicated by slight projections, eyes by two shallow blobs, and the mouth by a slight depression, all produced by casting. The straight nose sweeps right into the outline of the cap; the ears form continuous arcs with the curves rising from the neck. The chin is heavy and rounded. The figure wears a long garment which ends below the knees; no other details are indicated. The shoulders are rounded. The body is quite flat, thinning toward the abdomen, then thickening again. The feet are short and stubby, without any rendering of details.

The figure is presumably that of a god seated in the "Hittite" attitude with lower arms bent at right angle. We cannot be certain of its attributes. The figurine of a seated god found at Enkomi (28) holds a vase in one hand.

Despite its unfinished state, the "Seated God" is an impressive work; students in art courses, to whom it was repeatedly assigned for analysis, have found that it embodies definite aesthetic values. It is as much more geometric work than the preceding piece; it is also the work of an artist who knows how to obtain an effect of mys-

terious and imposing dignity through the use of very simple forms. Thus the strange elongation of the entire body and the final sweep of the neck serves to raise the head to a symbolic importance. Outlines are strong and continuous. A simple, slightly bent contour describes the back of the figure, first curving in slightly, then rising again to the shoulders, dipping briefly at neck, then rising again in the head, to converge finally upon the apex of the hat. When the light strikes it from above, the head seems well calculated to fill the beholder with the sense of a lofty and inscrutable divine presence.

The Fogg figurine has one close relative, which must have come from the same workshop, in a bronze in Berlin (29). V. Müller has listed other figurines seated in the same attitude (30), but the style of most of these seated gods and goddesses is clearly different.

Only one of Müller's examples seems to have an ancestral relationship again the seated "Ishtar" of the Louvre (31). One may well envisage a prototype of this kind being "translated" into the Anatolian Geometric style at some provincial Hittite center (32). Two bronze figurines found in recent excavations at Enkomi display a general resemblance in their construction and while they belong to a somewhat different school they may well reflect a similar Geometric phase or current.

(29) V. Müller, 118, 130, figs. 409-410, Cf. also S. Przeworski, *Syria* 9 (1928) 273 ff.

(30) *Ibid.* Add Dussaud, figs. 37 (Jerusalem) and 44 (Megiddo). A snake-goddess in the Brooklyn Museum is reproduced in Detroit Institute of Arts, *Bronzes of the Ancient World* (1947) no. 8. I owe the reference to John D. Cooney. On the posture of arms cf. V. Müller, *AJA* 36 (1932) 13 ff.

(31) Müller, 118, no. 2.

(32) Examples in stone sculpture are the seated figures of the reliefs of Firaktin and Sipylos, Bossert, *Alt. A.* figs. 550, 561-2.

(27) Cf. the pegs on the seated figures Louvre, n. 24, above; Enkomi, C.F.A. Schaeffer, *ILN* (May 31, 1952) 938, fig. 17 = *Enkomi-Alasia* 1 (1938) pl. 74; *Megiddo 2* (1948) pl. 235:23, 236:24, restored after *Ain Shems* 1 (1931) pl. 11.

(28) *ILN* (May 31, 1952) 938, figs. 14, 17, 18 = *Enkomi-Alasia*, pls. 74 f.

One of the figures was seated on a little bronze throne, when found; the Fogg figurine was presumably seated on a similar throne. The figurines have been found in levels dated by the excavator 1150-1100 and 1100-1050 B. C. (33) The little rounded head of the later of the two figurines allies itself with the Syro-Phoenician traditions. For the Fogg figure, the few available comparisons of detail point toward a Hittite area and the time of the Late Hittite Empire (1400-1200 B.C. (34). So little is known, however, about the period that followed the downfall of Hattuşaş that we cannot rule out the possibility that the Fogg figurine was made in the twelfth century and thus closer in time to the bronze gods from Enkomi.

(3) Figs. 5, 13 b-c. Bearded Man carrying a ram (?). Museum number 1953.111. Gift of Mrs. Lois Orswell Dailey. Provenance unknown. H. with peg 14 cm. without 11.2 cm.

Like the walking man, no. 1, the "Ram-Bearer" is cast solid and in one piece with its little platform and with an oblong, roughly rectangular peg by means of which it was fitted into a base. Most of the surface is covered by brown to green corrosion, which obscures some details. Only the left lower leg and the hem of garment come close to showing the original surface. To judge from them, the piece was carefully smoothed. Where exposed, the metal appears somewhat darker and harder than in the preceding pieces. The details are tooled rather vigorously

(33) C.F.A. Schaeffer, *ILN* (May 31, 1952) 936, figs. 12-18 = *Enkomi-Alasia I* (1938) pls. 63, 71-75. The figure from Megiddo, dated ca. 1350-1100 B.C., shows a similar geometric trend. Dussaud, fig. 44 = G. Loud, *Megiddo 2 (OIP 62, 1948)* pls. 237 f. Cf. also *Ain Shems I* (1931) pl. 11.

(34) For head and headgear cf. Bossert, *Alt A.* figs. 606, 618 f., from Arapkir and Alışar.

with fairly large cutting chisels of at least two sizes. There is a long groove on the back running from near top of head to edge of garment. This groove may have served to fasten gold leaf as in no. 1; but it may equally well have served some other purpose - for example, it may have been used to attach a long tress of hair (35).

The man is clad in a long garment with a hem, which is decorated by vertical strokes. A vertical line may indicate the central fold or edge of garment. On his head he wears a peculiar angular head-gear which seems to be tied to a ribbon running across the head from ear to ear (Fig. 13 c). There are some indistinct strokes on the "crown". He is bearded, but has apparently no moustache. Eyebrows are raised, eyes deeply hollowed. The lips are raised; a gash above the right lip is probably accidental. With his left hand - more a paw than a hand - he clasps an animal to his chest; the animal is so crudely fashioned that it is not clear whether it has ears or horns; it has a fat, short tail, hence perhaps intended to show a ram rather than a calf. A hole is pierced through the man's right hand which he extends forward. The object which he carried may have been a staff. The back of the head and "crown" is quite flat, the body nearly so.

The proportions of this figurine differ markedly from the preceding examples. The head is not merely large - it is like a huge mask; the body is outlined in the shape of an attenuated bell; the legs are two stumpy pillars. The four major parts - head; arms, animal, and shoulders; garmented body; and feet - seem to be added to each other. A similar "additive" impression is

(35) On the "Syrian tress" worn by men as well as women cf. V. Müller, 108, pl. 37 f. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik* (1936) 31, n. 99; 109. *Arch. Anz.* 50 (1935) 51.

awakened by the individual features - the large and rude eyes, big nose, lumpy ears, slashed mouth, as well as hands and feet seem to relate themselves much more loosely to the figure than in the preceding examples. Yet this rude and loose geometry, this independent impact of important parts - especially eyes and hands - bestows upon the figure something of the quality of a primitive idol, a somnambulant force, which impels the ram-bearer to move hesitantly, unconsciously, almost against his will.

The most significant detail of the animal-bearer is his rectangular head-gear. It may be taken as analogous to the feather helmet known from Syrian warrior figurines of the second millennium (36) or it may be intended as a feather-crown. A rectangular head-piece is worn by a silver figurine from Emesa, (37), dated by V. Müller around 1000, by Dussaud (38) around 1800 B.C. Similar crowns are worn by goddesses (39). If we assume the head-piece of the animal-bearer to be a crown, its exact shape still remains doubtful. If we interpret its flatness "literally", then this head-gear was a flat piece, presumably made of metal and tied to a ribbon - something like the solar crown on a basalt head from Si (40). But if the artist simplified and flattened it because it is seen only from the front, then a circular crown was intended. In this case, it should be com-

pared with the "feathered" crown by human and lion-bodied demons in the reliefs from Tell Halaf and Malatya (41).

The only peculiarity in the cloak worn by the animal-bearer is the lack of a belt. It is rather short, but otherwise conforms down to details of stylization of the hem to the garments seen on monuments of Late Hittite sculpture (42).

The hair of the ram-bearer is combed forward and is cut short over the forehead. This arrangement as well as the beard worn without a moustache can be readily paralleled in Late Hittite sculpture (43). If the figure had originally a long tress attached to the groove in its back, then its general effect would resemble somewhat the appearance of the bronze figures of the "Lebanese Mountain" group (44).

The motif of the animal-bearer has a long history in the Near East which has been treated by E. D. Van Buren and A. Parrot (45). The animal-bearers closest in both time and space to the Fogg example are the figures depicted on the reliefs from Sencirli (46), but the carrying gesture is significantly different. While our figure grasps the animal to his chest with

(41) Bossert, *AS*, figs. 41, 466. E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* (1949) 125, ff., pl. 25 a = Bossert *Alt. A.*, fig. 774.

(42) E. Akurgal, *op cit.*, 30 f., pls. 26, 40, 42 b. Bossert, *AS*, figs. 442, 501; *Alt. A.*, figs. 771 f., 812, from Tell Ahmar, Sencirli, Tell Halaf, Kargamış, Maraş, Malatya.

(43) Bossert, *Alt. A.*, fig. 948. Akurgal, *op. cit.*, 25 f.

(44) Bossert, *AS* figs. 588-591, 607-609. V. Müller, 107 f., figs. 376-386, 420-422.

(45) E. D. Van Buren, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), 16-69. A. Parrot, *Mélanges Syriens Offerts à M. René Dussaud I*, Haut comm. de la Rep. Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiq., *Bibl. Arch. et Hist.*, 30 (Paris, 1939) 171-182.

(46) Bossert, *Alt. A.*, figs. 910, 954.

(36) Bossert, *AS*, figs. 575, 610 f. Porada, *loc. cit.*

(37) L. Speelers, *Syria* 3 (1922) 134, pl. 27 = V. Müller, 110 f., pl. 39, fig. 389.

(38) *Op cit.*, 64, fig. 32. He calls the crown "déformation de la double couronne égyptienne".

(39) Bossert, *AS*, figs. 572, 1086, cf. fig. 660.

(40) Bossert, *AS*, fig. 517. This is much later, but ritual head-ornaments are tenacious in survival.

his left hand, the Sencirli bearers carry the animal on their shoulders. This method and the carrying of animals by their horns, foot, and neck is common in scenes on the seals of the First and Second Syrian and Mitannian style (47). During these periods the animal is also sometimes carried on the extended forearm (48). But closest to the gesture of our figure is that of a second millennium statue from Susa (49) and figures on seals of the Akkadian, Late Old Babylonian, and Mitannian periods (50). Here the figures are worshippers and the animal an offering.

That the type continued to be represented in later periods of Near Eastern art is shown by the genii on Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud (51) from the time of Assurnazirpal (883 - 859 B.C.). These are close in time to the Fogg figurine; and since other resemblances are also found between the Fogg figurine and the various "demons" of the Late Hittite reliefs, it is possible that our bronze with distinctive head-gear is intended as a divine personage of inferior rank.

That the meaning of the type is still that of an offering is indicated by the Assyrian genii as well as by the

imitations of these type in Cypriote sculpture, where the animal-bearers are worshippers (52).

It is an interesting problem where and when the same type may first have acquired the connotation of a "Good Shepherd", of a divine being rescuing and protecting the animals of the flocks. For this appears to be the meaning of the earliest representation resembling our type in Greek art - the colossal kriophoros in Thasos is often thought to be Hermes as protector of the flocks (53).

Stylistically, more or less distant resemblances may be found in a number of Near Eastern bronzes, but about the general affiliation there can be little doubt. The rude, additive Geometric style appears to succeed the more balanced, polished, and unified style of the second millennium in Eastern Anatolia, North Syria and the Khabur region, if we except those schools which were influenced directly by either the Egyptianizing or the Assyrianizing arts. Already some terracotta heads from Ugarit (54) appear to have the same type of face as the Fogg animal-bearer. The style is clearly that of the

(47) E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, (The Bollingen Series 14) (New-York, 1948), pl. 137, fig. 910; pl. 140, fig. 931; pl. 141, fig. 932; pl. 143, fig. 937. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pl. 43, a.

(48) Frankfort, H., *op. cit.*, pl. 41, fig. o. Page 270, text-fig. 84.

(49) R. de Mecquenem, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, 7, pl. XXVI, fig. 1 a., b., c. = Parrot, A., *loc. cit.* p. 177, fig. 5. Cf. also D. Mackay, *Guide Archaeol. Coll. Univ. Beirut* (1951) pl. 4:8, a bronze "shepherd".

(50) H. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 20 b, pl. 26:1. E. Porada, *op. cit.*, pl. 29, fig. 189, pl. 39, 245, pl. 58, fig. 400, 404, pl. 156, fig. 1022.

(51) A. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh Vol. 1* (London 1849), pl. 47, fig. 4. (Embroidery design).

(52) For instance, E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition 4:2* (1948) pl. 2, Arsos. P. Dikaios, *Guide Cyprus Museum* (1947) 66, pl. 16:1, 600-560 B.C. This link does not seem to be noted in Gjerstad's discussion, though he notes the type in which the animal is carried on the shoulders (*op. cit.*, 344). Cf. Bossert, AS, figs. 47, 49 f. Cf. Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos 1* (1931), 435, pl. 72, nos. 764-6; pl. 94, no. 2088, Cypriote; pl. 82, no. 1882, Greek.

(53) Ch. Picard, *Manuel de la sculpture grecque 1* (1935), 560, fig. 193. F. Matz, *Geschichte der griech. Kunst*, 1950, pl. 117. In the type where the animal is carried on the shoulders the meaning is still that of an offering.

Matz, *op. cit.*, 176, pl. 82. (Neugebauer, *Katalog Berlin 1* (1931) no. 158, pl. 19), 481, pl. 286 a ("Pre-Daedalic").

first phase of Late Hittite art, comparable to sculpture of such centers as Sencirli, Kargamış, Malatya, and Tell Halaf (55). The time range may be guessed at as 1000 - 800 B.C., before the onset of strong Assyrian influence upon this area.

(4). Fig. 6 a. Terracotta Head of a Man with Pointed Cap. H. 3.7 cm. Lent by Perlie Dyar Chase. (TL. 10571). Formerly in the collection of Howard Carter.

Broken off at neck. (Traces of paint?). The head is moulded free-hand; ears are tacked on separately. Features are incised with a stick. Head and cap are not separated; the large incised lines over the eyes are probably intended as eyebrows. This gay and lively head with its aquiline nose, small, smiling mouth, and almond eyes is a masterly sketch of a quality rare among Near Eastern terracottas.

The little rounded oval face, urbane rather than fierce, would suffice to indicate that this is a Phoenician in the strict sense of the word. Similar friendly, smiling faces are encountered among the Phoenician ivories. A head from Megiddo is as early as the thirteenth (?) century (56), but in overall proportions the Chase terracotta is even closer to the fine Phoenician ivory head found in Perachora and dated in the seventh century B.C. (57) Until better parallels are forthcoming we are in-

clined to place the Chase head in the eighth or seventh century B.C. and regard it as a work by the same type of artist as those who produced the later Phoenician ivories (58).

Beyond its interest as one of the rare Phoenician terracottas that are real works of art, the head is also a significant document for the history of facial expression in art. As far as we know, nobody has as yet written a history of the smile; it is often regarded as typical of the optimistic attitude toward man that was first portrayed by the archaic sculptors of Greece. Indeed, Dussaud has used the alleged smile of the ivory goddess from Minet el Beida to argue that this remarkable work must be Mycenaean Greek rather than Phoenician, and presumably the lively goddesses found in Mycenae are to be interpreted as heralds of archaic smiles - though authentic Mycenaean faces are certainly not noted for gayety and lively charm (59). Yet Valentin Müller has pointed out that there are some Mesopotamian and Imperial Hittite examples and he rightly sensed that Phoenician ivories must have presented the first examples of optimistic smiling people to the archaic Greeks (60). The Phoenicians have been robbed of much of their prestige; art historians and archaeologists are annoyed by their unabashed eclecticism. With the wealth of Near Eastern material we have now, it may not be amiss to point out that there is

(54) Bossert, *AS*, fig. 634, cf. also fig. 1093, from Khirbet el Medineh.

(55) Bossert, *AS*, figs. 448-457; *Alt. A.*, figs. 903-904; 955 f. The type and expression seem particularly close to Tell Halaf, e.g., *AS*, figs. 455, 464, 471.

(56) Bossert, *AS*, fig. 1114 = G. Loud.

(57) Bossert, *AS*, fig. 809. R.D. Barnett, *JHS* 68 (1948) 5 f., pl. 3 c, thinks that this head does not belong "to any known school." For the cap of the Chase head, cf. the bronzes from Karpasc, Bossert, *AS*, fig. 158 (Berlin), terracotta from Beyrouth, fig. 658.

(58) Cf. ivory head from Nimrud, F. Basmachi, "Nimrud Excavations" *Sumer*, vol. 8 (1952) 196 ff., fig. 2.

(59) Dussaud, 85, fig. 48 C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I (1939) frontispiece and pl. II. A.J.B. Wace, *Mycenae* (1949) fig. 101-103. The terracotta head from Byblos, Bossert *AS* fig. 641 = M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Atlas I, (1937) pl. 51, no. 1302 is certainly friendly enough and it is not Greek.

(60) V. Müller, 101, 130, 217 ff.

in much of Late Phoenician art a certain humane liveliness, the liveliness of a sea-faring and enterprising people—not only in their sea-faring and commerce and alphabet, but in some aspects of their attitude toward life, the Phoenicians show themselves as fore-runners of the Greeks.

(5). Fig. 6 a. Terracotta "Papsukal" Museum number 1952.42. Gift of Professor Vladimir G. Simkhovitch. H. 8.3 cm.

Broken off below the waist.

This terracotta relief plaque was cast from a standard mould and is one of many of a similar type. He grasps an alabastron by the neck with his right hand while the left palm supports the lower part of the vase. The dress is a long robe belted at the waist. The mantle appears to be formed by a series of horizontal fringed bands. The upper part of the coiffure, which falls in full curls upon his shoulders, is formed by a series of ridges radiating from the top of the head. A moustache curled at the ends, a smooth beard cut sharply at the bottom, and large eyes with prominent lids are other distinguishing characteristics.

Close parallels to this figure have been found at such sites as Babylon and Uruk (61), in levels and buildings belonging to the period of Assyrian domination of Southern Mesopotamia. Consequently, our vase carrier can be dated about 650 B.C. The significance of these figures has been discussed by E. D. Van Buren, who surmises that they may have been intended as lesser

(61) R. Koldewey, "Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa", *WVDOG* 15 (1911) 33, fig. 50. J. Jordan, "Uruk-Warka", *WVDOG* 51 (1928) pl. 78 a-b. E. D. Van Buren, *Clay Figurines* (1930) 196 ff., nos. 959-963.

divinities of the court of Ea, the Lord of the Watery Deep (62).

(6). Figs. 7-9. Bronze Head of a Bull. Museum number 1943.1321. Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest. Provenance unknown. H. 7.6 cm. Greatest width including horn and ear 12.8 cm. Width between bases of horns 7.6 cm. Thickness of bronze 0.6-1 cm. Weight: 1535 grams.

The material of the head and the inserted horns is discussed below in the Appendix by Rutherford J. Gettens. The natural color is very golden; the ancient dark green patina survives only in a few spots, as the head was thoroughly cleaned in modern times before coming to the Museum. Its present black to redbrown color is due to natural tarnishing of metal. The right horn and the tip of the left horn are missing; the left ear is broken and the right ear is battered.

According to B. Bearzi, the piece was cast in lost wax process. It was then thoroughly tooled and chiselled. The hair is left as cast, but eyes and muzzle have been carefully worked.

The piece was cast with a "step-back" around the neck (63) so that there is an inner collar for insertion into a hole. Rivets were driven through this collar from inside, fastening the neck to the object into which the head was set. A number of these ancient rivets are preserved and are visible in Figs. 7-9.

The head is large and heavy, the forms very full. The engraved forms are subordinate to cast, plastic shapes. The most prominent features are; the raised rectangle of hair which begins behind the horns and runs down to half-muzzle. The hair is stylized as waves crossed four times by bands of curls on neck,

(62) *The Flowering Vase and the God with Streams* (1933) 101, fig. 56 (Cassite?).

on top of head, over forehead, and over muzzle.

A system of strap-like details links hair to muzzle. The eyes are nearly circular and rise toward center; the upper corner is drawn back slightly. A marked tear-duct is sharpened by a graven line. The eyebrows, shaped like sausages, are raised and outlined by incisions. The two sides of the neck meet in a sharp ridge. The total impression is one of heavy, massive power.

When the bull was first studied it seemed to compare with similar Urartean bull heads. Subsequent view of pieces in Ankara and the British Museum proved that the Fogg Museum piece is larger, much heavier, of different metal, and in a more voluminous and plastic style of the Fogg piece.

The throne of King Ashurnazirpal as depicted on a relief from Nimrud in the British Museum shows the top horizontal member decorated with two bull's head (64). As far as can be determined from the relief it would appear that the original objects were modeled in full plastic forms with emphasis on the large bulging eyes (Fig. 10) As the stylization of the veins and the folds of flesh on the muzzle are sculptured in relief, it may be assumed that the original heads were treated similarly (65). The parallel to the Fogg head is stri-

(62) It was not carried quite around the left side. Figs. 8-9 show clearly where the set-back stops.

(64) E. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum, Reign of Ashurnazirpal* (London, 1914), pl. XXXI. An ivory lion head from Nimrud, British Museum 91884 resembles the Fogg head in style. Assyrian influence probably accounts for similar use of bull heads on the throne of King Barrekub of Sencirli. Bossert, *Alt A.*, fig. 952.

(65) If the original heads were treated in terms of incised lines, the relief without a doubt would be executed in a fashion similar to that employed in indicating the embroidery patterns on the robes of the king.

king, even though our bronze lacks the ring of curls about the neck and the banded pattern above the eye prominent on the relief. The "set-back" around the neck of the bronze head suggests that it was intended to be inserted into a straight plane such as a part of a throne rather than into a curving one such as the side of a cauldron.

Two groups of bronze bull heads follow the same compositional scheme as the Fogg piece. One group has been shown by Barnett to be Urartean and dated in the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C. They were set in winged frames and attached to cauldrons. The pieces come from Toprakkale and Erzincan (66). The Fogg bull head is clearly differentiated from these in material (a more golden bronze) and style. Throughout, the "Toprakkale-Urartean" bull heads emphasize details by linear engraving, for example, the collar of curls around the neck, the circular eye, and the rectangle on top of the muzzle.

Very much closer to the Fogg Museum piece are three bull heads in the Louvre, Cleveland, and a Midwestern American collection (formerly D. Kelekian) (67). Two of these (Louvre and

(66) R. D. Barnett, *Iraq* 12 (1950) 1 ff., figs. 1-2, pl. 16. *Id* and Nuri Gökçe, *AnSt* 3 (1953) 129, pls. 13 f., 19:1. D. K. Hill, *The Fertile Crescent* (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1944) 31, figs. 25, belongs to this group. B. A. Kufin, *Arartskiy Kolumbariy u podoşvy Ararata* (1943) 41, pl. 11:5, (from Kürdistan) is slightly different.

(67) 1. Louvre. Collections Sultan Mecid, F. Sarre. Kufin, 40 f., pl. 10:2, 11:4. F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (1923) pl. 45. *Persian Art, An Illustrated Souvenir* (Burlington House, 1931) pl. 9, no. 10. R. Dussaud, *Bull. Musées de France* (1933) 139. G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéol. orient.* 4 (1947) 2266, fig. 1289.

2. Cleveland. Collections Mahomed Alla Mirza, Christian R. Holmes. Kufin, 41. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (1938) pl.

Cleveland) were found by men from the village of Guşci in the Salmas District on Urmia Lake. R. D. Barnett, who has traced their history through a publication by B. A. Kuftin, has very kindly placed his material at our disposal. Kuftin's source reported that the two bull heads were found with the skeleton of a bull that had been filled with wax as well as with a Urartean bronze belt and some unspecified silver vessels. The bull heads allegedly formed part of two complete figures of bulls, which were smashed by the finders. The third (ex - Kelekian) bull head is said to have been found in Persepolis. Sarre had conjectured that his piece (now Louvre) might have decorated a throne. Kuftin argued that they either were part of bull figures or were mounted "on tubular objects". Barnett (by letter) states that they are "obviously from a bronze crater". He surmises that all three pieces were cast in one mould, an opinion also expressed by some dealers, who had an opportunity of inspecting all three pieces.

On the piece which is now in a Midwestern collection, the outer base of the has been filed down in a very slight curve, perhaps too slight to fit a cauldron. Cast in one piece with the head, there is a peg on top of neck; it thickens upward. There are two peculiar projections from sides of neck one tooled, the other jagged. Within the head and recessed by ca. 2 cm. against the level of the outer neck is a rough "inner collar", perhaps of a different metal. It might be the remnant of a "metal tube" which originally held the head in place. There are no traces of

rivets or rivet holes, such as are seen on the neck of the Fogg piece. This evidence for original setting is inconclusive; the existence of the peg may be a point against regarding the piece as a vase attachment.

Characteristic resemblances between these heads and the Fogg bull head may be seen in the plastic treatment of the mane, the "sausage" form of eyebrows, and the plastic folds at the tip of the muzzle. They are slightly larger, the proportions are slightly more elongated and such details as curls of the mane are thinner. The eyes are nearly circular.

The Louvre - Cleveland - Midwestern Collection pieces were claimed as Urartean by Kuftin and his opinion is shared by Barnett. Kuftin also suggested that they were the models for Barnett's "Toprakkale - Urartean" type. The Fogg piece seems to us a step nearer the original inspiration. We are inclined to regard it as the Assyrian model and the Louvre - Cleveland group as very close, probably contemporary Urartean imitations. The Louvre and the Cleveland pieces have been called Achaemenid on the basis of their resemblance to the bull capitals from Persepolis (68), but we have no certain examples of similar bronze bull heads from the Achaemenid era.

This magnificent type of Near Eastern bull head considerable vogue in Cyprus, Etruria, and early Greece (69).

(68) For example, E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (1941) pl. 60 a, and for similar stylization, H. Otto, *ZfAss.* 14 (1944) 9 f., fig. 1.

(69) E. Kunze, "Verkannter orientalischer Keselschmuck aus dem argivischen Heraion", G. Behrens, ed., *P. Reinecke Festschrift* (1950) 96 ff., pl. 16:2, looks a poor derivative of the Fogg type.

Cyprus: G.M.A. Richter, *Cat. Bronzes Metropolitan Museum, New-York* (1951) 348 f., nos. 1182-1187. E. Buschor *Altsami-*

108. Id., *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (1945) pl. 20. *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 199 (photo).

3. A Midwestern Collection, USA. Formerly D. Kelekian. Kuftin, 41, pl. 10:1. A.U. Pope, *Cahiers d'art* 6 (1931) 84 (photo). T. Borenius, *Pantheon* 7:1 (1931) 91 (photo).

(7) Figs. 11-12, 13 d. Bronze Figurine of a Winged Goat. Museum number 1949.92. H. 10.7 cm. L. 8.3 cm. Published: American Institute for Iranian Art, *Exhibition of Persian Art* (1940) p. 302 G. Parke - Bernet Gallery, *Joseph Brummer Sale 2* (May 11-14, 1949) 24, no. 108.

The piece is cast in one with four short pegs which issue from its hoofs. A bit of right hind leg is missing. Technically, it is somewhat puzzling. By its weight, it feels as if it were cast solid; yet there is a hollow space - at least 3 cm. long - inside the goat's rear in which a metal fragment is heard rattling. A neat hole near tail connects with this hollow.

B. Bezzi has suggested that the goat was cast over a suspended core. Bits extracted from the interior have not been identified. Miss Elizabeth Jones of the Fogg Museum's Conservation Department reports that the material is not lead. Another puzzle is presented by the legs. In the opening on the right hind leg, where the piece of bronze has broken away, there was found under a surface layer of earth a "filling" of bright metal. According to Miss Jones the sample tests for copper, but results for lead and tin were negative. The surface of the figurine has been carefully cleaned. There are, however, in many spots accretions of brown iron rust; otherwise the color of the patina is a beautiful dark green. Presumably it was buried together with an iron object.

All major features are cast, but the strap-like outlines around the shoulders and hind quarters and the peculiar small "back-swept" wings are incised by chisel. The general appearance of the goat is sturdy, alert, appealing; it is a stockier and stubbornner animal than the graceful wild-goats of "Classic" Achaemenid or of Orientalizing Greek art.

The eye is big and baneful, the forelegs dig in, as if he was guarding against an attempt to drag him away.

Among the details, the angular formation of horns is noteworthy; also the beard which falls right onto the chest; and the peculiar little flaps which grow from the foreshoulders just under the wings. The male sexual organ was indicated.

Even though the wings look very much like an afterthought on the part of the artist, they are there - and signify that this flying goat is not an ordinary mountain animal.

In a general way, the Fogg wild goat stands between the Luristan bronzes and animal of the "Classic" (Persepolis) period of Achaemenid Art. It is very much sturdier and bulkier than the Luristan examples (70), less demoniac and more of a real animal. While he shares with Achaemenid work some important features of stylizations - the outlining by "straps" for example; yet most Achaemenid metal animals (71) appear to be of slighter build and more natural form. His bulky angularity is found to some degree in two Iranian bronzes from Azerbaijan, formerly in the E. J. Holmes Collection and now given to the Fine Arts Museum, Boston (72). They seem to display a similar lack of structural articulation between the body and legs of the animal. There is also similarity of detail: the

sche Standbilder (1935) 58, figs. 224 f. P. J. Riis, *Acta Archaeol.* 10 (1939) 5 ff., 19, no. 9, 8, calls the New-York pieces Etruscan.

(70) A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. 4, pl. 70.

(71) Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 11. H. Otto, *Zf A* (1944) 9 ff., fig., 1.

(72) A. U. Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (New-York, 1945) pl. 17 b, c, attributed them to Luristan. M. Bahrami, *Cat. of Works of Iranian Art from American Collections Supplementing Iranian*, attributes to Azerbaijan, ca IX century.

beard falling onto the chest which projects between the forelegs.

Other details such as the angular horns (73) can be paralleled by Luristan bronzes. They may also be paralleled on a goat from Ziwiye (74 a), but the downward curving wing, the lower part of which is patterned by a series of vertical parallel lines, is most perplexing. Luristan, Ziwiye, and Assyria do not seem to offer any outstanding examples. A pectoral from Ziwiye depicts winged animals with somewhat similar patterns on their bodies, but their wings turn upward (74 b). The little flaps growing from the foreshoulders suggest similar stylizations on the lions from Arslan-Tash (75). The parallel hatching about the legs can likewise be matched on certain Luristan pieces (76). This stylization also appears in a group of bronzes, of which one can be dated by its association with "Assur Attaschen" - a lion formerly in the Baumeville and Duthuit Collections (77). If the last comparison is just, the bronze workshop that made the lion and the goat was active around 700 B.C. Its products may have reached Greece; but its own location cannot be safely determined.

(73) Pope, *Survey*, pl. 70.

(74) a. A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyé* (Haarlem, 1950) 49, fig. 39.

(74) b. Godard, *op. cit.*, 25 ff., fig. 15, 16, 21-23.

(75) Thureau-Dangin et al. *Arslan-Tash*, Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, *Sérvice des Antiquités. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 16, pl. 6.

(76) Pope, *Survey*, pl. 32, A.

(77) W. Fröhner, *Coll. A. Duthuit, Bronzes antiques* (1897) 8, no. 6, pl. 10. He says that the figure is cast solid.

REPORT ON THE TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF BRONZE HEAD OF A NEAR EASTERN BULL, FOGG MUSEUM ACC. NO. 1943.1321 BY RUTHERFORD J. GETTENS

This head is hollow and appears to have been cast. The metal throughout seems sound and it is only superficially corroded. The sides of the hollow interior are covered with a thin layer of red and green copper corrosion product. The red is crystalline cuprous oxide (cuprite) and the green is chiefly basic copper chloride (atacamite). The presence of chloride indicates the object came from an arid region. The exterior of the object, however, is smooth and little pitted. It is mostly natural bronze in color interrupted with areas of black tarnish and streaks of red and small particles of green. There is evidence that the outer surface was originally corroded like the interior, but the corrosion products have largely been abraded or dissolved away.

In 1950 the extant left horn became detached; this necessitated repair. The right horn was already missing. It was seen that the horn had previously been detached; soft solder and glue around the base indicated the repair was recent. Both bases were formed square and flush with the head. Each horn base is hollow for a depth of about 1/4 inch. The bottom of the recess is a rough bronze surface as if a plug had been driven into the horn socket and had been broken off. It was at first thought that the base of the left horn was shaped as a plug and had been driven into the head and had later been broken off. The irregular broken base end of the horn and of the broken interior seemed to register. A hole was drilled into the base of the horn and into the floor of the recess and repair was made with a

brass dowel and with a cement made from vinyl acetate and chalk.

The borings from the dowel holes were given to Dr. H. C. Harrison of Rhode Island State College for spectrographic analysis. The analyses showed that the metal of the horn is different in composition from the head. The metal of the horn contains, in addition to copper and tin as principal constituents, also a fair amount of zinc, whereas the metal from what appears to be the stump of horn has no more than a trace of zinc. His first estimates were as follows:

1 — Metal from stump of horn in head: Cu, Sn over 10 %; Ni, 1-0 %; Ca, Pb, Ag, As, Sb, Bi, 0.1-0.01 %; Si, Al, Mg, Mn, Ti, Au, Cd, 0.01-0.001 %.

2 — Metal from horn: Cu, Sn, over 10 %; Zn, 10-1 %; Cr, Ni, 1-0.1 %; Si, Ca, Pb, Ag, As, Sb, Bi, 0.1-0.01 %; Al, Mg, Mn, Ti, Au, Cd, 0.01-0.001 %.

Further samples for spectrographic analysis were taken both from the horn and from various parts of the head to check the preliminary results. These results likewise show that the amount of zinc alloy of the horn is greater than in the alloy of the head, although in this series the amount of zinc (1-0.1%) reported in the horn is not so great as that reported above.

To check the question about the possibility that the metal in the holes of the horn bases are stumps of horn driven in from outside and not part of the head, x-rays of the head were taken at the Watertown (Mass.) Arsenal through the courtesy of Mr. F. L. Brackley.

Several films taken with exposures up to 400 KV, 5 milleamperes and 3 minutes showed that the metal in the region of the horn sockets is solid and

there is no evidence that stumps of horns exist.

It appears then that the single horn was cast separate from the head. In addition to being of different composition the metal of the horn seems more yellow (brassy) than the metal of the head. On close examination of the horn it was seen that it bears patches of the same abraded-down red cuprite and green that one can see on the head. It is also interesting that with some magnification one can see on the surface of the fracture at the tip of the horn a dendritic structure which shows that it is cast metal.

Attention was called to patch-like areas on the hollow interior opposite the horns; removal of the patina in small areas showed no difference in metal color. Spectrographic analysis of the drilling taken here showed it has the same composition as drillings from other parts of the head.

The thick portion of the neck which bears three rivets was examined. The edge was scraped. It appears that the thick rim is a broken-off piece of the body or form to which the head was joined with rivets. The lower edge however, which would be visible on the side, cannot be seen, presumably because of deep corrosion which has cemented the seams together. Spectrographic analysis of a sample of the attached piece show that it has approximately the same composition as drillings from the head. The heads of the rivets are covered heavily on the inside with corrosion product.

It is felt that the object is old and that it is genuinely and deeply corroded.

The presence of the element nickel in all specimens supports, but does not prove, the supposed Near Eastern origin of the head.

THE RELIEFS OF "SESOSTRIS" IN IONIA

J. M. COOK

εἶπε δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολλημένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῆ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίους ἐς Φώκαιαν ἐρχονται καὶ τῆ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται. . . . ὅστις δὲ καὶ δρόθεν ἐστὶ, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθεν δὲ δεδήλωκε (Herodotos II. 106) (1).

The celebrated relief (Fig. 1) carved in a niche on a smooth rock face high over the roadway in Karabel gorge was discovered in 1839 by two travellers, Burgon and Renouard, who did not make any communication upon it before their return to England (2). Some months later G. von Eckenbrecher located the relief, and a drawing of it by Texier (3) was promptly submitted to the judgment of leading scholars of the day. The relief was at once recognized as one of the two τύποι carved on rocks in Ionia which Herodotos recorded among the images of the warlike Egyptian king whom he called Sesostris. In a communication to the Berlin Aca-

demy in the following year (4) Lepsius recognized the Karabel figure as portraying Rameses-Sesostris; and the savants of the French Academy likewise declared the work Egyptian and discovered in the signs visible to the right of the head traces of the titles of Rameses the Great (5).

This explanation of the figure, though at first sight so convincing, did not remain for long unchallenged. A second drawing with detailed measurements, made by H. Kiepert in 1842, showed more clearly than Texier's polished design the fundamental difference between the style of the Karabel figure and Egyptian art of the New Kingdom; it was further remarked that the signs in the field were not Egyptian hieroglyphs, nor was a king's name to be seen there (6). At Gerhard's instance Rosellini gave his opinion that the relief could not be Egyptian, and even recognized in it a Roman creation prompted by the passage of Herodotos (7); and Lepsius in a subsequent article revoked his original claim that

(1) The stela of Sesostris also receive a general mention in Ael. Aristides XXVII. 38 (Keil), Diodoros I. 55 and Eusebios *ap.* Synkellos, Paris ed. p. 60.

(2) Cf. *Bull. Inst. Corr. Arch.* 1840, 33. Welcker in *Rhein. Mus.* 1843, 430 n. 2 gives testimonies for earlier knowledge of it: MacFarlan, *Constantinople* (1828) 464, knew of the work from a Greek, and it is apparently reported that the Englishman Caplan had heard of the monument in Smyrna before 1814 (*Classical Museum*, London, 1844, vol. I, 232).

(3) *Description de l'Asie mineure* Pl. 132: redrawn in a barbarous style and an infernal setting it reappeared, without indication of the change, in Perrot and Chipiez *Histoire de l'art* IV, 749 fig. 362.

(4) *Monatsbericht d. kgl. Akad., Berlin*, 1840, 39ff.

(5) Cf. Texier *Description* II, 305.

(6) *Arch. Zeit.* I (1843), 33ff.

(7) *Arch. Zeit.* I, 46; Gerhard, however, in his capacity of editor commented on the pointlessness of such a fabrication, and Rosellini's suggestion, which in fact involves the assumption that the copyist inadvertently placed the weapons in the wrong hands and the hieroglyphs in the wrong position, does not seem to have received further consideration.

the work was Egyptian (8). Kiepert himself drew an effective comparison with the carvings (newly revealed in Texier's drawings) of Yazılı Kaya and Pteria (Boğazköy) in Cappadocia; and though the historical context of these Anatolian sculptures could not be apprehended at the time and Kiepert, with Texier, believed them to be monuments of the Scythian domination of Asia in the seventh century B.C., the validity of this comparison has been fairly generally recognized since (9). Herodotos, no less than those of his contemporaries who considered the figures to be images of Memnon, was quite mistaken in his identification of the subject as "Sesostris" (10).

The question of Herodotos' two

(8) *Arch. Zeit.* IV (1846), 271ff., with a drawing p. 275, which corrects Kiepert's in certain particulars though admitted to be less accurate in the proportions of the figure.

(9) The uncertainty about the actual proportions of the figure, which prevailed so long as the dissimilar drawings of Kiepert and Texier offered the only effective illustration, was removed by the appearance of the first photographs in the 1860s; cf. the drawing, from a sharply angled photograph, Moustier *Voyage de Constantinople (Tour du Monde IX, 266)*, photographs *Rev. Arch.* XIII (1866), Pl. 12, Trémaux *Exploration arch. en Asie Mineure*, Nymphaeum Pl. I, Weber *Sipylos* (1880) opp. p. 36, and derivative drawings from the elfin sketch in Lenormant's *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient* 249 to the lightning-seared design in Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne* II, 428.

(10) Cf. Hyde Clarke *JAOS VIII*, (1866) 380ff.; Perrot and Guillaume *Rev. Arch.* XIII (1866), 434 (= Perrot *Mémoires d'Archéologie* 22), where the relief is assigned to a branch of Assyrian art and the identification with Memnon is accepted as to all intents and purposes correct. With the recognition of the relief as Hittite this identification continued to be regarded as nearer the truth than Herodotos' since Memnon was claimed as a Hittite by Gladstone (*Homeric Synchronism* 166ff., cf. Sayce *Herodotus I-III* p. 181 n. 2, Wiedemann *Herodots Zweites Buch* (1890) 416).

τύποι came to the front again in 1875, when Humann discovered a second figure in the Karabel gorge, carved in relief on a fallen rock alongside the old path about two hundred metres down the valley from the first figure (11). It had indeed already been noticed in 1856 by Dr. John Beddoe, but he and his companions had not drawn attention to their discovery. Apparently this rock was still on the spot where it had been carved, but owing to a slight change in the course of the road since ancient times the carved surface was no longer presented to the wayfarer and had become obscured by undergrowth. The carving had suffered serious injury, (12) and Humann's drawing does not show the upper part of the figure at all. The relief was again examined in 1879 by Sayce, who made a drawing which gives a fair impression of the attitude of the whole figure and leaves no doubt that, despite certain obvious differences — which can be satisfactorily explained by the difference of position and of range at which they were intended to be seen — (13) the two carvings formed a pair on either side of the road which ran down the glen (14).

(11) *Arch. Zeit.* XXXIII (1876), 50 f.

(12) According to Humann the destruction of a large part of the surface was caused by a nomad's camp fire before his visit in 1875. Sayce, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* I, 84, says that a nomad's tent was actually pitched against it at the time of Spiegelthal's visit three or four years before his own in 1879. Perrot and Chipiez, however, attribute the damage to deliberate defacement (*Histoire de l'art* IV, 750 n. 1), and Sayce later concurred in this explanation (*The Hittites* 69).

(13) The first figure was cut on a gray limestone cliff, the second in a rock of reddish white marble. The niche of the second was deeper and rather smaller, and the figure in higher relief.

(14) Sayce *Journ. Hell. Stud.* I, 84f.; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology* VII (1882),

Sayce's visit, however, led to another significant advance in the understanding of the reliefs. Having seen the sculptures of Boğazköy and Alaca-Höyük, and also specimens from Carchemish then arriving in England, he surmised that the Karabel figures were monuments of an extensive Hittite Empire; and with the help of squeezes of the signs beside the head of the first figure he was able to demonstrate that the characters are beyond question Hittite. Sayce was followed by Ramsay (15), Lenormant (16) Perrot and Chipiez, (17), and by Wright, Hogarth, Garstang, and succeeding generations of Hittitologists (18).

The interpretation of the inscription on the first relief and the occasion of the carving of the figures still remain uncertain (19); but speculation on this subject is out of place here. Subsequent research has added nothing material to the present purpose; for with the divergence of Oriental from classical studies since the 1880s the problems associated with these monuments of the Hittite Empire have fallen outside the scope of classical study.

The discrepancies between Herodotus' description of the *τύποι* and the celebrated representation on the rock face were remarked from the outset; Herodotus describes the spear as being in the right hand and the bow in the left, and speaks of hieroglyphs on the chest (whereas the only ones to be seen are in the field to the right of the head). With the discovery of the second figure the puzzle was at first thought to be resolved; Sayce contended that the second figure, which stood beside the road, conformed to Herodotus' description and was the one which the historian actually described, and in this he was followed by Ramsay and Hirschfeld; but his argument was inadequately founded and he subsequently abandoned it. In fact the second figure did not fit Herodotus' description better than the first, and there is no reason to suppose that it fitted it worse either.

Herodotus speaks of the two reliefs as being carved by the road from the Ephesia to Phokaia and that from Sardis to Smyrna. With the choice of two routes which he gives, the location of the single figure cut on the rock face at once became a subject of discussion. Kiepert, with his keen geographical sense, recognized that the natural route from Ephesus to Phokaia lies through Smyrna and that the Karabel pass lies too far to the east of this line. He first considered the possibility of a way leading from Ephesus further to the west through mountains then unearthed (and thus still capable of holding an unnoticed rock carving) to the south shore of the Gulf of Smyrna; but he rightly made the objection that the starting point of this route must be Ephesus itself rather than the Ephesia, and following up this point he suggested an alternative route (which would in fact pass quite close to the Karabel) from the inland territory of Ephesus along the southern shelf of the

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(15) E. g. *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* 30.

(16) *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient* III (1882), 249, n. 1.

(17) *Historie de l'art* IV, 751 f.

(18) Hirschfeld's reactionary stand against the Hittite origin need not be considered here since he was not separating the Karabel figure from those at Boğazköy (*Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien, Abhandl. Preuss. Akad.* 1886, 10ff.), and his argument fell to the ground with the excavations at Boğazköy.

(19) For the signs see Sayce *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology* VII, 267 (cf. Perrot-Chipiez IV, 752 fig. 364; for their translation see Sayce *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology* XXI (1899), 222.

Nif Dağı to the plain of Smyrna. But he excluded the possibility of a route over the Karabel pass leading towards Phokaia. On the other hand, he was willing to disregard the short distance by which the figure in the Karabel pass is separated from the road leading from Sardis along the Nif sleeve and over the Bel Kahve pass to Smyrna; in support of this view it may be urged that the ancient route could well have turned to the south towards the mouth of the Karabel gorge, seeking the firmer ground above the valley bottom, and so in fact have passed not more than the half hour that Kiepert estimates from the rockcut figure. Kiepert therefore in the end identified the figure with that located by Herodotos on the way from Sardis to Smyrna.

Lepsius, on the other hand, was less insistent on the main trends of communication and more literal in his interpretation. He rejected the location on the Sardis-Smyrna road, which certainly never passed up the Karabel gorge; and he laid emphasis on Herodotos' use of the term Ἐφεσίων (20), which can only imply a more easterly route than that by Smyrna, since, to be significant in this context, it must denote the inland territory of Ephesos. Lepsius' contention has much to commend it. The territory of Ephesos, in later times at least, extended well over thirty kilometres up the Kaystros valley (21); and to the traveller from the inland settlements around the modern Tire and Bayındır the shortest route to the lower Hermos valley would lie through the rolling country south of the Mahmud Dağı and across the Ka-

abel into the Nif sleeve (22). Since Kiepert and Lepsius opinion has wavered between the two routes, but nothing novel has been said on the subject, unless one takes into account the mutually exclusive theories advanced at different times by Ramsay (see below).

The discovery of the second figure in the Karabel gorge in 1875 gave a new turn to the problem. Humann boldly expressed the view that the two figures were those described by Herodotos and that the location given is at the crossing of the two roads (23). Sayce at once accepted this identification, and (though speaking of the figures as pointing to Ephesos and Sardis respectively) (24) defined the position as the meeting place of the two paths referred to by Herodotos (25). But neither Humann nor Sayce attempted to elucidate Herodotos' words; the engineer Humann's penetrating observation was screened by E. Curtius' cautious editorial comment that the topographical problem demanded mature reconsideration; and Sayce modified his own view by conceding that Herodotos was "not correct in saying that the pass..... leads not only from Ephesos to Phokaia but also from Sardis to Smyrna", and that he "must have received his account of the figures from another authority" (26). The facile assumption that the two reliefs existing on the ground were identical with the two τύποι described by Herodotos was soon left behind. Ramsay denied that either of the roads mentioned could go up the Karabel gorge (27), and this extreme of nega-

(22) Cf. Weber *Sipylos* 47f.

(23) *Arch. Zeit.* XXXIII, 51.

(24) *Journ. Hell. Stud.* I, 85.

(25) *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology* VII, 268. Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch* (1890), 415, seems to take the same view.

(26) *The Hittites* 69.

(27) *Journ. Hell. Stud.* II, 53.

(20) "Was offenbar mit Absicht statt Ephesos gesagt ist" (*Arch. Zeit.* IV, 276). Welcker, who accompanied Kiepert, also preferred the Ephesia-Phokaia route (cf. *Bull. Inst. Corr. Arch.* 1842, 185).

(21) Cf. Strabo XIII. 620.

tion was transmitted without further comment by S. Reinach (28). Ramsay in fact was prepared to agree that one figure in the Karabel was mentioned by Herodotos, but considered that the text of Herodotos must be rearranged-either so as to give a route from Ephesos to Sardis (in which case another figure was to be looked for on the Smyrna-Phokaia route) (29), or to replace the two roads by three radiating from Sardis (on two of which there would have been rock-carved figures) (30). Ramsay's influence seems to have proved decisive, and the few scholars who have subsequently had occasion to review the location of Herodotos' *τύποι* seem to have rested content with the identification of one, and not more than one, figure in the Karabel pass (31).

The second relief has suffered a peculiar metamorphosis. Ramsay suggested in connection with the second of his explanations that Herodotos has erroneously located the other "Sesostris" at the position on the north margin of Mt Sipylos occupied by the seated

(28) In *Le Bas-Waddington Voyage arch.* (1888), p. 45, where the implication seems to be that the figures in the Karabel are not those described by Herodotos.

(29) *Journ. Hell. Stud.* II, 53.

(30) *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), 30, 60. Ramsay subsequently endeavoured to associate the two carvings with the "stele" and "mnema" of Tos, which lay on the route from the plain of Sardis to (Ephesian) Smyrna recommended by Hipponax, fr. 15 Bergk (*Asiatic Elements*, 1927, 157ff.).

(31) How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotos I*, (1912), p. 219, "two monuments have been found, of which one... corresponds to H.'s account". Keil-Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise (Denkschriften Akad. Wien.* 57, 1915), 5, "Die zweite gleichartige Figur, die nach Herodot an der Strasse von Smyrna nach Sardes lag, ist bisher nicht gefunden worden". Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), p. 58, "Das Karabel-Relief bereits bei Herodot II 106 erwähnt", etc.

rockcut figure commonly called "Niobe", which overlooks the road leading down the Hermos valley from the direction of Sardis; and attention has been fixed on this doubly-or rather trebly-"pseudo" Sesostris (32), whereas the second figure in the Karabel seems to have disappeared both from the speculations of scholars and from the face of the land (33).

It is nevertheless evident that the second figure in the Karabel gorge fits Herodotos' description of the carved figures better than the "Niobe" and has therefore at first sight the better claim to be the other *τύπος*. And if the identification with the "Niobe"-or another figure now lost-is accepted, we are left with the anomaly of a second figure on the ground, corresponding to the first and carved at the same spot, - and furthermore much the less likely to have been overlooked by the ancient traveller-which has been ignored by Herodotos and his contemporaries. Before such an assumption can be admitted the text of Herodotos must be re-examined. He says there are two rockcut reliefs of Sesostris

περὶ Ἰωνίην : the preposition might well cover more than one point on a periphery, but it is constantly used with the accusative by Herodotos to indicate a single indefinite position either in a region or on the fringe of one (34). They are located

"Where people pass on the way from the Ephesia to Phokaia, and (where they pass going) from Sardis

(32) A modern misrecognition of a figure falsely identified as the image of a wrongly named king. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (1938) 34f., seems to incline to this view.

(33) Cf. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna* 34f., probably broken up in road-making in 1927.

(34) For the latter cf. VI.105.1; VII.190; VIII.108.1.

to Smyrna": apart from the coincidence of two figures and two ways, there is no certain indication here that the author was referring to two positions on different routes rather than one position by two routes.

Ἐκτεροῦθεν a man is carved: this word normally means "on either hand" and therefore implies that Herodotos had a single position in view (35); the current rendering "in both places" (i.e. = ἀμφότερῃ) strains the meaning of the word.

"Who he is and where he comes from, he does not declare ἐνθ' ἑαυτῶν, but he has declared it ἐκτεροῦθεν": this was taken by Kiepert and Lepsius to mean that on one of the two τύποι (the one figure then known in the Karabel) these particulars were omitted, but that the other τύπος bore the titles (36). But this interpretation is precarious; neither of the two τύποι in Ionia can really have been set up by, or borne the titles of, an Egyptian king, and both are covered by Herodotos' description of figure and legend; it is therefore more natural to refer ἐκτεροῦθεν to the stelae actually set up by this "Sesostris" elsewhere — κατὰ τὰς Χώρως — and especially those seen by Herodotos himself in Palestine (II.106.1). The word ἐνθ' ἑαυτῶν therefore covers the position of the two τύποι on the confines of Ionia, and it also in some degree lends support, by its normal application to a single position when used as an adverb of place (37), to the view that Herodotos had only one place in mind. It must therefore be admitted that attempts to locate only one of Herodotos' τύποι in

the Karabel not only fly in the face of the facts on the ground, but involve considerable emendation of Herodotos' text or the attribution to the significant adverbs of meanings that they do not elsewhere carry.

The accurate definition of a position at a distance from any city or landmark likely to be known to, let us say, an Athenian or Olympic audience was by no means easy; and if Herodotos was referring to a position in the Karabel gorge his method of pin-pointing that position was singularly effective: he named first the route on which the figures lay, and then the road into which it debouched at a bare half hour's trot. On this view Herodotos is not guilty of the gross misconceptions and blunders now generally attributed to him; and if one wishes to criticise his accuracy (or that of his informant) one can at most say only that he has not explicitly drawn attention to the short distance at which the two figures lay from the junction of the two routes (38).

It remains to define the route on which the sculptures lay. It would probably be true to say that no student of ancient geography had the opportunity of seeing the Karabel in its true setting until in recent months a civil aeroplane service was established between Ankara and İzmir. Coming from the Phrygian plateau the plane passes high over Sardis, and then losing altitude skims over the Karabel gap to enter the plain of Kolophon and land at Cumaovası. The cliff on which the warrior relief is carved appears prominent near the head of the pass, and beyond this on the left low broken

(35) Cf. Liddell-Scott 9 S.V.

(36) *Arch. Zeit.* I, 42 n. 18; IV, 275.

(37) The 47 other examples of its use for place at rest in Herodotos (see Powell *Lexicon to Herodotus* s. v.) all relate to a single position except for that in VIII. 24. 1, where the different places acquire a unity by together constituting the location of Xerxes' army.

(38) Prof. G.E. Bean points out to me the possibility that Herodotos, relying on hearsay, misunderstood the position given by his informant and believed that one figure lay on each of the two routes which meet at the bottom of the Karabel.

country stretches away to the upper Ephesia. From the air the Karabel appears as a natural line of communication. Herodotos' use of the word *Ἐφεσίων* in fact makes the whole position clear. A traveller going from Ephesos itself to Phokaia would most naturally cross the Kolophonian plain to the head of the gulf at Smyrna, whence he would proceed to the crossing of the Hermos; if the lowest regular ford were then, as I believe it to be now, that at Emiralem below the ancient site of Temnos, the main road was no doubt that which leads northward through the heart of the Yamanlar Dağı (39). To the traveller from the inland territory of Ephesos, however, this route would be

unnecessarily roundabout. The direct way would not touch the Kolophonian plain at all but would traverse the Karabel to Nymphaion (Nif); thence it would probably pass north of Bel Kahve to join the Smyrna road in the Yamanlar Dağı and descend to the crossing of the Hermos at Emiralem.

(39) Ramsay's assumption that the crossing of the Hermos was below Mene-men in ancient times (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* II, 49) seems to be unsupported by literary or archaeological evidence, and conflicts at least with the *Tabula Peuteringiana*; this uncertainty does not, however, affect the validity of his conclusions on the topography of the Southern Aeolis except perhaps for the positions of Larisa and Neon Teikhos.

A Z İ Z O G A N

(1888 - 1956)

Edremit eşrafından ve halı tüccarlarından merhum Halilzâde Ahmet'in oğlu olup, 1888 de İstanbul'da doğmuştur. 1910 da Sanayii Nefiseden mezun olmuştur. Babasının samimî bir dostu olan Müze Müdürü Hamdi beyin teşviki üzerine Arkeoloji ilmine heves eden Aziz Ogan, 300 kuruş maaşla Müzeye intisap ederek maaşı 700 kuruşa yükselmiş ve Arkeolojik bilgisini sağlamamak için İzmir, Manisa ve Aydın vilâyetlerinde yapılan müteaddit kazılara Komiser olarak gönderilmiştir. Gösterdiği dirayet ve muvaffakiyet üzerine 1914 de terfian 1500 kuruş maaşla İzmir Âsariyatika Müfettişliğine tâyin olunmuş ve seferberlik ilânı üzerine ihtiyat zabıt namzedi olarak Nakliye Talimgâhına alınmış ve bu talimgâhı ikmal ederek Çanakkale ve Kafkas cephelerinde bulunmuş ve müteakiben Suriye ve Garbi Arabistan Kumandanlığı Âsariyatika Müşavir Muavinliğine ve buna ilâveten ordu emrinde bulunan Şam Sanayi Mektebi Müdürlüğüne tâyin olunmuş ve bir aralık ordu tarafından tamir olunan Baalebekdeki meşhur Jüpiter Mâbedinin restorasyonunda ve Şam'da Camii Emeviyenin etrafındaki ev ve dükânların kaldırılarak bu tarihî binanın meydana çıkması işlerinde İsviçreli bir heyetle işbirliği yapmış, 18-Ağustos-1918 de terfîs olunarak İzmir'e avdetle Âsariyatika Müfettişliği vazifesine yeniden başlamış ve aynı zamanda birinci ve ikinci (Sultanî) mekteplerinde kendisine dersler verilmiştir. Yunan işgali üzerine kadrosu İstanbul'a naklolunarak Arkeoloji Müzesinde hafriyat ve tasnifat işleri ile meşgul olmuştur. İstirdadı müteakip 1922 sonlarında Maa-

rif Vekâleti tarafından 3000 kuruş maaşla İzmir ve havalisi Âsariyatika ve Hars Müfettişliğine, 1926 Eylülünde terfian Vekâlet Umumi Müfettişlik kadrosuna alınarak (Âsariyatika Umumi Müfettişi) olarak istihdam olunmuş ve İstanbul Müzeleri Umum Müdürlüğüne tâyinine kadar zengin muhteviyatı ile iftihar ettiğimiz İzmir Müzesini ve Efes ile Bergama mahallî müzelerini inşa ve tesise muvaffak olan Aziz Ogan, İzmir ile mücavir vilâyetlerde bulunan Âsariyatika ve hafriyat mevkilerine birer bekçi tâyini ile bunların iyi muhafaza olmalarını sağlamıştır. Merkezi İzmir'de olmak üzere (İzmir ve Havalisi Âsariyatika Muhipleri Cemiyeti)nin kurulması için Vali merhum Kâzım Paşaya telkinatta bulunarak bilâhare bu vadideki faydalı neşriyatı ile bölgede hayırlı işler başaran bu cemiyetin, umumi ve mes'ul kâtibi sıfatıyla kurulmasında ve gelişmesinde büyük hizmetler ifa etmiştir.

Aziz Ogan, 1929, 1930 yıllarında (Maarif Vekâleti Âsariyatika ve Müzeler) Müdürlüğüne de kısa fasıllarla vekâlet etmiş ve bilhassa Efes Müzesinin devlet hazinesine bar olmadan hususi kaynakların teberruatı ile inşa olunmasından ötürü İzmir Vilâyeti, Aziz Ogan'ın adına Efes Müzesi kapısına mermer bir iftihar levhası talik etmiştir. Aziz Ogan, İstanbul'a tâyininin sonra da müfettişlik zamanında yarı kalan işleri ikmal için çalışmıştır. İzmir Müzesinin 1927 ve 1932 de res'imli rehberini telif etmek suretiyle bu müzenin ilim âleminde tanıtılmasına hizmet etmiş olan Aziz Ogan, vilâyet âsariyatikasına dair bir hayli makaleler ve broşürler neşretmiştir. Bilhassa Efes - Ayaslug

harabesine ait yazdığı rehber, bu vadi-
de Türkçe yazılan eserlerin ilki olarak
gösterilebilir.

Aziz Ogan, İzmir'de bulunduğu sı-
rada Seyyahin Cemiyeti (şimdiki
Turing Kulüp) ile İzmir Res-
samlar Cemiyeti Re'isliklerine intihap
olunmuş ve bu iki ödevde de başarılar
göstermiş ve Vekâlet makamında müte-
addit takdir ve taltif mektupları almış-
tır. 1931 de 9000 kuruş maaşla İstanbul
Arkeoloji Müzeleri Umum Müdürlüğüne
tâyin olunan Aziz Ogan, 1933 yılında
Mazarif Vekâletince Avrupa müzelerin-
de bir tetkik seyahatine çıkarılmış, bu
suretle Avusturya, Almanya, Hollanda,
İngiltere, Fransa ve İtalya'nın mühim
müzelerini ziyaret etmiş, gerek İtalya,
gerek Yunanistan'da hafriyat mevkile-
rini de görmek ve kazılarda takip edi-
len metodları tetkik eylemek fırsatını
elde etmiştir. 1939 yılında New-York'ta
açılan dünya sergisinde Türkiye Cum-
huriyeti pavyonlarında tesis olunan
âsarıatıka ve müze sergisi heyeti baş-
kanlığı ile New-York'a gönderilen Aziz
Ogan, New-York, Vaşington gibi şehir-
lerde mevcut muhtelif sınıflara mensup
sayıları altmışı aşan müzeleri de tet-
kik etmek suretiyle müzecilik vâdi-
sindeki bilgi ve görgüsünü artırmak
fırsatına nail olmuş ve bu sergi vazife-
sini başarı ile ikmal etmiştir. 1934 de
Türkiye'ye gelen İsveç Vefâhdı Prens
Güstav Adolf'un Bursa, İstanbul ve
İzmir seyahatlerinde refakatinde bulun-
muştur. İstanbul Müzeleri Umum Mü-
dürlüğü esnasında emir ve iradesi al-
tında müzelerin terakki ve inkişafı hak-
kında değerli başarılarında bulunmuş ve
Süleymaniye'deki Tabhane Medresesi-
nin onarılıp Türk-İslâm Eserleri Müze-
sinin bir şubesi olarak Mahkûkat Mü-
zesi ittihazını sağladığı gibi, Ayasofya'n-
nın müze haline konması keyfiyeti de
yine mumaileyhin müdürlüğü zamanında
olmuştur.

Aziz Ogan, 1931 yılı başlarında İs-
tanbul Müzeleri Umum Müdürlüğüne
tâyin olduğu zaman âzası eksilerek
toplanmayan İstanbul Eski Eserleri Ko-
ruma Encümeninin münhallerini, bu
encümenin reisi sıfatıyla kıymetli ele-
manlarla takviye ederek encümen me-
saisine kuvvetli bir istikamet vermiş ve
şehir içinde mevcut tarihî anıtların
hüviyetleri hakkında tarihî malûmatı
ihtiva eden fişlerin tanzimine ciddi bir
önem verilmiştir.

Aziz Ogan, Türk Tarih Kurumu
adına 1927 yılı yaz mevsiminde Topka-
pı Sarayı ikinci avlusu dahilinde (Eski
Akropol) de ve 1938, 1943 yıllarında
Küçükçekmece civarında Region hara-
belerinde arkeolojik araştırmalar yap-
mış ve istihsal olunan sonuçlara ait ra-
porlar, Kurumun bu yıllara ait belle-
tenlerinde intişar etmiştir.

Aziz Ogan, Türk Tarih Kurumu
ile Viyana, Berlin, Prag Arkeoloji Ens-
titülerine aslı âza intihap ve tâyin olun-
muştur. 4598 No. lu kanuna tevfiқан
31/Mayıs/1945 tarihinde maaşı 100 li-
raya ve 1/6/1947 de de maaşı 125 lira-
ya yükseltilmiştir.

1950 de İstanbul'un fethinin 500.
yılı kutlama hazırlıkları için Ankara'da
toplanan komisyona üye olarak se-
çilmiş, Ankara'da teşkil edilen "Eski
Eserler ve Müzeler Merkez Danışma
Kurulu" toplantılarına iştirak etmiştir.
1951 yılında İstanbul'da yapılan bir
merasimle Mainz şehri İlim ve Edebiyat
Akademisi Genel Sekreteri Prof. Dr.
Scheel tarafından rahmetli Osman
Hamdi ve Halil Ethem Beylerin anane-
lerini devam ettiren Aziz Ogan'a bir
şükran borcu olarak Akademi âzalığı
diploması verilmiştir.

Müzelerimizin yapıcı bir unsuru
olan Aziz Ogan 46 sene hizmetten sonra
yaş haddi dolayısıyla 31/12/1953 tari-
hinde fiilen müzelerden ayrılmakla be-
raber, İstanbul Eski Eserleri Koruma

Cemiyetine âza olarak müzedeki hizmetine devam etmiştir. Son defa teşkil edilmiş bulunan "Müzeler İstişare Kurulu"na üye olarak seçilen Aziz Ogan'ın kıymetli fikirlerinden istifade edilmiştir.

Aziz Ogan, kısa bir hastalıktan sonra 5/10/1956 Cuma günü vefat etmiştir.

Aziz Ogan'ın vefatı, Müzeler için büyük bir kayıp teşkil etmektedir. Kendisine Tanrıdan rahmet dileriz.



Aziz OGAN



Abb: 1

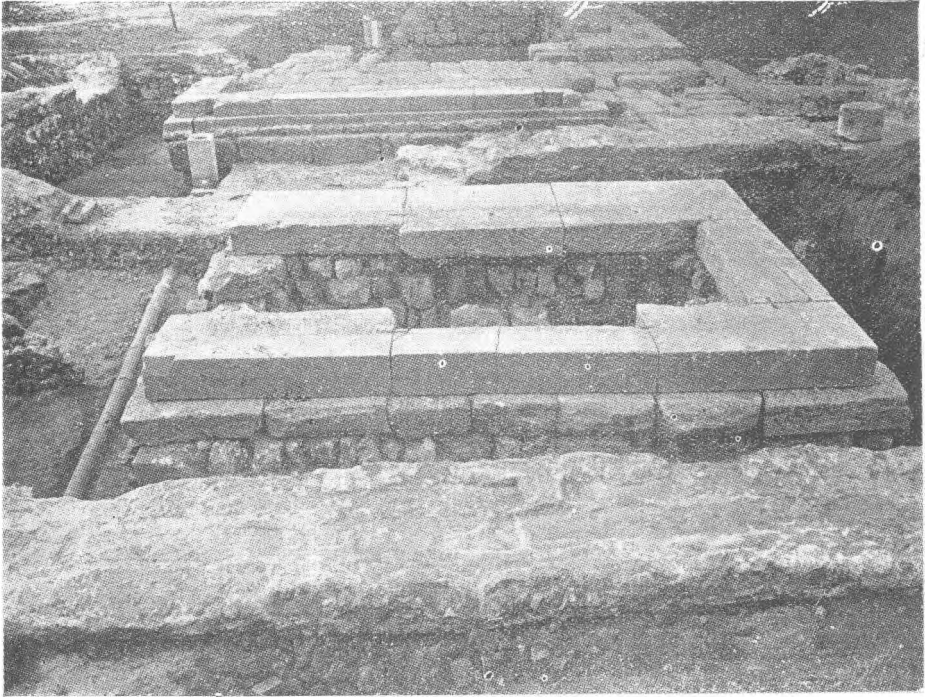


Abb: 2



Abb: 3 a—



Abb: 3 b—



Abb: 3 c—



Abb: 3 d—

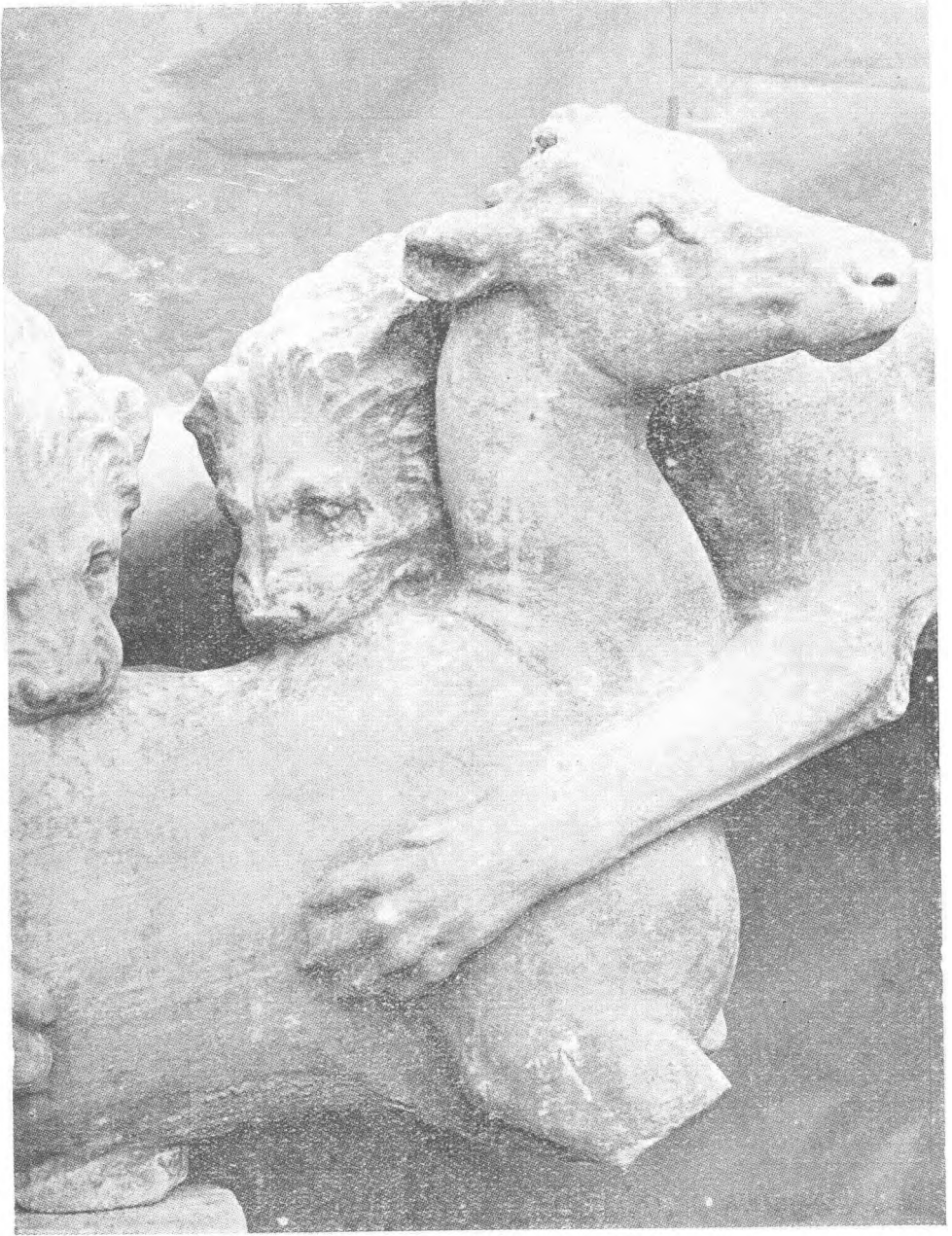


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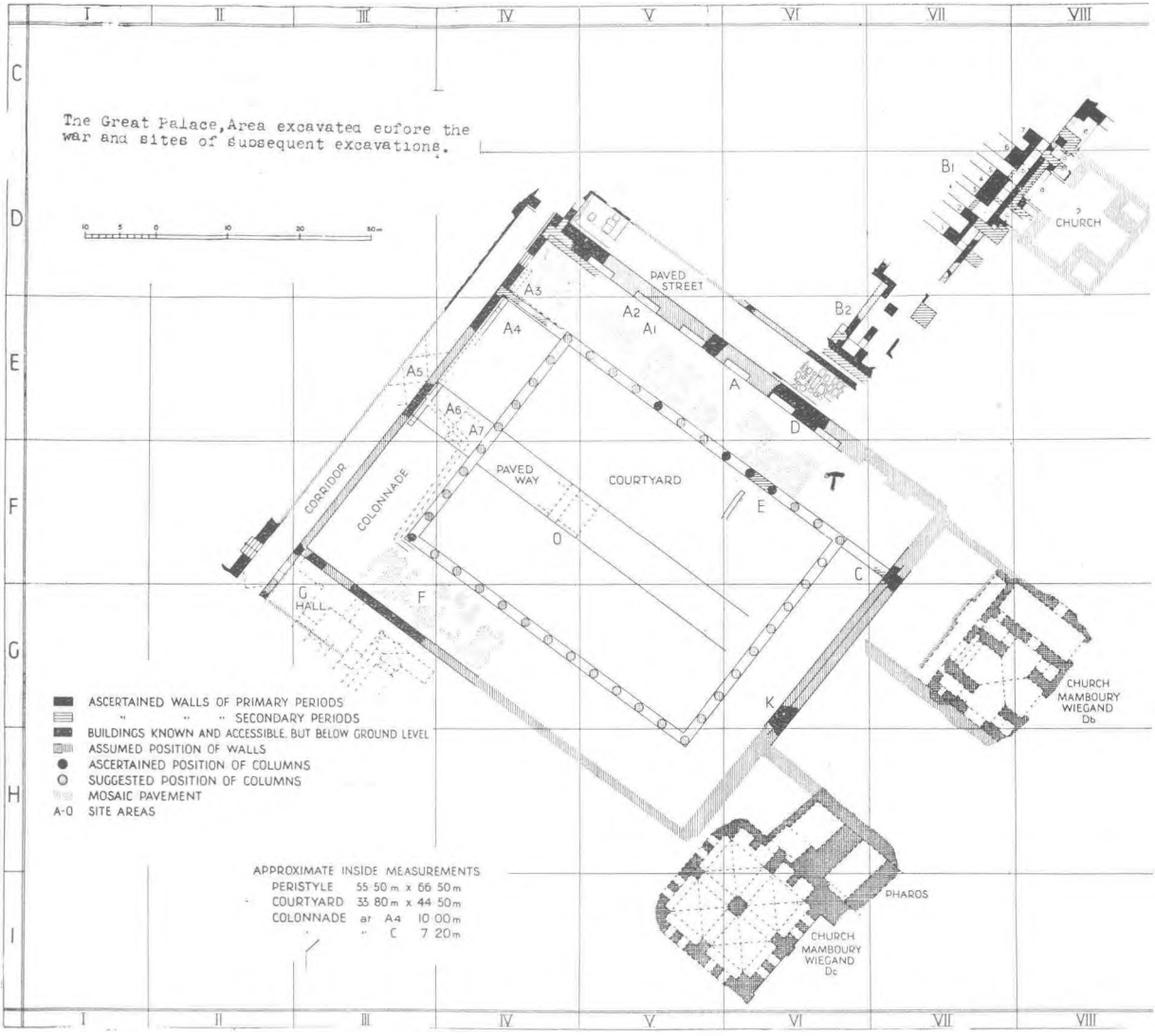


Fig: 1 — The Great place

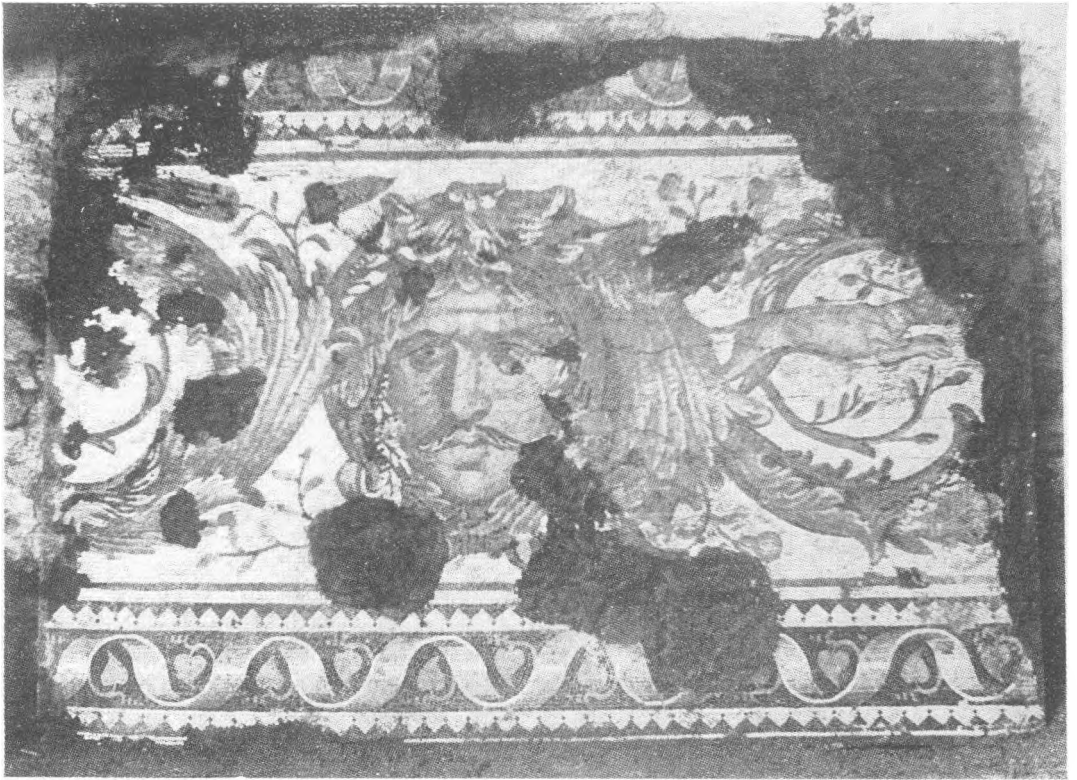


Fig: 3 — Portion of border from site A. 1 Head of «Barbarian»



Fig: 3 — Mosaic unearthed in 1953, under

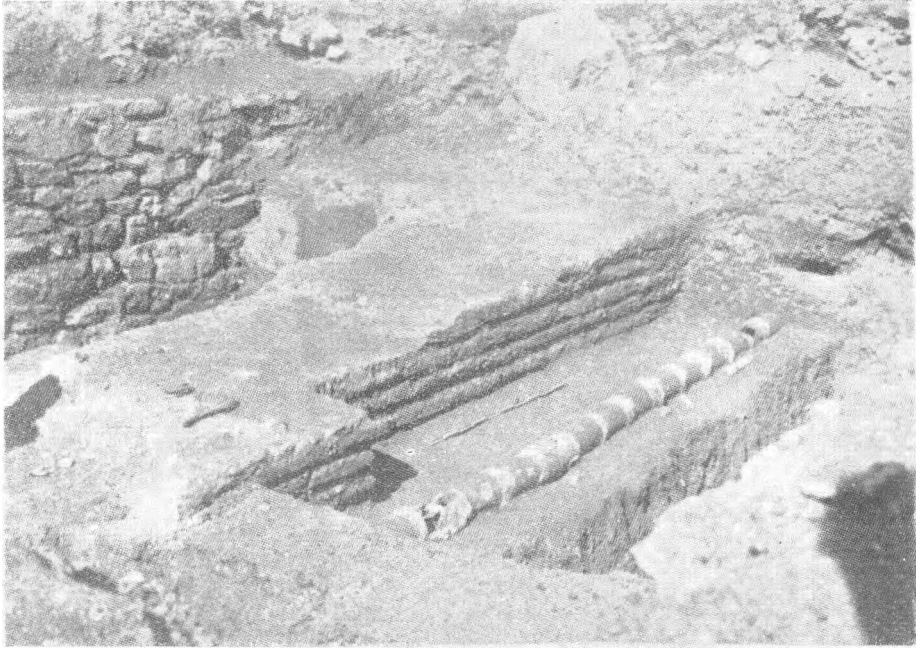


Fig: 4 — The «Bath» building, site E. The rough stone wall at the back is the outer foundation wall of the peristyle complex



Fig: 5 — Brick stamp from «Ba'h» building

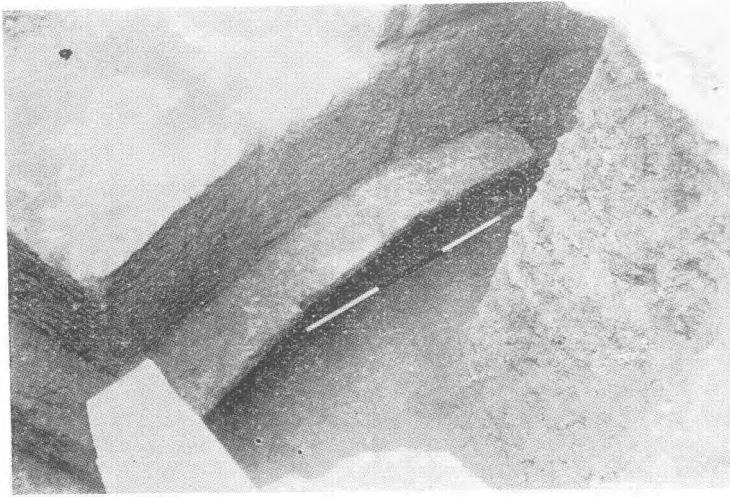


Fig: 6 — Apse of great stone structure

The Walker Trust Excavations in Istanbul 1952 General Plan

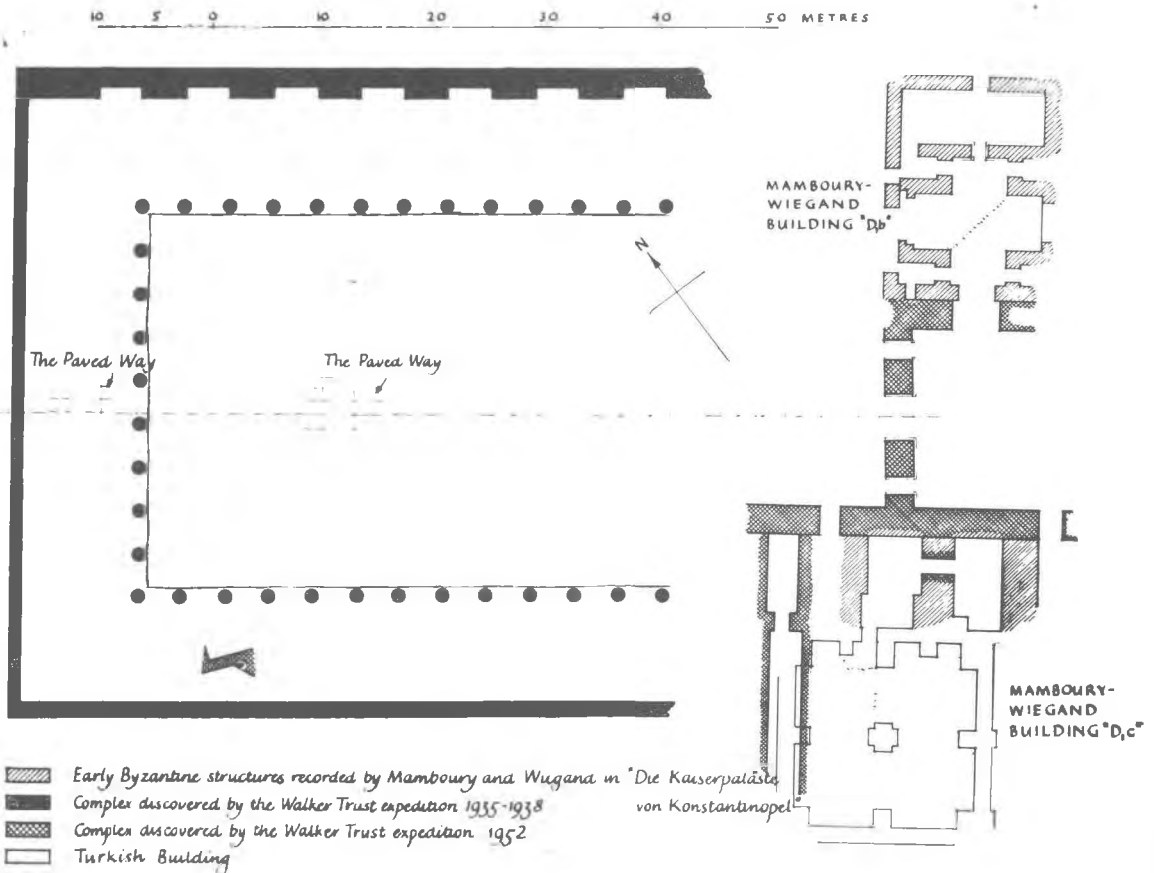


Fig: 7 — The peristyle cour of the great stone structure

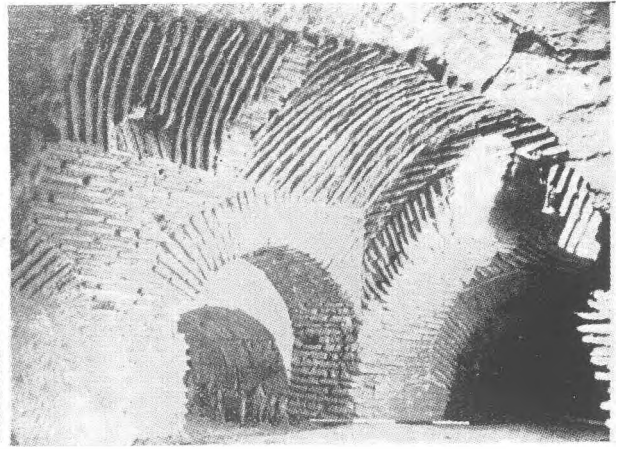
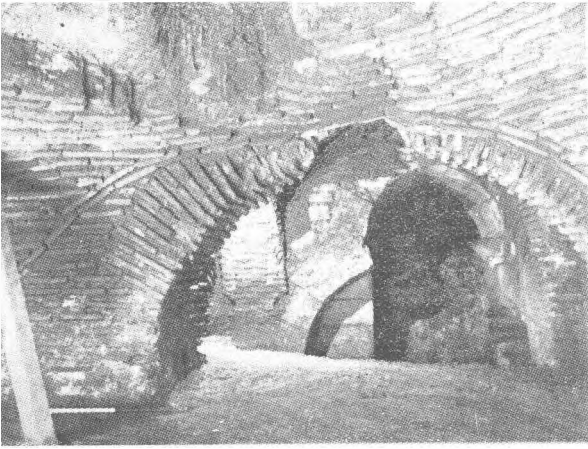


Fig: 8 — Vaulted substructures, with the arcaded wall of the great stone structure beyond

Fig: 9 — Brick vault, showing also the great stone structure

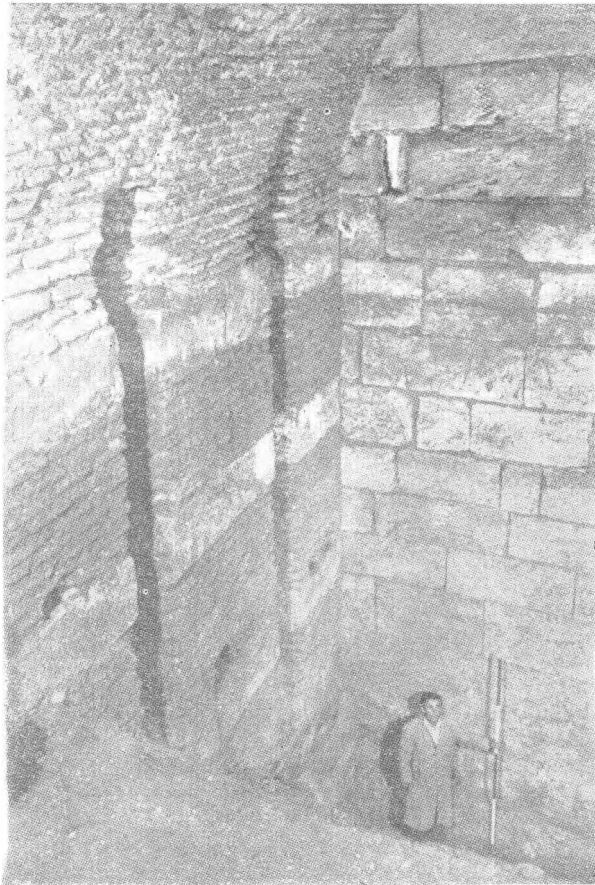
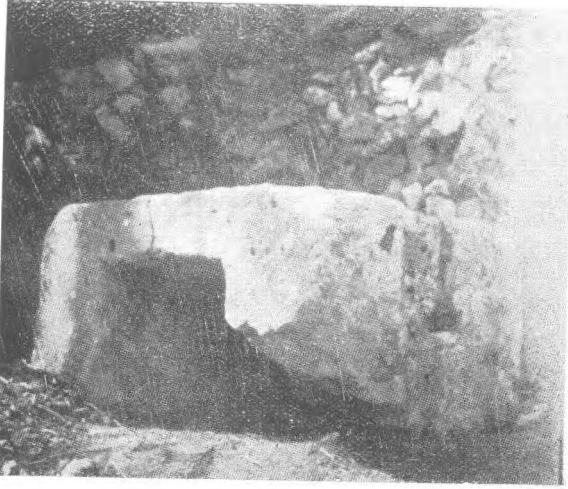
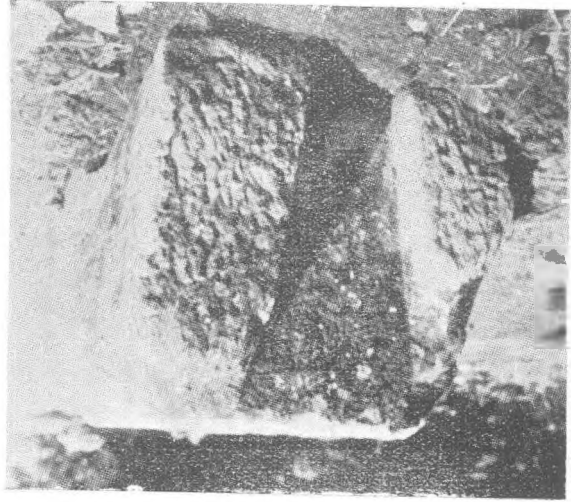


Fig: 10 — Outer wall of the stone structure, with later building of alternating courses of brick and stone built against it



Res: 1 —



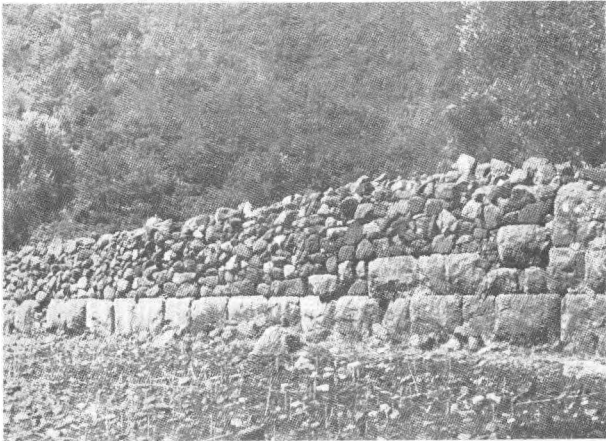
Res: 2 —



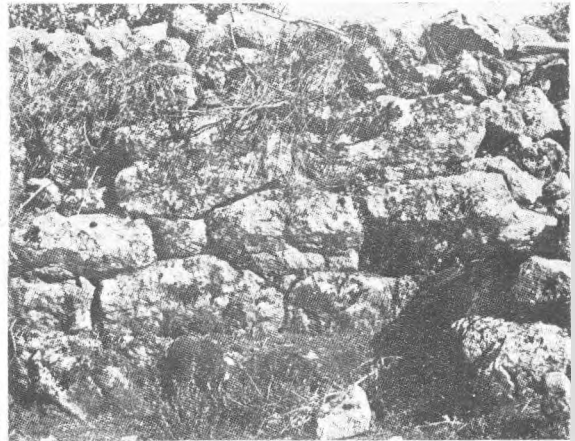
Res: 3 —



Res: 4 —



Res: 5 —

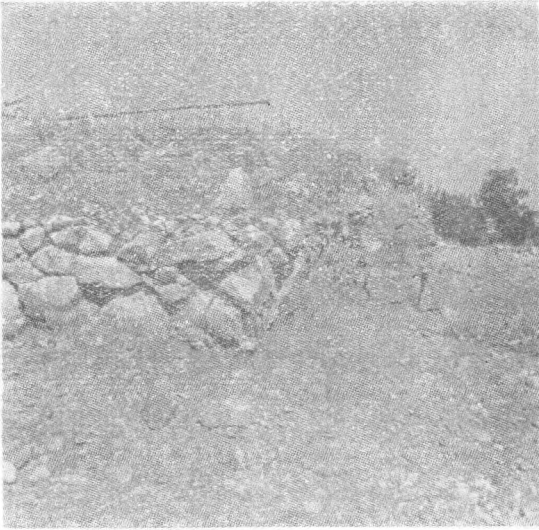


Res: 6 —



Res: 1 — Binlerce kırık parçadan bir kısmı ve kuzey-doğu kapısı restorasyon sahası

Fig. 1 — View of the restoring area of the NE gate.



Res: 2 — Bir burç duvarının restorasyondan önceki harap hali

Fig. 2 — One of the front towers before restoration.



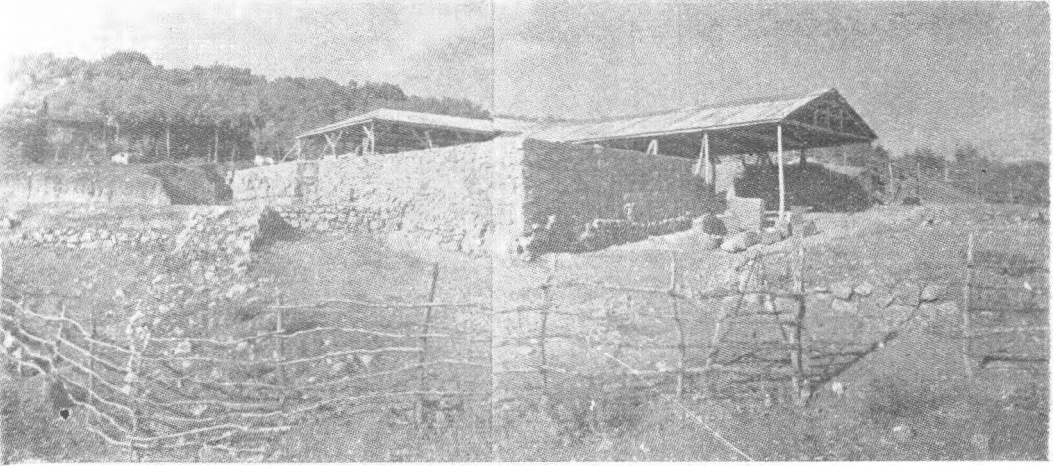
Res: 3 — Aynı burç duvarının restorasyondan sonraki hali

Fig. 3 — The same tower after restoration.



Res: 4 — Çatı ve burcun umumi görünüşü (kuzey-doğu kapısı)

Fig. 4 — General view of the restored front and rear towers of the NE gate and of the provisional roof from the south.



Res: 5 — Çatı ve restore edilmiş burç duvarlarının umumi görünüşü (kuzey-doğu kapısı)

Fig. 5 — General view of the same from the east.



Res: 6 — Büyük ilâh heykeli kısmen rest'ore edildikten sonra

Fig. 6 — The inscribed statue after partial restoration.



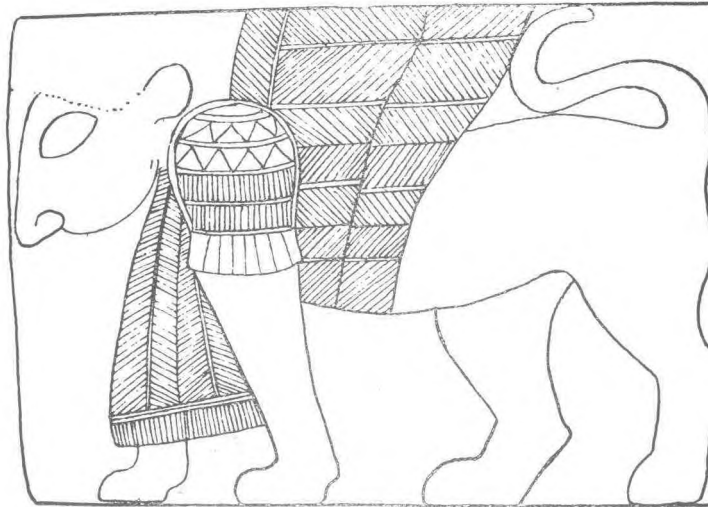
Res: 7 — Yeni bir kabartma rest'orasyon sırasında.

Fig. 7 — A new relief (tribute-bearers) during work.



Res: 8 — Parçalı büyük sfenks birleştirme safhasında

Fig. 8 — The recomposition of a monumental sphinx.



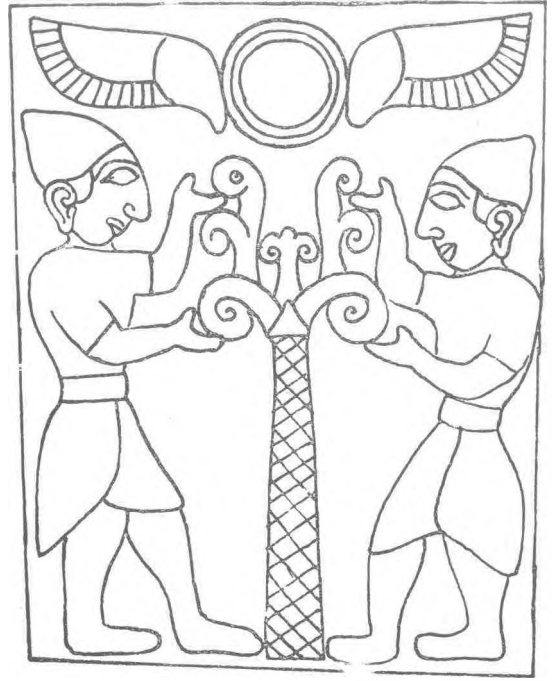
Res: 9 — Aynı sfenks'in restorasyon sonunda alacağı şekil

Fig. 9 — Sketch-drawing of the same.



Res: 10 — Diğer bir kabartma
restorasyondan sonra

Fig. 10 — Another new relief
(tree-of life) after restoration.



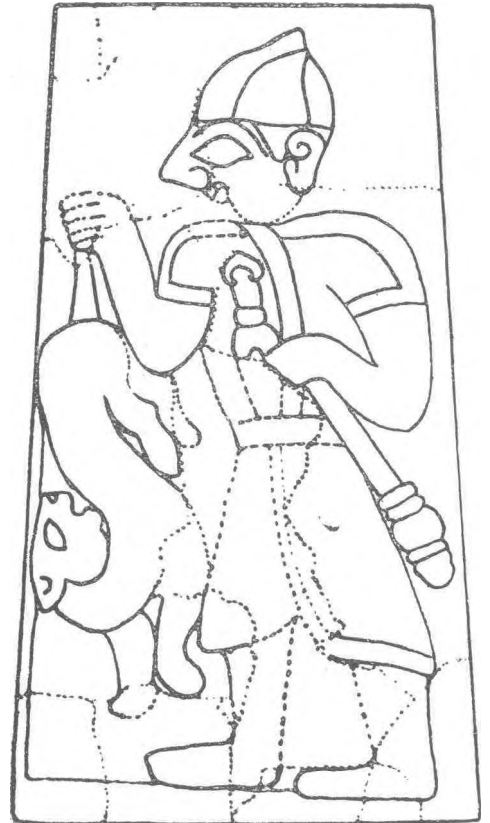
Res: 11 — Aynı kabartmanın deseni

Fig. 11 — Sketch drawing of the same.



Res: 12 — Bir avcı sahnesi restorasyondan
sonra

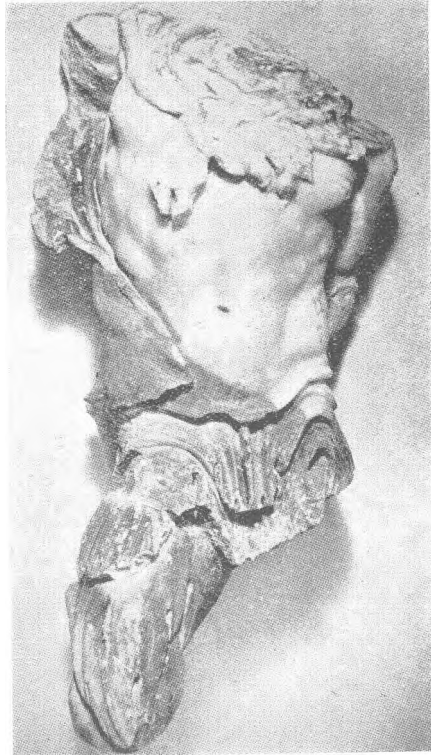
Fig. 12 — Another new relief (hunting-scene)
after restoration.



Res: 13 — Aynı sahnenin deseni



Res: 1 — İstanbul Adalet Sarayı inşaat yerinde meydana çıkan eski yapı kalıntıları



Res: 2 — İstanbul Adalet Sarayı inşaat yerinde bulunan Triton heykeli



Res: 1 —



Res: 2 —



Res: 3 —
K. BİTTEL



Res: 4 —



Fig. 1 — Walking man. Fogg 1943. 1120. Front.

Fig.2 — Walking man. Fogg 1943. 1120. Profile.

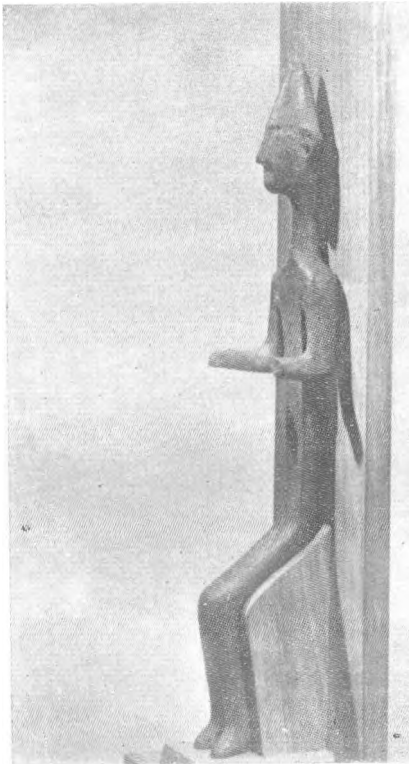
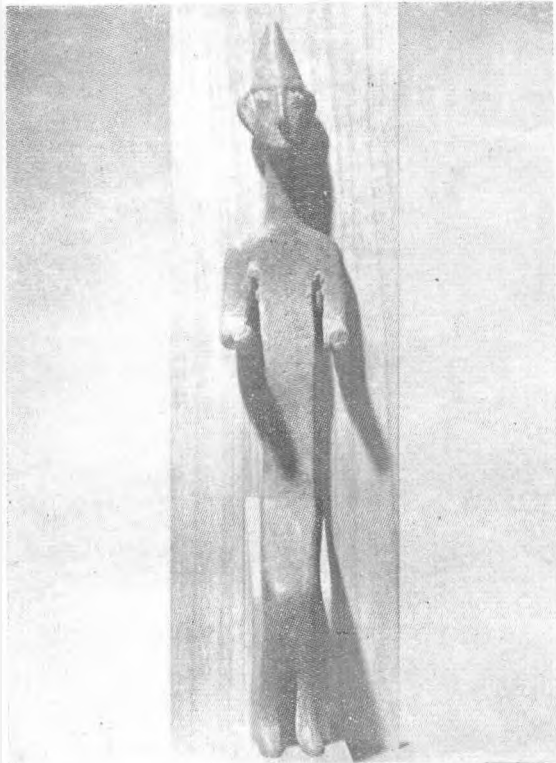


Fig. 3 — Seated God. Fogg 1943. 1119. Front.

Fig. 4 — Seated God. Fogg 1943. 1119. Front.



Fig. 5 — Ram Bearer.
Fogg 1953. 111. Front.



Fig. 6 a — Head With Pointed Cap.
P. D. Chase Collection.

Fig. 6 b — God With Vase.
Fogg 1952. 42.



Fig. 7 — Head of Bull. Fogg 1943. 1321. Front.



Fig. 8 — Head of Bull. Fogg 1943. 1321.
Quarter View.



Fig. 9 — Head of Bull. Fogg 1943. 1321. Profile.



Fig. 10 — Detail of Throne from Relief of Assur Nazir Pal III. British Museum.



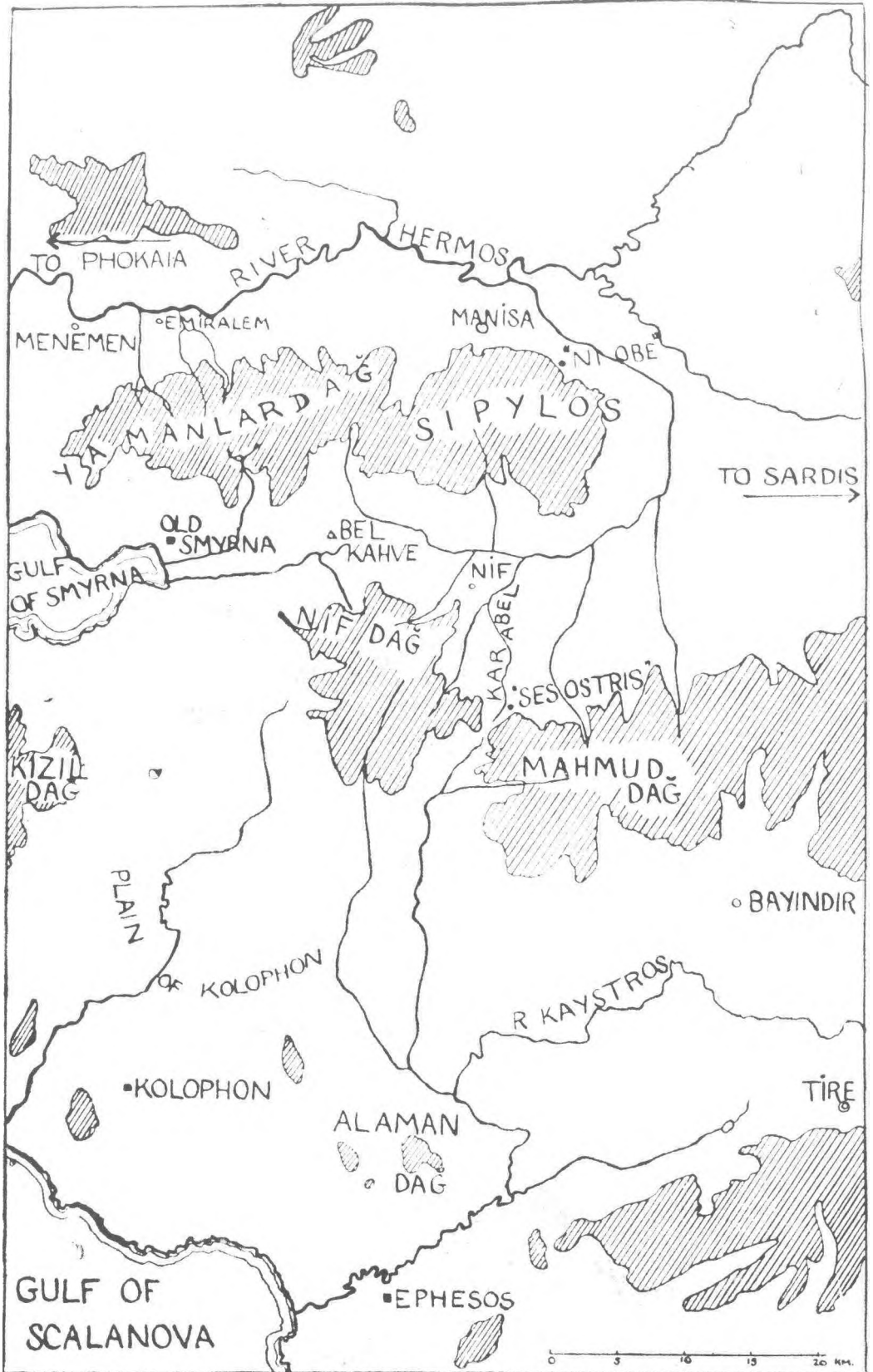
Fig. 11 — Bronze Goat. Fogg 1949. 92.
Right Side.



Fig. 12 — Bronze Goat. Fogg 1949. 92.
Left Side.



Fig. 13 a — Base of Walking Man. Fogg 1943.
1120.
b — Base of Ram Bearer. Fogg 1953.
111.
c — Crown of Ram Bearer. Fogg 1953.
111.
d — Base of Winged Goat. Fogg 1949.
92.



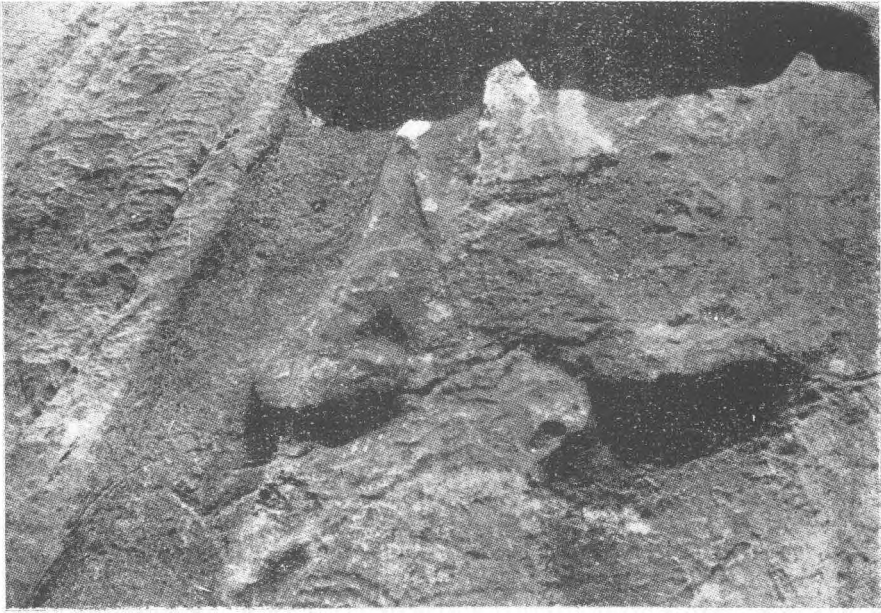


Fig. 1 — Relief of Karabel.

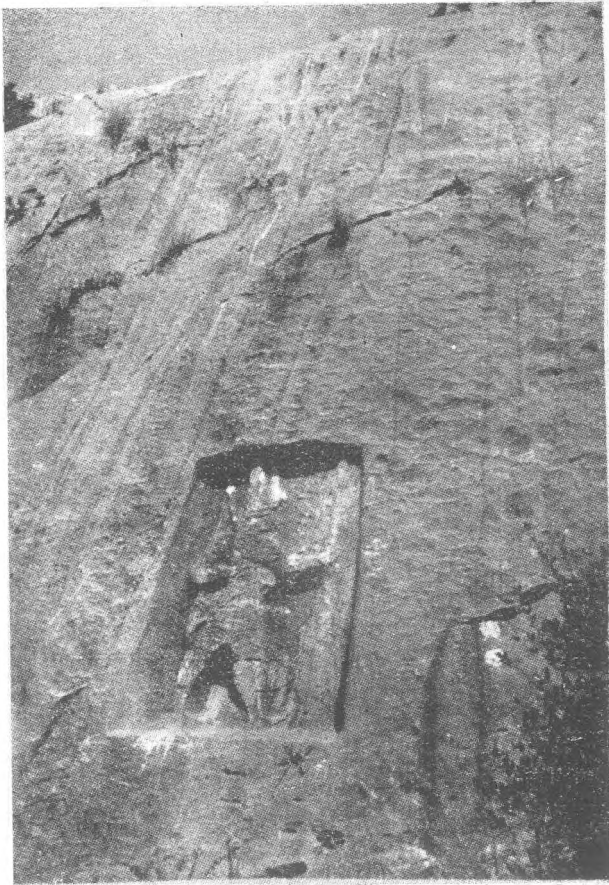


Fig. 2 — Warrior Relief in the Karabel