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A

STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART

PART I.

BY

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A STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART. (PART I.)

A BRIEF introductory statement of the historical views to which I have been led by a study of the Phrygian monuments will make the following pages clearer, and will enable the reader to criticise the whole with greater advantage. I can hardly hope to have reached the truth in regard to this difficult subject; but it is so closely connected with many disputed points in early Greek history that I have thought it best to carry out my view to its logical conclusions and state the whole in brief and precise terms. This will place the reader on his guard from the beginning, and if it leads him to exercise unsparing criticism, I shall have attained my object.

1. The Phrygians are a European race, who entered Asia Minor across the Hellespont: the unanimous Greek tradition to this effect (which at one time I regarded as probably a reversal of the truth) is confirmed by longer study of the country and the monuments.

2. The Phrygians and the Carians were two very closely kindred tribes, nearly related to some of the Greek races, who established themselves in the countries which bear their name as a conquering and ruling caste amid a more numerous alien population: they were mail clad warriors whose armour gave them great advantage over opponents equipped in the slighter oriental fashion. Greek tradition associated various improvements in the style of armour with the Carians, and a relief published below (fig. 9) shows two Phrygian warriors armed quite in the Carian style. I do not of course imagine that the first Phrygo-Carian conquerors were armed exactly in this style: study of the monuments leads to the belief that they were a progressive and inventive race, but the armour which is shown in this relief is certainly worn only by a race which had been for generations accustomed to defensive mail.

3. The Phrygo-Carian conquerors are distinguished from the conquered race in language and in social organisation, as well as in military equipment. The earlier population belonged to a stock which spread over at least parts of Greece and Italy as well as Asia Minor. It is the race which has been traced by Pauli¹ through its use of local names ending in *-nda* and *sa*. Its social system knew no true marriage and traced descent through the mother: and corresponding to this its religion acknowledged a mother goddess and her son, whose worship under various names, as *σύνβαρμοι θεοί*, can be traced in

¹ *Eine vorgriech. Inschrift aus Lemnos.*

Asia Minor. The conquering tribes introduced the worship of a supreme god, the Father (Papas), and the Thunderer (Bronton).¹ These two religions were amalgamated in various ways in different parts of the country: an illustrative case of the amalgamation of opposing religions may be quoted in the worship of Athenaia and Poseidon at Athens.

4. There was a similar conquering caste of the same Phrygian stock in Lydia and in Lycia. The difference which gradually established itself between these peoples was due to intermixture in various degrees with the older population and in a less degree to the natural divergence from the original type in different situations. On this view it is obvious that the whole controversy as to whether the Carians &c. are Aryan or non-Aryan has been conducted on a misunderstanding. It is necessary to distinguish the two races in Caria before discussing the origin of the Carian race: *e.g.* the arguments by which Pauli seeks to demonstrate that the Carians are non-Aryan are founded on facts that are true only of the older population.

5. The Phrygians proper were in close relations with the Greeks of Cyme and Phocaea during the eighth century: this intercourse could exist only so long as Lydia and Phrygia were closely associated with each other, and it was interrupted by the establishment in Lydia of a strong independent military power under the Mermnad dynasty. Previous to that event the Phrygian kings bulked more impressively in the Greek mind than any other non-Greek monarchy: their language was the original language (Herod. II. 2) and the speech of the Goddess herself (Hom. *Hymn Aphr.* 111 *ff.*): their country was the land of great fortified cities (*Φρυγίης εὐτειχῆτοιο, ib.*): and their kings were the associates of the gods themselves. In this intercourse we hear of a Cymæan princess married to a Phrygian king², and the theory is advanced below that the Cymæan alphabet was adopted by the Phrygians. Through this intercourse with Cyme, Phrygia was brought into relation with the kings of Argos, the most powerful state in Greece during the eighth century, and the Phrygian device which appears over the principal gate-way of Mycenæ was learned during this intercourse and belongs to the period of Argive ascendancy, 800—700 B. C.

6. The Phrygian monuments belong to the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ. The end of the Phrygian kingdom is a fixed date, about 675 B.C.; and the progressive character of their art forbids us to assign a very long duration to it. Phrygian art is not a stereotyped traditional art of the oriental style, which might have lasted for centuries, but a vigorous and

¹ Another name of this god is Bennis or Benneus. Benneus, from the Thraeco-Illyrian word Benna, a car, means the god who stands in a chariot, as Benfey used, orally at least, to explain Jupiter Stator: v. Deecke, *Rhein. Mus.*, vol. 37, p. 385. In *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 512, I have by a slip of memory explained Soa in the name Bennisoa by 'treasure.' Stephanus explains it as meaning 'tomb.' But the word Bennisoa has to be dismissed as a fiction of editors, who

have united *Βεννεὶ Σονῶν* in an inscription into one word. The people are in another inscription, and in this one when rightly understood, called *Σοννοί*.

² Damodike, daughter of Agamemnon of Cyme, married to Midas. The legendary expression of this intercourse appears in the relations between Priam and Phrygia, and in the suggestion of the goddess to Anchises to send a messenger to the King of Phrygia.

progressive art. Moreover the irruption of the conquering tribes from the west into Phrygia cannot be carried back too far: we find a reminiscence of their conflict with the older religion in the *Iliad* (III. 185), and it probably took place not earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, soon after their sea hegemony (905-880 B.C., Diod. 7. 13). The old Phrygian monuments come to an end at the Cimmerian conquest, about 675: and under Lydian and Persian supremacy Greek influence affected the country and produced a very different style of art (see *J. H. S.* 1882, pp. 28, 262). But a certain continuity of religious symbolism is traceable throughout the Greek and Roman periods: the type of the two rampant lions is common in all periods: the tomb which in the earliest time took the form of a shrine of the goddess continues to have two essential features—an altar and a door (*J. H. S.* 1884, p. 250 ff.): stones of the same form which was employed in the crowning member of Lydian tumuli¹ are frequently to be seen used as tomb-stones of the Roman period in southern Phrygia about Apameia-Celaenae and in the Maeander valley generally.

7. Phrygian art was developed under influences very similar to those which acted on Greece and by a race closely akin to the Greeks. Naturally there results an art which has decided analogy to Greek art. A direct comparison between the two is apt to suggest a later date than I assign to certain Phrygian monuments; but in these cases I regard the analogy as due to the circumstances which I have just stated, and as affording no ground for dating the two classes in the same period. There are closer and more real analogies to be detected with the early bronzes of Olympia, the palaeo-Etruscan remains at Bologna, and the bronze-work of Hallstatt, than with any later period of Greek art.

8. Further study has confirmed my first opinion that the art of Phrygia is developed under the influence or in imitation of the Syro-Cappadocian or 'Hittite' art, whose remains are found widely in Asia Minor. Distinct proof can now be given that this older art has left remains in the midst of the Phrygian monuments: the proofs I hope to publish next year in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. The manner in which the earliest Phrygian reliefs are executed may be described in the very words which I have elsewhere used about a Cappadocian monument (*Archäolog. Ztg.* 1885, pp. 206-7): 'the artist seems first to have prepared a smooth flat surface on the rock: he next indicated the outline of the figures, and then cut away the rock all round the outlines to a depth of' half an inch or more, 'leaving the figures standing out in low relief within a sunken panel' of irregular shape, corresponding to the general outline of the group of figures.

I begin with the remains about one mile south of the small Yuruk village of Demirli, three miles N.N.W. of Ayaz Inn, and three miles east of

¹ See for example Texier's plate of the Tomb of Tantalus, and Perrot's forthcoming volume

Bey Keui, which form perhaps the most interesting centre of Phrygian history. It was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by our expedition of November 1881,¹ and since that time it has been visited several times. The remains of the fortifications on the little acropolis were discovered by Mr. Hogarth during our expedition of 1886.² I had long suspected that the acropolis was situated on this isolated and almost inaccessible rock, but Mr. Hogarth found the way up, and observed the parapet and the chambers and cisterns cut out of the rock. The concealed staircase by which alone access is now possible is a peculiar feature of this acropolis;³ otherwise it is strikingly like in shape and arrangement to the rock acropolis of Sipylos over the 'Niobe' near Magnesia. The larger map, which I drew in order to show the situation of the remains in this spot, would make the shape and character of the acropolis clearer than any mere description can make them, but it cannot be given here.⁴ The acropolis, as it now stands after various parts of the rock have fallen in pieces, owing partly to the ancient cuttings made in it, and partly to the disintegrating force of water and time generally, is long and narrow with perfectly perpendicular sides about forty to sixty feet in height, and with no traces of an outer staircase, such as can be seen, too much broken to be of any use, in the acropolis of Sipylos. The outline of several houses, which were partly cut in the rock, and partly built above the rock, can still be observed on the top. One or two cisterns remain, and a parapet of rock runs round the eastern end. The features are so simple, that only one who actually visits both can realise how like each other, though in totally different situations, are the Lydian and the Phrygian acropoleis. I have on a previous occasion in this *Journal* tried to prove (*J. H. S.* 1882, p. 64) that the monuments round this Lydian acropolis of Sipylos are the same which the Magnesian Pausanias mentions as 'the Tomb of Tantalos,' 'the very ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods made by Broteas son of Tantalos,' 'the Throne of Pelops,' &c. Tantalos and Pelops are always in Greek legend called Phrygians, and the remarkable similarity in these two acropoleis and their surroundings affords a striking confirmation of the Greek belief. The settlers who founded the acropolis at Sipylos and those who founded the acropolis in Phrygia, whose remains are here described, must have been so closely kindred in manners and habits as to be practically one race. In each case the acropolis can never have been more than a very tiny fortress, serving as a centre and place of temporary refuge for the inhabitants of the

¹ Consisting of Mr. A. C. Blunt, sent at the expense of a special fund raised by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, myself as Travelling Student of Oxford, and Mrs. Ramsay.

² I have profited by the criticisms and suggestions of Mrs. Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth in numerous points, which it would be tedious to mention in detail.

³ A similar concealed staircase in the rock still exists in the small Phrygian acropoleis at

Yapuldak and Pishmish Kalessi. Concealed entrances beneath the city walls are a remarkable feature at Pteria. Sir C. Wilson and I observed one nearly destroyed, one almost perfect, resembling in appearance the galleries at Tiryns.

⁴ An older and less perfect sketch, but still sufficiently clear to make the situation intelligible, has been, I think, reproduced for M.M. Perrot and Chipiez's *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. V., which may be expected in December, 1889.

country round, and practically impregnable to direct attack by an undisciplined enemy.

On some of the fragments of rock which have broken off from the acropolis and now lie beneath it, there are parts of the interior of at least one chamber which was cut out of the rock. I have not been able to understand the forms sufficiently to restore the shape or size of the chamber, except that a high round-arched niche formed part of one end.

About 100 yards south of the acropolis is situated what is perhaps the most important and certainly the most imposing of all the Phrygian

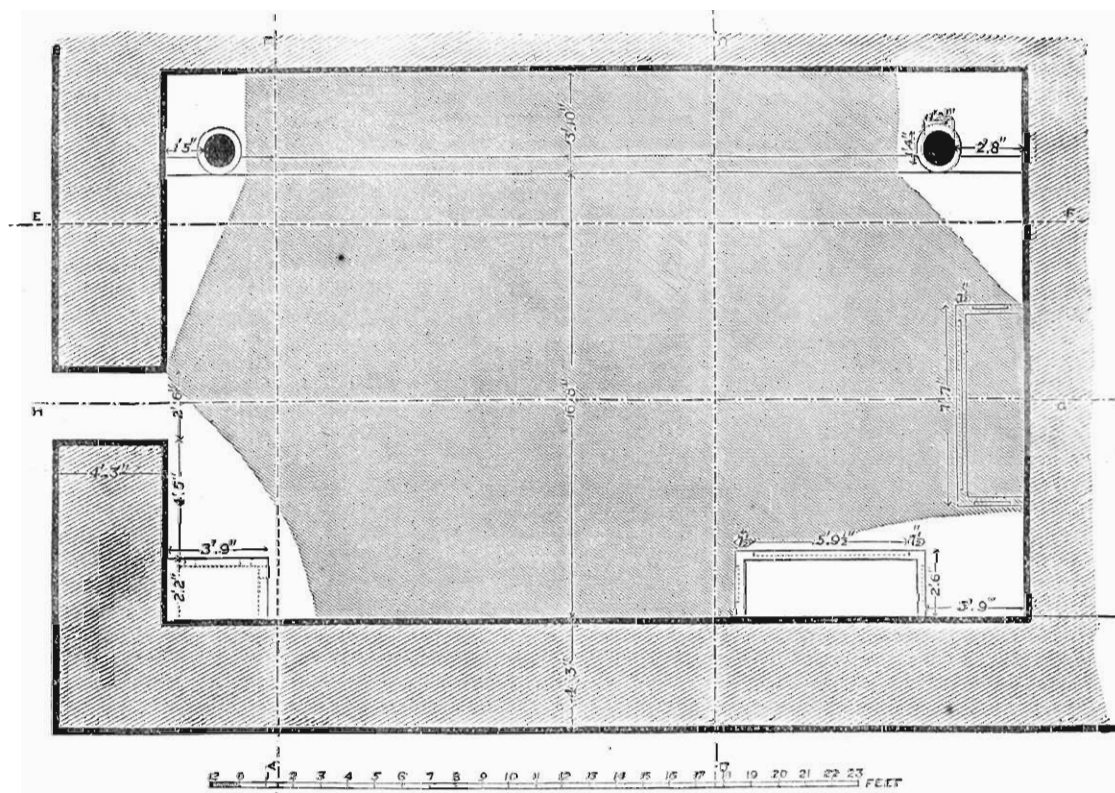


FIG. 1.—RESTORED PLAN OF BROKEN LION TOMB.

monuments. I refer to it always as the 'Broken Lion Tomb.' Only one new fragment has as yet been discovered of this immense monument to add to those which were examined by us in 1881. The drawings already published by Mr. Blunt enable me to dispense with several illustrations which would otherwise be here necessary to bring before the reader the present situation and appearance of the fragments, and the reasons on which the restoration of the whole monument depends. The older drawings will therefore be frequently referred to in the following pages, and so far as

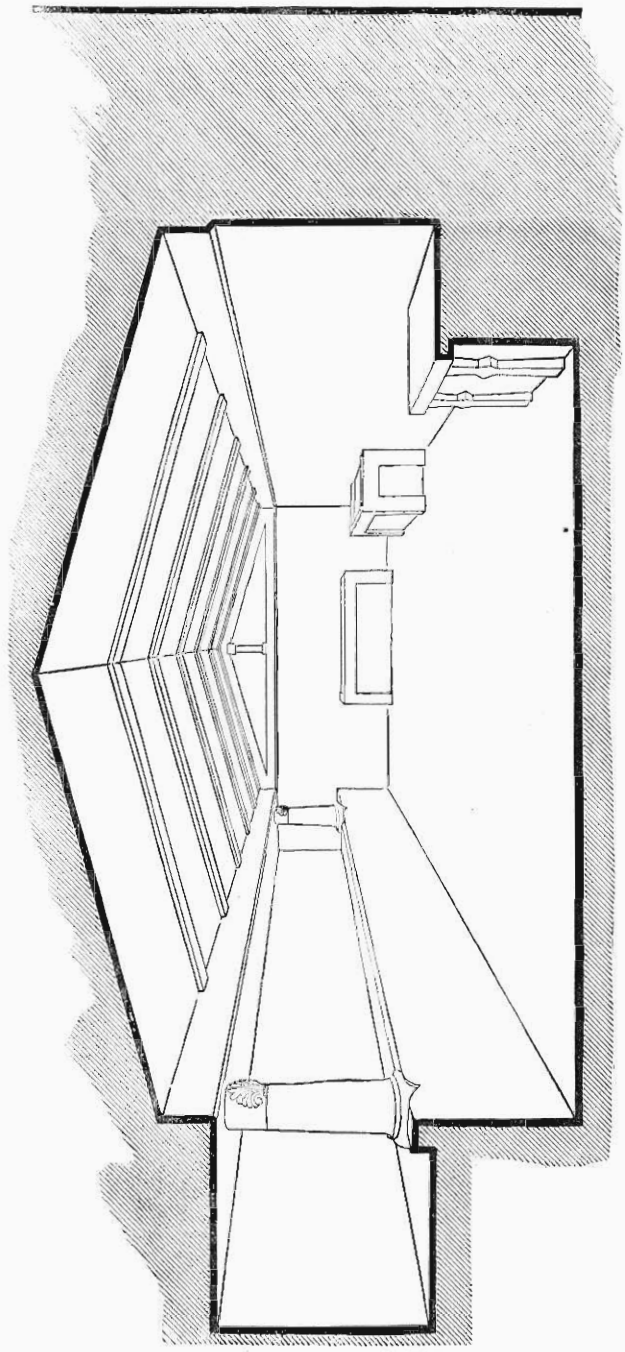


FIG. 2.—RESTORATION OF INTERIOR OF BROKEN LION TOMB.

possible nothing which appears in them will here be repeated. But in bringing together the fragments, the character of some of them is so entirely altered that the small pieces given by Mr. Blunt appear anew as parts of the whole subject, and the reader must compare the first drawing with the second in order to comprehend the following argument. A mere restoration, such as is given here, without Mr. Blunt's previous sketches of the actual appearance, would hardly give a true or at least a sufficient idea of the monument. But it is also necessary to put together the *disiecta membra*, a task which Mr. Blunt has not yet attempted, in order to give any real idea of the magnificence of this tomb and of the artistic character of the people who made it. This monument is the key-stone of the whole theory which I now attempt to explain and justify, and I must lay great stress on the restored sketches figs. 1—9. The responsibility for them rests on Mrs. Ramsay and myself, except part of fig. 9, which rests jointly on Mr. Hogarth's sketch

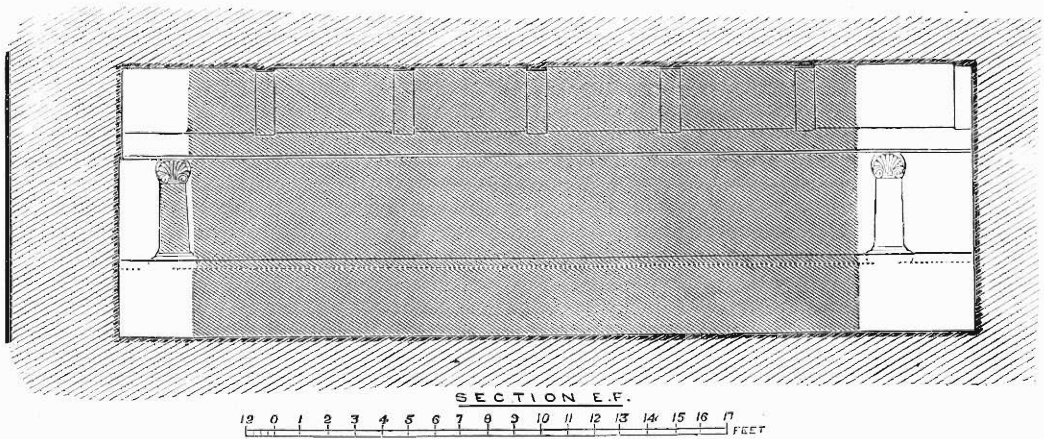


FIG. 3.—ELEVATION OF NORTH INTERIOR RESTORED.

and on mine. Except fig. 10, which is reproduced from Mrs. Ramsay's sketch, the accompanying illustrations have been re-drawn from our measurements, photographs, and sketches by Mr. J. P. McCann, of the Aberdeen School of Art. We are responsible for the restorations, which are shaded.

The plan, fig. 1, shows the fragments of this monument restored to their original position.¹ There is no doubt as to any of the dimensions except the length from east to west. The only clue to the length is given by the sculptures on the southern exterior; if we have correctly restored these sculptures, the great length of the chamber, unusual as it is, is a necessary condition. The reader who doubts whether the restoration of the interior is correct in respect of the length is referred to the description of the exterior sculptures for the reasons on which the length is estimated.

¹ The actual condition is shown in a photograph, which will be reproduced in M. Perrot's vol. V.; See also Mr. Blunt's drawing, *J. H. S.* Pl. xviii.

The sepulchral chamber was entered by a small door in the western end. That this door was originally about twenty feet above the ground is rendered probable, first, by the analogy of many sepulchral chambers with similar small doors, which exist in the rocks around, and secondly by the reliefs on the exterior, which, if the human and animal figures represented on them were complete, must have extended about eighteen feet below the door of the chamber.

It is however right to leave open the possibility that the lions were only half-length figures. This would enable them to be placed closer, and the chamber might then be shortened by about five feet at most, by bringing the two lions which stand back to back closer to each other. But the symmetry of the relief would be utterly ruined by this arrangement, and as the restoration here given (which results from simply completing the three lions, each of which remains in part) puts the figures symmetrically with their heads nearly equidistant, I prefer to follow it.

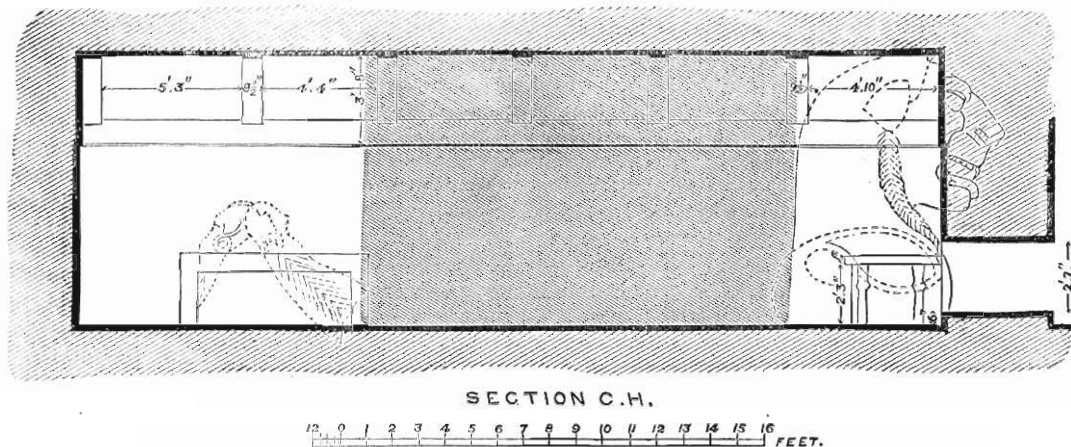


FIG. 4.—ELEVATION OF SOUTH INTERIOR, SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF REMAINING FRAGMENT OF EXTERIOR SCULPTURE.

The door in the west end leads into a large oblong chamber, twenty and a half feet broad from north to south, and perhaps thirty-one and a half feet in length. Flat beams, carved in relief on the sides of the roof, which slope upwards towards the centre, represent the rafters which support the roof of a wooden house or temple, imitated in this house of rock. A sort of corridor or gallery, about three feet above the floor of the chamber, runs along the northern side. The roof of this corridor is supported by at least two columns, one near the southern, and one close to the northern end; but no intermediate fragment is now visible to show whether a row of columns supported it from end to end, though we may take it as highly probable that such a row did exist.

The southern side of the chamber was occupied by a seat or chair in the

western corner, and a sepulchral couch or bed towards the eastern end. The gap between the couch and the seat was perhaps filled by a second couch, but this is purely conjectural. The three legs of the seat are quaint; one is on the east side of the seat, the other two, which are on the north side, are shown in fig. 2. The front of the couch is so much broken that the details are quite uncertain. A restored elevation of the northern and southern sides of the interior is shown in figs. 3 and 4. The northern side was in the main mass of the hill, and the north-east corner is still in the hill-side with one column in its original position unbroken. The southern side, which has entirely fallen away in fragments, showed an exterior to the spectator. The exterior was adorned with sculptures, and the relative position of the fragments of these sculptures which are still visible is indicated by dotted lines in fig. 4.

The eastern side of the chamber still remains almost entire, as part of the rocky hill, together with one of the columns of the corridor on the north side,

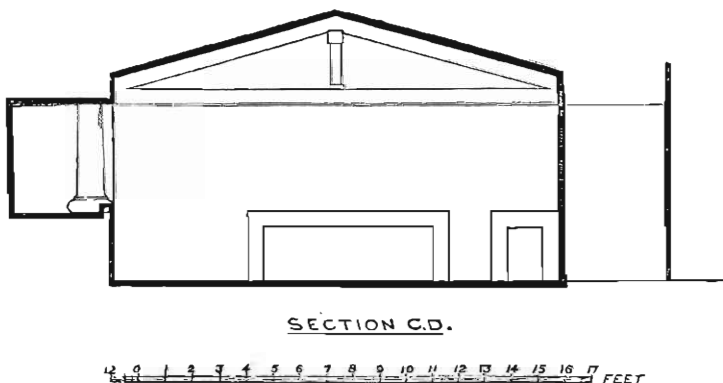


FIG. 5.—ELEVATION OF EAST INTERIOR.

as represented in the sketch, fig. 5, in which I am obliged to differ greatly from Mr. Blunt's representation of the lower part, *J. H. S.* Pl. xix. A rectangular space, seven and a half feet by about three feet, in the middle of this side, is rough, showing that a couch similar to that of the west side had once been attached to the wall, and had been broken away when the chamber fell. On each side of this couch, the wall has been carefully smoothed down to the level of the floor.

In these sketches I have marked those measurements which I made in 1884 and 1887; it will be seen that they approximate to, but do not exactly coincide with, those of Mr. Blunt. I give these, like the other sketches, as the best which I can furnish from the materials in my possession. I have actually compared Mr. Blunt's drawings with the monuments, aided in doing so by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883, and by Mrs. Ramsay in 1884.

Fig. 6 shows the details of the column, which stands at the north-east corner of the chamber. The capital, which is purely ornamental and serves no bearing purpose, gives perhaps one of the earliest forms, which might

be called 'proto-ionic.' On a flat surface are indicated two volutes with the anthemion springing between them.¹ In the present state of the monument, I hesitated for a long time as to the form of the volutes: the lower part of the volutes is defaced, and it was difficult to determine whether there was a spiral or merely two concentric circles, a small and a large one. But I examined before the original the drawing given by Mr. Blunt, both with Prof. Sterrett and with Mrs. Ramsay. None of us had a moment's hesitation in condemning the representation which he gives. The point is one of very great importance for deciding the relation of Phrygian art to oriental and to Greek art, as intermediate between them and older than the latter, that it is necessary to lay some stress on the details.

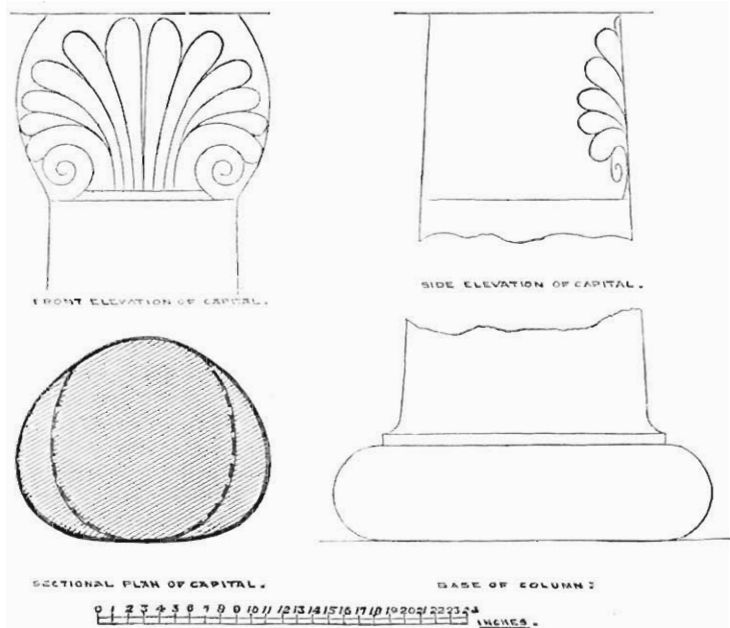


FIG. 6.—DETAILS OF COLUMN, BROKEN LION TOMB.

The western interior wall, in which is the small door, is now broken in two fragments, which fit each other. They lie near each other in such a position that the sculptures of the exterior are turned downwards. The interior is shown in fig. 7, and the relative position of the remaining fragments of the exterior sculptures is indicated by dotted lines.

This sepulchral chamber was so situated at an angle of the rock that the southern and western sides presented an external face to the spectator, while the northern and eastern sides were against the main mass of the hill. Both the exterior faces, the southern and the western, were adorned with

¹ Compare the 'proto-ionic' column from Mr. J. T. Clarke which accompanies it, in the Chiqri in the Troad, and the excellent paper by *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1886, p. 1 ff.

sculptures. Of the sculptures on the southern face two fragments at least remain, and a third may probably be detected in a hopelessly defaced state on a third huge fragment of rock which lies beside the other two. One of these is the head of a lion, published *J. H. S.* 1882, pl. xviii., a work of singular power and vigour, 'yet breathing out threatenings and slaughters.' The position of the shoulder is perhaps best explained by the supposition that the lion was in the attitude of fig. 8, which is about the same as that of the lionesses of Mycenae. To support his paw we have therefore inserted a column. The tip of the nostril and the teeth of the upper jaw,¹ which are now mutilated, have been restored on the analogy of the 'Lion Tomb,' which will be described below.

The head is indicated on a surface which is almost flat, and which stands about twenty inches in relief above the background; the edges are flat surfaces perpendicular both to the surface on which the head is represented and to the background. The treatment is therefore essentially the same as in the Syro-Cappadocian sculptures: an outline is traced on the stone, and the edges

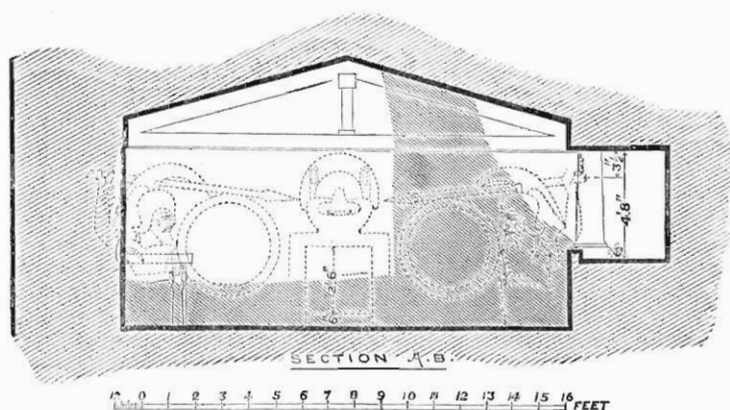


FIG. 7.—ELEVATION OF WEST INTERIOR, SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF EXTERIOR SCULPTURE.

of this outline are cut sharp away all round down to the level which the artist chooses for the background.² The mane is indicated on the perpendicular edge, which represents the back of the neck, by a series of parallel oblique lines, and on the front surface by a series of curls. On the perpendicular edge which represents the breast the line of the hair is represented by a similar series of parallel lines, forming a continuation of the herring-bone pattern on a slightly raised band, which begins below the ear and extends down the cheek and breast. A similar pattern surrounds the neck of the

¹ I made an erroneous statement, *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 21, 'no teeth are indicated in the upper jaw': closer examination showed that the present surface is not original but broken. Otherwise the description on pp. 20-1 is correct,

and may be used to supplement the following remarks.

² See my paper on the *Basrelief of Ibriz* in the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1885, p. 203.

lionesses on the neighbouring 'Lion Tomb' (see below), but passes in front of the ear. The shoulder stands out prominently in higher relief than the head.

The other fragment of the southern exterior is given by Mr. Blunt in *J. H. S.* p. 22. We were at that time unable to understand the meaning of this fragment: part of a leg was distinct, but we could not guess the action. Mr. Blunt thought it was a hind leg, and has placed his drawing accordingly,

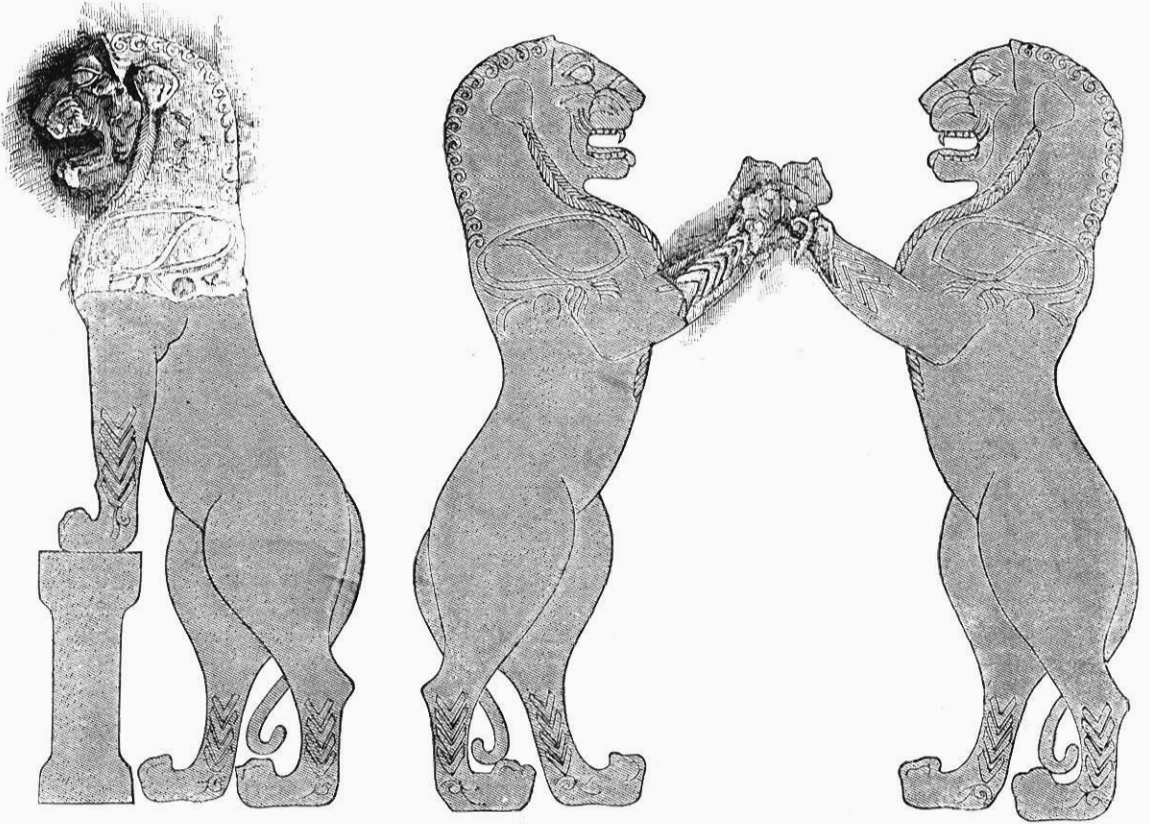


FIG. 8.—CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF SCULPTURES, SOUTH EXTERIOR.

whereas Mrs. Ramsay maintained that it was a foreleg. In 1884, when she and I again visited the place, we divined the interpretation of the action, and succeeded also in restoring the fragments of the interior in the way just described. A subsequent visit in 1887 completely confirmed every view which we arrived at in 1884. The fragment shows the forelegs of a pair of lions, who stood rampant with their raised forepaws pressed against each other, an

attitude well known in archaic Greek art.¹ If Mr. Blunt's drawing of the fragment be held nearly upside down, so that a line bisecting the angle between the two paws is vertical, the reader will see the position in which these paws were carved on the tomb. The paw on the left is partially mutilated, and Mr. Blunt was of course embarrassed by our failure to comprehend the meaning of the fragments, but in spite of these drawbacks the true action is easily seen when one holds his drawing in the proper position, and any one can then restore *ex parte Herculem*.

The problem then is how to restore the whole relief on the southern face. The relative position of these two fragments is certain, and is shown in fig 4, where the exterior reliefs are drawn in dotted lines. The fragment of rock on which the two paws are carved fits on to the eastern end of the monument, which is still in its position in the hillside; the other fragment on which the lion's head is carved contains the south-western corner of the monument, and the head looks westwards and away from the two paws. It seems therefore certain that three lions were carved on this southern face; two standing rampant with their raised forepaws pressed against each other, and one standing also rampant with its back turned towards the other pair. The two paws which remain correspond in scale with the head, and with these data it is easy to complete the figures as in fig. 8. While I fully acknowledge that this restoration makes the sepulchral chamber unusually long² (thirty-one feet, as compared with a total breadth of twenty-one and a half feet), yet the data are quite certain, and the restoration seems to me to be necessarily deduced from them. If however any one can interpret the data otherwise, I shall be very glad to be corrected.

I have mentioned above that the door in all probability was originally at least fifteen or twenty feet above the ground. If the fallen rocks were now restored to their original position, the door would not be nearly so much above the present surface of the ground. There must therefore be a considerable accumulation of detritus above the ancient surface, and probably excavation would show the remains of sculpture below the present surface. Yet considering how soft this volcanic rock is, and how utterly disintegrated it becomes when damp has once gained an entrance below the carved surface, it is quite possible that any remains of sculpture which have long been below the soil would be destroyed and unrecognisable.

Of the relief on the western face, which contains the door of the sepulchral chamber, one small fragment was found in 1881, but it is in such a position on the under side of a huge mass of rock, that one can hardly see it.³ It appeared to represent a human arm and hand grasping an elongated object such as a spear, but the fragment was otherwise inexplicable, and we could

¹ See for example the lions and the sphinxes on the archaic cuirass published by Mr. Stillman, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, pl. i.-iii.

² In Phrygia the chambers are indeed usually oblong, with the door in one of the shorter sides, just as in this case; but there is not much

difference in length between the long and the short sides.

³ It is necessary to crawl under the rock, which is slightly tilted against another mass, and look up at the sculpture with one's face almost touching the surface.

not in its dark and difficult position feel quite sure even about the human arm. Mr. Blunt's drawing, *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 23, is turned upside down. In 1887 I went out with the resolve to turn over or to dig under some of these huge blocks, and consulted my engineering friends in Smyrna about the best way of doing this. As it appeared from the known measurements that the blocks weigh over forty tons each, the former course was impossible, and it was necessary to trust to excavation. We left this work till the last possible day, in order to avoid the risk of official interference with our future movements. In the morning we started from the camp at Bey Keui; Hogarth and I went to try to dig a second hieroglyphic inscription out of the mound south of Bey Keui,¹ while Brown went off to dig under the lion's head. The former task proved unsuccessful, and we reached the Broken Lion Tomb early in the forenoon. Descending into the hole under the lion's head, we saw that Brown had already unearthed part of a human head. Bit by bit the subject of fig. 9 was disclosed, one of the most curious and important of all known archaic sculptures.

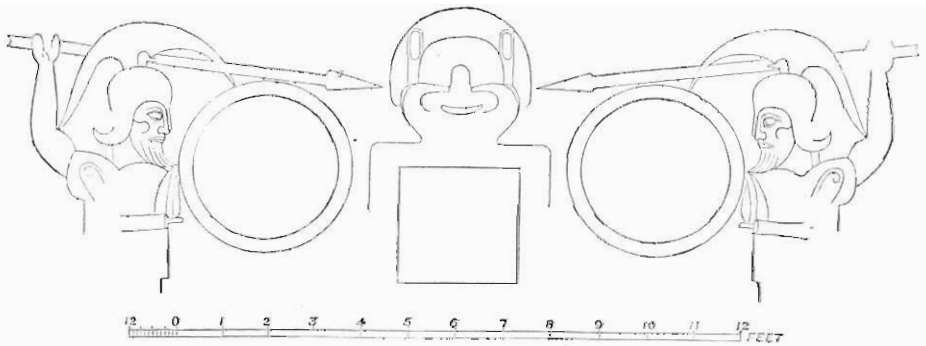


FIG. 9.—RESTORATION OF SCULPTURES, WEST EXTERIOR.

As may be gathered from fig. 1, this fragment which we uncovered is carved on the same mass of rock on another side of which is carved the lion's head. The mass of rock on which the arm and spear drawn by Mr. Blunt are represented fits on to this mass, but the surface has been partly broken so that there is a gap between the fragments of sculpture. The two fragments however are sufficient to make the restoration of the whole subject quite easy and absolutely certain in most of the details. When complete the sculpture on the western face represented two warriors, armed with shield, spear, helmet and cuirass,² in the act of spearing a grotesque figure with high pointed ears and hideous upturned nose; this Gorgon-like figure has the door of the tomb in its breast.

If the lower parts of the two warriors and of the Gorgon are completed, it

¹ See below, p. 23.

² The lines indicated on the cuirass are uncertain; as the rock lies, the sculpture is turned

downwards, and the spectator, lying on his back, has to look up at it, with his eyes only about two inches from the surface of the relief.

will be found impossible to make them stand on the same level except by making the legs of the Gorgon bent. This suggests the probability that its attitude was that of the archaic running figures well-known in Greek art. This Gorgon should be compared with the running male Gorgon, found in an Etruscan grave of unusual construction at Orvieto and published by Korte (*Archäol. Ztg.*, 1877, p. 110 and Taf. 11). The type which is there traced by Korte from Etruria back to its origin in the east is unmistakably of the same origin as this Phrygian Gorgon. The resemblance of the Orvietan figure to the Phrygian is striking (especially if I am right in believing that the latter is a running figure), and the Orvietan lions (or lion and leopard) on the Gorgon's shoulders remind one so strongly of the Cybele figure with the lions leaning on her shoulders¹ at this same Phrygian city that I think Korte's explanation of the origin and diffusion of the type through Phoenician agency is insufficient. The Orvietan figure has the mouth opened and the tongue hanging out; while the Phrygian figure shows the mouth slightly open, like the mouth of Cybele on the stele of Fassiller,² but without any protruding tongue. Furtwängler argued that the idea of showing the protruding tongue of the gryphon is a Greek device of the seventh century, and Milehhofer has applied the same principle to the Gorgon type.³ If any stress could be laid on this principle, we should have an interesting deduction from it. The Orvietan Gorgon shows the Greek type, which must have been brought to Orvieto by Greek agency, while the Phrygian Gorgon shows the pre-Greek type. But the whole principle is very uncertain, and Furtwängler omits it in his article *Gryps* in Roscher's *Lexicon*.

The view which is entertained as to the date of this monument guides the historical inferences to be drawn from it. On the view which I maintain, that the monument belongs to the greatness of the Phrygian monarchy before the Cimmerian conquest, the following seems to be the natural conclusion. We have in this relief a representation of the actual warriors who surrounded the Phrygian kings, who fought against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius in the eighth century B.C. (*Iliad* III. 185), and who continue here to defend their king in death as they had fought for him in life. The hideous figure against whom they direct their spears is perhaps an impersonation of the malignant power, and the whole design has the character of an apotropaion: on the importance of this idea in Phrygian art I have already spoken (*J. H. S.* 1882, p. 15).

The warriors represented in the relief are clad in full defensive armour (for there is every probability that if the under part of the reliefs were preserved we should find that they wore greaves also). Their shields are convex with a flat rim round the edge and are evidently grasped by ὄχρα. Their helmets have immense crests, λόφοι. Now the invention of ὄχρα and λόφοι is expressly attributed to the Carians, and we may therefore infer that

¹ See *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 245.

² The drawing of this monument, which I visited in 1886, will, I hope, shortly be published in the *Mittheil. Athen.*

³ Furtwängler, *Bronsefund von Olympia*, p. 47, 51, &c.: Milehhofer, *Arch. Ztg.* 1881, p. 289.

these Phrygian warriors wear the same fashion of armour as the Carians.¹ At this period (about 700 B.C.) Carian mercenaries were already employed in foreign services, and it might be suggested that they were used by the Phrygian kings; but I think it very improbable that foreign mercenaries were represented on the tomb of this Phrygian chief. The guardians of his tomb are the men of his own race and his immediate personal attendants and friends. Therefore either the Phrygians adopted the use of *ὄχανα* and *λόφοι* from the inventors, or else they are practically the same race with the Carians, equipped in the same style and adopting simultaneously the same improvements in their arms. The second alternative seems to me by far more probable, taken in conjunction with the recorded beliefs of the Greeks that the Phrygians were an immigrant race from Thrace or Macedonia, that the Phrygians were originally a seafaring race who ruled the Aegean from 905 to 880 B.C., that the Carians were also a seafaring race who ruled the Aegean rather later, that a Phrygian colony had settled in the Peloponnesus, that a tribe of Phrygians lived during historical time near the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora, that the Trojans were in close relations with the Phrygians of the Sangarius valley, receiving aid from their chiefs Otreus and Mygdon, and sending their own chief Priamos to aid the Phrygians in their wars with the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius. Hence we find the name Gordius both in Caria and in Phrygia, Mygdon both in Phrygia and in Thrace, Ascauius, and Ascania among the Trojans and near the Sea of Marmora and in various parts of Phrygia and the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier.

The Syro-Cappadocian (often called Hittite) monuments and inscriptions take us back to a period when a homogeneity of art and religion and social organisation ruled over the greater part of Asia Minor; its type is oriental. The Phrygian monuments reveal to us a new period and a fresh young art, founded on the earlier art, but developing it with new freedom and life. This interruption of the earlier condition is probably due to the irruption of a conquering race, which must have come from the west, for it never established itself on the other side of the river Halys. Such, as I think, is the evidence of archaeology, and when this is confirmed by unanimous Greek tradition going back to the earliest known time, it may be accepted as historical. The relief which is here published places before our eyes two warriors of this immigrant Phrygian race; we find them clad in the same arms as were worn by the pirates of the Aegean sea, and Greek tradition asserts that these Phrygians also were sea-rovers. Again archaeological evidence confirms tradition.

Even after the sculpture had been uncovered, it was not easy to study it or make a drawing of it. To see it we had to lie on our back and push ourselves under the huge rock with our faces touching the surface of the

¹ Schol. Thueyd. I. 8: *Κῆρες πρῶτοι εἶρον τοὺς ὀμφαλοὺς* (error for *τὰ ὄχανα*) *καὶ τοὺς λόφους*. Strab. XIV. p. 661, *τὰ τε ὄχανα καὶ τὰ ἐπίσημα καὶ τοὺς λόφους ἅπαντα γὰρ λέγεται Καρικὰ*. Cp. also Herod., I. 171, who agrees

with Strabo. There is no *ἐπίσημον* on the Phrygian shield, but *ἐπίσημα* were not universally used, and may have been invented later than *ὄχανα* and *λόφοι*.

sculpture. It was therefore impossible to get a connected view of the whole ; but by comparing our impressions and by mutual criticism we did our best to reach a fair and impartial conception of the whole. We then set about the task of drawing, and the accompanying figure 9 is the result. The general outline is due to me, and is founded on measurements made as well as the circumstances permitted ; Mr. Hogarth drew the head of the warrior separately. I drew the Gorgon's head, trusting entirely to measurements of each detail, and I also made a drawing of the warrior's eye, which is a remarkable feature. Working on these sketches Mr. McCann has produced the accompanying figure.

The likeness to Greek Art unluckily is exaggerated in this drawing : the warrior should be much uglier in feature, with thick swollen lips.¹ We found that our draughtsmanship was unable to attain the ugliness of the sculpture.² This fact, combined with the arms which are quite like early Greek arms, gives an impression of too close analogy to Greek sixth century work ; such an analogy does indeed actually exist, but the resemblance in style is closer to Assyrian art than to Greek. The case might be put thus : the resemblance to Greek art is due to the fact that the Phrygian artist is representing warriors equipped like Greeks, but the resemblance to Assyrian art is due to the fact that the artist was trained in imitation of the oriental art. I see therefore no reason in point of style to date the monument later than the Cimmerian conquest, about 675. I base this opinion specially on the rendering of the eye. In Greek art of the time to which this monument shows most analogy, *i.e.* of the sixth century, there is no attempt to represent according to nature the eye as seen in profile, but in this Phrygian warrior the artist distinctly aims at rendering the eye naturally and is also certainly trained to do so in a style similar to that in which the eye is rendered in the monument at Ibriz.³

Looking at the question from the historical point of view one must admit that the magnificence of scale and the pride of subject in this monument marks it as belonging to a powerful and proud kingdom, and not to one which, after being overrun and destroyed by the Cimmerians, became subject first to Lydians, and afterwards to Persians, and whose people were known to the Greeks only as slaves. Finally considering that this is the most ambitious in style and in scale, as well as the most developed in artistic skill, of all the Phrygian monuments, we may assign it perhaps to the latest period of Phrygian art, about 700 B.C.

It must be admitted that all who judge from the analogy with Greek art only will prefer to date this monument a century or more later than the

¹ It was suggested jokingly at the time we were studying the relief that the King of Phrygia must have employed negro guards.

² In place of trying to modify our sketches in accordance with my recollection, I thought it best to leave Mr. McCann to imitate the conventional Greek type which our imperfect sketches

showed. No pupil is indicated in the eyes of the warriors of Fig. 9. The woodcut does not make the eye nearly so Assyrian in type as it really is. So also in the eyes of the lions (fig. 8) no pupil is indicated.

³ See my drawing, *Arch. Ztg.* 1885.

date which has here been assigned to it. But I do not believe that it is a correct principle to date Phrygian art by Greek analogies. Phrygian art develops entirely independently of Greek art, and according to my view at an earlier date under the influence of eastern art. I lay great stress on the recorded fact of the destruction of the Phrygian monarchy by the Cimmerians. All that is recorded indeed is that the last king Midas was defeated by them and in consequence committed suicide, but the fact has impressed itself on historical memory because it was the destruction of the greatest monarchy known to the Greeks.

It is of course impossible that a warrior immigrant tribe should be able to annihilate an older population, possessing already a certain degree of civilisation and art. It could only establish itself as a dominant caste, and the subsequent course of history shows that the new element was strongly influenced by the older religion and art. The worship of a supreme goddess was universal among the older race. It would appear that the Phrygian conquerors introduced the worship of a supreme god, whom they call Papas, 'the Father,' and Benneus or Benni, which I have elsewhere explained as 'the god of the chariot.' The god who stands on the car is the thunderer, and another common grecised title for him is Zeus Bronton.¹ These names are common in dedicatory inscriptions of the very district where the monuments are found: we have sometimes $\Delta\iota\acute{\iota}$ Βεννίω or Βεννεῖ, sometimes $\Delta\iota\acute{\iota}$ Βροντῶντι, once the double title $\Delta\iota\acute{\iota}$ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννεῖ.

The religion of course stands in the closest relation with the social system of the country. Elsewhere I shall seek to show that the original anatolian social system knew no true marriage and traced descent only through the mother, and that the Phrygian conquerors introduced the supremacy of the father in the family and the social system of Teutons and Greeks.

The older and the newer religion and society amalgamated in varying forms in different districts, according as the new element varied in strength. All evidence leads to the conclusion that the immigrant race was most completely victorious in Phrygia, and that the Sangarius valley was its chief centre. Here the most powerful foreign monarchy known to the Greeks during the eighth century was established; and the fall of this powerful dynasty about 675 before the same barbarian horde, which threatened the existence of the Greek coast cities also, was an event so striking as to impress the historical memory and to be handed down to us as one of our surest marks in early history.

A few yards from the 'Broken Lion Tomb,' is another interesting monument of this early period. A drawing of this monument by Mr. Blunt, based on a photograph and sketches taken by himself in November 1881, was published in *J. H. S.* 1882, Pl. XVII. In the month of November the monument, which faces nearly due north, is never lighted by the sun, and the greyish-black rock, encrusted in many places with moss, conceals many details of the

¹ See *J. H. S.*, 1884, pp. 256-8, 1887, p. 512.

sculpture. In 1884, when we saw the monument lit up by the morning and evening sun, these details became visible: the accompanying cut from a drawing by Mrs. Ramsay shows the details which we could distinguish with confidence. The muscles of the shoulder were probably indicated also, but it is now impossible to detect the curves which represented them. The small eye, correctly represented in profile, the nose and the pinched nostril, the row of teeth with a long fang in the front jaw, the band which surrounds the head passing in front of the ears and below the neck,¹ the line of junction of the shoulder with the body, and the pattern on the foreleg are all distinctly visible² in a good light and can be traced in a photograph taken in 1884 by Mrs. Ramsay.

The two animals, whom the cubs beneath prove to have been intended as lionesses,³ stand facing each other, planting their forepaws on the framing of

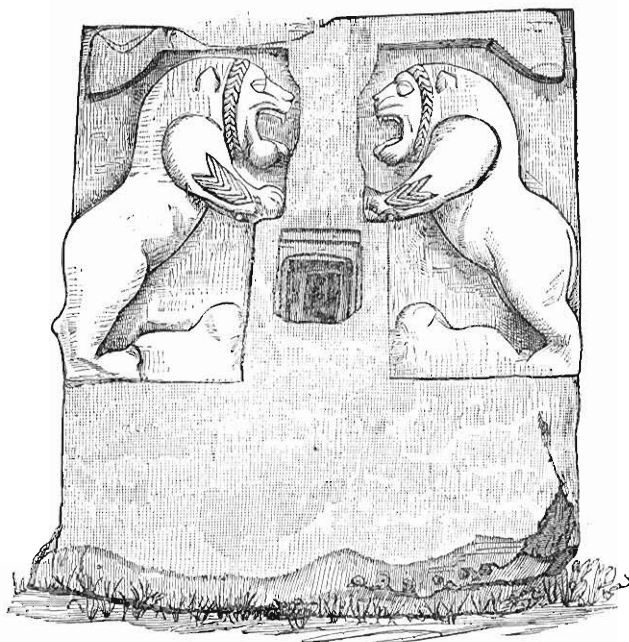


FIG. 10.—LION TOMB, WITH SHAPE OF MOULDING OF CORNICE PARTLY RESTORED.

the door, which is probably considered to represent the altar.⁴ I have previously attempted to prove that the Phrygians of later time regard the altar (*βαμός*) and the door (*θύρα*) as two essential parts of the sepulchre, and that this idea is a survival of primitive custom (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 254). On

¹ The difference in position of this band from that on the head of the Broken Lion (fig. 8) should be noticed.

² Some details are clear in one animal and barely distinguishable in the other.

³ The absence of mane also shows that the

animals are female. Those at Mycenæ are female likewise.

⁴ The door then is in the altar: in later monuments the word *θύρα* is inscribed on the altar (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 254).

the altar rests a column with high rectilinear base, short shaft, and high curved capital, which supports the heavy plain cornice. The lionesses are of decidedly ruder and less skilful form than those of the monument which has just been described: they are thicker, heavier, without the life, energy, and spirit of the splendid head of the great lion. The style in which the details are indicated, and the general form, show close relation to the other monuments.

I have to make an important correction in my former account of this monument. The upper part is sculptured in rather low relief (perhaps about two or three inches high), but the lower part, including the hindlegs, projects at least one and a half feet above the background. The height of the monument is 37 feet.

With regard to the "Lion Tomb" I have only to add that in 1883 I climbed up by help of a rope to the door; the sepulchral chamber is small, absolutely plain and rough-hewn. In Christian times a cross was incised on one side of the door-way.

The most interesting question in regard to this monument is—in what relation does it stand to the Lion Gate of Mycenae? The reliefs on the two Lion Tombs are most easily interpreted on the supposition that the intention of the Phrygian artist in each case was to represent outside the grave of the dead chief the guardians of his tomb. The figure which I have called a Gorgon seems to be an impersonation of the power of evil, and the two warriors threaten it with their spears. I should interpret in a similar way the Gorgon of Orvieto, which was referred to above: the lions on its shoulders, the sacred animals of the goddess, neutralise the evil power. In this *Journal*, 1882, p. 14—5, I have stated at some length the belief, which is only strengthened by further investigation, that apotropaeic emblems play a considerable part in Phrygian art. In other cases the lions or lionesses alone typify the protecting power of the mother goddess. In a third class of monuments the grave is actually represented as a shrine of the goddess, and the chief is considered to be gathered again to the bosom of his mother; just as the Maeonian chiefs, sons of the Gygaean lake according to Homer, are buried on its shores.¹ In some of the examples of this last class a richly ornamented carpet is represented as concealing the sanctuary (*ἔσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερά μυστήρια*).

In the Lion Tomb, the two lionesses symbolise the protecting power of the goddess, and stand over the door of the grave; and at Mycenae the lionesses stand as guardians over the door of the city. The resemblance in idea is complete. There are then only two possible alternatives: either the idea was learned by one people from the other, or they both learned it from a common source. Now the *schema* is so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia, that we can hardly admit it to have been borrowed from any other country.² We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Mycenaean artists either

¹ See the examples in this *Journal*, 1882, pp. 57, 58; also 'Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia' (*J.H.S.* 1884): cp. *Hand* II. 865; XX. 382.

² It occurs in a large number of examples in

all ages of Phrygian art, 'in this earliest known time, in monuments showing the strong influence of Greek art, and in the latest Roman Imperial period' (*J.H.S.* 1884, p. 250).

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are Phrygians, or learned the idea from Phrygians. Now considering that Köhler, Dummler, Studniczka, Paton, all argue that Mycenaean art is Carian, and that we have just argued that Carians and Phrygians are sister-races, armed and equipped alike, it might seem that the former alternative must be adopted, viz. that the Mycenaean artists are Carians. This would be a most satisfactory conclusion: for it is always more satisfactory to confirm previous views than to set up new theories. But I find one difficulty in this view. Carians actually settled as a people in Mycenae can hardly be attributed to any but a very remote period (in fact the idea of Carians at Mycenae seems to me to be historically most improbable);¹ but if there is any connexion in idea between the Phrygian monument and the Mycenaean, it is not allowable to separate them in time by several centuries. If the date which I assign to the Phrygian monuments, viz. the two centuries preceding 675 B.C., is accepted, I do not think it is allowable to place the Mycenaean gateway earlier than the ninth, and it is more likely to belong to the eighth, century. The view to which I find myself forced is as follows. There was in the eighth century lively intercourse between Argos and Asia Minor: in this intercourse the Argives learned to use the linen breastplates which were worn by the Mysians,² and to fortify their city in the Phrygian style with lions over the gate. Historically there is certainly good reason to assign at least part of the fortifications of Mycenae to the time when the Argive kings were the greatest power in Greece, and such authorities as Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Niese have adopted this opinion. On the other hand the almost universal opinion of archaeologists rejects this hypothesis.³ But the positive grounds which are adduced by Furtwängler and Loeschke to prove the great antiquity of the Mycenaean remains seem to me singularly inadequate to support such a superstructure of theory as they build. Moreover there remains a difficulty which no one has even attempted to dispose of. It is a historical fact that Argos was the greatest power in Greece and supreme in the Peloponnesos during the eighth century: Greek tradition assigns to the Argive kings several developments of civilisation, coinage, standards of weight, &c., which imply intercourse with Asia Minor. Yet the majority of archaeologists assign all the early remains in this district to a period centuries earlier. Is it probable that all traces of the greatest period in Argive history have altogether disappeared, while numerous remains exist of Argive glory during the unknown

¹ They would belong to the race which inhabited Caria before it was conquered by the mail-clad tribe akin to the Phrygians.

² See Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, &c., ed. 4, pp. 137, and 141, 142.

³ Studniczka, making the strength of his language proportionate to the difficulty of the subject, says, *die Dorer wird kein Archäolog ernstlich in Betracht zu ziehen vermögen, Mittheil. Athen.* 1887, p. 8. Mr. A. S. Murray however has advanced the same opinion as I hold, and Monsieur S. Reinach has ex-

pressed his adhesion to my view, which was published in one of his *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1887. See Wilam. in *Hermes*, xxi. p. 111, n. 1, and *Isyllos*, p. 162, n. 1; Niese, *Entwickl. d. homer. Poesie*, p. 213, n. 1; Busolt advanced a similar view in vol. i. of his *Gesch.* and retracted it in vol. ii. Mr. Murray stated his view in a lecture at Edinburgh in 1887. M. Reinach says in one of his recent *Chroniques*, 'ce fait vient à l'appui de la date proposée par M. Ramsay et qui me semble à peu près exacte' (1888)

period 1500—1000 B.C., and again of Argive bronze work of the sixth century B.C.? I find myself unable to face this difficulty: the presumption is that very early remains of art and wealth in the Argive valley belong to the period of Argive greatness, and those who refer them to a remoter period must begin to face and explain away this antecedent probability against them. Finally, it is acknowledged generally that the remains in Mycenae are of a very mingled character: Carian and Phrygian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hellenic styles are all found. Even such an advocate of Carian settlement in Argos as Studniczka admits the admixture of objects Hellenic in character. But this mixed character is precisely what we should expect in a kingdom like the Argos of the eighth century with its mixed Dorian and pre-Dorian population, its well-attested intercourse with Asia Minor, and its legendary connexion with Egypt. I wish however to express no opinion here about the date of the Mycenaean tombs and about Mycenaean pottery, but only to argue that the fortifications of the Lion Gate belong to the period 800—700 B.C. The people who built the Lion Gate considered the peribolos with the tombs as sacred, and the heroes buried in the tombs belong to an older time.

The tale of Pelops the Phrygian crossing the sea in his chariot, and of Danaus the Egyptian settling in Argos, have not the same historical character as the tradition (accepted above as truly historical) that the Phrygians came from Europe into Asia Minor. They are inextricably involved in a great body of legend of very various character. The historical foundation for both is, according to my view, only the actual intercourse of Argos with Phrygia and Egypt during the eighth and seventh centuries.

The view which I maintain is therefore that the idea of the lions as guardians of the gate arose in a country where Cybele was worshipped, and where the dead chief was believed to be gathered to his mother the goddess. Her sacred animals, the lions, guarded the door through which her son had returned to dwell with her. The Phrygians adapted an old oriental heraldic *schema* to represent this idea: and the artistic type thus devised remained in use in Phrygia so long as the religion of Cybele lasted, *i.e.* down to the third or fourth century after Christ. In the interchange of artistic forms and improvements in civilisation which obtained between Phrygia and the Greeks, this lion-type passed into Mycenae during the ninth or more probably the eighth century B.C.

Around this old city are scattered many other early monuments. One of these is roughly published in my *Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia*; it consists of a species of rock-altar not standing free but against a perpendicular surface of rock. Over the altar is carved a long inscription, of which only the first and the last few letters are now legible: the beginning is *Matar Kubile Pat[ar?]* written to the left in archaic letters.¹ This monument has no appearance of connexion with a grave, but the general analogy

¹ The last two letters are here added to the text as published in the above-quoted article (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1883). Is it an invocation to Mother Cybele and Father —?

is sufficiently strong to produce in my mind the belief that it also is sepulchral in character.

Another group of monuments connected with this old city is situated at the village of Bey Keui, three miles west of the Lion Tombs. Two of these deserve a brief notice. The first is a chamber tomb, cut in a group of rocks 300 yards east of the village. A short *dromos* cut in the rock leads to the entrance, which is now in a very ruinous state, but which originally consisted of a *prothyron* and an inner door admitting to the *naos* or sepulchral chamber. In the round arched pediment over the outer door is a defaced relief, representing two lions sitting facing each other, each extending a forepaw and resting it on an upright object between them. A similar *schema* occurs on a very archaic vase from Attica in the British Museum. The present state of the monument is too dilapidated to permit any confident opinion as to style and date.

The other monument of Bey Keui which I shall mention is of the first importance. In 1884, while encamped at Demirli ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the Lion-tombs), we heard a curious tale about a black stone covered with writing which had once been dug out of a mound at Bey Keui. We went there and succeeded in finding a man who had seen the stone. The mound, which is about a mile south of Bey Keui, on the left bank of a stream, is clearly artificial; and we hired four workmen, whose labour for a whole day disclosed the stone, on which there is a short inscription in the Syro-Cappadocian ('Hittite') hieroglyphics. I hope to publish it shortly with other monuments of the same class in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. The existence of an indubitable Syro-Cappadocian hieroglyphic inscription among the Phrygian monuments is one of the points which confirm me in the belief that Phrygian art succeeded the older Syro-Cappadocian art in this district, when the energetic tribe of mailed warriors from the west established itself in the Sangarius valley. The only Syro-Cappadocian monument which seems to me to be certainly as late as the Phrygian monuments, is that at Ibriz. In publishing this monument in the *Archäologische Zeitung* 1885, I pointed out its later character (its style being more Assyrian as distinguished from the Egyptian analogies in the older monuments of Syro-Cappadocian art), and the resemblance between the embroidered robe of the king and the pattern on such Phrygian monuments as the Tomb of Midas.

An outlying group of monuments connected with this old city is situated near Liyen, a few miles north. The most important of these is the Arslan Kaya, published in this *Journal*, 1884. It shows that sphinxes and gryphons were forms familiar in Phrygian art. A mile or more east of this monument is a similar one, but of a much less imposing character, and in far worse preservation. The pediment with sphinxes, exactly similar to Arslan Kaya, is the chief feature in it. Close to the two Lion Tombs is a monument which shows some analogy with the shrine in Arslan Kaya. It is situated to the right of the road leading from the Lion Tombs to the villages Tekke and Kairan, concealed among the low brushwood about half a mile south of the tombs. I saw it in 1883 in company with Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, and again

in 1884, but was unable to find it in 1887. Room cannot here be found for the sketch which I made in 1884.¹ The monument consists of two parts, a rock-altar, rectangular, approached by continuous steps on all sides, and beside it a small rock-shrine, roughly cut in the shape of a gabled *naiskos*. A rude image of the goddess, quite similar to that at Liyen, but without the lions, is represented in high relief in the shrine. The total height is between five and six feet. About a quarter of a mile east of the Lion Tomb is a small rude monument in low relief within an oblong slightly sunk panel. It represents a human figure or rather a pillar surmounted by a human head and shoulders. At the side of the panel is an oval cartouche, 9 inches high. The relief which nearly fills up the panel is 34 in. high by 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad.

A third group of monuments, exceedingly numerous and varied in character, is situated at the village of Ayaz Inn, about four miles SSE. from the Lion Tombs. The village with the pile of carved white rocks rising over it is a most picturesque and remarkable sight, but the monuments are not of the highest interest, partly on account of their generally ruinous condition, and partly from their belonging for the most part to a later date. Several of them have been already published in this Journal, plates XXIX. No. 5 and No. 6, XXVI. No. 1, XXVII., XXVIII. No. 3, from Mr. Blunt's drawings. One of these with ionic supporting columns appears to me to be anterior to Greek influence (Plate XXIX. No. 6). Several others also seem to me to be of true Phrygian pre-Greek style; a specimen may be found in Plate XXIX. No. 5. But the great majority, as I think, show the influence of Greek art, which penetrated Phrygia before Alexander's time; the commercial relations which spread this knowledge doubtless facilitated Alexander's conquest by causing a philo-Greek party in the cities of the interior.

These various groups of monuments, extending from Liyen to Ayaz Inn, belong to one Phrygian town. In the Roman and Byzantine period this town probably bore the name Metropolis, and was situated at Ayaz Inn: it is an interesting coincidence that one of the monuments near it bears the name of Mother Cybele. Metropolis was a small place, which probably had not the rights of a *civitas* until the fourth century, when there was a general tendency to break up the dominion of the great cities by honouring small towns with the *jus civitatis*. Previously it was probably subject to Prynnessos (as Orkistos was to Nakoleia), and coins of Prynnessos bear the name and bust of Midas in virtue of the old Phrygian monuments in its territory.²

After the Cimmerian conquest about 675 there was a period of disquiet which ended by Phrygia passing under the Lydian dominion. According to the treaty of 585, the Halys was fixed as the boundary between the Medes and Lydians. The kings of Phrygia mentioned under Alyattes and Croesus by Herodotus were vassal kings. The old Phrygian warriors armed like Greeks or Carians seem to have disappeared after 675, and in 481 the Phrygians

¹ It will be published in M. Perrot's fifth volume.

² "Cities and Bishoprics," § XXXVII.—XXXIX.

were armed like the tribes to the north and east, while the Lydians were armed like Greeks. The Greeks in this period knew the Phrygians only as slaves, and it is highly improbable that any powerful national art was developed in such a period. Hence it seems to me to be necessary to date all the great monuments before 675, and to class the numerous monuments which show more analogy to and even dependence on Greek architecture to the centuries following 585. Lydia, the mistress of Phrygia after 585, was penetrated by Greek ideas and Greek influence.

A second series of monuments of the old Phrygian kingdom is situated about fifteen to twenty miles north-east and north of the series which has just been briefly described. It is impossible here to publish the map in which I have shown the relative situations of the monuments in the two series. In M. Perrot's fifth volume a map of the kind will be given, and I must refer to this. As in the previous case, this second series is divided into several groups, a mile or two separate from each other, three of which are situated at the villages of Bakshish, Kumbet and Yapuldak respectively, while the fourth lies along the sides of the glens beside the Tomb of Midas. Kumbet is situated on the river Parthenios, whose name is recorded only on coins of Nakoleia belonging to M. Waddington's collection. In this neighbourhood three towns, and one or perhaps two forts, all belonging to the old Phrygian period, can be distinctly traced. I shall begin with the one which is by far the largest and most important of these: I shall call it the Midas-city, because in a spur of its rock-walls is situated the famous monument of Midas.

Fig. 11 shows the shape of the Midas-city: it, along with Fig. 12, is the result of six long days' work of Mr. Hogarth and myself in 1887. It was made thus. Hogarth started from the gate at *D*, and fixed by measurement and angles a series of points along the walls, about thirty to forty feet separate from each other. I measured a line of 400 feet due north and south (magnetic), about the centre of the city, and from this base line I measured separate lines to the points *D*, *H*, *C*, *A*, and *Q* on the walls. When Hogarth reached *H* his position for it varied five feet from mine; here we adjusted our plotting to make our results agree. The line along the wall between *H* and *C* is exceedingly rough and difficult, and some mistake occurred, which made us differ at *C* by about thirty feet: in all probability it is due to some measurement between *H* and *C* being omitted in plotting. It would have taken a whole day to discover the error, our host the Circassian Bey who had recently built a village beside the Midas-tomb was getting very sick of our company, and time was precious. I have therefore lengthened the distance between *H* and the gate *E* in order to bring us into agreement.

From *C* to *A* I measured the line of the walls, having the extreme points fixed from the base line. Hogarth did the wall from *A* to *Q*, his final position differing very little from that which I measured from the base line. The distance *Q* to *D*, and all the measurements about the gate (which are used in

Fig. 12) were done by me. In measuring this series of points, most of the lines of wall which can be seen were filled in according to measurement; but the breadth of the wall is exaggerated on the plan to make it more distinct. I went round the whole circuit and filled in roughly by eye the rest of the natural features along the measured line of the walls. At the same time I added also (judging by eye only) a few traces of wall which had escaped us previously. With these few exceptions, and some of the details of wall between *A* and *C*, *Q* and *D*, every trace of the line of fortifications was examined by us both and carefully discussed.

Of the whole line of fortifications not a single stone now remains in its place. The fact seems extraordinary to those who have not traced carefully the lines of the walls of ancient cities, but I have observed similar cases. At Phocaea I have followed the line of the ancient wall for a mile, tracing it with perfect ease by the marks cut in the rocks to receive the stones, but not a single stone can now be seen, and no visitor to Phocaea has so far as I know ever observed the line of the fortifications. One of the many schemes which want of means prevented me from carrying out in Asia Minor was a survey of the situation of the ancient Phocaea. Erythrae was the first place where I observed this phenomenon. The walls there still remain (or did in 1880 remain) in massive ruins across the plain. As I was making the tour of the circumvallation, I came to a rocky hill with sloping sides: here the wall came to an end, and all trace of it disappeared. Up the sloping hill ran a sort of staircase, which I ascended, wondering what was its purpose, but when I reached the top and looked back, I saw that the wall came straight to the lowest step, and that the staircase was simply the beds cut in the slope to receive the stones of the wall. The walls of Phocaea, like those of the other Ionian cities, were probably destroyed by the Persians, and not a trace now remains of them except the rock-beds. The walls of Erythrae remain in fair preservation, except on the rocky hill-sides, where they had not firm grip of the soil: they belong obviously to the period of the Diadochi, like those of Smyrna and Ephesus.

The Midas-city is situated on a rocky plateau, whose general level is about 200 feet higher than the open ground in front of it to the east and north. The rock is a rather soft and friable volcanic stone,¹ which splits easily in vertical surfaces; and either on this account or through scarping, or probably through both causes combined, the plateau is almost entirely surrounded by vertical faces of rock, absolutely inaccessible except where a break occurs. Some of these breaks are either wholly or in part modern, but many of them are ancient, and one can trace distinctly on each side of these old gaps the lines where the wall that filled up the gap fitted into beds cut in the rock.

¹ A portion of the stone of the Midas-tomb was submitted to Prof. Alleyne Nicholson of Aberdeen; he writes that it 'is a volcanic ash. It is apparently a submarine ash, and is in many respects very similar to the peculiar ash which

occurs so largely in parts of the Rhine valley, and which is locally known as *trass*. As it is very friable, and as its external characters seem to be quite sufficient for identification, I did not prepare a slide of it for the microscope.'

Besides this there was a parapet built along the edge of the plateau, in all places where the rock forms a vertical precipice. The northern half of the plateau is level, the southern part is rocky, and rises towards west and south.

The rocks of the plateau occupied by the city do not rise straight from the plain on all sides. Except on the southern side, a steep bank of grass-covered detritus, formed by the disintegration of the rocks above, rests against the rocks and facilitates the ascent. This bank is of varying height, sometimes about 100 feet, while west of gate *B* it reaches up to the summit of the plateau: it is now of course much higher than it was when the city was inhabited, through the increased rapidity in the disintegration of the rocks. The same formation—rocky plateaus with precipitous sides and banks of deposit at their base—is characteristic of the entire district.

The line of the walls cannot be completely recovered, but some features of the fortification can be traced.

Gate *A* is an entrance into a sort of chamber, 50 or 60 feet long, and completely surrounded by perpendicular rocks, except where two roads lead east and south up to the plateau. On the upper edge of the rock-walls are traces of a parapet which was once probably continuous. Out of this chamber a narrow road, which has been cut through the rock and is clearly ancient, leads upwards towards the east into the city; another narrow road leads southwards towards a place where considerable cutting seems to show that a large house stood, with part of its lower walls formed in the rock and part built above the rock.

The precipice which bounds the plateau is lofty as we go round from *A* for some distance towards gate *B* and *C*. The line of the parapet can here be traced almost continuously, and some outlying rocks, accessible from the plateau but defying approach from without by their smooth and perfectly perpendicular sides, have evidently been occupied as forts to strengthen the defences.

At gate *B* an easy ascent leads up to the walls, which here are strongly planted on rocks, precipitous though not lofty. There were here apparently two entrances, leading respectively east and south through the line of walls. An approach at *C* is possible, but very doubtful, and a little further north there was perhaps a postern, as there seem to be traces of cutting for a passage.

Further north is *E*, the best preserved of all the entrances. At the top of the bank of detritus a path leads up through a cleft in the rocks to a gate in a recess of the walls. On each side the cleft is shut in by perpendicular rocks. Between the cleft and the lines of the city-wall are level platforms high above the path and quite inaccessible from it, but at a lower level than the city-plateau. Besides the gate which is at the top of the path, there are at the sides two small gates, each with a staircase leading down to the level of the intermediate platforms. The defenders had thus easy access to the two platforms, and any enemy attempting to approach by the narrow steep path below and between them was completely at their mercy.

The parapet of the city-wall on the left hand as one ascends this path still remains, as it was not built, but cut out of the rock, like the parapet which still remains in the Acropolis beside the Lion Tombs. One of the little side-gates admitting to the intermediate platforms is cut through this rock parapet.

A little south of *D* the form of the plateau changes. It rises to a much higher level, and towards the edges is separated by a short steep slope from the bounding line of the precipitous rocks. The line of fortification follows the line of the higher plateau, and the steep slope towards the precipice was outside the wall. From *Q* to the south-western corner *R* the precipice is

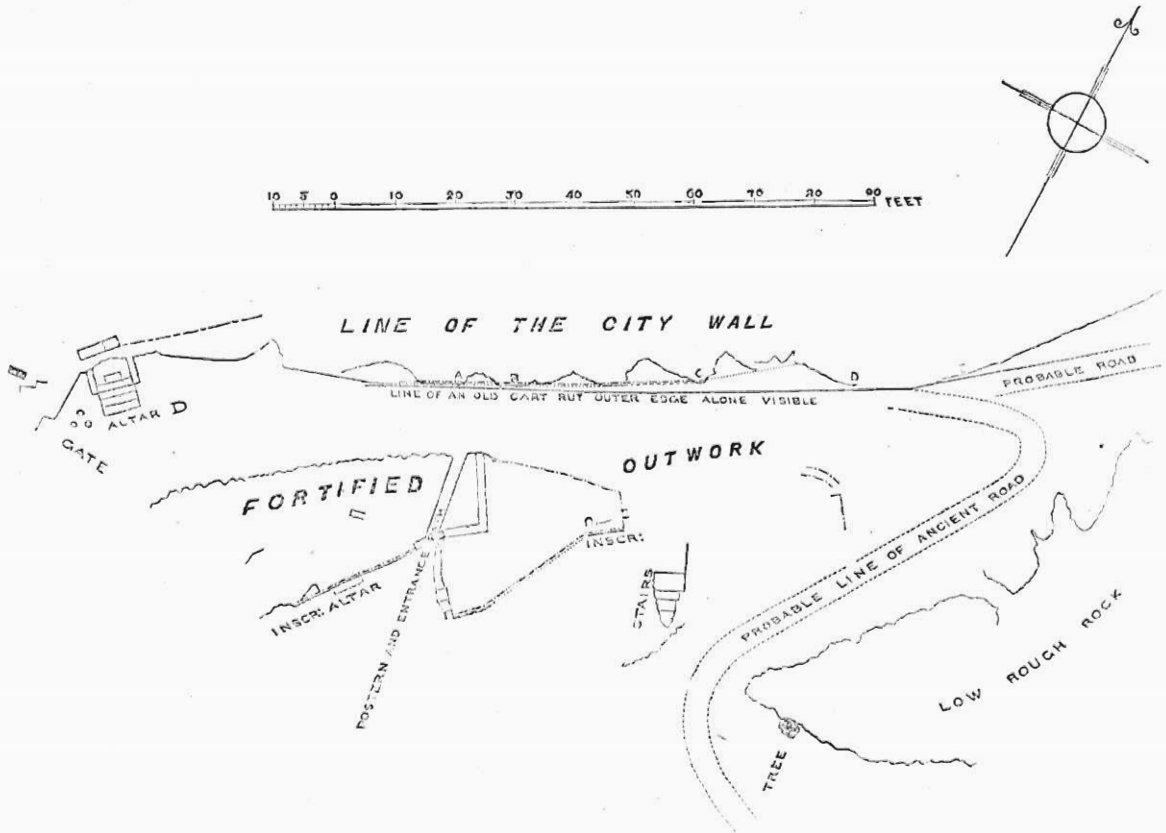


FIG. 12.

very lofty, and only one possible approach now exists. A path was once in use up this difficult approach, which winding to the right over the intermediate slope entered the city through a small postern between two lofty parallel faces of rock about four feet apart. The holes in which the gate was fastened can still be seen in these rocks.

Between *H* and *D* the rocks are much broken, and it is difficult to

determine which of the many now practicable entrances were used as such when the city was inhabited; the two which are marked were probably ancient, but their original arrangement can hardly be determined.

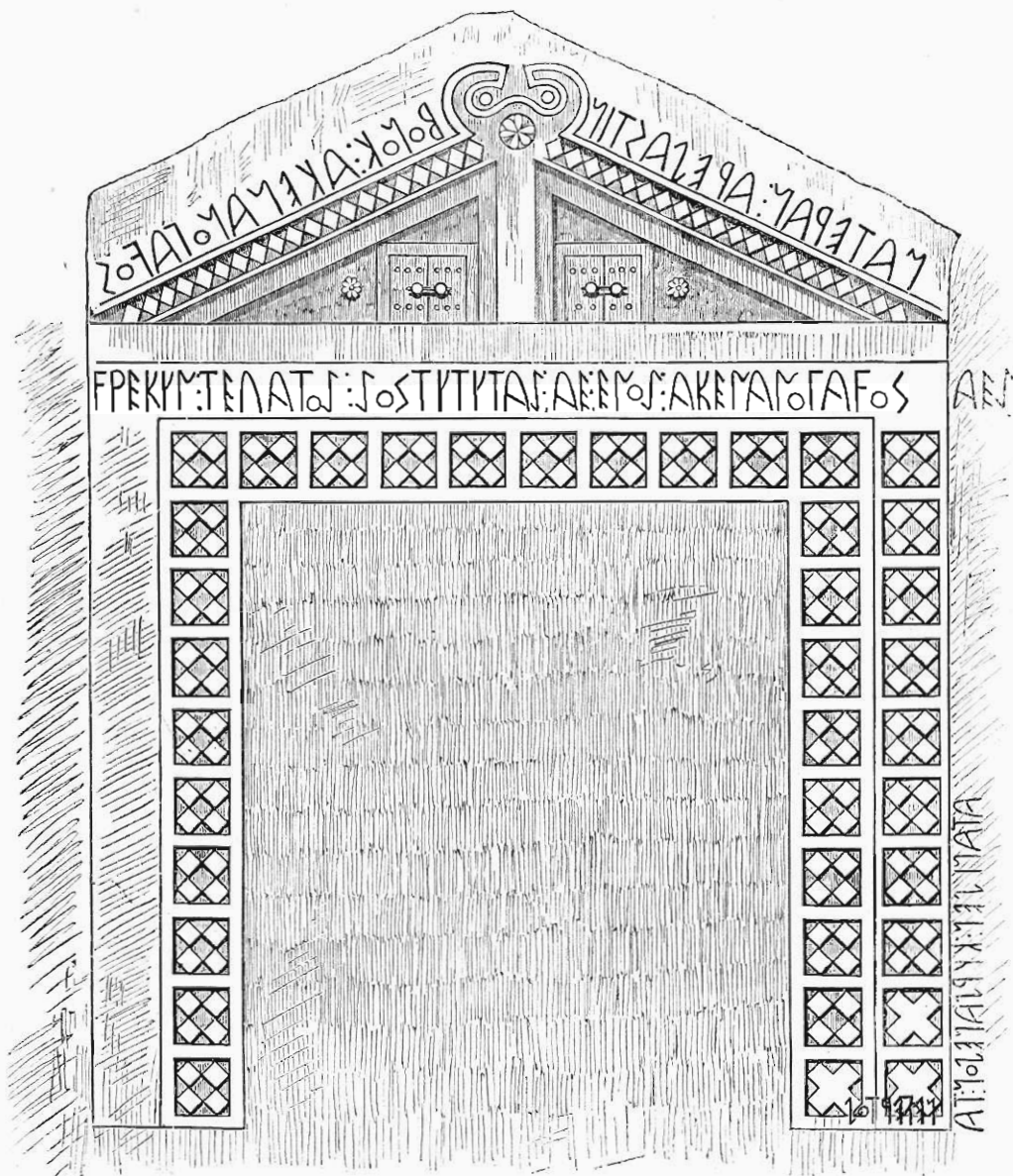
The approaches to gate *D*, probably the chief gate in ancient time, are shown on a larger scale in Fig. 12. The fortifications were very strong here. A *dromos*, once fringed on each side by walls, leads up to the gate. There approaches ascend the slope to the *dromos*, one through a narrow postern, and two broader ways. This was the only gate practicable for wheels. In describing some of the separate monuments, the arrangement at this gate will be described more in detail.

The traces prove that many parts of the walls were Cyclopean, other parts of squared stones. The same variation occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* at Pishmish Kalessi (the Phrygian fort opposite the Midas city) and at Pteria. It is naturally more difficult to trace the Cyclopean parts of the wall, but rough cuttings in the rocks to receive large unhewn stones can be observed where we have indicated them.

The Tomb of Midas is situated at the extreme northern extremity of the city. The fact that it faces nearly due east is probably to be attributed to the natural formation, and no religious significance can be attributed to it. This monument was discovered by Leake in 1800, and this discovery marks as real an epoch in the investigation of early Greek history as Dr. Schliemann's excavations do in more recent time. Before that discovery it was utterly impossible to assign any historical value whatever to the tales about Midas. In no mythical personage is the fabulous element more strongly marked than in the Midas of the ass's ears, the umpire between Apollo and Marsyas, the familiar friend of Silenus, who turned all he touched to gold. Since that discovery there is probably no one who doubts that the old Phrygian kingdom really existed and impressed the Greeks so strongly by its brilliancy and power that the crash of its sudden destruction by the Cimmerians 675 B.C. impressed itself on the memory of history and is now one of our few certain marks in the early centuries. When we survey the remains of this ancient city and the monuments that surround, some of singular beauty, and many of interest on various grounds, and then look at the grave dedicated to 'Midas Lavaltas the King,'¹ the monarchy becomes to us a reality. The double name Midas Lavaltas reminds us that more than one king bore the name Midas.

It is a remarkable fact that this important monument has never yet been published accurately, though it has frequently been seen and often photographed. Texier's drawing is the least inaccurate, but his reputation is so low that Mr. Murray has preferred in his *History* to reproduce Steuart's hideous and ridiculous engraving. Mr. Blunt made a very successful photograph and drawing in 1881, and I had hoped that his drawing would

¹ My friend Mr. Neil suggested to me the opinion, which seems to be correct, that Lavaltas is the Phrygian form of Laertes.



FRONT ELEVATION.

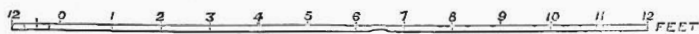


FIG. 13.

have been published in my former paper on this subject, and given this *Journal* the distinction which still remains open for M. Perrot's fifth volume, of placing the first trustworthy representation of this monument before the eyes of scholars.

These wide-reaching inferences lose much of their foundation, if the opinion, which I have formerly combated, but which I believe is adopted by M. Perrot, is true, viz., that this monument is not the Tomb of Midas, but merely a religious representation dedicated to a hero or deity. The reason which I formerly advanced, and which still seems to me sufficient, is the almost universal analogy of surrounding monuments. Almost all are tombs: in some cases an ineffectual attempt has been made to conceal the grave, but in a few cases the attempt has been successful, and has therefore roused disbelief in the existence of any grave. But as the point seems to me of the first importance in regard to historical evidence, I shall now advance two other arguments. The first is the meaning of the inscriptions on the very monuments where no grave can be discovered. 'Ates placed to Midas Lavaltas the King' is not quite clear, but certainly suggests more naturally the form of an epitaph.¹ But a much clearer case occurs in the inscription on a neighbouring tomb, represented on Fig. 13. I have discussed this inscription in the forthcoming number of Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, and have translated it: 'Phorkys (*nom.*), himself the son of Akenanolas, Arezastis (*accus.*), the mother of himself, wife of Akenanolas,' after which follows a verb. A separate inscription, on the uncarved rock above the niche which contains the monument, continues 'if he should . . . the name of the mother who bore him, he . . . (the grave? *accus.*) of that same mother.' Fragmentary as this translation is, it leaves no doubt that the monument is dedicated by a son to his mother, *i.e.* that it is a grave for a Phrygian noble lady, in all probability a queen.

The next argument will come more conveniently in my second paper; but I hope that already I have made out a strong case for the view that all monuments of the classes yet described are sepulchral.

The analogies with Lycian, which I have pointed out (*l. c.*) in discussing this inscription, are my chief ground for maintaining that a branch of the same European stock settled as a conquering caste in Lycia. The analysis of the Phrygian glosses published long ago by Fick, and confirmed by his brief note on the Phrygian inscriptions of the Roman period² in the last number of Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, show that linguistic evidence marks Phrygian as a European language. Deecke also considers Phrygian as of the same family with dialects of Thrace and Illyria.

In Fig. 13 the unfinished state of both the right and the left sides is

¹ The verb *edæes* appears to me to be an aorist of the root *dha*, the medial aspirates becoming media in Phrygia. Deecke prefers to derive it from *da*, but appears to take from it the same meaning as I advocated in *Journ. Asiat. Soc.*

1883.

² I published these in *Zft. f. vergleich. Sprachf.* 1887, p. 381-400. See Deecke's papers on Lycian and Messapian in *Bezenb. Beitr.* and *Rhein. Mus.*

remarkable. In the pediment are represented two double doors, imitated after wood studded with metal nails: the doors are fastened shut by cross-bars, which are now much broken as they are quite clear of the actual valves of the door. They pass through sockets in two metal bolts which stand out prominently from the woodwork of the door. The imitation of woodwork is frequently apparent in Phrygian monuments, and the imitation of a wooden door studded with metal nails recurs in Arslan Kaya (*J. H. S.* 1884). I have restored the original appearance in this sketch: parts of the surface and the letters are much worn. The scale given is merely approximate, as the monument is not accessible.

W. M. RAMSAY.

