

SOME PHRYGIAN MONUMENTS.

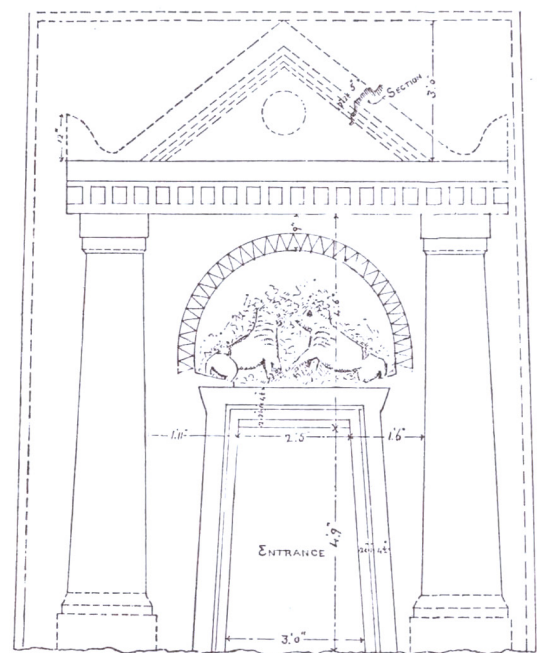
[PL. XXVI.—XXIX.]

OF the five Phrygian monuments now published from the drawings of Mr. A. C. Blunt, No. 4 on Pl. XXVIII. may be assigned to an early period of Phrygian history. It has been already published by Stuart, *Anc. Monum.*; but like all his drawings, this is very incorrect and gives an inaccurate idea of the original.¹ The monument is at Yapuldak (see the map in last number of this Journal). There was at this place a town or fortification of some kind on the top of a hill, which rises about 200 feet above the plain. The western side of the hill is a precipice of rock, and on all other sides it is very steep. On the western side an underground staircase cut in the rock leads down to the plain: a similar one at Pishmish Kalessi has already been mentioned above, p. 6. Near this staircase there is a doorway leading into a small rock-chamber, from which another door in the opposite wall leads into a second chamber, larger than the first. At the back of the second chamber a door admits into a third chamber, and in the back of this third chamber there is a door or window which looks out over the precipice to the west. One can step out through this window and stand on a ledge about eighteen inches wide; and this is the only way to get a near view of the carved front which is now given according to Mr. Blunt's drawing and measurements. The architectural work round the door shows the love of ornament characteristic of both Phrygian and Mycenaean art. It does not consist of curved mouldings: the section shows only straight lines. There is a high pediment over the window, the centre of which is occupied by a peculiarly shaped obelisk. This pediment is very

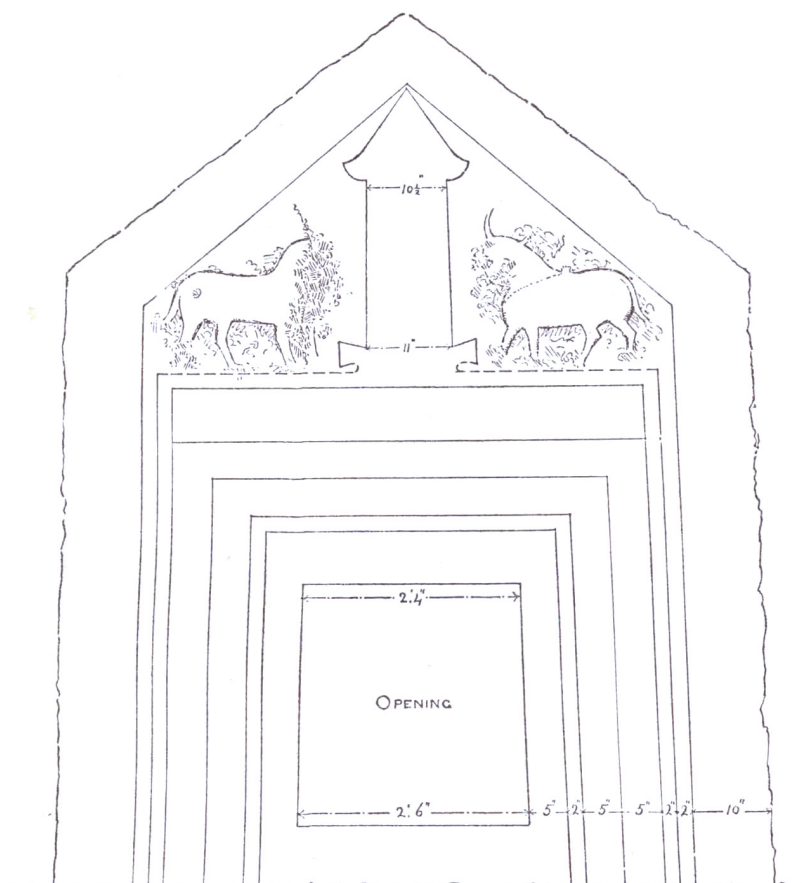
¹ Stuart deserves credit as the discoverer of many of the Phrygian monuments, and for his good copies of several inscriptions. He was however no draughtsman, and his drawings have apparently been worked up at home.



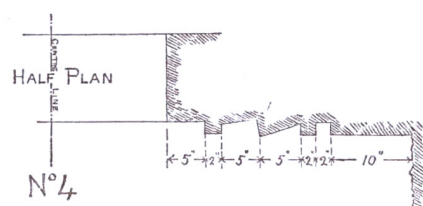
SKETCH NO. 3.



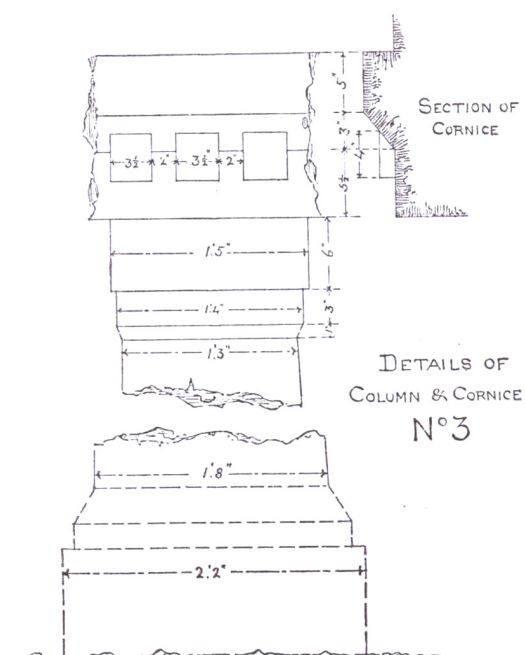
ELEVATION
N°3



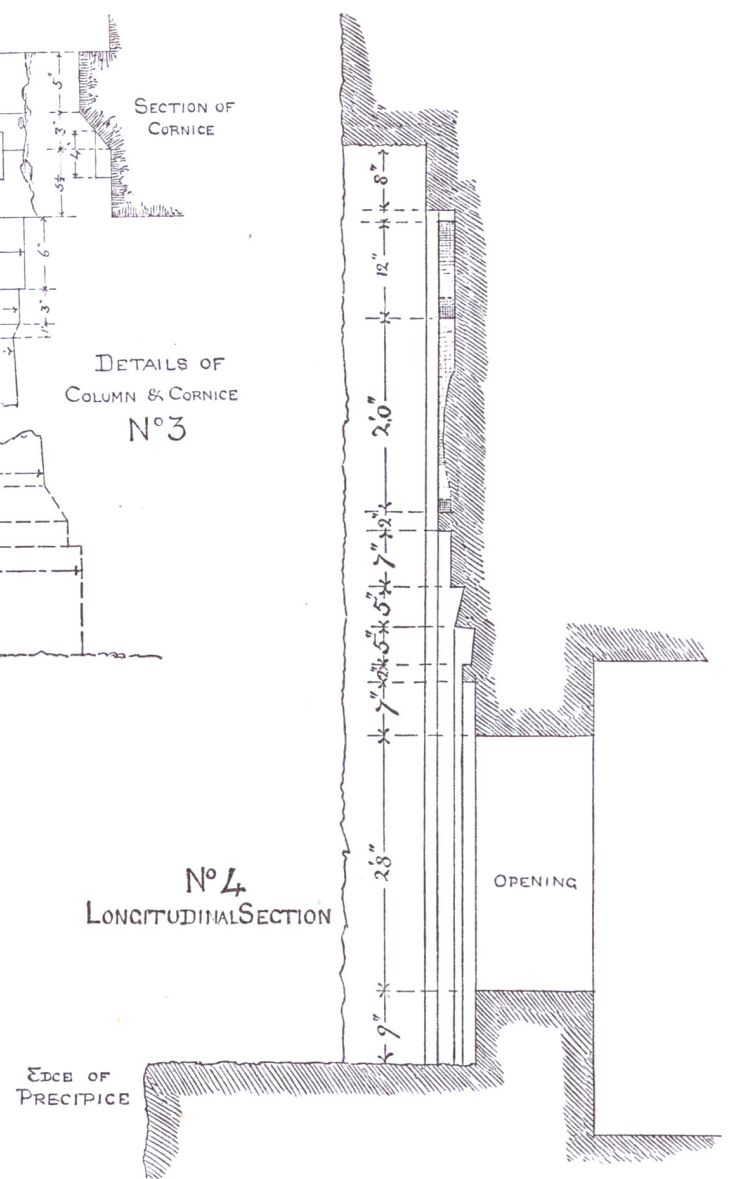
ELEVATION



N°4



DETAILS OF
COLUMN & CORNICE
N°3



N°4
LONGITUDINAL SECTION

EDGE OF
PRECIPICE

like one over the door of a tomb in the side of Pishmish Kalessi, engraved by Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* p. 146;¹ but is much more elaborate. On the two sides of the obelisk, arranged in the usual symmetrical fashion, are two animals, on the right side certainly a bull, on the left side probably a horse. The horse is frequently represented on the outside of Phrygian tombs, but I do not know any other case where the bull appears on them.

In the chambers there is no appearance of any graves: are we therefore to conclude that they were used as an abode for the living, or shall we think that the graves are concealed? The simplicity of design, both sculpturally and architecturally, marks this doorway as very early. The two animals in the pediment are carved in the same low relief as the two lions over the tomb already published (Pl. XVII.); and, so far as it is possible to judge, they seem not to belong to a more developed stage of art than the lions. As was proved in detail in this Journal, p. 1 ff., the oldest class of Phrygian monuments consists of human or animal figures carved in low relief, apparently in imitation of Cappadocian art. At first the process of carving consisted only in tracing an outline on the stone and slightly cutting away the ground around; but in Phrygia the art of sculpture was soon developed to a far higher stage than it ever attained in Cappadocia. It is not easy to say how early the beginnings of Phrygian art must be placed; probably the date is rather before than after 1000 B.C. This early date seems demanded by the close resemblance between Phrygian and Mycenaean art. I have already mentioned several points of analogy between them; but at the time of writing I had never seen the Lion-gate of Mycenae, and could not know how much more advanced² an art it shows than the Lion-tomb of Phrygia. In comparing these two monuments it is interesting to remember the prophecy of Prof. E. Curtius, published in 1874, 'Wir dürfen voraussetzen dass bei weiterer Durchforschung Kleinasiens auch monumentale Vorbilder des Löwenthors [of Mycenae] sich finden werden.'³ It is always interesting to find

¹ Perrot considers the obelisk to be a *phallus*, a rude symbol of immortality: the dead man is a god, worshipped by his descendants, and his death is the birth into a new form of life.

² Of course not necessarily later in date, though more advanced in art.

³ Curt. *Wappengebr. u. Wappenstil*, p. 111.

that the speculations to which scholars have been led are confirmed by further discovery; and few more striking examples of such confirmation have ever been known. Another analogy is suggested by the engraving which Dr. Schliemann has published (*Mycenae*, p. 267) of a gold ornament found at Mycenae.¹ It represents apparently the front of a shrine. The curious geometrical ornament arranged in panels, the side acroteria (omitting the birds perched on them), the quaint ornament of the central acroterion, resemble the general character of some Phrygian tombs.²

It appears therefore that the evidence of art confirms in the fullest way the old legends of the connection between Mycenae and Phrygia. But it is a long road over land and sea from the one country to the other: where shall we find the bridge between them? For my own part I cannot believe that a land passage over Thrace and Macedonia explains the phenomena presented to us. We can trace with certainty the passage of certain religious forms³ from Phrygia by this route into Greece: but they are not presented to us as derived from Phrygia,—tradition ascribes them to Thrace, and only historical inference has traced their previous course from Phrygia. Connection between Mycenae and Phrygia must therefore be due to a maritime intercourse maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Aegean Sea at a very early time. Several facts of history and of tradition acquire new light when viewed in this connection. Egyptian records show that Dardanian and Maonian tribes invaded the Nile valley before 1200 B.C. These tribes had therefore ships and maritime skill. The Troad is represented by tradition as in communication with Phrygia on the one hand, with the Peloponnesus on the other. Priam fought for the

¹ Three of the same kind were found. Small shrines, in terracotta or metal, were common in Asia Minor. See Curtius in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1877, p. 48; *Acts Apost.* xix. 24.

² Dr. Milchhöfer has traced in the objects found at Mycenae three different elements: 'ein orientalisch-semitisch, durch die Phoenicier vermittelt; einen bildlosen, hoch entwickelten decorativen Metallstil, als dessen Heimath

Kleinasien, als dessen Urheber die arische Grundbevölkerung der Halbinsel, die *Phryger*, anzusehen sind; endlich eine einheimische nationale Kunst, am reinsten in geschnittenen Steinen, mit *phrygischem* vermischt in gravirtem Goldschmuck und Erabreliefs vertreten' (*Arch. Ztg.* 1882, p. 82.)

³ Especially the Dionysiac worship and the Orphic mysteries.

Phrygians against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius :¹ Phrygian auxiliaries came in return to Priam's aid : when the goddess appeared to her Trojan favourite she represents herself as the daughter of the Phrygian king : she has learned the Trojan language from her nurse, who was a Trojan woman : she bids Anchises send a messenger to ask her in marriage from her father.² Throughout the last passage mutual acquaintance and communication between the Troad and Phrygia is implied. Maritime connection between the west Aegean coasts and the Troad is implied as the groundwork of the Trojan legends : the raid of Paris, the Greek expedition, the trade between Lemnos and the Troad (*Il.* vii. 468), the fact that Agamemnon *πολλὰς νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν* (*Il.* ii. 108), all show that the sea-path (*πάτος, πόντος* the same word) was familiar when these legends could grow. After the Dorians conquered the Peloponnesus, the dispossessed tribes naturally emigrated to the Ionic and Aeolic coasts ; but tribes to whom the sea was previously impassable could not have suddenly made fleets to carry whole colonies over the Aegean. Thus the close relation between the civilisation of Phrygia and that of the Peloponnesian kingdom as early as 1000 B.C., although it seems at the first glance paradoxical, is in complete accordance with a state of things which is assumed as the groundwork of the most famous legends of early Greece. The conclusion seems probable that, if ever the historical groundwork of the War of Troy is discovered, it will be found to explain the resemblance of Phrygian and Mycenaean art. In this early period the path of intercourse lay by the land-roads from the Sangarius valley to Smyrna and to the Troad, and thence by the ships of this old race which we must suppose to have inhabited the coasts on both sides of the Aegean. In spite of the difference of character between a seafaring and an inland race, this coast race, the 'Old Ionians' of Curtius, was probably closely akin to the Phrygians of the central plateau.

As civilisation advanced, the Phrygians struck out for themselves a new style of art, in which a large surface of rock is sculptured in low relief to imitate the quaint geometric patterns common on the carpets which are still woven in Phrygia. The connection between Phrygia and Cappadocia even in this more

¹ *Iliad* iii. 185.

² *Hymn Aphrod.* 111, ff.

advanced style is proved by the remarkable similarity of the pattern on the dress of the priest carved on the rocks at Ibriz in the south of Cappadocia to the pattern on the tomb of Midas. Probably the Babylonian and Assyrian¹ carpets and robes brought by trade into Asia Minor formed the model. The monument No. 5, Pl. XXIX. may probably be connected with this developed class. Its ornamentation is more architectural in style, but the idea of a sculptured front and a grave concealed behind is common to them all.² This monument is given as a specimen of a group of three, all at the village of Ayazeen, very similar in character and design yet varying in every detail. The architectural mouldings of the curious heavy horizontal panel are composed of curves, and belong to a more developed art than those of No. 4.

The period to which the monuments of this class belong is determined with some accuracy by several lines of reasoning, and chiefly by the trade which they imply with the East. I believe that this trade did not stop in Phrygia, but went on by a new road into Greece, and that it was developed by the trading instinct of the great Ionian cities in the eighth century. When the Greeks became familiar with the Black Sea, when the great trading city of Sinope sprang up about 785 B.C., the connection between Greece and Phrygia followed a new path. Phrygian and Cappadocian traders carried their goods down to Sinope to sell to the Milesian merchants;³ the commercial class of Miletus, the *ἀειναῦται*, grew rich on the Black Sea trade, the Sinopic olives and the Sinopic furniture,⁴ the Sinopic red earth (which is found in the centre of Cappadocia),⁵ the salt fish of Sinope (called Phrygian by the comic poet Eupolis), the wood for shipbuilding which was so plentiful on the Sinopic coasts,⁶ the Phrygian gold embroideries and carpets,⁷ the Phrygian

¹ Paus. v. 12, 4.

² The shading on the sketch, Pl. XXIX., is too dark, and might convey the impression that there is an entrance to a deep hole in the middle of the sculptured front. It is merely that the ornamentation has been broken away in this part. The grave is a sort of well behind the carved front, accessible only from above.

³ Just as the Armenian merchants

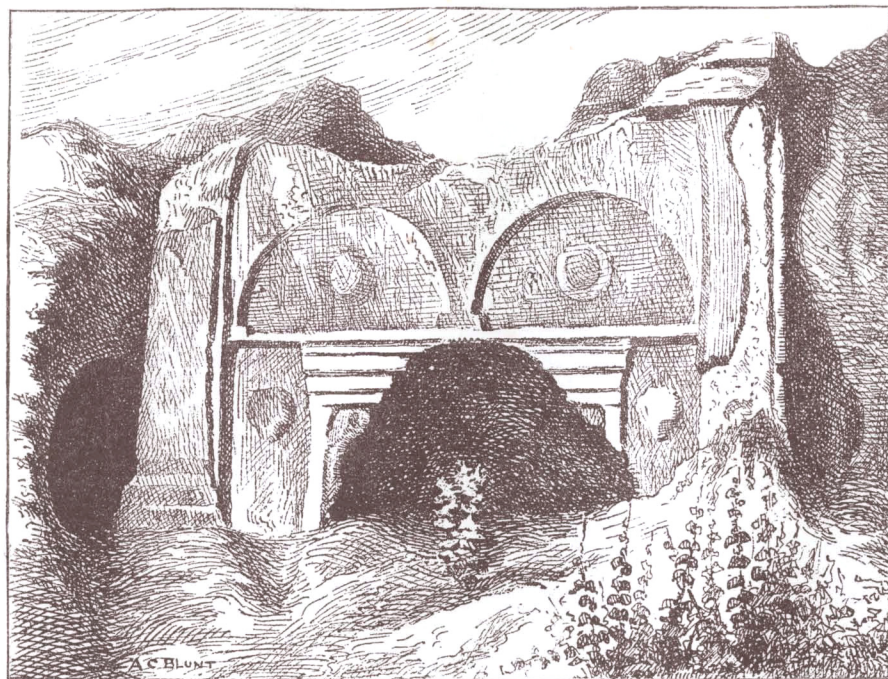
brought the products of Babylonia and India by the later route over Comana and Amisus to sell to the traders of the coast; Strab. p. 559, Huellmann, *Handelsgesch. d. Gr.* p. 242.

⁴ Strab. xii. p. 546.

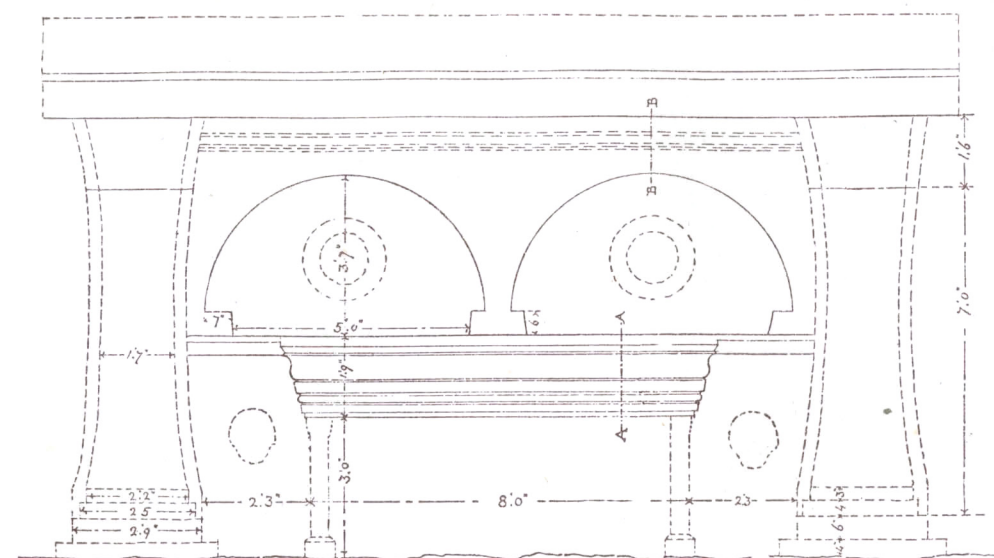
⁵ Strab. xii. p. 540.

⁶ Strab. xii. p. 546.

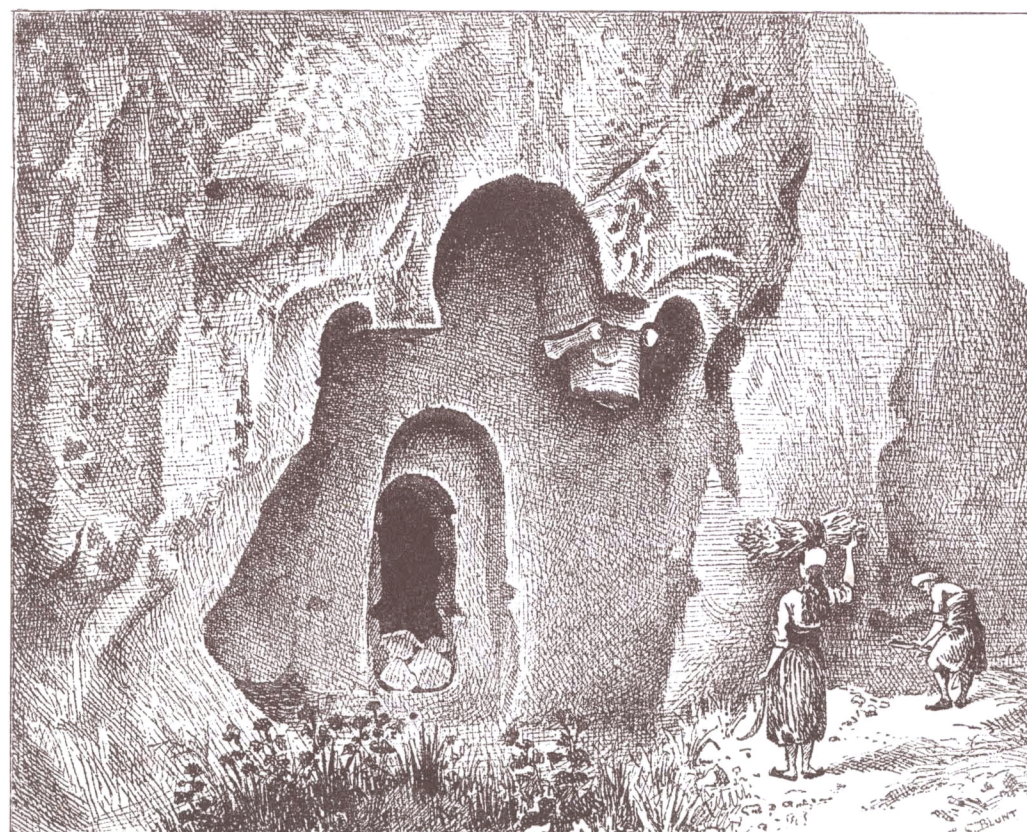
⁷ I find no direct proof in Greek literature that oriental carpets were made in Phrygia: but both embroid-



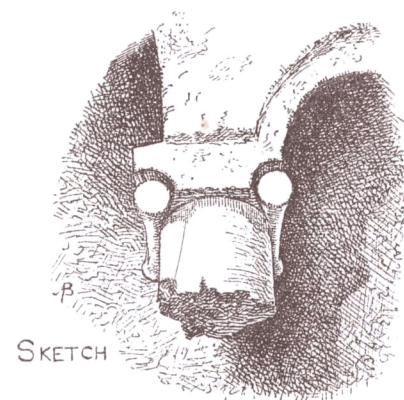
SKETCH NO. 5.



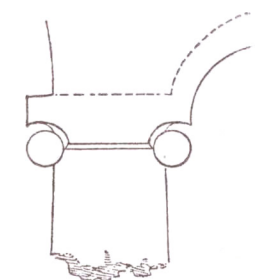
ELEVATION NO. 5.



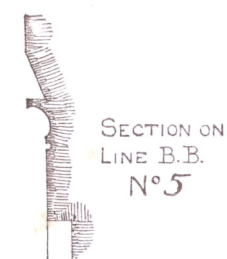
SKETCH NO. 6.



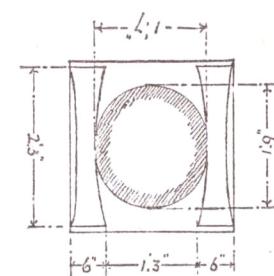
SKETCH



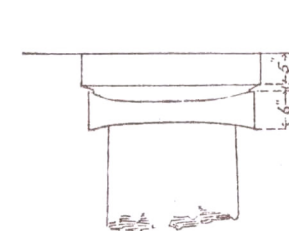
FRONT ELEVATION



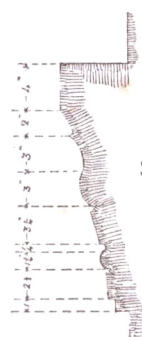
SECTION ON
LINE B.B.
N°5



PLAN



SIDE ELEVATION



SECTION ON
LINE AA
N°5

slaves,¹ the iron that was shipped at Sinope, in addition to the general Pontic corn trade. This was the easy path of commerce for several centuries, after the rise of the Mermnad dynasty. The Lydian empire, begun about 750, and consummated in 687 B.C.,² interposed a warlike and powerful kingdom between the coast-Greeks and the Phrygians. Hence we see that Herodotus knows nothing of the interior of Asia Minor, except the parts near Sinope and the easy natural road between Celaenae and Miletus. To judge from the evidence of literature, we should be obliged to say that the Phrygia of the Sangarius valley was better known at the time implied in the Trojan legends than it was in the time of Herodotus.

Several of the most splendid monuments of this class bear inscriptions in a character resembling archaic Greek. The Phrygian traders learned it from the Greek traders at Sinope, just as the Latins and Etruscans did from the colonists of Cumae: and the same alphabet occurs both in Phrygia and at Pteria in Cappadocia.³ This alphabet represents a very much older stage of the Ionic character than the earliest examples known elsewhere, and contains a symbol which finally obtained a place in the Greek alphabet with a different value.⁴ It must therefore have been learned before the destruction of Sinope about 670 B.C., and not after the city was re-established in 630.

Finally, we cannot date the highest perfection of Phrygian art later than the destruction of the Phrygian power by the Cimmerians about 670 B.C.⁵ The Lydians and Greeks resisted the Cimmerians successfully, but the Phrygian power was broken: and when the barbarous invaders were expelled by the Lydians, Phrygia easily passed under the new conquerors. After some wars between Lydia and Media, the frontier between

ering in gold and carpet-making are still characteristic of the Phrygian country. Phrygio is the later Latin term for a gold embroiderer. The common epithets for carpets are *Μηδικά* (Ar. *Ran.* 937, *Vesp.* 1143), *Περσικά* (Athen. v. 197 B., Herod. ix. 80); and I believe that these carpets came at an early period by Sinope, as they came afterwards by Comana and Amisus.

¹ Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* viii. 7, 12.

² See p. 50 of this Journal and Gelzer on 'Gyges' in *Rhein. Mus.* xxx.

³ See 'Phrygia and Cappadocia' in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* for Jan. 1883.

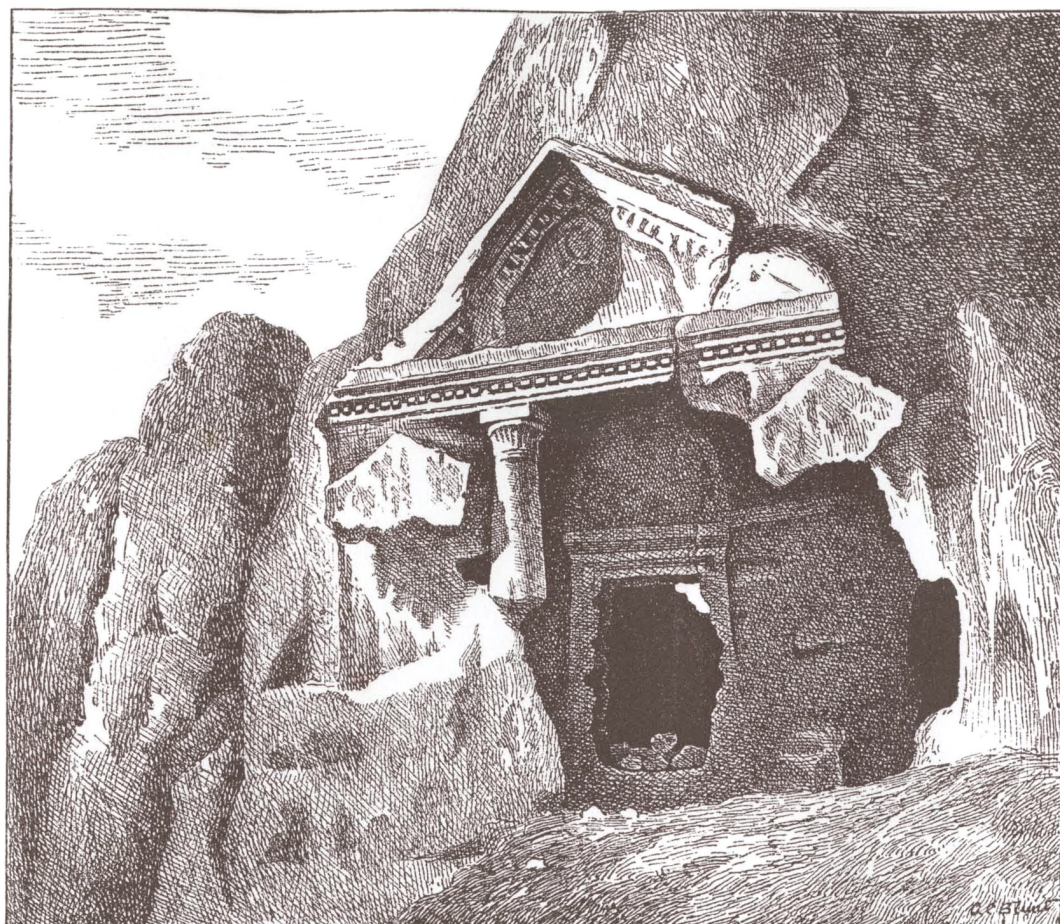
⁴ It is used in the Lycian alphabet with the same value as in Phrygia, *v.l.c.*

⁵ The date is determined with approximate accuracy by the evidence of the Assyrian Inscriptions.

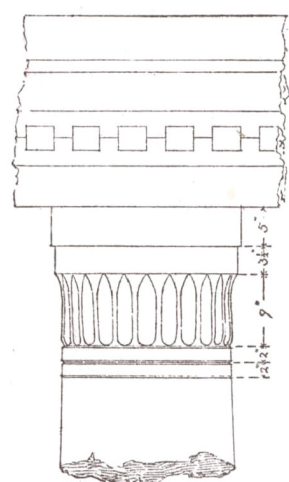
them was fixed at the Halys in 585 B.C. Of course Phrygian art was not destroyed, and some of the monuments of the class we are discussing may be placed later than 670. But with national life there disappeared much of the native spirit and the power of initiative that had hitherto governed the development of Phrygian art. Lydia was penetrated with the Greek spirit, and its troops were armed in the Greek style. The Greek influence, passing over Lydia, affected the Phrygian art. The tombs, always places of worship for the family of the deceased, were modelled on the Greek temple architecture. At first they show a mixture of Greek art with oriental sculpture; but the latter gradually disappears.

To this period we may assign the remaining monuments. Greek influence is almost supreme, though the old Phrygian device, the pair of animals, still persists. All the three monuments are at Ayazeen. No. 1, Pl. XXVI. is a very elaborate one. It has both a sort of prostyle front, still nearly complete, and an inner front, the wall of the tomb proper, with a pair of lions over the doorway (Pl. XXVII.). The appearance of this façade would however be less purely Greek if the two projecting members, supported in some way on columns, at right and left of the front, were still remaining: but they were so much decayed that it was impossible to gather their original character. Entering the sepulchral temple, we find three graves in the side and back walls, each in a deep vaulted niche. Two lions lean on the sides of the upper niche in the back wall. The floor of the temple is full of tombs, and in Pl. XXVII. C., which represents the front wall of the interior, four of these graves are shown in vertical section. On this front wall, on the two sides of the doorway, on the inside, are panels with a human figure carved in each. The Mohammedans have carefully defaced these forbidden representations of the human form, and it was impossible to judge from the almost obliterated figures how far they were done under Greek influence. The large number of graves show that this was a family tomb, used for several generations, like the mound-chambers of Greece.

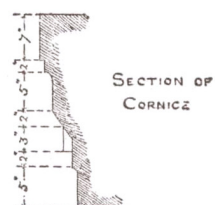
No. 3, Pl. XXVIII. also represents a family tomb. It is placed high on the rocks far from any other tombs; and just in front of the door, in a rock that projects on the right side, is a rough sepulchral niche, with two rudely carved lions on each side



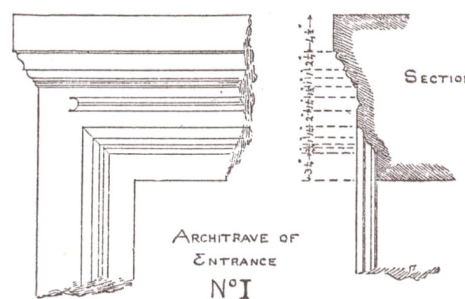
SKETCH NO. 1.



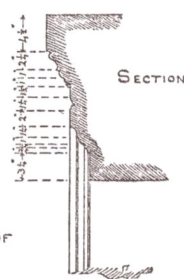
DETAIL OF CAPITAL
& CORNICE
N°I



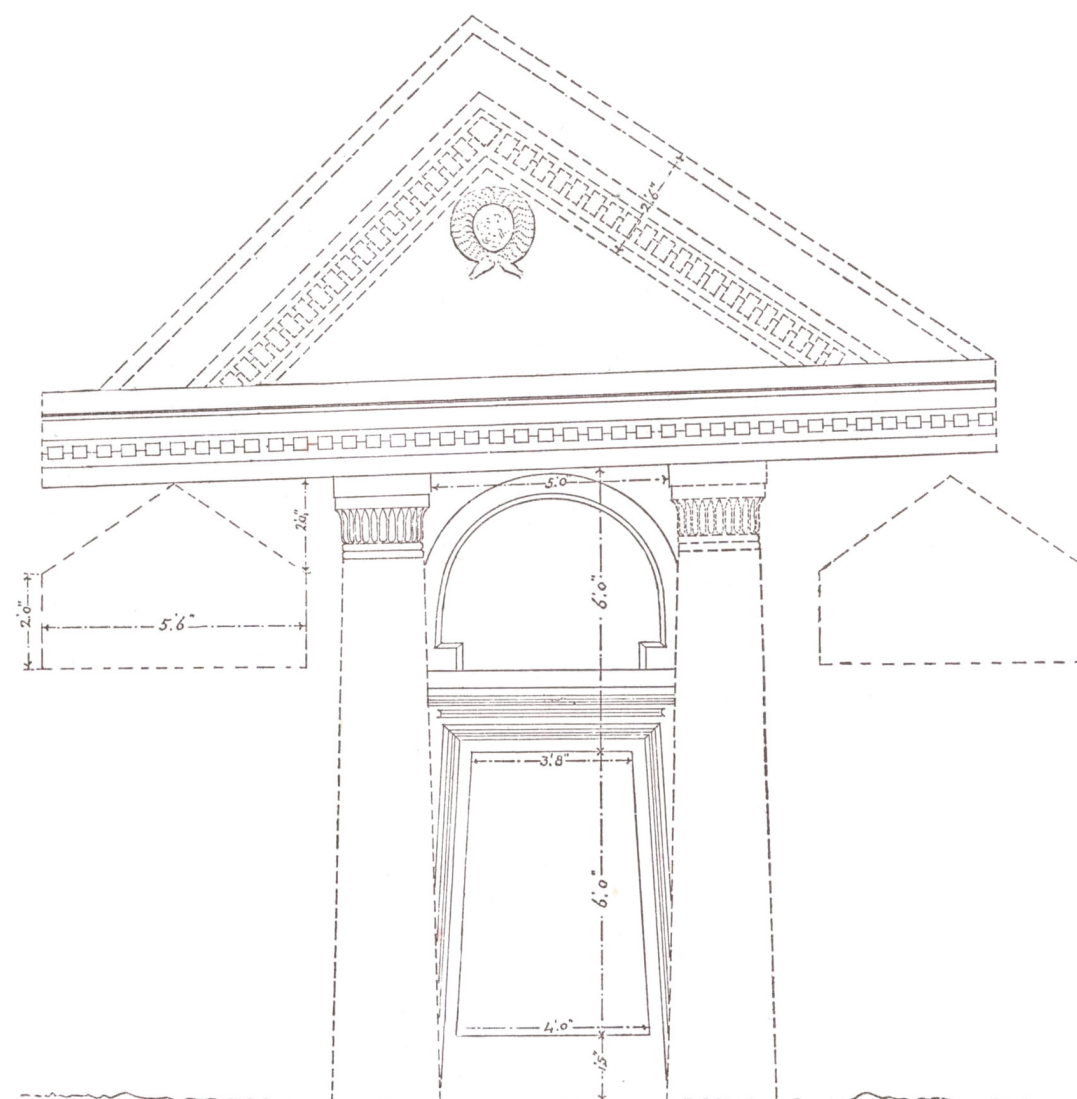
SECTION OF
CORNICZ



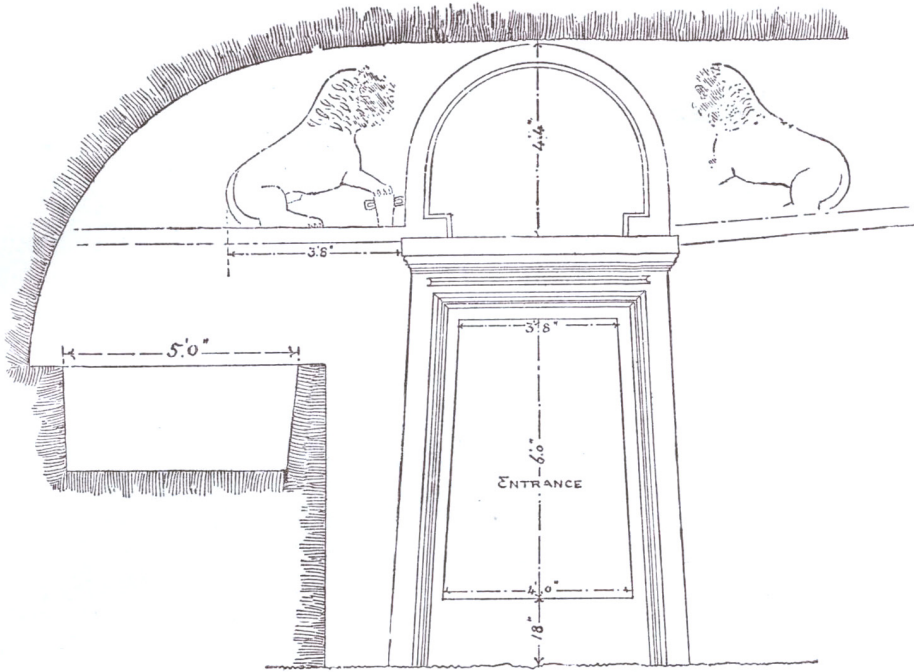
ARCHITRAVE OF
ENTRANCE
N^o I



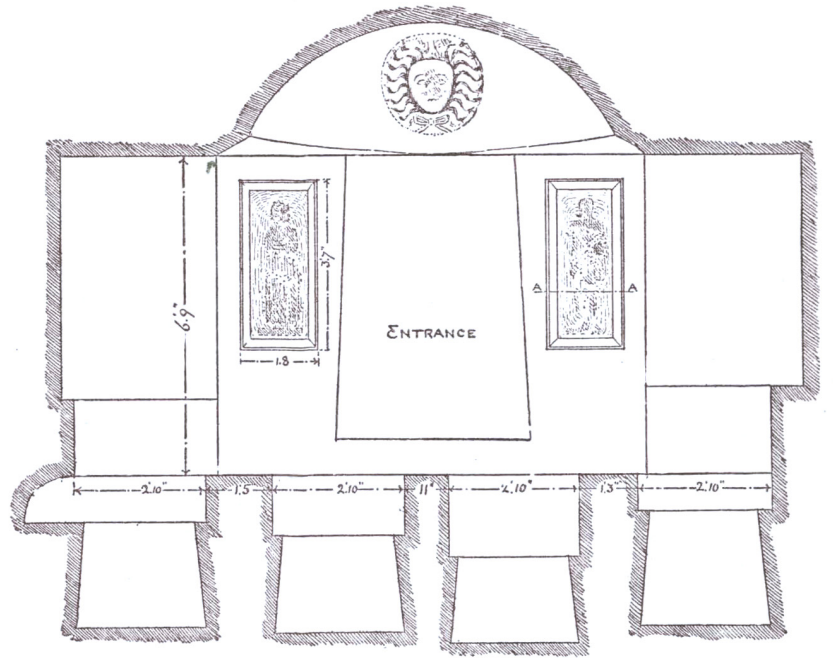
SECTION



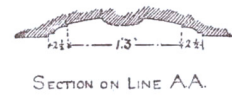
A
EXTERIOR ELEVATION
N^oI



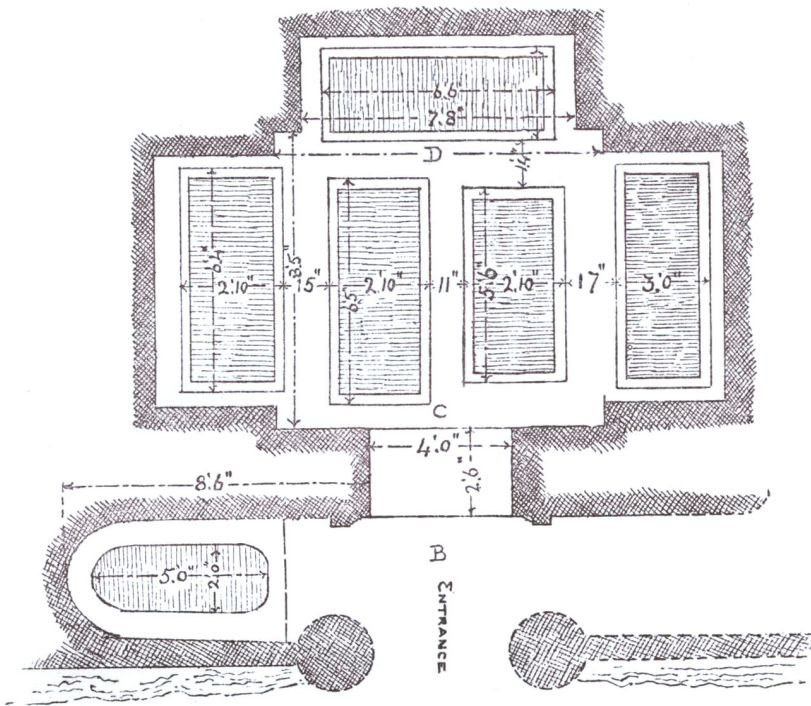
B
ELEVATION OF ENTRANCE
N° I



C
INTERIOR ELEVATION OF ENTRANCE
N° I

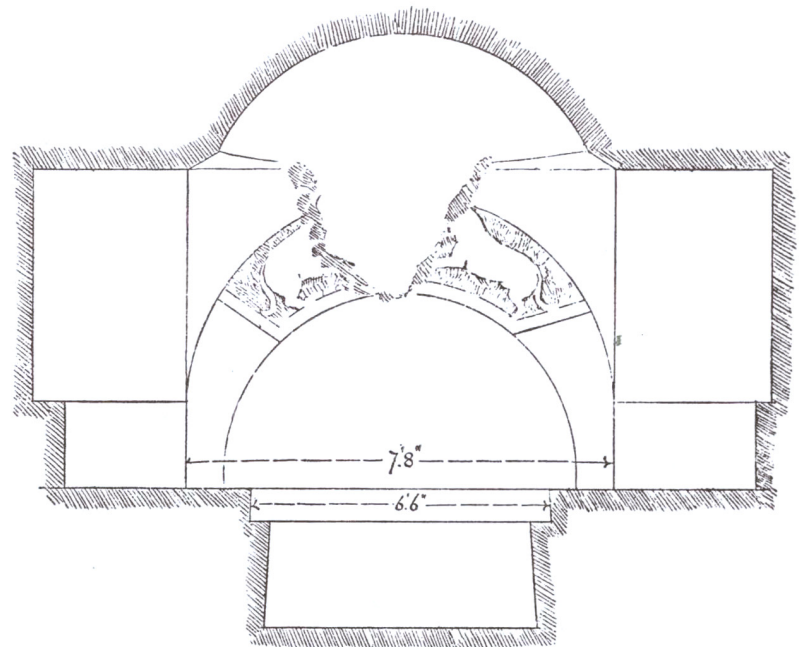


SECTION ON LINE A.A.

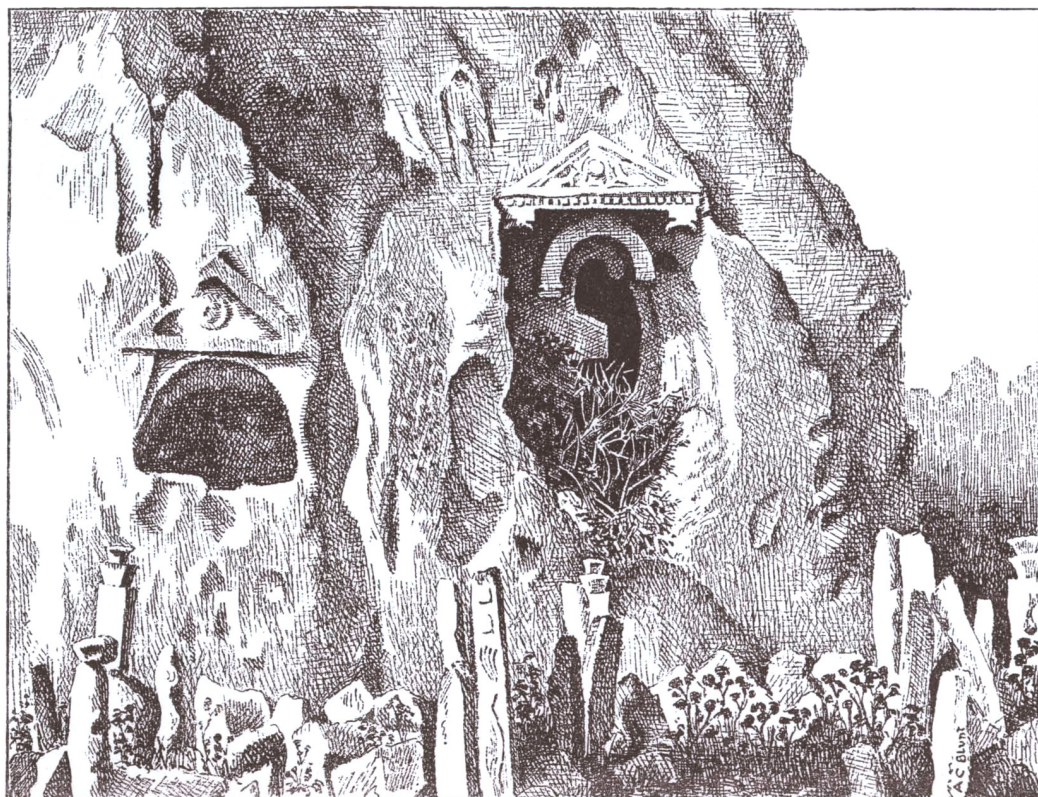


PLAN
N° I

LETTERS A,B,C,D. REFER TO
OTHER DRAWINGS OF THIS
TOMB



D
WALL OF TOMB, OPPOSITE ENTRANCE
N° I



SKETCH NO. 2.

within the niche. This outer grave perhaps belongs to a favoured servant.¹

No. 6, Pl. XXIX. is interesting as giving the mutilated remains of the only Ionic capital that I have ever seen in the interior of Asia Minor. In all other monuments known to me the columns are more like Doric. Sometimes indeed they have bases, usually tall rectangular blocks. I regret that space forbids us to publish here any tomb of this kind. It cannot be determined except by accurate drawings whether these monuments are debased Greek, or whether they show the influence of oriental rather than of Greek architecture. On a point of architectural style my opinion is of too little value to make it worth stating; but accurate drawings might be studied by experienced scholars.

There are many other monuments in the two necropoleis, of which Mr. Blunt has brought home drawings. I cannot help urging the great importance of preserving these drawings; even unpublished, they will be available for study, and the relation between Greece and Phrygia can be determined only by a careful study of the whole of them, and not by a sight merely of some few specimens. The Tomb of Midas, the most beautiful of all the Phrygian monuments, is fairly accurate in Texier's engraving; and the corrections made by M. Perrot (*Voyage*, p. 112), enable any one to restore for himself the front quite correctly. But there is another tomb, which was once intended for publication in this number, belonging to the same period as the Midas Tomb, and of great interest from the employment of the lotus-ornament and of rosettes, of which Texier's drawing is very inaccurate. There are also two tombs resembling No. 5, Pl. XXIX., and several others of the latest class, which ought all to be preserved for purposes of study. Even the rough notes and measurements may be hereafter worked up. I may also mention the temple-gateway of Brouzos as being the finest Greek² gateway existing in Asia Minor and still in perfect preservation: Mr. Blunt's drawing of this, even if not published, will be carefully treasured for study.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ No. 2, Pl. XXVII. gives a sketch of an interesting tomb of this period: it is now very much decayed, but enough remained to enable Mr. Blunt to restore

it with perfect certainty. Space however forbids us to give the details.

² Or Graeco-Roman.