

## HEADRESS FASHIONS AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN ANCIENT WESTERN ANATOLIA: THE SEVENTH THROUGH FOURTH CENTURIES BCE

“Bu serpuşun adına şapka derler”

27 Ağustos 1925, M. Kemal Atatürk

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**Key Words:** *Costume History • Ancient Headdress Fashions • Polos • Veiling • Ancient Anatolia*

**Abstract:** This study investigates the most popular headdress fashions in ancient Western Anatolia as detected in the arts of the region from seventh to fourth centuries BCE. The origins of each headdress, its possible meaning within the socio-cultural context, and its occurrence in Greek and Near Eastern iconography are also discussed. The examination of the most popular headdresses is classified under five typological categories; *polos*, veil, *bashlyk*, *griffon* crown, and the Phrygian cap. Examples come from representations in different media, ranging from wall painting and architectural sculpture to sculpture in the round and ivory statuettes. The study reveals that some of the headdresses such as the *polos* and veil originate in Bronze Age Anatolia, while others like *bashlyk* was introduced to Anatolian costume fashion and imagery through the Achaemenid influence. Besides providing a typological classification of Anatolian headdress imagery, the close examination of the “language of headdress” in ancient Anatolia hints at the socio-cultural and religious associations of the each fashion as well as the roles and status of the wearers. The *polos* and veil, for examples, could be related to the popularity of the fertility cults in Anatolia and matronly status, while the *bashlyk* fashion among aristocratic men invokes the wearers’ association with the Persian nobility or courtly-military status.

### KIYAFETİN DİLİ: ANTİK BATI ANADOLU’DA ŞAPKA VE BAŞÖRTÜSÜ MODALARI

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Kostüm Tarihi • Şapka Modaları • Polos • Başörtüsü • Antik Anadolu*

**Öz:** Bu çalışmada Antik Batı Anadolu’da MÖ 7. ve 4. yüzyılları arasında popüler olan şapka ve başörtüsü çeşitleri, sanatsal tasvirlerden yola çıkılarak incelenmiştir. Çalışma kapsamında kullanılan tasvirler, duvar resminden, mermer heykellere, mimari süslemelerden, fildişi heykelciklere çok çeşitli malzemelerden seçilmiştir. Popüler başlık çeşitleri beş ana tipolojik kategoride ele alınmıştır: *polos*, *grifon* tacı, başörtüsü/duvak, uzantılı başlık ve Frig şapkası. Ele alınan her bir başlık modası için köken araştırması yapılmış, şapkanın Yunan ve Yakın Doğu ikonografisindeki yeri incelenerek, Anadolu kültürel ortamında sembolize ettiği muhtemel sosyal kimliklere değinilmiştir. Bu araştırma sonucunda *polos* ve başörtüsü gibi bazı başlık modalarının Tunç Çağı Anadolu’na dayanırken, uzantılı başlık olarak adlandırılan modanın 5. yüzyılda Pers etkisi sonrası giyim repertuarına girdiği görülmüştür. Bu çalışma, Antik Anadolu kıyafet tasvirlerine tipolojik bir sınıflandırma kazandırmasının yanı sıra, ‘kıyafetin dili’ yaklaşımından yola çıkarak, farklı modaların sosyo-kültürel ve politik bağlantılarını, bu modalara uyarak giyinmiş olarak tasvir edilen kişilerin rollerini ve statülerini inceleyerek antik Anadolu sosyal tarihini de aydınlatmaya çalışır. Bu bağlamda, *polos* ve başörtüsü Anadolu da popüler olan bereket kültleri ve annelik statüsü ile, aristokrat erkekler arasında moda olan uzantılı başlık ise Pers kraliyetine yakınlık ve askeri kimlik ile ilişkilendirilmiştir.

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## Introduction

This article examines the most popular headdress fashions in ancient Western Anatolian art from seventh to fourth centuries BCE.<sup>1</sup> By the end of seventh century, Western Anatolia was populated by a number of ethnic groups including Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Eastern Greeks, Carians, Mysians, and Persians. From the mid sixth century to the conquests of Alexander the Great in the late fourth, the region remained under the political hegemony of the Achaemenid Persians.<sup>2</sup> There is little literary evidence for the Anatolians during this time; what exists tends to describe the people and society from an outsider's perspective and mainly focuses on political developments.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological evidence from the region, however, provides useful information about this culturally diverse society. Especially important is the figural imagery, which represent Anatolians clad in different costumes. A brief review of this imagery is enough to hint at the importance of distinctive headdresses Anatolians chose to wear. Much information can be gained by analyzing these images as "indigenous" sources for understanding how Anatolians defined themselves and responded to the socio-political influences through their costume fashions.

This investigation of the popular headdresses is classified under five typological categories; *polos*, veil, *bashlyk*, *griffon*

and the Phrygian cap. The study traces the origins of each headdress and its existence in Greek and Near Eastern iconography. Through the reading of the "language of dress", this examination also explores different social roles and status each headdress conveyed within the socio-cultural context. Examples come from representations in different media, ranging from wall painting and architectural sculpture to sculpture in the round and ivory statuettes. Overall, the typological discussion of the popular headdress fashions reveal the existence of a distinctive "Anatolian" dress fashion shared among the various ethnic groups of Anatolia during the time in question. Some of the headdress fashions such as the *polos* and veil originate in Bronze Age Anatolia, while others like *bashlyk* seem to have been introduced to Anatolian costume fashion and imagery through the Achaemenid influence. Besides providing a typological classification of Anatolian headdress imagery, this study reveals why Anatolians chose to wear certain headdresses or be represented as wearing them and to what kind of a social or a religious statement did a garment allude to. The *polos* and veil, for examples, seem to have been worn in association with the popular fertility cults in Anatolia and while the *bashlyk* fashion among aristocratic men invokes nobility or courtly-military status.

### 1) *Polos*

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

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<sup>1</sup> From now on all the dates are BCE, unless indicated otherwise.

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

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus Histories Book I.

tional art of the Bronze Age. The Hittite goddesses on the 14<sup>th</sup> century reliefs at Yazılıkaya, for example, wear a high-*polos*.<sup>4</sup> Later depictions of the *polos*, worn both by men and women, survive in hundreds of images from Archaic to Roman times on a variety of monuments ranging from sculpture to mosaics. The headdress is still in use today as part of a ceremonial dress, especially in nuptial contexts, in the villages of central Anatolia.<sup>5</sup>

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

An early example of a *polos* with embroidered or appliqué decoration appears on the head of Kubaba from the Long Wall reliefs of late tenth century Carchemish (Fig. 1b). The *polos*, the goddess wears underneath her long veil, projects upon an enclosed band, from which the goddesses' horn extends at the forehead. Almost three centuries later a similar *polos* appears on the wooden statuette presumably of Hera from Samos, an Aegean island with close cultural ties to Archaic Anatolia (Fig. 1c).<sup>6</sup> Since the Samian

*xoanon*, the cult image after which the statuette is presumably modeled, was dressed with real clothing and jewelry, this *polos* almost certainly reflects an actual ceremonial *polos* worn by the cult image.<sup>7</sup> The tall headdress makes up almost one fourth of the height of the statuette (which is 28 cm). Like the Carchemish *polos*, the long body of the Samian *polos*, which sits on an enclosed cap, is decorated with squares containing floral designs and is open at the back. Though this configuration is unique in the Anatolian repertoire, representations of similar *poloi*, hollow or open at the back, survive in seventh century Crete.<sup>8</sup> Since it is open at the back, Ridgway calls the Samian headdress a "mitra" rather than a *polos* and she considers this arrangement of the headdress as indicative of perishable or removable precious material.<sup>9</sup> The meaning of the Greek word "mitra," however, is problematic. It was used to refer to various shapes of clothes worn over different parts of the body by either sex in antiquity.<sup>10</sup> The shield-like tall appearance of the Samian headdress may signify the role of the goddess as the protector of the cita-

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

<sup>7</sup> Ridgway (1993, 28-29) points out that the early date of the wooden statuette, 640, assures its original prototype as a wooden *xoanon*, not a stone sculpture, since stone carving was at its earliest stage in the mid seventh century.

<sup>8</sup> Kyrieleis 1980, 99 Nr. 51-53. Also a female figure on a mid seventh century relief amphora from Melos clearly wear a visor like *polos* rising only on the front of the head. Bronceer 1971, 31, Pl 83c.

<sup>9</sup> Ridgway 1990, 27.

<sup>10</sup> Hurschmann 2000, 292-293.

<sup>4</sup> See Akurgal 1962, Fig. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Especially as part of the bridal costume, see Özder 1999, Fig. 75-A.

<sup>6</sup> Discovered in 1961 in German excavations of the

del and indeed, in some cases the Samian headdress is also called *pyleon* (gate tower).<sup>11</sup> O'Brien further suggests that the curved shape of Samian Hera's *polos* is indicative of her role as the goddess of cyclic fertility, a role she shared with other fertility goddesses of Archaic Western Anatolia, especially Artemis, Aphrodite and Kybele who also often appear with a *polos*.<sup>12</sup> O'Brien further illustrates the Anatolian origin of the early cult at Samos and thus implies possible Anatolian influence in her costume.<sup>13</sup>

Another variation of the *polos* is the one that consists of spiral bands on top of each other. One spectacular example of this type is the *polos* worn by Boğazköy Kybele from a sculptural group of the goddess with two musicians discovered from a niche at the city gate of the early sixth century Boğazköy (Fig. 1a). The goddess' tall *polos* is decorated with vertically arranged leaves just above the forehead. From the leafed decoration, which almost looks like rays of a halo, a series of spiral bands emerge.<sup>14</sup> She appears as if carrying a basket or a large honey comb above her head. It is hard to determine whether her headdress reflects a real one or is an artistic convention. A shorter, but similarly formed *polos* on the so-called

Spinner, an ivory figurine perhaps of a priestess from Archaic Ephesos, makes it likely that the *polos* decorated or formed with spiral coils of fabric or perhaps of woven plant tendrils was a real ceremonial dress item (Fig. 1d). Interestingly, Alkman mentions (frag. 60 P) the cult statue of Hera of Sparta as dressed with a tall *polos* woven from grass and wine tendrils. Different from the Boğazköy Kybele, the Ephesian Spinner's *polos* has circular knob designs, possibly imitating appliqué decoration.

Typically Anatolian is the flat-topped *polos* worn underneath a long veil as in the case of Kubaba from the Long Wall of Carchemish. The fashion is exclusive to female costume and is usually an attribute of the goddess Kybele and her female cult attendants. In most cases, the *polos-veil* on top of the head is secured with a fillet or a band. This band could be plain as the one worn by Antalya C 'mother' (Fig. 1e) or decorated with flower or geometric designs as in the cases of the Salmanköy (Fig. 1f) head or the Etlik Kybele (Fig. 1g).<sup>15</sup> Some of the Archaic *korai* and seated stone sculpture from Western Asia Minor and Samos may have also been depicted as wearing a *polos-veil*, but the heads of the most of these sculptures are missing. For example, both the Cheramyas *Kore* of Samos and her two sisters wear the long veil, but in the absence of their heads, it is impossible to tell whether or not their veils were combined with a *polos*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Hampe – Simon 1981, 230.

<sup>12</sup> O'Brien 1993, 33-34. Fleischer (1973, 215-216) shows the similarity of the cults and iconography of these three goddesses in Archaic Anatolia and calls them as 'Anatolian sisters', all related to fertility.

<sup>13</sup> O'Brien 1993, 28.

<sup>14</sup> The sixth century limestone head of possibly Kubaba from Salmanköy (in Anatolian Civilization Museum) wears a very similar *polos* with leafed decoration above the forehead. Salmanköy goddess' *polos* also has a flower band very similar to that of Carchemish Kubaba.

<sup>15</sup> The geometric band of the Etlik Kybele might actually a design on the *polos*, rather than being a separate band.



Although it usually appears as part of female costume, male figures in Archaic Anatolia also wear the *polos*, possibly as a sign of their priestly status in the cult of an Anatolian fertility goddess. Antalya A, the early sixth century silver figurine of a priest from Elmalı, wears a high *polos* with a bulbous top (Fig. 1h). The walls of the *polos* are decorated with incised dotted, diamond, and zigzag patterns in three horizontal bands. Antalya B, an ivory figurine of a priest, discovered in the same tomb as Antalya A (Fig. 1i) and the typologically related ivory Megabyzos (eunuch priest) from Archaic Ephesos also wear *poloi*, but without any decoration (Fig. 1j). Based on the very existence of the *polos*, which appears in the same manner (without a veil) on a clearly female figurine from Ephesos, in a recent study Işık argues a “female” identity for all of the three figurines: Antalya A, B, and Megabyzos.<sup>17</sup> Yet, the obvious lack of breasts in such stylistically advanced forms of sculpture as Antalya A, B, and the Ephesian Megabyzos indicates that they were intended to represent male figures.<sup>18</sup>

Fewer examples of *poloi* representations are known from fifth and fourth century Anatolia, and in these later examples the headdress usually appears with a veil as part of a goddess’ costume.

Fleischer’s thorough examination of the imperial coins from Western Anatolia shows that the *polos-veil* is the essential common dress item used in the representations of Hera of Samos, Ephesian Artemis, the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias and several other Anatolian goddesses. Fleischer considers this fashion a continuation from the old tradition of Archaic Anatolian cult images of a fertility goddess, which he names Ephesia.<sup>19</sup>

The appearance of the *polos-veil* depicted on the goddesses on these imperial coins might further indicate that the headdress has become a traditional costume for not only the representations of a variety of fertility goddesses, but also for their devotees. Perhaps, the most famous of all these goddesses is the Ephesian Artemis, several of whose monumental sculptures from Hellenistic and Roman periods also survive. On these later sculptures her high *polos* and veil appear decorated in a variety of ways: with figural imagery in superimposed registers, as a mural crown, or simply as plain spiral coils.<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps less so than in Asia Minor, but the *polos* was also a popular headdress in mainland Greece throughout the ages. The depictions of the headdress survive on a variety of monuments from the Late Geometric period to Roman times, and are exclusive to female representations or

<sup>16</sup> Ridgway 1993, 133. She thinks that the veils of the Samian sisters may have been combined with a *polos* or a *stephane* (decorative hair band). For the Cherymyes korai also see Karakasi 2003, 28-30.

<sup>17</sup> Işık 2000, 3-7. Also see Bammer 1985 in general for re-identification of all Ephesian ivories as representation of a goddess after the discovery of the so-called Ephesos D.

<sup>18</sup> See Şare 2010 for a detailed discussion.

<sup>19</sup> Fleischer 1973; also see Mellink 1975, 107-108.

<sup>20</sup> The image of a third century AD Artemis of Ephesos with tower like *polos* from Selçuk Archaeology Museum can be retrieved from ARTstor. For an image of a second century AD Artemis of Ephesos with plain *polos* from Selçuk Archaeology Museum, inv. no 159, see Akurgal 1961, 157, Fig. 108.

to *sphinxes*. For its early depictions, the island of Crete is especially important. Both the bronze cult statues of Leto and Artemis of the late eight-century from the one-room shrine at Dreros<sup>21</sup> and the seated goddesses on the limestone lintel of the Temple A at Prinias wear a *polos*. The “Oriental’ or ‘North Syrian’ influence in both the religious and social practices and related imagery in Early Archaic Crete are well attested in the archaeological record.<sup>22</sup> Considering the earlier popularity of the *polos* in Anatolia, however, an Anatolian origin for the *polos* fashion in Crete seems likely. It is hard to determine, though, whether this fashion was practiced in real life or was an artistic/iconographic convention, which entered Greek art during the Orientalizing period.

Other early examples of the *polos* appear on the Late Geometric ivory figurines discovered at the Dipylon Cemetery in Athens and also those found at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Dating from 730, the largest of the Dipylon ivories, a nude female figurine, wears a *polos* depicted with meander design in relief, which is often used to identify the figurine as a Greek version of a Near Eastern goddess (Fig. 1k).<sup>23</sup> The fragmentary Isthmia ivory figurine of the early sixth century also wears a flat-topped *polos* with

geometric decoration on the walls. The superimposed bands decorated with alternating circles and knobs on her *polos* are similar to those decorating that of the Ephesian Spinner.<sup>24</sup>

Of the Archaic *korai* of mainland Greece, the *polos* appears on five well-known Attic examples of the sixth century. Three of these *korai*, Akropolis 654, Akropolis 696 and the Lyons *Kore* (Fig. 1l) are from the Athenian Akropolis; the other two, the Phrasikleia *Kore* and the Berlin *Kore* (Fig. 1m) are from elsewhere in Attica. Ridgway, in her examination of the Akropolis group suggests that Akropolis 654 could be a *sphinx* not a *kore*; and Akropolis 696 and the Lyons *Kore* could actually have been Archaic *karyatids*, their *poloi* serving an architectural function.<sup>25</sup> Based on this interpretation she considers the *polos* as a divine attribute or an element signifying something “outside the human sphere.”<sup>26</sup> She then points out that the crown-like *polos* worn by Phrasikleia and the *polos* of Berlin *Kore* do not contradict her suggestion since both figures belong to heroized funerary contexts. Ridgway’s theory might be true for the mainland Greece, but as I shall discuss in detail below, the meaning of the *polos* in Archaic Anatolia was not limited to beings “outside of the human sphere.”

<sup>21</sup> Along with another bronze statuette of Apollo, this family trio of Leto-Artemis-Apollo is perhaps the earliest known cult statues of the Greek world. Made with Sphyrelaton (hammered bronze on wood) technique, the group was found on a table inside the temple, see Coldstream 2003, 281-284.

<sup>22</sup> Morris 1993, 162-166.

<sup>23</sup> The museum tag identifies the figurines as a goddess and assigns a Near Eastern artist for it.

<sup>24</sup> Broneer 1971, 61-63, Fig. 2b.

<sup>25</sup> Ridgway 1993, 145-147, also Ridgway 1990, 601-602. Other well-known examples of Archaic *karyatids* come from the Siphnian and Knidian Treasuries in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. The high *poloi* of the *karyatids* are unique in that they are the only examples of Archaic *poloi* decorated with figural scenes.

<sup>26</sup> Ridgway 1993, 146.

Another example of a *polos* on monumental sculpture of Archaic mainland Greece is on the colossal limestone head from Olympia (Fig. 1n). The head, of around 580, is initially identified as the head of the presumably acrolithic cult statue of Hera once worshipped inside her temple along with the cult statue of Zeus. Recent discussions, however, identify the head as a *sphinx*, which formed the akroterion of another Archaic building.<sup>27</sup> The short *polos* she wears rises above an incised cap or possibly a veil with bordered edges. The *polos*, decorated with vertical leaf designs, much like the *poloi* of the Boğazköy Kybele and Salmanköy Head from Anatolia, appears almost like a crown. Indeed, Ridgway suggests that leafy crowns were imported from Anatolia and associated with fertility in Greece and might have become an attribute of Hera, the goddess of marriage, and thus of brides.<sup>28</sup>

By the fifth century the *polos* becomes a common attribute of female goddesses in Greece. Representations, especially in vase painting and terracotta figurines, indicate that the headdress is often associated with Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, and Persephone.<sup>29</sup>

### The Meaning of the *Polos*

Müller in his investigation of the representations of *poloi* in antiquity suggests

that the headdress was not a quotidian dress item.<sup>30</sup> As already mentioned above, Ridgway, in her examination of the few Attic *korai* with a *polos*, reaches a similar conclusion, that the *polos* is a divine attribute. Indeed, the headdress is most familiar as a common dress item worn by divinities. Archaic representations from Anatolia, however, indicate that the *polos* was also worn by human beings, especially by cult devotees of both genders. Already in the tenth century the representations of the offering bearer priestesses of Kubaba on the Carchemish reliefs, appear dressed similarly to Kubaba whom they approach (Fig. 1o).<sup>31</sup> Compared to that of the enthroned Kubaba, the *poloi*, they wear underneath their veils are less fancy, but follow the same fashion. As I argued in a previous article, the Archaic figurines with *poloi* such as in Antalya A, B, and Ephesian Megabyzos represent priests, perhaps eunuchs, in the sphere of Artemis Ephesia.<sup>32</sup> The priests and priestesses themselves could have been mimicking the dress of the goddess, but the headdress nevertheless was apparently worn in real-life and had a ceremonial function marking the status of its wearer.

It should also be noted that, no matter if the wearer is a divinity or its devotee, the *polos* appears in cultic spheres related to fertility. All the goddesses represented with the *polos*, Kybele, Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Kore, Helen, had fertility cults, lending credence to

<sup>27</sup> Sinn 1984, 77-87 and also Ridgway 1990, 592, note 32. Ridgway accepts the possibility that the head is of a sphinx, but doubts its function as an akroterion. Indeed, the fact that the head is colossal casts doubt on its deviation from an akroterion.

<sup>28</sup> Ridgway 1990, 608.

<sup>29</sup> Later in the Hellenistic period Tyche is also represented with high *polos*.

<sup>30</sup> Müller 1915, 81-84. Also see, Ridgway 1993, 173-Nr. 4.65.

<sup>31</sup> For Carchemish reliefs see Vieyra 1955; Ussishkin 1967; Özyar 1991.

<sup>32</sup> Şare 2010.

O'Brien's association of the circular shape of the *polos* with the cyclic fertility in the Archaic period, especially in the case of Archaic cult of Hera at Samos. Yet there is no way of determining the different levels of meanings associated with differently decorated *poloi* in various contexts. For contemporary Greeks and Anatolians, however, such meanings would have been perfectly understandable.

## 2) *Griffon Crown*

This special headdress can be related to the *polos* in its 'ceremonial' function. A fragmentary fresco from the so-called Painted House of the sixth century Gordion provides the only known representation of the headdress in Anatolia. In the fragmentarily preserved fresco some of the figures in a processional scene wear the headdress, which is formed of a band decorated with circular knob designs and spiky protrusions ending in *griffon protomai* (Fig. 2a).<sup>33</sup> The closest parallel to this type of headdress is the helmet of Athena, on a fragmentary Panathenaic amphora from Athens (Fig. 2b), where from the circlet band of the goddess' crested helmet flower buds and a *griffon protome* protrude. Ridgway suggests that some of the Archaic *korai* from the Akropolis might have originally worn similar metal helmets, identifying them as the goddess Athena. Her careful examination of the head of the so-called Antenor's *Kore*, indeed, proves that the *kore* was actually a representation of Athena wearing a crested helmet with *protomai*. The remains of an actual gold

circlet band with a *griffon protome* discovered in a tomb in Kelermes in South Russia indicate that the headdress was not an artistic convention exclusive to divine representations, but worn in real life.<sup>34</sup>

The very existence of the *griffons*, possibly with *apotropaic* function, implies the eastern origin of such headdresses. The tradition of elaborate headdresses with *protomai*, however, goes back to Minoan Crete in the Bronze Age. The famous Snake Goddess from the Knossos palace of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, for example, wears a headdress, topped off by a bird *protome* (Fig. 2c). Indeed, Ridgway traces the chronological continuity of the headdresses with *protomai* through the well-known terracotta idols from Crete,<sup>35</sup> a good number of them with raised hands and found at various sites in Crete, including Karphi, Gazi and Khania. Most of these idols, ranging from 14<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century in date, wear headdresses with bird *protomai* (Fig. 2d).

Regarding the *griffon* crown from Gordion, though the fresco is fragmentary, the dark color indicates that the headdress is of metal, possibly of bronze just like the Orientalizing cauldrons with *griffon protomai* known from Greek sanctuaries.<sup>36</sup> The gender of the wearer is uncertain. The function of the room in which the processional scene with *griffon* crowns takes place is unknown, but its subterra-

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<sup>33</sup> Mellink 1980, 91-94.

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<sup>34</sup> Boardman 1980, 261, Fig. 305.

<sup>35</sup> Ridgway 1990, 604-606. Also, for Karphi idols also see Stewart 1990, 103.

<sup>36</sup> The earliest examples appear on Assyrian reliefs of the ninth century, dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.

near location might indicate that it was a small shrine.<sup>37</sup> This possible cultic function of the room again reinforces the ceremonial nature of the headdress possibly worn by priests and priestesses.

### 3) Veil and Veiling

Any type of mantle/cloth, plain or combined with other accessories, represented as covering the head of a female figure will be considered in the veil category. The artistic evidence from Anatolia indicates that the veiling of women was a common practice. A statistical comparison of the veiled *korai* representations from Attica and from Western Anatolia and Samos clearly show that the veil was a distinct Anatolian fashion. 21 of 33 surviving *korai* from Samos; 4 of 9 surviving *korai* from Didyma; and 6 of 16 surviving Milesian *korai* wear veils, while among Attic *korai* there is no evidence for veil.<sup>38</sup> This statistical pattern does not change after the Archaic period. Thus, among hundreds of Classical and Hellenistic grave reliefs from Asia Minor, only 15 of the female representations are un-veiled.<sup>39</sup>

The early occurrence of the veil in the representational art of Anatolia goes back to the Bronze Age.<sup>40</sup> A relief on a 17<sup>th</sup> century Hittite amphora sherd, the so-called Bitik Vase, features a seated veiled woman next to a seated man (Fig. 3a). The woman's veil appears to be part

of a one-piece long yellow dress, which reveals only her face and the feet. Because the man reaches his hand towards the woman's veil, the scene is usually identified as the culmination of a marriage ceremony, when groom unveils the bride.<sup>41</sup> The Inandik vase, another relief amphora from a Hittite cult center near Boğazköy, also displays two veiled figures in a procession presented in three superimposed registers. The two figures are veiled just like the so-called Bitik bride.<sup>42</sup> The continuity of the female veiling practice in Anatolia from Bronze Age to Iron Age can easily be traced in the representations of female figures on Neo-Hittite reliefs, on which females appear veiled in a variety of styles, as in the *polos-veils* of Kubaba and her offering bearer priestesses from Carchemish of the tenth century. The imagery of Phrygian Kybele with the *polos-veil* as seen in the example of the Etlik Kybele proves the continuity of the fashion into the sixth century (Fig. 1g). Indeed, Ridgway by pointing out the close interaction between Greeks and Anatolians in the Early Archaic period, suggests a Phrygian origin for the veils covering the heads of the East Greek *korai*.<sup>43</sup>

The evidence from the Archaic sculpture of Anatolia indicates a variety in veil and veiling styles. The veil types include those worn with a *polos*, the *polos-veil*; veils worn with a headband, the *stephane-veil*; and those worn with a plain

<sup>37</sup> Mellink 1980, 97-99.

<sup>38</sup> Karakasi 2003, Tab. 11-12.

<sup>39</sup> Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Only known example of a veil representation from Greece in the Bronze Age comes from a Minoan fresco with a veiled figure from Santorini, see Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 44.

<sup>41</sup> For the Bitik vase see Özgüç 1957, 57-78. For the interpretation of the scene as unveiling of the bride see Johnston 2004, 444.

<sup>42</sup> For the Inandik vase, see Temizer, 1979, 37.

<sup>43</sup> Ridgway 1993, 133, Nr. 4. 26.

or decorated bonnet underneath, the bonnet-veil. The way the veil is draped around the body in artistic representations shows two major variations; a tight-fitting veil falling straight from the head at the back, best exemplified by early Samian *korai*, hereafter referred as the Samian-style, and the veil loosely draped around the shoulders forming two ‘lappets’ around the neck, hereafter referred to as the lappet-style.

The *polos-veil*, previously discussed under the *polos* section, is best exemplified by Etlik Kybele (Fig. 1g) and Gordion Kybele (Fig. 3b). It contains the long veil combined with a *polos* (high or short, decorated or plain) which falls down over the back while its one edge, usually the left side, is brought to the front and tucked into a large belt. In sculptural representations, this frontal part of the veil on the left side of the lower body is often rendered with oblique or curving wavy lines leading to the waist and is distinguished from the vertically indicated folds of the dress underneath.

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

head could have marked the status of the wearer, such as her priestly rank.<sup>44</sup>

The bonnet-veil, the long veil worn over a decorated or plain bonnet-like cap occurs on several representations in a variety of media. The bonnet, known as the *sakkos* in the Greek world, is probably an item of daily headwear for women and could be combined with a long veil when outdoors (It is very similar to Turkish *tüllbent*). Like the *polos-veil*, the early occurrence of this type goes back to the ninth century, to the Neo-Hittite art of Anatolia. The Zincirli woman, on a Neo-Hittite funerary relief, wears her long veil with fringed corners over a bonnet, which is decorated with flower designs (Fig. 3e). With its fringed edges, the long bonnet-veil of Antalya D, an early sixth century ivory figurine from Elmalı looks very similar to that of Zincirli woman, but her bonnet is plainer with only two horizontal incisions just above the forehead (Fig. 3f).

Of the 28 female figures on the magnificent late sixth century Polyxena Sarcophagus from Gümüşçay, 11 wear a bonnet-veil and 5 wear the bonnet alone without a veil over it.<sup>45</sup> Most of the figures with the bonnet-veil come from Side C and Side D, where a nuptial procession is taking place in a peaceful manner. On these two sides, except for two girls on either side of the enthroned bride, the figures without a bonnet or bonnet-veil are either musicians or the dancers. On Side A, where fervently mourning Trojan

<sup>44</sup> Ridgway 1993, 137-138.

<sup>45</sup> For Polyxena Sarcophagus, 520-490 BCE, Çanakkale Archaeology Museum, see See Sevinç 1996, Draycott 2007, pl. 50.

women watch the sacrifice of Polyxena over the tomb of Achilles, none of the figures, with one exception, is veiled. These unveiled women tearing their hair and their clothes not only heighten the drama of the sacrifice scene, but also their frenzy. The contexts in which the veiled and unveiled women appear on different sides of the sarcophagus might then imply the possible function of the veil as the appropriate outwear for a modest woman, at 'normal' or 'secure' times.

A fifth century fragmentary fresco from Kalehöyük at Gordion informs us about the possible color combinations of bonnet-veils (Fig. 3g).<sup>46</sup> Two female figures appear facing each other in the fresco. Female on the left appears to wear a black veil over her blue bonnet, covering all of her hair. The female on the right also wears a veil, possibly over a black bonnet.<sup>47</sup> Her blue veil is so transparent that it reveals her elaborate earring underneath. A processional scene of rider women on a fifth century architectural relief from Daskyleion also displays bonnet-veil wearing women.<sup>48</sup>

Another relief from Daskyleion shows a rare combination; a long veil combined with a crenellated crown, an

attribute of Persian rulers. In a funerary banquet scene, an elite Anatolian woman appears with a long veil topped with the crown (Fig. 3h). The prominent position of the figure and the funerary function might indicate that she represents not a goddess but the deceased herself, perhaps wife of Elnaf, whose inscribed figural funerary stele was found set up together with hers. Her unique headdress might mark her claim as a leading local in close collaboration with the Achaemenid rule.

As mentioned earlier two major artistic styles in the rendering of the veil over the heads of female figures are the Samian-style and the lappet-style. The early example of the Samian-style veil is the famous Cheramyes *Kore* of ca. 575 from Samos (Fig. 3i). Possibly folded double and worn over the head, her rectangular lightweight veil falls in two straight layers down the back, while one layer is pulled forward around the torso folded into the belt over the left hip, and on the right side the veil is flung over the shoulder. In some other Samian *korai* this right side of the veil also appears to be held in the hand.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, the head of Cheramyes *kore* is missing, but most scholars believe that she had a *polos-veil*.<sup>50</sup>

Examples of tight fitting veils, either tucked behind the ears or covering the ears and falling down straight at the back could also be considered of the Samian-style. An ivory statuette of late sixth century from Ephesos wears a long veil,

<sup>46</sup> Voigt 2006, photo from Gordion Project Archive.

<sup>47</sup> It is hard to determine whether the black surface underneath the veil is hair or a dark colored bonnet, yet the straight rendering might make the second option more likely.

<sup>48</sup> Daskyleion Relief with rider women wearing bonnet-veil, 450 BCE, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 2358, also see Draycott 2007, pl. 44.

<sup>49</sup> For the stylistic development of veil on Samian *korai* see Freyer – Schauenburg 1974, 54.

<sup>50</sup> Ridgway 1993, 151; Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 47-48.

tucked behind her ears in common Anatolian manner, as exemplified by Zincirli woman and by some of the offering bearer priestesses on the Carchemish reliefs (Fig. 3j). The *koré* head from Miletos also wears a tight fitting veil, perhaps over her bonnet, which might have been painted in a different color than the veil in antiquity (Fig. 3k). Her bonnet-veil covers all of her hair and ears, the latter clearly indicated in bulging circular forms underneath the veil. Her body is missing, but the way the veil covers the hair clearly indicate that it also fell down at the back.

The lappet-style differs from the tight Samian-style in the relaxed arrangement of the veil around the face and is typical of Milesian *korai*. Before falling down at the back, the veil swells around the temples, forming curves around the neck and often reveals hair locks in front of the ears. The head of a *koré* from a column drum of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma wears her *stephane-veil* in lappet-style (Fig. 3l). Another column drum with the depiction of a ring dance, found at Cyme, shows a veiled female between two males, wearing a lappet-style veil, which in this case does not reveal her hair-locks (Fig. 3m). The lappet-style is often seen on *stephane-veils*, but there are also examples of *polos-veils* rendered in this way, as can be seen in on two females on a votive relief from Miletos (Fig. 3n). This style becomes so popular that it eventually replaces the Samian-style veil even on Samian *korai* around ca 540.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ridgway 1993, 133.

Although, not as much as is case in Anatolia, veiled women do also appear in mainland Greek art of the Archaic and Classical periods, in both vase paintings and reliefs. Iconographically, the veil is usually associated with brides or their goddess, Hera. One of the most common motifs is the *anakalypsis-gesture* in which a woman raises part of her veil on one side. The motif is usually interpreted as an ‘unveiling’ of the bride.<sup>52</sup> One of the earliest examples of this gesture comes from the Spartan Hero reliefs.<sup>53</sup> The motif eventually becomes an attribute of Hera, identifying her as the bride of Zeus, best known from the Parthenon frieze.

### **The Meaning of the Veil**

In his extensive study of the women’s veil in ancient Greek world from the tenth to second century, Llewellyn-Jones argues that, despite the fact that it is rarely mentioned in ancient sources and rarely (or indirectly) depicted in art, veiling, adopted from Near Eastern traditions, was a routine practice for Greek women, who always wore a veil over the head when outdoors.<sup>54</sup> Llewellyn-Jones’ explanation for the usual unveiled appearance of the females in Greek imagery as “due to the erotic and idealizing tendencies of Greek art,” in which the veil was a barrier for perfect vision and so usually omitted in the representations, is probably far-

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<sup>52</sup> Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 99-107 provides an iconographic examination of the gesture and re-reads the motif not ‘unveiling’, but ‘veiling’ of a woman.

<sup>53</sup> The image of the sixth century enthroned woman with the *anakalypsis* gesture on the Hero Relief from Sparta, in Sparta Museum, can be retrieved from ARTstor.

<sup>54</sup> Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 72-80.



fetched.<sup>55</sup> Yet, his consideration of the women's veil as a status marker for especially aristocratic women in the ancient Mediterranean is worth examining.<sup>56</sup>

A Middle Assyrian Law Code of the 13<sup>th</sup> century indicates that the veil is used to distinguish respectable women from the unrespectable ones, marking the former as a marketable value for marriage in the family system of the Assyrian Empire.<sup>57</sup> In Homeric epic most of the elite women including Helen, Hekabe, Andromache, Penelope wear a veil, while slaves and ordinary women do not. The goddesses such as Hera and Thetis are also described as wearing a veil.<sup>58</sup> Yet, these mentions are not enough to read the veil as a marker of elite status for women in the ancient Mediterranean, since neither Assyrian nor Greek iconography is consistent in representations of 'elite women' with a veil, as is also the case in the Anatolian iconography. Veiled women on aforementioned Hittite Inandik vase appear side by side with

unveiled ones in a procession. Similarly, the reliefs of the Polyxena Sarcophagus display veiled and unveiled women together. Both veiled and unveiled *korai* were dedicated in the Archaic sanctuaries of Anatolia. None of the females wear a veil on the West frieze of the Harpy Tomb at Xanthos, where young offering bearer women in a royal funerary procession scene wear their elaborate *stephanai* (headbands) directly on top of their head without a veil; their long hair arranged in a mass of wavy tresses.<sup>59</sup> Since the representation of 'unveiled unrespectable' women in the above mentioned works, almost all presumably dedicated by rich-elite families, is impossible, then the consideration of the veil as a distinct symbol of elite status is unlikely.

Among the 'veiled women' of Homeric epic, the common feature that unites all these elite women and goddesses, Hera, Thetis, Andromache, Helen, and Penelope: is their marital status or their motherhood. The war goddess Athena, for example, is associated with the veil neither in Homeric epics nor in Greek iconography. Considering the strong Mother Goddess cult of Kubaba and later of Kybele in Anatolia, and the usual representation of these goddesses with a veil, in addition to the close relationship between Kybele, Hera and Leto in Early Archaic Anatolia, perhaps the

<sup>55</sup> Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 90-91.

<sup>56</sup> Llewellyn – Jones (2003, 135) considers the veiling of the female as a product of male ideology, which aims to separate the females and mark them as 'forever vulnerable, forever under threat, and forever in a state of withdrawal from the world of men.' Female veiling as part of a male ideology is also advanced by Cairns, see Cairns 2002.

<sup>57</sup> The law requires the wives and daughters of Assyrian lords to cover their heads when on the streets also and requires the prostitutes to have their heads uncovered when on the streets. See Roth 1997, 167-9, and also Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 124-125.

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

<sup>58</sup> Llewellyn – Jones (2003, 125-130) discusses the veiled women in Homeric epics in detail.

<sup>59</sup> Of the three young girls approaching an enthroned figure, the first one carries a piece of cloth in her hand. Llewellyn – Jones interprets this cloth as her veil (Llewellyn – Jones 2003, 98) and uses the example as 'indirect' depiction of the veil. He does not explain though why the other two young women do not carry a veil. The West Frieze of the Harpy Tomb, 480-370, BM, London 13287.

veil marked 'matronly' status. This function of the veil then can explain its popularity in Anatolia. Of course, whether or not different veiling styles carried different levels of meaning is impossible to decipher, and veiling fashions could have changed over time altering their entailed meanings.

#### 4) *Bashlyk*

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

Ancient Greek literature uses three main terms to refer to soft and pointed headgears usually associated with Scythian, Persian or Thracian wearers: *keurbasia*, *tiara*, *kidaris* (Hdt I.132.1, III.12.4, V.49, VII.61.1, VII.90). The inter-relationship between *keurbasia*, *tiara*, and *kidaris* as category-designations is a problematic issue since these three terms seem to have been used interchangeably.<sup>60</sup> Miller's careful examination of the ancient sources shows that even Greek grammar-

ians were not able to differentiate the three terms.<sup>61</sup> For example, Herodian (II.533-551) equates the *kidaris* with the *tiara* and Erotian (Gloss. Hipp. LV. 7 Nach) calls the *keurbasia* a *tiara*. Of the three terms, perhaps only the so-called *keurbasia*, a Scythian headdress "tapering to a point and standing stiffly erect" (Hdt VII.64) is typologically distinguishable in artistic representations of both Persian and Greek sources. This must be the headdress worn by a branch of Scythians referred as *Saka tigraxauda* (pointed-hat Scythians from the Caspian and Aral Seas) in Achaemenid inscriptions. The gift bearers of the Delegation XI in the Persepolis Apadana reliefs, clearly identified as *Saka tigraxauda*, wear this very tall pointed headdress.<sup>62</sup> Yet, the *tiara* and *kidaris* are still difficult to differentiate.<sup>63</sup> Thus, to avoid adding more to the complexity in terminology, I will use the term *bashlyk*, a modern Turkish word for floppy headdresses worn in rural Anatolia. This term is first used by Schmidt in his description of the soft headdresses worn by several figures on the Apadana reliefs and then by Mellink in her description of the protagonist's soft cap on the north wall fresco of Karaburun II tomb from Elmalı.<sup>64</sup>

The most well known representations of the *bashlyk*, variously referred also as *kidaris* and *tiara* in modern literature, come from the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis. Thus, the headdress is usually

<sup>60</sup> Tuplin 2007, 69-71 examines all ancient sources in order to differentiate the terms.

<sup>61</sup> Miller 1991, 63.

<sup>62</sup> See Miller 1991, 62 and Delegation XI on Apadana reliefs in Schmidt 1955, 87, Pl. 37.

<sup>63</sup> See Miller 1991; Tuplin 2007.

<sup>64</sup> Schmidt 1955, 84-90; Mellink 1972, 298.

seen as a Median dress item adopted by Western Anatolians after the Achaemenid takeover of Anatolia in the sixth century. Indeed, most of the known representations of *bashlyk* wearing men come from the funerary art of Achaemenid Anatolia. Visual evidence, however, indicates that Anatolians were already familiar with a similar type of headdress in the Bronze Age. A military headdress on a 14<sup>th</sup> century Hittite relief is very reminiscent of the *bashlyk*. The guardian god carved on the inner side of the King's Gate at Boğazköy wears an elaborate headdress with short ear-flaps and a long flap extending from the pointed top of the conical headdress and falling back down to the shoulders (Fig. 4a). Two horns attached to the headdress at the forehead possibly identify the figure as a deity.<sup>65</sup>

Iconographical evidence for the *bashlyk* in the fifth century Anatolia is extensive. Among the examples, the so-called Munich timbers from the sidewalls of the Tatarlı Tomb are of interest because of the presence of several *bashlyk-wearing* figures.

Of the two painted friezes, looted from the tomb and later discovered in the Munich Staatssammlungen, Munich I, 2.12m in length, presents an extensive procession scene, a very popular theme in the funerary art of the Western Anatolia from sixth through fourth centuries (Fig. 4b). Of the 19 figures shown processing from left to right, 16 wear a *bashlyk*, including the protagonist of the scene shown at the center seated in a

chariot, perhaps a representation of the occupant of the tomb. The procession group consists of the military personal of the protagonist and three women following a closed chariot with a rounded top. Of the military personal, spear-bearers and footmen wear tunics in different colors including red, black and possibly blue and with vertical stripes,<sup>66</sup> and the horsemen wear tunics and tight pants. The protagonist in the chariot wears a *kandys*, a distinctive court dress worn over the shoulders with sleeves left free. Despite the variety in dress all men in the procession wear a *bashlyk*. The soft head-dress envelops the figures' foreheads and chins and a long back-flap falls over their shoulders. Except for the brown color of the protagonist's, all *bashlyks* are rendered in red.

Munich II, 2.21m in length, contains 23 figures in a battle. The scene shows the Persian defeat of the Scythians (Fig. 4c).<sup>67</sup> The confronting positions of the figures and their different headdresses help identify the opposing groups clearly. The Scythian soldiers on the right side of the panel wear the distinctive pointed hat (or *kurbasia*) of the *Saka tigraxanda*, rendered in red color. On the right side, Persian soldiers are clearly distinguishable. They have long beards and thick haircurled at the nape and they wear crenellated crowns and long tunics gathered at the front, typical dress of the Persian envoys leading delegates of the sub-

<sup>65</sup> Akurgal 2001, 169, Fig 84.

<sup>66</sup> Draycott (2007, 69) points out that the stripes could refer to the front stripes shown on the uniforms of different status soldiers in the Persian army.

<sup>67</sup> Summerer 2007b.

ject nations to Darius' palace on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (Fig. 4d). Other soldiers fighting side by side with the Persians wear tunics and trousers rendered variously in red or black, and *bashlyks* rendered in red or in brown. The way their *bashlyks* are clearly differentiated from the headgear of the Persians and Scythians may indicate that the headdress is used to identify the Anatolian soldiers fighting in the Persian army. Such a reference would not be surprising in the tomb of an Anatolian dignitary whose ancestors might have fought in the historic battle of Persians against Scythians in 519.<sup>68</sup> In both Munich panels the *bashlyk* appears as part of a military dress.

Contemporary with the Tatarlı timbers, wall paintings from the so-called Karaburun II tumulus discovered in Elmalı in 1970 and examined under the supervision of Mellink and Buluc present a rich array of figural imagery and provide a useful source for the appearance of Anatolian dress in the fifth century. The frescoes, dated to 470s by Mellink, are larger in scale and better preserved than the Tatarlı timbers.<sup>69</sup> The main character, possibly the deceased, seems to appear three times on three different walls dressed differently in each of the three different social contexts; in a procession, in battle, and in a banquet scene. Along with some of his attendants, he wears an elaborate *bashlyk* in the procession and perhaps in the battle scene. The

Karaburun frescoes are worth a further examination to understand the possible meaning of the headdress in a given social context.

A large frieze over a continuous base line runs along the three walls of the tomb chamber at Karaburun.<sup>70</sup> On the west wall, just above the limestone *kline* on which the deceased was once laid is a representation of the bearded tomb owner reclining on a painted *kline*, approached by two servants on the left and by a woman, presumably his wife on the right (Fig. 4e). The bearded man on the *kline* wears a short-sleeved loose-fitting *chiton* with a rosette border along the neck and the sleeves. Draped over it is a green *himation* with red and blue border. His headdress is made of a red-white-blue checked fabric. Pointed beads run along the lower and upper edges of his hat. His jewelry includes an earring, bracelets, and possibly an amulet, its red string is visible on his neck. He holds a *phiale* in his left hand. On the left, two servants, both wearing tight fitting, knee-length tunics with long sleeves and knotted belts, approach him. The first servant wears a white dress with red belt and he holds a towel embroidered along the edges in the right hand and a fan in the left. The second servant carries a vase with *griffon* finials in his right hand and a *phiale* and a ladle in the left. A female figure behind

<sup>68</sup> Whether or not the battle scene on Munich II refers to a specific historic event, namely to the Scythian war of 519 is problematic, see Summerer 2007.

<sup>69</sup> Mellink 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973.

<sup>70</sup> The chamber measures 3x2.61 m with sidewalls 1.95 m in height. The figures on the frescoes are large in scale, about two thirds of life size on the west wall with the main banquet scene; scales are slightly smaller (about one-quarter of life-size) on the adjoining walls. The color scheme is rich including various hues of red (including purple), greens and blues. See Mellink 1970, 252; Mellink 1971, 265 (for sizes).

the reclining dignitary is dressed in a red *sleeved-chiton*, a blue *himation* and a white veil over her head. She holds a purple stippled fillet in one hand and an *alabastron* in the other hand.

Two more servants dressed like the ones on the west wall extend to the north wall behind the woman; the first one holds a rectangular fan and the second a purple fillet and an *alabastron*. Behind the servants a lively battle scene is depicted at a slightly smaller scale than the composition in the west.<sup>71</sup> The main reclining bearded figure of the west frieze appears here on a black horse, attacking an opponent. He wears a purple long-sleeved tunic and purple trousers. His trousers are tucked into his ankle-high blue shoes. Part of his head is damaged making it difficult to identify his headdress, but the parallel imagery on the Munich II fresco from Tatarlı makes it likely that he was wearing a *bashlyk*. His opponent, a helmeted warrior with a short-sleeved blue tunic, is depicted as falling in front of the black horse, wounded by the horseman's/dignitary's spear projecting from his side. Overlapping figures of footmen continue towards the right. Except for one victorious bareheaded soldier who wears a short sleeved, light colored tunic, white-leggings, and red shoes, most of this part of the frieze is damaged.<sup>72</sup> Routed enemies are identifiable through the preserved bare feet of two men running away, and the partially preserved helmeted soldier whose mouth is open in agony.

The south wall with the procession scene starts with a riderless black horse on the right, possibly the same horse the dignitary rides in the battle scene on the north wall.<sup>73</sup> An attendant in a knee-length sleeved robe in dark red, a white *bashlyk*, light-brown pants, and red shoes, rounded in the toes, follows the black horse. Another horse, pink in color and wearing a red saddle, and another attendant dressed in a red *bashlyk*, white robe, red pants, and black shoes lead to the central scene of this wall. The same bearded dignitary of the west and north walls appears on a throne-chariot at the center of the procession scene (Fig 4f). He is clad in a long-sleeved purple robe, possibly the same purple tunic he appears wearing in the battle scene on the north wall. In this case, however, just like the protagonist of the Munich I fresco, he wears a white *kandys* with fur lining over the robe. Both the color purple and the *kandys* differentiate him from other attendants as a dignitary. His light-colored *bashlyk* has long flaps hanging over his shoulders. Mellink notes a blue line over the forehead, which may have been a ribbon encircling the headgear.<sup>74</sup> Behind the throne-chariot stand two other attendants, who are clad in knee-length, long sleeved white tunics, and *bashlyks* (one white, one red) with flaps hanging on the shoulders, and shoes in contrasting colors. Another horse-chariot with a rounded red box on top and two more attendants follow the convoy on the right. The figures are very damaged at this part, but as Mellink notes, they are

<sup>71</sup> See Draycott 2007, color Pl. 40.C.

<sup>72</sup> Mellink identifies both victors and victims on the battle scene as different regional groups from Anatolia. Mellink 1970, 250.

<sup>73</sup> Mellink 1973, 356.

<sup>74</sup> Mellink 1972, 298.

clad in belted tunics and *bashlyks*, and they appear to be carrying some sort of furniture, one leg of which is visible on the fresco. Mellink interprets this procession scene, which resembles the Munich I painting, as a funerary procession for the deceased whose body is propped up and displayed as a dignitary in his fine clothes in a *throne-chariot*, and whose burial goods are being carried in a box in another chariot.<sup>75</sup> This interpretation is based on the parallel imagery on Daskyleion grave *stelai* (discussed in detail below). On some of these funerary reliefs, processional scenes also contain horse-drawn carts carrying rounded boxes.

Another painted representation of a *bashlyk-wearing* figure in a procession comes from Harta (Fig. 4g). The fresco fragments once looted from a tomb at Harta reveal three male figures in procession.<sup>76</sup> Of the convoy group, two figures, holding folded textiles, wear *chitons* and colorful *himations*, while the third is dressed in long-sleeved knee-length *tunic* with knotted belt, pants, and *bashlyk*, just like the procession attendants at Karaburun. Since all figures face the same direction, and the *bashlyk-wearer* seems to follow a horse, its rear visible in the fresco fragment, one can assume that the fresco had once carried a larger procession scene, its attendants dressed in different fashions. The Harta paintings are also dated to the first half of the fifth century.

One of the most well-known processional scenes of the fifth century Western

Anatolia appears on a series of funerary *stelai* from Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia.<sup>77</sup> At least eight of the so-called Daskyleion *stelai*, all thought to date between 460-450, show various combinations of banquet and procession scenes in relief.<sup>78</sup> Among them the so-called Stele of Elnaf presents a procession in two registers, the upper row with *bashlyk-wearing* footmen and horsemen followed by a cart with a box on top in the lower register (Fig. 4h). The unique configuration of this box with Ionic columns on the side is reminiscent of the fourth century Mourning Woman Sarcophagus from Sidon with relief figures on the sides shown standing in between Ionic columns. This parallel led scholars to identify the Daskyleion box as a sarcophagus, and thus the overall scene as an *ekphora*, a funerary procession.

Since most of the *bashlyk* wearers examined so far (at Tatarlı, Karaburun, and Daskyleion) come from “funerary” procession scenes, a brief discussion of the different interpretations of the motif in the current scholarship is necessary here. The traditional assumption that these processional scenes with carriages depict funerary convoys is based on three factors: they appear on funerary monuments; boxes on carriages in the convoys might refer to *sarcophagi*; and archaeological remains of carts or chariots in Western Anatolian tombs indicate that such vehicles were used during the funerary transport.<sup>79</sup> Several scholars recently chal-

<sup>75</sup> Mellink 1972, 300-301.

<sup>76</sup> Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 45-46.

<sup>77</sup> Draycott 2007, 109-134.

<sup>78</sup> See in general Nolle 1992 and Draycott 2007, Cat. No. 11-18.

<sup>79</sup> One example is the Polyxena Sarcophagus, see

lenged this possible “funerary” meaning of the processions. Jacobs, for example, based on literary evidence suggested that the “boxes” on carriages might have contained sacred objects in transport.<sup>80</sup> While Nolle, again based on literary evidence, proposed that these boxes might refer to the covered carriages or *harmamaxai*<sup>81</sup> in which noble women were carried. Thus she thinks that the depictions of *harmamaxai* on Daskyleion *stelai* convey the transportation and also the high status of the wife of the dignitary in procession.<sup>82</sup> More recently, Draycott, based on the evidence from the Tatarlı- Munich I fresco depicting a “convoy with a particularly heavy military entourage” suggests that processions imply the elite status of the tomb-owner locals, who are conveyed as noble enough to join the Persian army in a generic parade scene.<sup>83</sup> Draycott, also sees these “boxes” on carriages as simply covered carriages symbolizing the “range of paraphernalia available to a noble Anatolian” as he is a follower of the Persian king and part of his army.<sup>84</sup>

If we accept the ‘secular’ interpretation of the procession scenes, the *bashlyk* worn by the figures emerges essentially as part of a military dress. Yet, this does not explain why the *bashlyk* wearing participants and the dignitary of the south wall procession of the Karaburun fresco appear unarmed. One slight difference in the way the Karaburun convoy partici-

pants wear their *bashlyks*, with side flaps loosened hanging down the shoulders, perhaps refers to the peaceful state of the military procession, as if the battle is over and the procession is a triumphal display of war booties.

Possibly dating from the late fifth century a fragmentary architectural relief again from Daskyleion shows two *bashlyk* wearers in a completely different context, performing a religious ritual (Fig. 4i). Two males dressed in *kandys*, sleeved *tunics*, pants, and *bashlyks* stand in front of a door, perhaps the ‘false door’ of a tomb.<sup>85</sup> The *bashlyks* with pointed tops envelop their faces tightly revealing only the eyes and the curls of their beards and hair. Between the figures and the door, heads of two sacrificial animals on a wooden altar are visible. Both figures appear holding bundles of sticks, identified as *barsom*, a ritual implement used in Zoroastrian religion.<sup>86</sup> Both the sacrificial animals and the *barsoms* help identify this motif as a religious ritual, the details of which are unclear since the archaeological context of the relief, whether it comes from a funerary monument or an altar is lost.

The *bashlyk* is also a frequently represented dress item in the fifth century Greek art. The headgear is usually identified as a Scythians’ or Persians’ attribute. Miller, in her examination of the *bashlyk* wearing symposiasts (she calls the head-dress as *kidaris*) and *komasts* on several Attic vases their dates ranging from 510 -

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Sevinç 1996.

<sup>80</sup> Jacobs 1992, 24-27.

<sup>81</sup> Mentioned in Hdt I.199.

<sup>82</sup> Nolle 1992, 88-92.

<sup>83</sup> Draycott 2007, 14-16.

<sup>84</sup> Draycott 2007, 72.

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<sup>85</sup> See Roosevelt (2006) for the discussion of the ‘false doors’ of Anatolian tombs.

<sup>86</sup> Draycott 2007, 140-141.

450, explores three possible meanings the headdress might have conveyed to the contemporary Greek viewer. The first and the most commonly accepted view sees the headdress as an indicator of foreign identity, either Scythian or Persian, in Greek symposia. The second view sees the headdress as a symbol of a foreign cultural practice or institution, such as the habitual excessive drinking of Scythians. The final interpretation, which Miller herself proposes, considers the headdress simply an imported luxury goods from the East for use in the symposium by Athenians. She further suggests that this interpretation sheds more light on the Athenian social history than Persian or Scythian dress or cultural practices, since the adoption of luxurious oriental goods suggests a sign of elitism and high status in Athens.<sup>87</sup>

In the Achaemenid art of Persia, the *bashlyk* usually appears worn by Medians. Besides the Medians, two Anatolian tribute delegations wear the headdress on the famous Apadana reliefs, designed between 522- 456. The *bashlyk* worn by Medians on the Apadana reliefs has three knobs at the anterior side of the top, and with the long earflaps tied around the chin; it envelops the faces of the delegates (Fig. 4d).<sup>88</sup> Similarly, the *bashlyks* of Delegation III and Delegation IX, identified possibly as Armenians and Cappadocians by Schmidt, have *bashlyks* with three knobs at the top, but unlike those of the Medians the side flaps are tied up at the back of the head, revealing

their faces and shoulders.<sup>89</sup> Delegation XVI, perhaps Sagarthians, also wear the *bashlyk*.<sup>90</sup> Surprisingly, Delegation XII, identified as Ionians and Lydians do not wear any headdresses.

*Bashlyk* fashion in Anatolia seems to have extended to the fourth century, when the images of *bashlyk-wearers* again occur mainly in funerary art. A mounted warrior on the Yanlizdam grave stele of the early fourth century wears the headdress in an upturned fashion (Fig. 4j). Most of the monumental tombs of the fourth century Anatolia are decorated with depictions of *bashlyk* wearers. Erbinna, the local ruler of Xanthos between 390-370, appears wearing a pointed *bashlyk*, a tight fitting sleeved tunic, and a loose mantle draped around his lower body, on the lesser podium frieze of the Nereid Monument, his monumental tomb (Fig. 4k).<sup>91</sup> Seated on a throne and shaded with a parasol in Persian manner, Erbinna receives elder civilians. The *bashlyk* also appears as part of the costume of the hunters on the eastern side of the architrave frieze of the Nereid Monument. In Trysa, on the *temenos* friezes of a monumental Heroon dating from the first half of the fourth century, defenders of Troy wear the headdress.<sup>92</sup> The Lydian satrap Autophrades also wears it on the Pajawa sarcophagus.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Miller 1991.

<sup>88</sup> Schmidt 1955, Pl. 27.

<sup>89</sup> Schmidt 1955, 85-89, Pl. 29, 35.

<sup>90</sup> Schmidt 1955, Pl. 42. Not only the headdresses are similar but all four delegation groups (I, III, IX, XVI) wear belted sleeved tunics with pants.

<sup>91</sup> Jenkins 2006, 186-202 – Ridgway 1997, 79-88 for a detailed discussion of the tomb.

<sup>92</sup> Ridgway 1997, 88-94.

<sup>93</sup> See Borchhardt 1976, 59, Taf. 55.3; Taf 30, 1 for the discussion of the occurrences of the headwear in Lycia.



Another monumental tomb, the Heroon of King Perikles at Limyra depicts several *bashlyk* wearers in fragmentary processional scenes in relief carved on two sides of the outer cella walls.<sup>94</sup> Located on the akropolis of Limyra, the Heroon dates from sometime between 380-350. Though fragmentarily preserved, both the western and eastern friezes display similar themes arranged in similar order: a dignitary at the center accompanied by musicians, military and aristocratic officials, and armed soldiers moving in procession towards south.<sup>95</sup> Dressed in a tunic, kandys, pants, and shoes the protagonist at the center of the convoy rides a Nisean horse, a breed highly prized in the Persian Empire, with forelock, knotted tail and long legs.<sup>96</sup> Because of the *orthe tiara*-upturned *bashlyk* he is wearing, Borchhardt identifies him as the Persian king, Artaxerxes II.<sup>97</sup> Ridgway, however, based on the example of Erbinna, who wears a similar headdress, suggests that the prominent figure on the Limyra frieze might depict the local dynast Perikles himself.<sup>98</sup> Other horsemen around him are clad similarly except for their *bashlyks*, which do not

have an upturned top, and with the lappets tied at the back. Other officials accompanying the local ruler either on foot or on horses are clearly differentiated from each other through the various garments they wear. Because of the poorly preserved condition of the relief, only the various headdresses they wear can be distinguished. Some wear the *petasos*, a wide-brimmed hat worn by Greeks when travelling; some wear the *pilos*, a close fitting felt headdress with a conical top; and others wear *bashlyks* in different configurations, enveloping the face or with the lappets tied at the back. These variations might imply the existence of ethnically mixed officials including the mercenary Greek soldiers in the army of Perikles.

### The Meaning of the *Bashlyk*

Except for the architectural relief with unknown archaeological origin from Daskyleion, most of the *bashlyk-wearer* representations come from funerary contexts and in most cases the wearers refer to the noble tomb-owner himself and his companions. Why these figures chose to be represented as wearing the headdress in their final resting place may reveal what status the headgear was intended to convey to the contemporary viewer.

First, the regional variations in which the *bashlyk* representations occur such as Tatarlı tomb in Phrygia, Karaburun II tomb and other monumental tombs in Lycia, the Daskyleion stelai in Hellenistic Phrygia, suggest that the hat's adoption was not exclusive to a specific ethnic group, but it was worn throughout Western Anatolia. Indeed,

<sup>94</sup> The Heroon of Perikle at Limyra and its sculptural friezes are discussed in detail in Borchhardt 1976, also see Şare 2013.

<sup>95</sup> See Şare 2013, 62; Figs. 7-8.

<sup>96</sup> For Nisean horses see Briant 2002, Gabrielli 2006.

<sup>97</sup> In Xenophon Anab II.5.23. Tissaphernes mentions the tiara on the head only the King may have upright. For a detailed discussion of the Achaemenid king's headdress see Tuplin 2007; Borchhardt 1999, 49-52.

<sup>98</sup> Ridgway 1997, 96-97. Borchhardt (1999, 49-52) identifies the helmeted and the armed figure behind the chariot as the Lycian ruler. Yet, this figure is not prominent enough to refer to the local king to whom the tomb belongs.

two different inscriptions on two iconographically similar Daskyleion stelai, Aramaic on the Stele of Elnaf and Old Phrygian on the Stele of Adda, suggest that the different ethnic groups of Western Anatolia shared similar fashions,<sup>99</sup> and that dress items, the *bashlyk* in this case, said more about the economic and political status of the wearer than his ethnic identity.

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

The Karaburun case is especially interesting since the protagonist is depicted in different outfits on the walls of his tomb; wearing the *bashlyk* and the *kandys* on a throne-chariot in the procession and a *chiton* and a headdress decorated with flower buds and beads on a *kline* in the banquet scene. At first glance, these might seem to suggest that the tomb-owner is trying to associate his dignity with the aristocratic activities of both the Persian and Greek world. Yet, a closer look reveals that the banquet scene is different from Greek symposium repre-

sentations as it incorporates not male companions but the wife of the deceased along with his servants. Thus, dressed appropriately in two different contexts, the dignitary's courtly status is the main message conveyed in Karaburun frescoes.

### 5) 'Phrygian cap': Myths and Facts

As the given title implies, the so-called Phrygian cap- a close fitting hat with a floppy pointed top- is often associated with Anatolians, especially in Roman art. The Anatolian god Attis and also shepherds appear wearing the 'Phrygian cap' in Roman iconography. The headdress is categorized as a variation of the Greek *pilos-pilema*-literally meaning 'felt' in ancient Greek.<sup>100</sup> The following examination shows that there is indeed evidence for Anatolians wearing the cap in the Roman period, but the 'Phrygian' association of the headdress in the Archaic and Classical periods of Anatolia is vague. Since both are made of felt, the early form of the 'Phrygian cap' can perhaps be categorized as the *bashlyk* worn by elite in Achaemenid Anatolia.

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

<sup>99</sup> Draycott 2007, 110-114.

<sup>100</sup> Cleland – Davis – Llewellyn – Llewellyn – Jones (2007, 148) list all the ancient Greek sources referring to *pilos*; Herodotus, III.23; Hesiod, Works and Days 542-546; Aristophanes, Lysistrata 562; Thucydides IV.34.

representations of the “other.” As this brief history of the representations of Phrygian cap shows, the “Phrygian” character of the cap was obscured even in the Roman period.

Surprisingly, a Roman bronze helmet from second century AD, now in the Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, shows that the “Phrygian cap” was part of the military dress of Anatolian soldiers (Fig. 5a). The helmet is known to have come from Anatolia, but the original archaeological context of the headdress is unknown, making it difficult to understand the owner’s identity.

Ankara Museum also houses an Archaic sculptural head of a bearded male figure, a chance discovery from a construction site near Hellespontine Phrygia, which is described as wearing a ‘Phrygian cap’ (Fig. 5b).<sup>101</sup> The Archaic style of the head should not be assumed to date it to the sixth century, since as Ridgway notes, the Archaic style in Western Anatolia lingered at least to the mid fifth century.<sup>102</sup> The headdress has a conical shape, tapering at the top. Since the statue is broken at the neck, it is difficult to determine whether the hat had long side flaps or not, but extensions on the sides of both cheeks suggest that it did. Thus, the fifth century headdress should be categorized as a *bashlyk* instead of an early example of a ‘Phrygian cap’ from Anatolia.

## Conclusion

Several conclusions can be inferred from the above investigation of the popular headdress fashions in ancient Western Anatolia between the seventh and fourth centuries. Overall, there seem to have been a distinctive ‘Anatolian’ costume fashion shared among the various ethnic groups of Anatolia during this period. Just like the case in our modern world, these fashions tell us about the wearer’s socio-religious associations as well as the transformations and persistent traditions in the society. Perhaps the most popular headdress, the *polos* fashion seems to have originated in Bronze Age Anatolia and continuously used by both genders especially in cultic spheres related to fertility. Unlike the previous scholarship, which defines the headdress as a divine attribute for representations of female deities of the Greek pantheon, this study shows that *polos* was popularly worn by mortals in Anatolia. Griffon crowns seem to have been used in ritual ceremonies by priesthood. Like *polos*, the veil and the tradition of veiling originated in Bronze Age Anatolia and continuously used by women for ages. The distinctive popularity of the fashion in Western Anatolia especially in the Archaic period can best be understood, when one compares the great amount of veiled *korai* from Western Anatolia to the number of the veiled *korai* from mainland Greece. Representations reveal two main veiling styles; Samian and lappet-style; and three different types of veiling; *polos-veil*, *stephane-veil*, and bonnet-veil. The fashion might be related to the matronly status of the wearers. *Bashlyk* is the most popular

<sup>101</sup> In the museum catalogue.

<sup>102</sup> Ridgway (1970, 95-96) discusses the ‘lingering archaic’ style in Anatolia in the case of the Harpy Tomb from Xanthos.

headdress represented especially in the fifth century. It appears as always worn by men in funerary and military processions. The fashion seems to have entered into Anatolian costume repertoire in the fifth century through Achaemenid influence and initially seems to have marked the wearer's association with the Persian elite. The 'Phrygian cap', seems to have been a variation of the *bashlyk*.

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Figure 1a



Figure 1b



Figure 1c



Figure 1d



Figure 1e



Figure 1f



Figure 1g



Figure 1h





Figure 1i



Figure 1j



Figure 1k



Figure 1l



Figure 1m



Figure 1n



Figure 1o



Figure 2a



Figure 2b



Figure 2c



Figure 2d





Figure 3a



Figure 3b



Figure 3c



Figure 3d





Figure 3e



Figure 3f



Figure 3g



Figure 3h



Figure 3i



Figure 3j

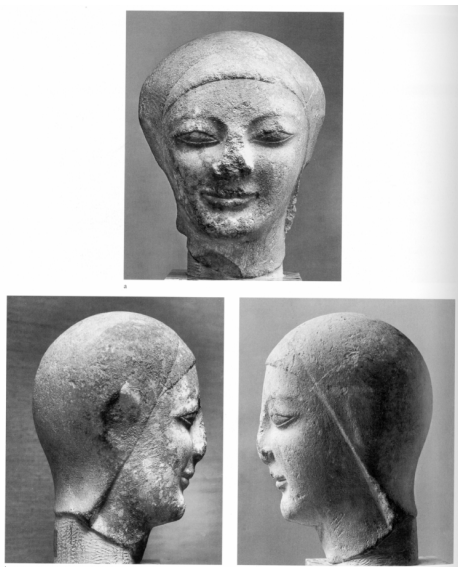


Figure 3k



Figure 3l





Figure 3m



Figure 3n



Figure 4a



Figure 4b



Figure 4c



Figure 4d



Figure 4e



Figure 4f



Figure 4g



Figure 4h





Figure 4i



Figure 4j

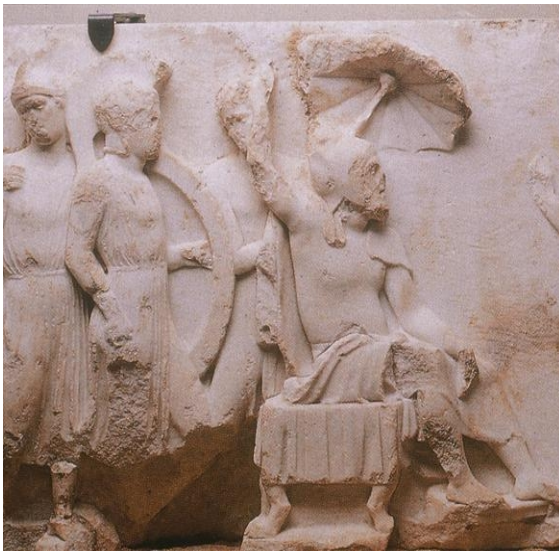


Figure 4k



Figure 5a



Figure 5b