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IRON AGE POTTERY FROM SOUTHERN ANATOLIA

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During a survey of pre-classical remains in Southern Anatolia made in 1951-52[1] we have been able to define four regions, each with its own distinctive Iron Age pottery, as well as two others with mixed groups of pottery. They are: a) the Eastern Konya plain, b) the Afyon-Konya area, c) the South-Western Anatolian plateau, d) the Calycadnos (Gök Su) valley and the coast of Cilicia between Silifke and Mersin. The mixed areas are the Western part the Konya plain and the "Lake District" (Eğridir, Beyşehir and Suğla lakes[2]).

İn the part of the Konya plain which lies within the triangle Aksaray-Karaman-Ulukışla, the characteristic pottery is the painted Central Anatolian ware often called Alişar IV. İt is particularly common on the sites west of Aksaray and between Ereğli, Bor and the Cilician Gates, and is seldom found around Karaman. But for the wild goat motive, so typical of Alişar, this ware is identical with that discovered at Alişar, Boğazköy, Kara Hüyük-Kültepe, Fraktin, Güllüdağ and İvriz (which is already in our area). R. O. Arık ho-

[1] Anatolian Studies IV, 1954, p. 175 ff. As the original manuscript, written in 1953, had to be re-arranged to include new material, the writter regrets that pottery from the same area is sometimes a little scattered in the drawings.

[2] The pottery was deposited in the Konya, Adana, Afyon and Antalya Museums and in the archaeological depot in the Gazi İlk Okulu in Denizli.

wever, discovered fine specimens of the wild-goat style at Alattin Tepe-Konya in a sounding made in 1941 [3] and it is therefore probably purely accidental that no such sherds were found by us.

The pottery is decorated in mat black paint on a white, buff or apricot polished slip or surface. Red paint on buff is rare (fig. 38). Common shapes are small (figs. 1 to 5,36) and large bowls (figs. 6 to 12) handled cups (figs. 14, 85, 86) and large jars or craters (figs. 33 to 35, 37). All the patterns are geometric. Large bowls are decorated on the rim only [4].

With the painted pottery is found some black, buff and red burnished ware as well as plain buff and coarse ware. They seem to be more common than painted pottery in the region of Karaman.

Further west, in the part of the plain south of Konya which is watered by the Çarşamba Çay, the gradual change of pottery already observable around Karaman is even more strongly accentuated. Although Alişar IV ware is still sporadically found, especially at Alattin Tepe and at Çumra Hüyük C (figs. 5, 8, 39), polished grey ware, typical for the Phrygian area is in the majority. Not a single sherd of it was discovered either east of Çumra or in the Aksaray region. North of the Konya plain proper, it occurs at Tutup and Çorba Hüyük along the road from Konya to Ankara. Therefore its eastern boundary seems to run along the line Ankara area-Salt Lake-Kara Dağ. This grey ware is of the same type as that found at the sites of Gordion, Ankara and Midas City as well as in the whole of the Afyon district (figs. 132 to 140). Contact with Western Anatolia is indicated by the presence of two black on red bowls of South-West Anatolian type at Alattin Tepe-Konya and a sherd of marbled ware from Alibey Hüyük II near Çumra (fig. 121). Plain coarse ware of this period is illustrated in fig. 40. The presence of Alişar IV pottery is probably due to trade.

The southern boundary of these two regions is formed by the formidable range of the Taurus mountains. No Cilician İron Age pottery was found in the Konya plain, nor was any pottery recognisable as characteristic for the Plateau (either Alişar IV or grey Phrygian) found on the sites in the Calycadnos valley or on the South

[3] The unpublished material is exhibited in the Classical Museum in Konya.
[4] Cf. figs. 6-12 with OIP 20, fig. 405. See 995, fig. 482. I.

coast. Judging by the available evidence, which, we admit, is very scanty, there seems to have been little contact between the people of the southern plateau and those of the coastal regions during this period. A fundamental difference between the eastern and western parts of the Konya plain is further indicated by the presence of hieroglyphic inscriptions at İvriz, Bulgarmaden, Bor etc. in the eastern area and beyond, the distribution of which seems to coincide very roughly with the region on the Anatolian plateau where Alişar IV pottery is characteristic. Another feature of the eastern part of the Konya plain is the groups of tumuli found near the city-mounds of Kara Hüyük (Ḫupisna) and Öküzlü Hisar (Tyana). None were observed in the western part of the plain or near Karaman [5].

With the exception of two sherds from Mut and Maltepe (figs. 15, 16) in the Calycadnos valley, which may be provincial Mycenaean or sub-Mycenaean, the rest of the İron Age pottery from that valley and the sites on the coast between Silifke and Mersin is of Cilician type. Black on white (figs. 19, 23-25, 27, 30) and bichrome (black and red on white or buff): (figs. 18, 20-22, 26, 28, 29) are the most common. Only a single sherd of black on red was found at Soli and one of red on buff at Tekirköy Hüyük (fig. 17).

Grey ware is predominant between the plain of Eskişehir and the mountain range of the Sultan Dağları, in the region of Konya and Çumra already mentioned and the Lake District, as well as in the mountainous region lying between Afyon and the Upper Meander basin.

İn the South-West it was found in small quantity on the acropolis of Kelainai (figs. 143, 144) together with black and red burnished pottery (figs. 141 and 144) and at Mancarlı Hüyük (figs. 142, 145-148) together with red wash ware (figs. 149, 150). This pottery is foreign to the area and was no doubt imported or due to foreign elements coming from the North.

[5] Tumuli are often placed in a conspicuous position on a ridge near the town at Tyana, Ereğli, Gordion, Ankara, Sardes, Mancarlı Hüyük, Dinar, Sundurlu. In other cases they are found in the plain, at Eskişehir, Karabulak Tepe, Emirhisar and Emircik.

[6] Blegen, Troy III, fig. 413, 12 (provincial Mycenaean, late Troy VI).

[7] Anatolian Studies IV, 1954, p. 136-138.

Whereas painted pottery is a rarity in the grey ware area, it is not uncommon in the Lake District. Part of it is similar to the south-west Anatolian black-on-red II (fig. 108), some is like Alişar IV (fig. 84) and other sherds are decorated in red on buff (fig. 107), black-on-buff (fig. 106) or black-on-purplish grey (fig. 105). Patterns are always geometric.

As in the Early Bronze Age, this region seems to have been a thoroughfare, the so-called Pisidian Highway, by which the Konya plain and the South-Western Highlands communicated. İt produced a hybrid civilisation out of elements derived from both neighbours. İt is probably by this road that such West Anatolian pottery as the marbled sherd from Alibey Hüyük II and the black on red bowls from Alattin Tepe were imported.

At Midas City, in the hills North of Afyon, were found two classes of painted pottery which, though outnumbered by local grey ware, were considered to be also of local "Phrygian" manufacture by the excavator, Miss E. Haspels. This view was endorsed by Miss M. Mellink in her review in AJA 1954, p. 168.

The first class is black on polished buff ware, decorated with wavy lines between bands, and groups of compass-drawn circless[9]. The second, which is more common, is a black on red ware[10]. Parallels for the first were observed at Gordion[11], for the second at Gordion[12], Boğazköy[13], Pazarlı[14] and Alattin Tepe-Konya[15].

İt is exactly these two classes, which together with a third (bichrome), form the typical İron Age pottery repertoire of the South-West Anatolian Highlands, extending from the Upper Meander valley to the South Coast. The Lower Meander valley from Sarayköy to the Aegean and the Hermos valley have not yet been explored, so that the Western limit of this culture is still unknown. There are

[8] Op. cit. p. 179, 190.

[9] E. Haspels, Exploration Archéologique de la Phrygie III, p. 34 f. pl. 9a, 9b, I.

[10] İbid. p. 35 ff., pls. 9b, 2-7, 9c, İ-6, pl. 39, 2.

[11] Körte, Gordion, p. 179, fig. 161, 9.

[12] İbid. fig. 160, 2, 3 and 4 (?).

[13] MDOG 75, fig. 23, İ.

[14] One sherd in the Alaca museum.

[15] Konya, Classical museum, among others bowl no. 623.

however certain indications that it extends still further west; for example G. Hanfman's statement in *Prehistoric Sardes* (*Studies Presented to D. H. Robinson*, p. p. 175 ff.) that the two earlier periods at Sardes (layers B and C) are characterised by black and grey ware and a painted pottery discribed as matt black on orange geometric.

On analogy with the black-on-red (orange) ware found at Bayraklı, which is almost identical in shape and fabric to that class of pottery from South-Western Anatolia, it seems likely that the Sardes material falls within the same group. Some very similar sherds were also discovered on the Acropolis at Pergamon [16].

Black-on-red ware is the most characteristic of the South-West Anatolian pottery, both in shapes and in the lavish geometric decoration. Two varieties occur: a) a fine one (black-on-red I) with a light red polished, slipped or unslipped surface bearing geometric patterns in good quality matt black paint. b) A less refined type (black-on-red II) often unslipped and only smoothed, with a grey-black washy decoration, usually geometric but sometimes naturalistic, on a red or brownish ground. İn quality, black-on-red I is as good as the best specimens of the same ware from Cilicia and better than most from Cyprus. The examples from Bayraklı, Lycia (Xanthos, Kaş, Pinara) and a number of sherds from Midas City [17] are more closely related in technique and decoration to black-on-red II than to black-on-red I. The most usual shapes are fruitdishes (pedestal bowls (fig. 61, 71, 73, 74, 76, 80, 81) and wide open bowls with ring or raised base (figs. 41, 43, 61-63, 79, 84, 93). Jars (fig. 89, 93,), juglets (figs. 88, 122-123), small bowls (figs. 49, 50, 52, 54), cups (fig. 90) and a small vessel with side-spout (fig. 95) also occur. Of these shapes, fruit dishes seem to be most characteristic of black-on-red I, although the Bayraklı evidence suggests that they may continue into II.

As common as black-on-red are two other wares: a black-on-white (or buff) occurring in a finer variety with good black paint and polished slip (black on white I) and a poorer version (black on white II) in which blackish brown washy paint is laid directly on a

[16] O. Bayatlı, Bergama Tarihinde İlkçağ, p. 33, left hand, middle and bottom sherds.

[17] E. Haspels, op. cit., pl. 9c, 2, 5, 7, 8.

smoothed surface. Shapes appear to be the same as those of the black-on-red ware: fruit-dishes (fig. 72), a pedestal (fig. 81), large open bowls (figs. 42, 44), deep crater (fig. 94), and jars (fig. 127).

The other is a bichrome painted ware with decoration in matt black and red on a white or buff slip or surface. İt is particularly common south of the line Denizli-Burdur and even more so at Fuğla Hüyük (figs. 51, 53, 55, 77) and in the Elmalı plain at Söğle Hüyük (figs. 64-66). Shapes include bowls, jars and craters. A single bichrome fruit dish was found at Kızılhisar Hüyük (fig. 75).

The decorative patterns used on these three classes are chiefly of geometrical design: the most usual are groups of parallel bands of varying thickness. Wavy lines and concentric circles are never found on black on red pottery but are characteristic for black on buff (figs. 42, 48, 71, 94, 103, and 44) and bichrome ware (figs. 45, 65, 66, 126, 128, 130 and 56, 59). İt is noteworthy that at Midas City these same two types of ornament occur on black-on-white only (no bichrome ware has been found at that site). Star patterns such as decorate the centre of fruit dishes of black-on-red I (figs. 67-70 and 73-74) and the multiple concentric hooks (figs. 112, 113) occurring on black-on-red II for which there are parallells at Gordion[18] and Bayraklı[19], seem to be confined to that class. Hooks leaving a reserve Meander pattern[19a] are also very common in this class (figs. 73, 74, 117) but are found as well on bichrome (figs. 75, 87).

Naturalistic design is absent in the better variety of these wares, but occurs on the coarser type. Birds (figs. 100, 102) are found in bichrome ware, a fish (?) (fig. 101) appears on black on buff II and a lion (?) attacking a sheep (?) (fig. 104), a human figure (fig. 116) and plants (figs. 118, 92) are found on black on red II. Plants or trees similar to fig. 92 can be seen on a bichrome jar (fig. 91) with glazy paint.

Less common is a red-on-buff ware found at Fuğla Hüyük (fig. 58) and a very fine three-colour ware from Mancarlı, Güney, Hasanpaşa and Söğle Hüyüks, i. e. south of the line Denizli-Burdur. (figs.

[18] Körte, Gordion, fig. 160, 2, 3.

[19] A. Ü. Dil-Tarih Dergisi, 8, 1950, p. 87, fig. II and p. 84 and footnotes 121 (Troy), 123 (Rhodes), 125 (Cyprus).

[19a] Haspels, op. cit. pl. 9c, I and Konya Museum bowl 623.

96-99 and 78). İn the case of the two largest fragments from Mancarlı (figs. 96, 97), both of which are bowls, a coat of scarlet paint covers the whole vessel leaving only a polished buff reserved band below the rim on the exterior. Decoration in black (or grey) paint takes the form of a broken meander filled with dots on the one sherd, whereas the other is decorated with triglyphs also filled with dots. This same dotted ornament is found on fig. 99. Whether this very striking ware is of local manufacture remains uncertain as no parallels have so far been published.

Among this material, a certain number of sherds seem to be imports: we have already mentioned polished grey ware and its companions at Dinar and Mancarlı Hüyük. Marbled ware (figs. 119, 120) is not rare at the huge İron Age site of Emircik Hüyük about 10 kms. east of Çivril. Here a number of tumuli, two of which are of great size and height, can be seen just south of the site [20]. A rock relief at Sundurlu [21] showing a personnage in a chariot, with an escort of horsemen, and two tumuli on the ridge above it, indicate the presence of an important İron Age city, no doubt the capital of the Upper Meander valley and the first millennium successor of the Bronze Age site of Beycesultan Hüyük, deserted after the twelfth century B. C. Marbled ware is common at Sardes (unpublished material in the İstanbul Museum) and in the sixth century levels of Bayraklı Tepe (Ancient Smyrna). Nor is it rare at Midas City [22], and several sherds were found at Gordion [23] and at Alibey Hüyük near Çumra (fig. 121). İt is often assumed that this ware is Lydian and being rare in South-West Anatolia, where apart from Emircik, one or two sherds were found at Mancarlı Hüyük, we consider it to be an import from the West.

İmported sherds probably of Greek origin were found at Seller Hüyük, south of Acıpayam (figs. 109, 110) and a stemmed goblet which may be Greek is illustrated in fig. 117, from Söğle Hüyük in Central Lycia. The sherds from Seller both show the star pattern, which in the local ware is only found on the fruit dishes, and the

[20] The two large ones reach a height of 20 m. and are now called Sivri Tepe.
[21] BCH 1893, pp. 39-51.
[22] Haspels, op. cit. pl. 8b.
[23] Körte, op. cit. fig. 181, 61-64.

swastika on fig. 110 looks particularly Greek. Imported Greek pottery might be responsible for a number of motives, such as the rosette or star pattern and the hooks with reserved Meanders so frequently employed in the decoration of the pottery in our area. Although we cannot prove it at the moment, it seems probable that on the other hand Anatolian painted wares had some influence on the development of East Greek pottery in the cities on the Aegean coast. We must leave it to those better qualified in classical archaeology to draw the conclusions suggested by this material.

Scholars familiar with the painted pottery of Cilicia and Cyprus in the Iron Age, have no doubt already realised that the same wares occur in the South-West and may even extend up to the Aegean [24]. Is is indeed unfortunate that the South coast of Anatolia, from Silifke to Lycia, has produced only one site, namely Aspendos, where a single sherd of black on red ware was found (fig. 31). The absence of Iron Age material along this coast is probably due to the thick deposits of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman material which overlie the earlier layers. No trace of occupation earlier than the Iron Age has ever been discovered from the mouth of the Calycadnos the Cnidian peninsula[25]. Thus there is evidence for a more or less homogeneous South Anatolian Iron Age group, probably extending from the Aegean to the Amanus and possibly beyond it[26]. Cyprus and the black-on-red pottery of Palestine in the second phase of the Iron Age (9 th to middle 6 th cent. B. C.) belong to the same group.

The dating of the best known component of this pottery group, i. e. the black-on-red ware, presents some difficulties. At Bayraklı it starts in the 7 th century but is not common until the second half of the 6 th century. At Xanthos, it again occurs with imported Greek ware of the 6 th century. At Midas City, Miss Haspels dated it to the 5 th and 4 th centuries, but Miss Mellink (AJA 58, 1954, 168) advocates an earlier beginning, no doubt on the basis of the Cilician material. Most of the material quoted is closer related to our black-on-red II than to I, which on purely technical grounds (no stratigraphic

[24] This was already recognised by Ormerod, BSA XVI, p. 89 ff, pl. 7.

[25] Anatolian Studies IV, p. 176 ff.

[26] Maraş area (writer's survey in 1951) and sherds in Antakya museum from Çatal Hüyük, level V.

evidence exists), we are inclined to date earlier than black-on-red II. The 6 th century date for most of black-on-red II seems reasonable, but the Sardes evidence indicates that the earliest black-on-orange geometric of layer C antedates the first Greek imports which start before 700 B. C. The suggested upper limit is the first half of the 8 th century[27]. A date around 800 B. C. for beginning of black-on-red I in our area is also suggested by the evidence from Cilicia and Cyprus. In Cyprus, black-on-red is without antecedents and appears suddenly in the second half ot the 9 th century. The old theory of a Cypriote origin of this ware in Cilicia dates from the time that the Anatolian material was hardly known. The following arguments can be put forward against this theory: a) its sudden introduction in Cyprus. b) The technical inferiority of most of the Cyprus black-on-red when compared to the Anatolian variety[28]. The inevitable conclusion is that this ware was introduced from Cilicia into Cyprus. A 9 th century date therefore does not seem too early for its beginning in Cilicia where there is evidence for a comparatively unbroken development from local Mycenaean onwards. Perhaps it is not too bold a suggestion that the typical two-handled Cilician black-on-red bowl on a ring base is a direct descendant of the Mycenaean bowl of the same shape, which already bears a decoration (though in different technique) of parallel lines encircling the centre of the bowl[29].

It looks therefore as if the Cilician variant of black-on-red is the earliest form of this ware. It might possibly have been introduced into South-Western Anatolia from Cilicia as in the case of Cyprus. The absence of Mycenaean imports in the South-West during the Late Bronze Age is a strong argument against a theory of a parallel development there. Black-on-white and bichrome painted wares, which invariably accompany black-on-red, both in Cilicia and the South-West, are probably roughly contemporary. The marbled ware, on the other hand, seems to be a sixth century product.

On the evidence of imported East Greek and Cycladic seventh century pottery at Midas City, the earliest fixed date for the grey

[27] Hanfmann, op. cit.

[28] This view was first stated by Miss V. Seton-Williams, Anatolian Studies IV, p. 136, footnote I and p. 137 (b).

[29] Schaeffer, Stratigraphie Comparée, fig. 212 (Enkomi), fig. 305 and pl. XI, lower row, from Ugarit.

ware is c. 700 B. C. but it may conceivably have started before that date.

The dating of the Alişar IV pottery is equally uncertain. An imported Rhodian seventh century sherd is our only clue (OIP XXIX, pl. III, 9), but here again the beginnings of this ware may go back to c. 800 B. C.

What pottery was used in the dark ages which separate the end of the Late Bronze Age and the appearance of the wares dealt with in this paper, only future excavations can reveal. The still unpublished results of Tarsus, the Amuq and Bayraklı excavations may go some way to fill this gap.

Miss M. Mellink's attribution of the South West Anatolian black-on-red and black-on-white painted wares at Midas City to the Phrygians [30] should be reconsidered. What pottery can definitely be called Phrygian? This term has been used for Alişar IV, for the grey ware, and now for the black-on-red and black-on-white wares, simply because they have been found at Midas City and Gordion, both of which are undoubtedly Phrygian sites. The architectural terracotta plaques, first found at Gordion, have also been called Phrygian but their distribution (Gordion, Midas City, Pazarlı, Akalan, Larisa, Miletus and Milasa) hardly supports this view.

Of these sites, only the first two can claim to be in Phrygia, the others are in Ionia, Caria, Lydia and whatever the area around Pazarlı and Akalan may have been called at the time that the plaques were used there.

Let us first examine the theory that the pottery of Alişar IV is Phrygian. This pottery is rare west of the line Karadağ-Salt Lake-Kırıkkale and was not found during a recent survey [31] of the area between Ankara and the Black Sea. It apparently does not exist (except at Akalan) in the Samsun region either, but is very common

[30] AJA 58, 1954, p. 168 (first column). Black on white "it can be identified a genuine Phrygian fabric", black on red "Phrygian black on red ware of this class", "Phrygian painted ware styles".

[31] By Mr. C. Burney, 1954.

in the Çorum, Zile [32] and Tokat areas and extends from there southwards as far as the Taurus mountains. Its eastern boundary is still unknown but seems to reach the Euphrates. In the South East, it has not been discovered by the writer during a survey of the Maraş plain.

The attribution of this pottery to the Phrygians seems untenable in the view of the following evidence: this supposedly Phrygian product is rare, if not absent, on the majority of sites in Inner Phrygia, including the main ones, Gordion and Midas City. The typical pottery of that area is not Alişar IV but grey ware, the distribution of which includes the Phrygian homeland as known from the classical records.

Furthermore, the hieroglyphic monuments of Iron Age date, occupying roughly the southern half of the area in which Alişar IV pottery is found, clearly show that the language of the kingdoms in those regions (Tabal, Tuwana and Melid) was not Phrygian but an idiom akin to, if not identical with, Luvian. This language, which was written in a hieroglyphic script, was also used in Cilicia (the kingdom of the Danuna), in the kingdom of Gurgum (Maraş area), Sam'al (around Zincirli Hüyük), Unqi (Amuq plain) and in the North Syrian kingdoms of Karkamis, Halpa and Hama, which all used pottery different from that of Alişar IV.

No hieroglyphic monuments have been discovered in Inner Phrygia, but Phrygian inscriptions with their own script were found at Gordion and Midas City as well as Alaca Hüyük and Tyana which, being outside Phrygia proper, may date from the period of Phrygian rule over these regions in the reign of king Midas, the adversary of Sargon II of Assyria in the second half of the eighth century B. C.

Of the South Anatolian group, Cilicia, we have seen, spoke a form of Luvian and worshipped Luvian gods, but no contemporary inscriptions have come to light yet in South Western Anatolia. Classical inscriptions, however, from this part of Asia Minor, either in the native language or in Greek or Latin, contain valuable information about the pre-classical inhabitants, in the form of personal names, many of which are theophorous. In a recent article [33], Professor A. Goetze has shown the Luvian character of a large number of these

[32] Belleten XVII, 1953, p. 283, footnote 48.
[33] JCS VIII, 1954, p. 74 ff.

names and the continuity of the Luvian language in the South and South-West of Anatolia.

It is exactly in this area, which in classical times contained Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Part of Phrygia (Upper Meander valley), the mountainous part of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, that we have found a single culture-province. Such differences as can be seen within it are easily explained by the rugged nature of the country, also responsible for the number of languages spoken down to classical times, and for the survial of Luvian as such.

By the process of elimination we have seen that neither the Alişar IV nor the black-on-red and black-on-white wares can be claimed as genuine Phrygian and their presence at Phrygian sites must be explained by trade.

In the case of the group that remains, i. e. that of the grey, red and black monochrome polished or burnished wares, all the evidence suggests that this is the only group, of which we can state with confidenc that it was made by Phrygians. Not only is it found in overwelming quantity at Gordion and Midas city, but its distribution coincides with that of Inner Phrygia. Only the Upper Maeander valley, which in classical times is counted a part of Phrygia, most definitively does not belong to it at this early period. In the south east the frontier does not seem to have changed much in the classical period, as Xenophon quotes Iconium as the last town of Phrygia. In the North, however the situation is much less clear and grey wares seem to have extended as far as the Black sea coast at Sinope. Whether the inhabitants of those areas were Phrygians, is uncertain.

In the region, south of the Sea of Marmara, known in classical times as Phrygia Minor, no grey ware has yet been found.

That these Phrygian wares were not brought by the invading hordes at the end of the Late Bronze Age, but are the products of a local Anatolian tradition, which made itself felt with the return of peaceful conditions, once the period of migrations was over, need not be doubted.

Interpreted in the light of the evidence presented here, it seems worth while to give an outline of the historical events, which took place at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

In the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwandas, (1220-1190) son of Tuthaliyas IV (1250-1220), the downfall of the Hittite kingdom begins. In the South west of Anatolia, Madduwattas becomes overlord of the Arzawa kingdoms, conquers the Luqqa cities, raids Alasiya together with the Ahhiyawa and carries the war into Pitassa and other Hittite countries, apparently with great success, The weakling Arnuwandas contents himself with writing an indictment, instead of sending the Hittite army. In the East, around the bent of the Euphrates near Divrik, Mitas of Pahhuwa plays the same role as Madduwattas in the South-West, with the same result.

One wonders, why the Hittite army did not interfere. Was it engaged elsewhere, against the Gasgas or perhaps against the first hordes of the invading Phrygians in the Northwest of Anatolia ? Or had it been wiped out by Madduwattas? At any rate the Hittite kingdom seems to have been in a bad plight and unable to exercise control over the areas, where it had claimed the overlordship since the days of Mursilis. This is also implied in the text of the inscription of Merneptah celebrating the victory over the combined forces of Libyans and Seapeoples at the battle of Perir in the western Delta in his fifth year of reign. (1219 B. C. according to Rowton's chronology corresponding to the second year of Arnuwandas).

In this text there is a reproach to the Hittite king to the effect that he is obviously unable to control the movements of the Seapeoples which he claims to be his subjects, an act of hostility to the Egyptian king, who sent or was at the point of sending supplies to the harbour of Wura, because of a famine in the Hittite country. Another sign of the insecurity of this period is the abrupt end of the Mycenaean trade in the Levant, the hurried fortification of Athens and the subsequent attack on the town and the destruction of a considerable number of Mycenaean sites (among them Pylos, Zygouries, etc.) circa 1210 B. C. (Wace's chronology).

Arnuwandas dies c. 1190 and under his successor Suppiluliumas II the Hittite kingdom disappears, the Achaean Greeks waste their strengh in a war against Troy, the destruction of which is firmly fixed by archaeological evidence to the traditional date c. 1190, (in spite of the objections of J. Berard and C. Schaeffer) and though the sites of Beycesultan and Tarsus continue for perhaps another genera-

tion or so, complete darkness falls over Anatolia for the next three centuries. Only in Cilicia and the Amuq plain shall we perhaps be able to see the development of civilisation, when the long awaited excavation reports of Tarsus and the Amuq sites (Tell Tainat, Tell Judeideh and Çatal Hüyük) appear.

With our new evidence we can now offer the following tentative reconstruction of the events that took place during the dark ages.

Invading tribes of Phrygians and their associates, crossing into Anatolia from their original homes in Macedonia and Thrace, burst onto the plateau probably near Bozüyük, west of Eskişehir and swept south and east through the relatively open plains of Central Anatolia, driving the local populations before them. These finally managed to hold on to the country south of the line Hermos valley- Upper Maeander Valley-Dinar, the Lake district, (which was however infiltrated) and the Taurus mountains, south of the Konya plain, in other words, most of the Mountainous regions of Southern Anatolia. Overpopulation in these areas now compelled people to settle in the coastal plains of Caria, Lycia and Pamphylia, where the absence of pre Iron Age remains is an indication of the unimportance of these regions in the Bronze Age.

The number of Iron Age settlements in Southern Anatolia is larger than that of the second millennium, a further indication of the land-hunger caused by the loss of the fertile plains to the newcomers, who seem to have been chiefly an agricultural people.

In the east the indigeneous population, no doubt greatly strengthened by the refugees from the many Late Bronze Age cities in the Konya plain, were able to hang on to the line Western bend of the Halys-Salt lake-Karadağ. Others may have escaped to the coast, thus setting in motion the great movement of the "Sea Peoples", which advancing eastward both by land and sea, devastated Cilicia and North Syria.

On their march southward to Egypt they were finally stopped by the efforts of Ramses III (1170-1139), who in 1162 B. C. defeated their fleet near the mouths of the Nile, and their armies, heavily encumbered by long trains of solid wheeled oxcarts carrying women and children and all their worldly possessions, somewhere in the land of Zahi, which is usually located in Phoenicia, but may have

included the coastal plain of Palestine. The battles were fought with great bravery on both sides and the result was that of the "Sea Peoples" the Philistines settled in the coastal plain of Palestine, which bears their name to this day, whereas others, the Zekker, settled at Byblos or sailed westward to Italy. Others still founded kingdoms in North Syria and kept their language, hieroglyphic script, their art and their ancestral gods and were destined to play another role in history untill they finally succumbed to the might of Assyria in the seventh century B. C.

Cilicia also, seems soon to have recovered, but South western Anatolia never rose again to the political power it had been as Arzawa in the second millenium B. C. and it was only in the seventh and sixth centuries that a Lydian kingdom took the place of the kingdom of Assuwa.

It is this lack of a strong Anatolian power in South Western Asia Minor that enabled the Greeks, themselves Mycenaean refugees ousted from their lands by the Dorians, to settle without much difficulty on the Aegean coast and in Pamphylia. With the rise of the Lydian kingdom the intruders had to fight for their independance and finally lost it.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the normal political pattern of these region (with the exception of Lydia) in the Iron Age, was one of city-states, the rulers of which were buried in tumuli near the city. Such tumuli have been found near the important sites of Emircik, Dinar-Kelainai, Mancarli H. and near Tabai in the Maeander valley. The absence of tumuli near many other large sites is remarkable. Does this mean that there were only three rulers in the area between Denizli, Dinar and Lycia, which is known to have had rulers of its own? In the absence of historical inscriptions, we can only guess, but it remains a possibility to be born in mind[34].

It is with these South western Anatolians, then, descendants of the Arzawans, Assuwans and Luqqa of the Late Bronze Age that the Ionian Greeks of Smyrna, Miletus, Colophon, and numerous other cities were in closest contact and not directly with the Phrygians.

[34] It is noteworthy that at two of these three sites, namely Dinar-Kelainai and Mancarlı Hüyük, Phrygian ware is found. Does this mean that the local dynast imitated his Phrygian masters or does it indicate a Phrygian governor or garrison?

Many of the non-Greek features, hitherto ascribed to Phrygian influence, such as the use of a cream or yellow slip, parallel lines encircling bowls and the hooked spirals are characteristic of the South west Anatolian pottery, the decoration of which shows an artistic taste far superior to that of the Phrygians. That they realised this, is shown by the fact that this pottery was imported to Midas City and Gordion and as most of the imports are shallow bowls, which can not have contained anything, they were not brought for their contents. The Greeks at Smyrna also imported it and this trade with the Greek cities led to the adoption of a number of Greek motives by the Anatolian vase painter. Whether the meander motive has anything to do with the river of that name, which was outside Greek territory, and if so, whether the motive had an Anatolian or a Greek origin, the classical archaeologists must decide.

What fine-arts these people had apart from vase painting, only future excavations can reveal, but for the present it is enough to have shown the existence of a hitherto unsuspected civilisation; to have traced its relations and identified the bearers of this culture.

CATALOGUE OF IRON AGE POTTERY

All pottery is wheelmade and paints used are always mat, unless stated otherwise.

Eastern Part of Konya Plain, except Nos. 5 and 8 (Konya-Çumra)

1) Kara H. (Ereğli). Fine buff polished ware, black paint.

2) Kara H. (Ereğli). Fine apricot polished ware, black paint.

3) Kızıl H. II. Fine apricot polished ware, black paint.

4) Zeive Tepe I. Fine buff polished ware, brown paint.

5) Alattin Tepe. buff ware, polished slip, brown/black paint.

6) Sincirli H. Greyish buff ware, white slipped, stroke burnish, black paint.

7) Sincirli. Greyish buff ware, white slipped, stroke burnish, black paint.

8) Çumra H. C. Greyish buff ware, smoothed, brown paint.

9) Sincirli H. Greyish buff ware, white slipped, brown paint.

10) Sincirli. Greyish buff ware, red slipped, stroke burnish, black paint.

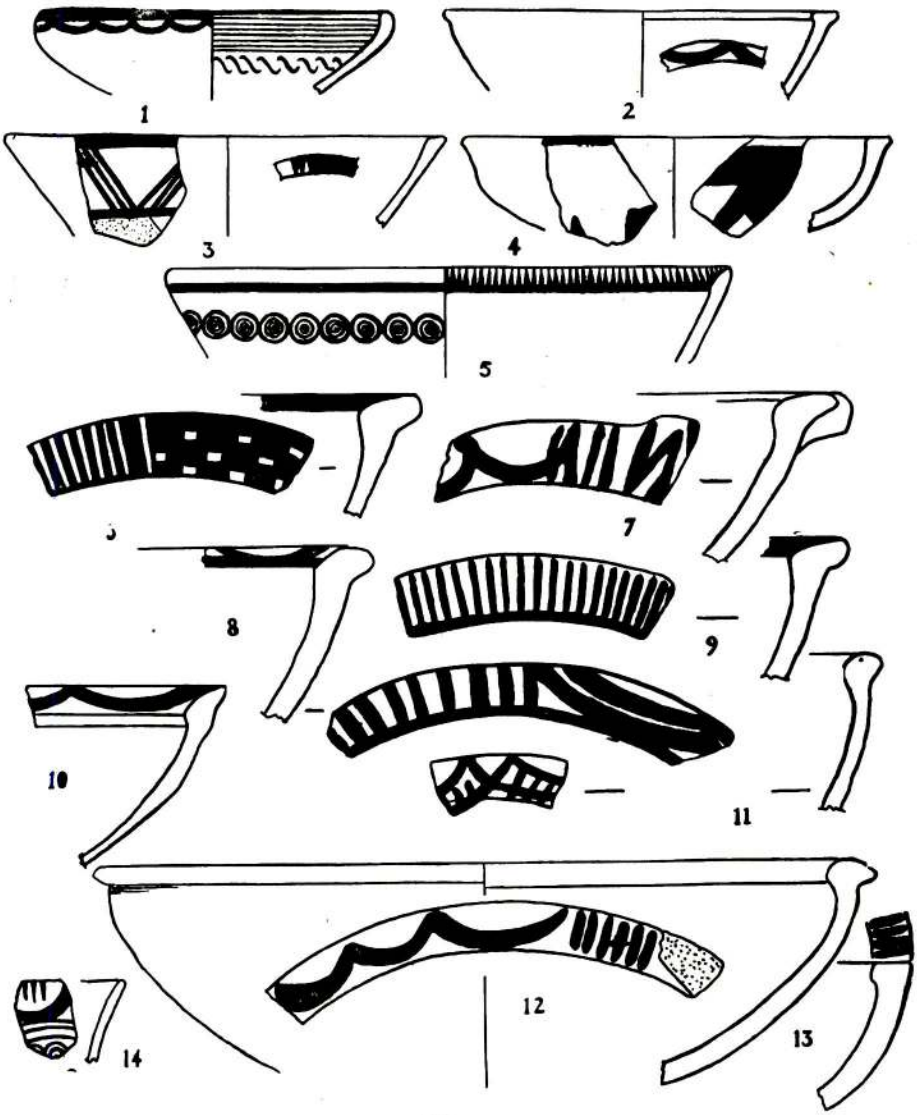

Plate I

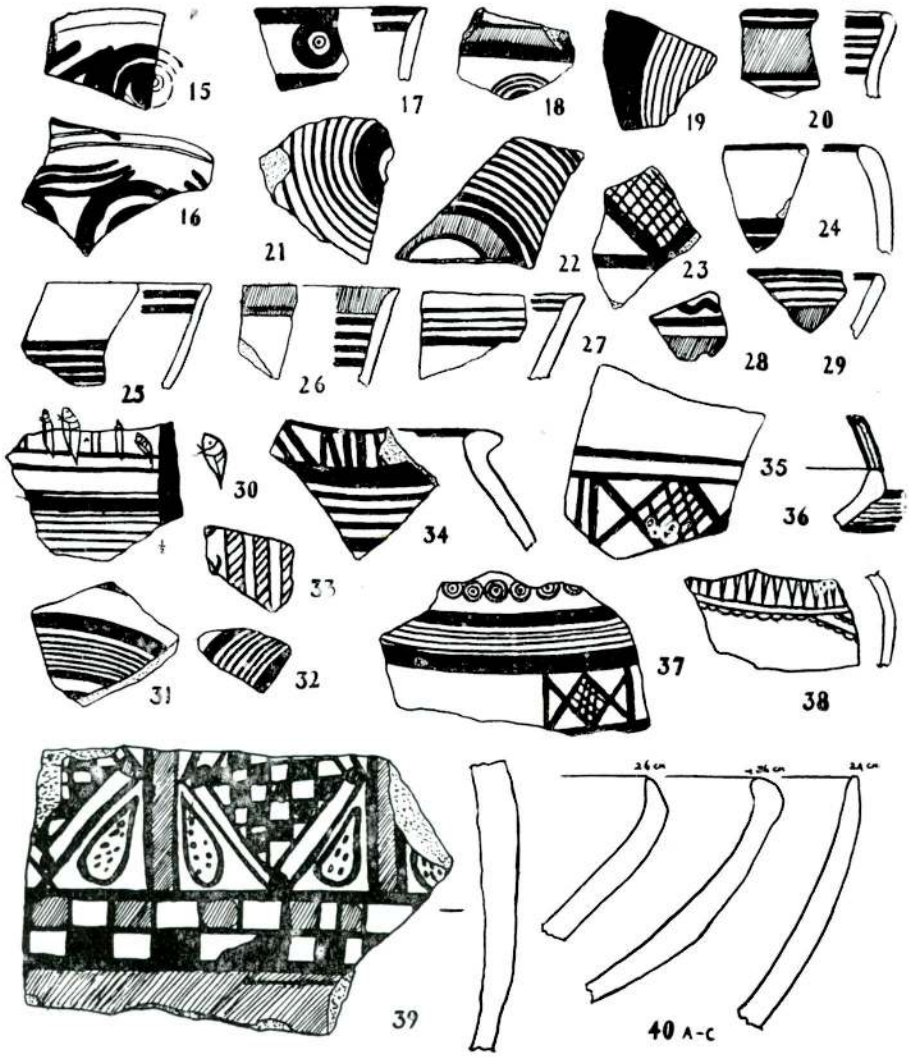
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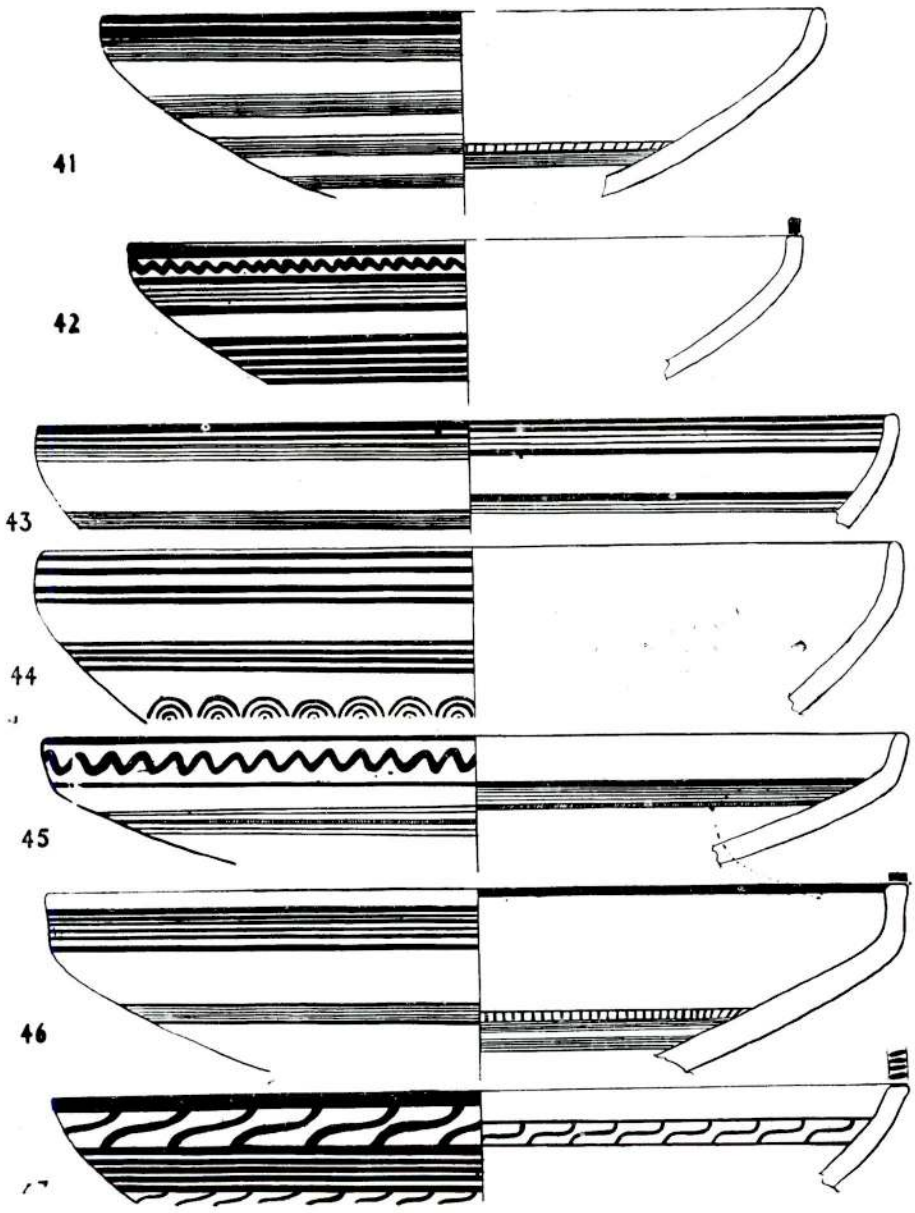
Plate 2



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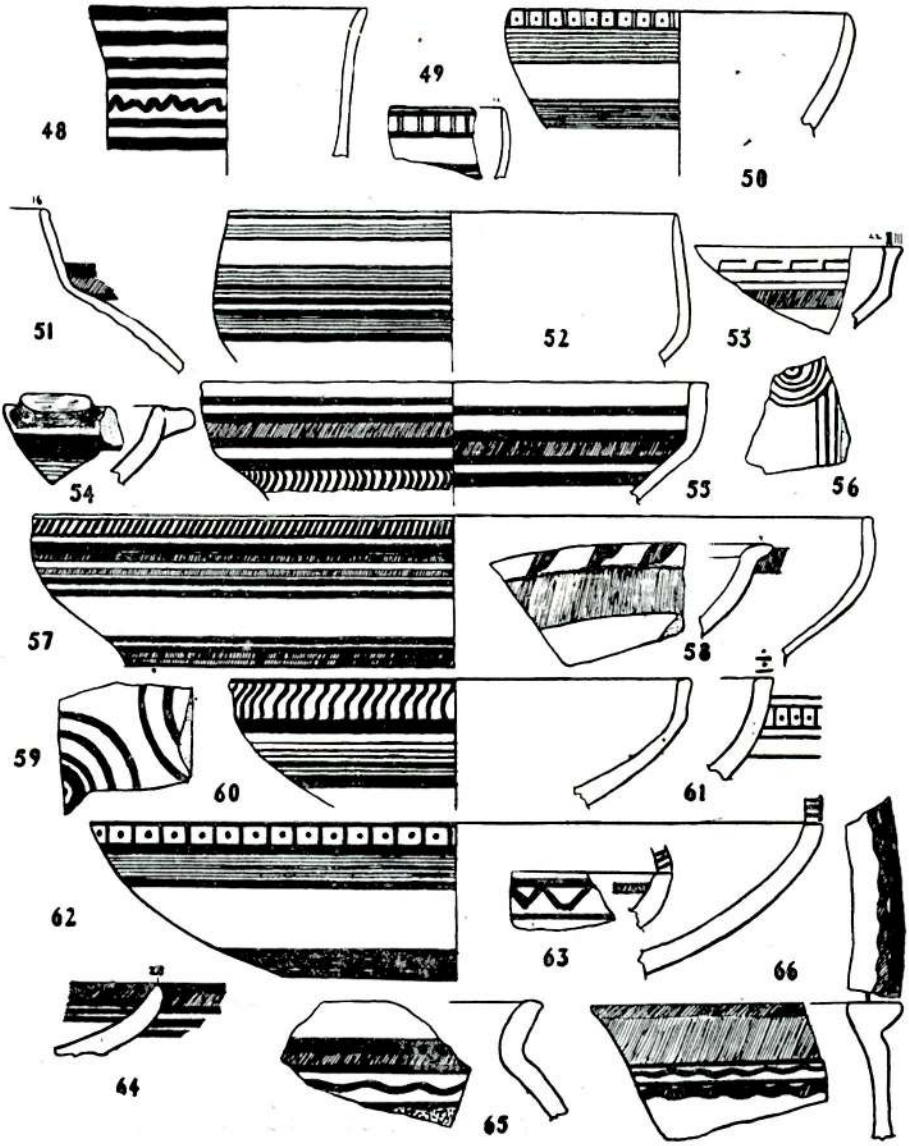

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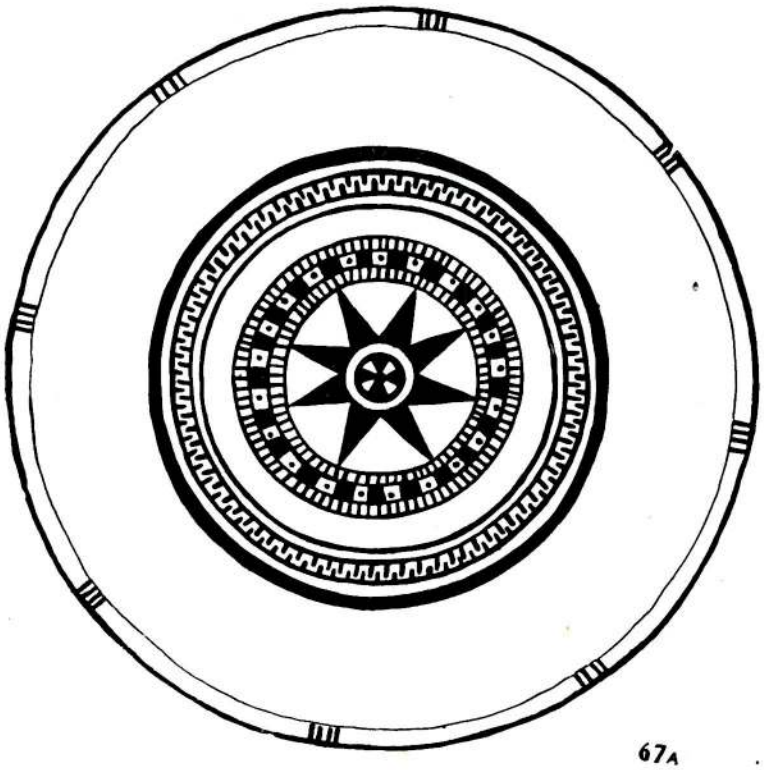

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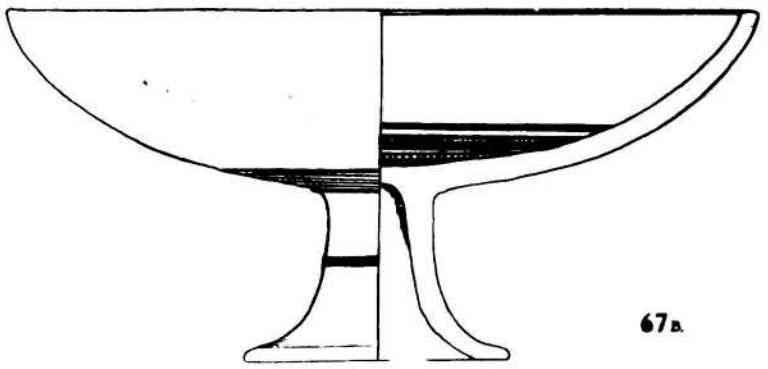

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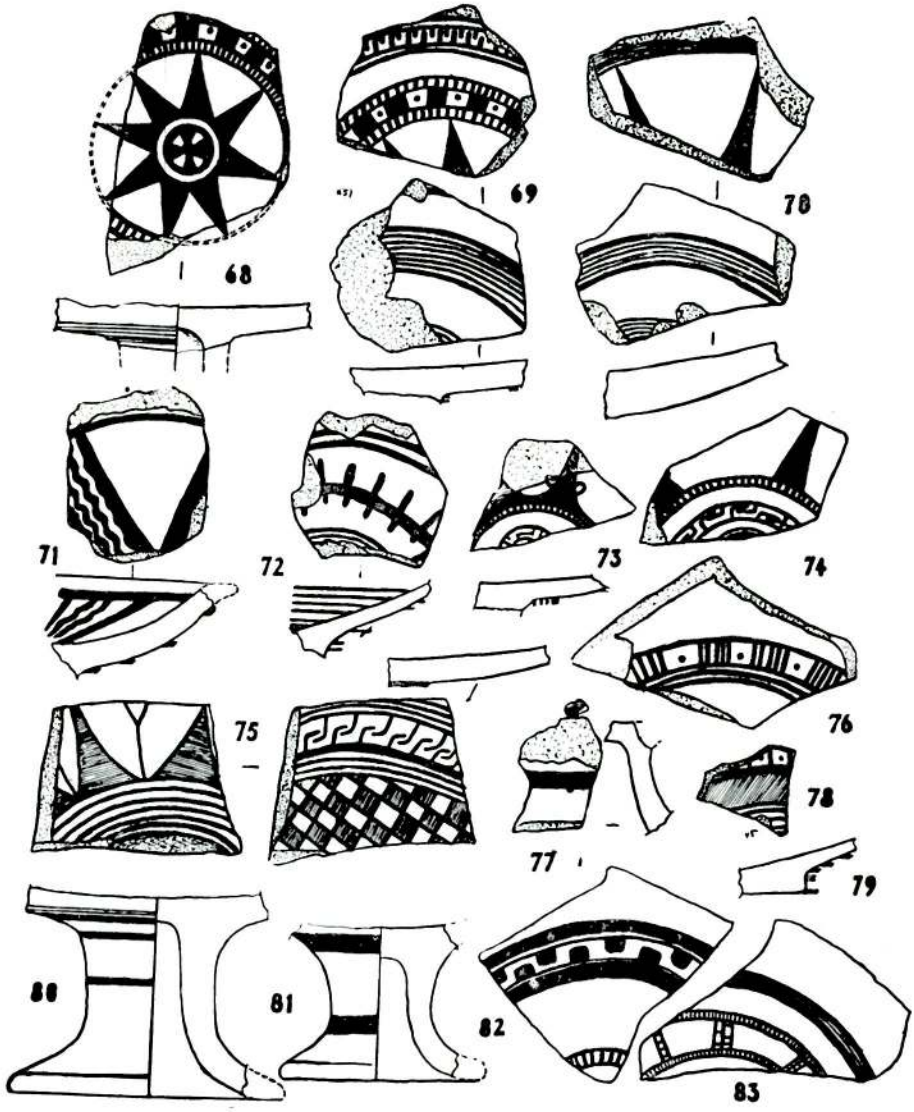
Plate 5



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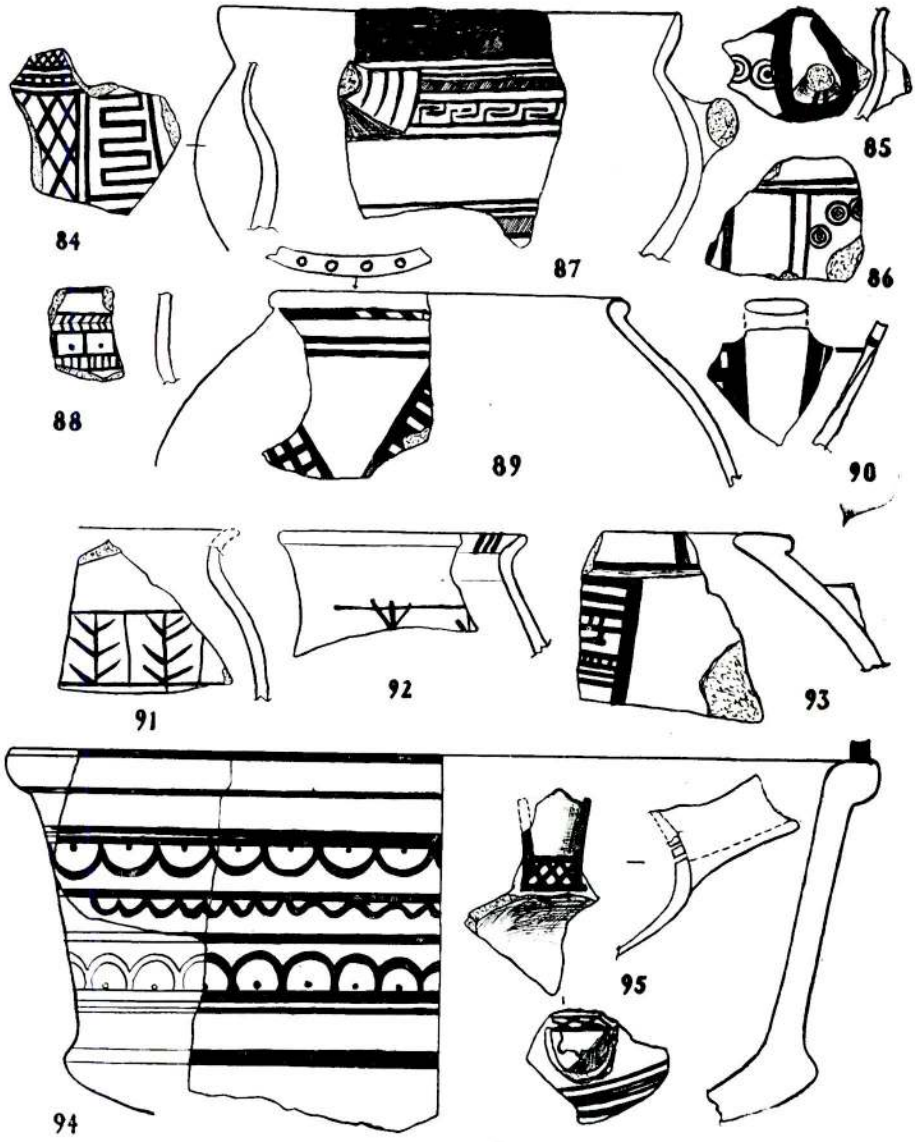

Plate 7


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Plate 8

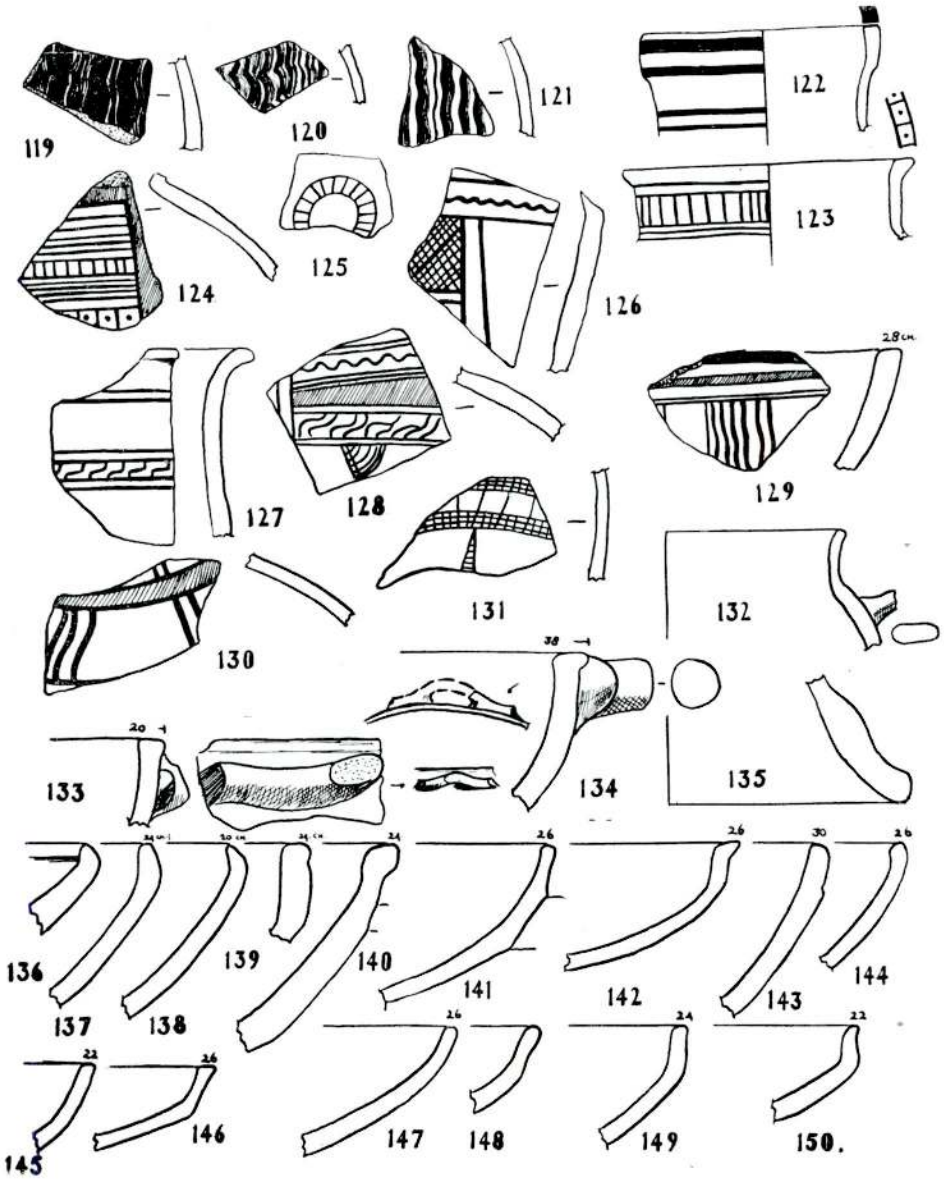
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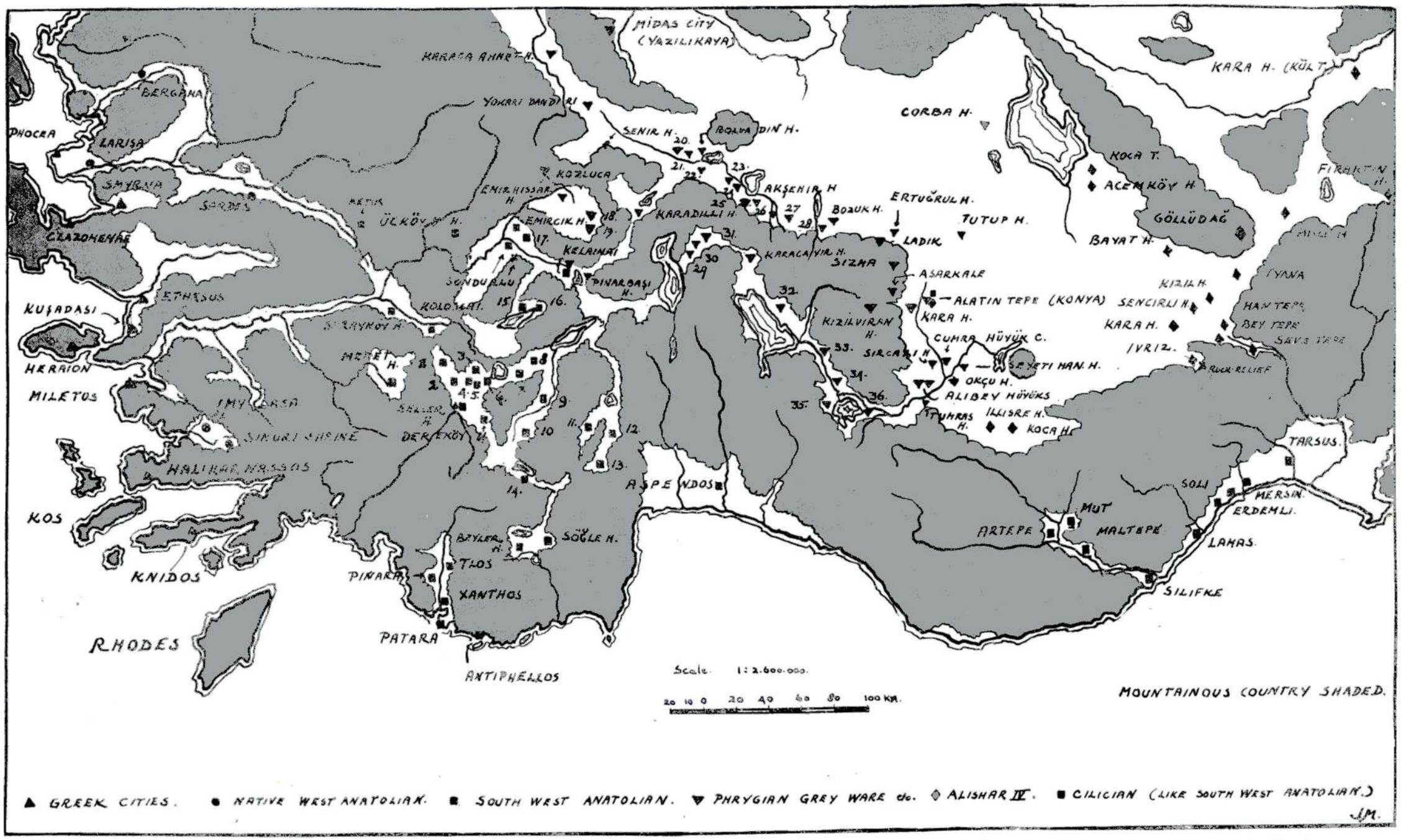
Plate 9



1) Kızılhisar Hüyük.
2) Yassı Hüyük II.
3) Manasır.
4) Kara Hüyük (Acıpayam).
5) Çorum Hüyük.
6) Güney Hüyük
7) Mancarlı Hüyük.
8) Gencali Hüyük
9) Pınarbaşı Hüyük
10) Ferezli Hüyük
11) Fuğla Hüyük
12) Çay Kenari Hüyük II.
13) Hüyükköy
14) Mahmutlar.
15) Kara Hüyük (Acıgöl).
16) Basmakçı Hüyük.
17) İşikli Hüyük.
18) Karasandıklı Hüyük.
19) Alameşit Hüyük.
20) Kumrallı Hüyük.
21) Kazlar Hüyük.
22) Uyanlık Hüyük.
23) Elmalı Hüyük
24) İstasyon Hüyük (İşaklı).
25) İşaklı Hisar
26) Kuruçay Hüyük.
27) Argıtgan Hüyük.
28) Çatal Hüyük.
29) Akçasar Hüyük.
30) Tokmacık Hüyük
31) Yağcılar Hüyük.
32) Kesilmiş Hüyük.
33) Evreği Hüyük.
34) Karabulak Tepe.
35) Taşağıl Hüyük.
36) Ortakaraviren Hüyük II.

11) Sincirli. Greyish buff ware, buff slipped, stroke burnish, black paint.

12) Sincirli. Greyish buff ware, orange surface, smoothed, burnished rim, black paint.

13) Beytepe. Buff ware, polished buff rim, brown/black paint.

14) Kara H. (Ereğli). Fine buff slipped burnished ware, black paint (cup).

Calycadnos (Göksu) Valley. Local Mycenaean or Sub-Mycenaean.

15) Maltepe. Light buff ware, cream yellow slip, brown paint.

16) Mut. Buff ware, two grooves, red paint.

South Coast: Cilicia Tracheia. Iron Age.

17) Tekirköy Buff ware, polished pink surface, red paint.

18) Tekirköy. Buff ware, white slip, black/red paint (bichrome).

19) Tekirköy Buff ware, white slip, black paint (black on white).

20) Lamas. Buff ware, white slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

21) Tekirköy. Buff ware, white slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

22) Soli. Buff ware, white surface, black and red paint (bichrome).

23) Lamas. Buff ware, black paint (black on white).

24) Lamas. Buff ware, black paint (black on white).

25) Erdemli (Elvanlı H., Tomükkale). Buff ware, black paint (black on white).

26) Soli. Buff ware, white slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

27) Soli. Buff ware, white slip, black paint (black on white).

28) Soli. Buff ware, buff slip, black adn red paint (bichrome).

29) Erdemli. Buff ware, black and red paint (bichrome).

30) Soli. Red clay, white slip, black paint (black on white).

South Coast: Pamphylia-Lycia.

31) Aspendos. Pale red ware, red polished slip, black paint (black on red I).

32) Pinara. Greenish white ware, black paint (black on white II).

Eastern Part Konya Plain.

33) Sincirli H. Buff ware, polished surface, black paint.

34) Sincirli H. Buff ware, polished surface, black paint.

35) Sincirli H. Buff ware, polished surface, black paint (faded).

36) Sincirli H. Buff ware, polished orange buff surface, black paint.

37) Sincirli H. Greenish white ware, black paint.

38) Sincirli Pinkish buff ware, polished surface, red paint.

Western Part Konya Plain (Çumra).

39) Çumra H. C. Buff ware, buff slip, dark brown and orange buff paint, polished all over.

40 a-c) Çumra H. C. Coarse red ware, straws, grits, smoothed.

South-West Anatolia: Painted Wares.

41) Kara H. (Acıgöl). Orange buff ware, red slip, black paint (black on red.

42) Seller H. Buff ware, brown slip, black paint (black on buff).

43) Seller H. Buff ware, buff slip, black paint (black on buff).

44) Seller H. Buff ware, black core, smoothed in, polished buff out. black paint (black on buff).

45) Ferezli H. Red ware, black core, polished buff slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

46) Ferezli H. Red ware, black core, red wash in, deep polished red out, black paint (black on red).

47) Yassı H. II. Orange buff ware, smoothed red surface, black paint, (black on buff).

48) Pınarbaşı H. II. Buff ware, slip, black paint. (black on buff).

49) Seller H. Buff ware, red slip, polished, black paint (black on red).

50) Seller H. Buff ware, red slip, polished, black paint (black on red).

51) Fuğla H. Buff ware, black and red paint (bichrome).

52) Yassı H. II. Buff ware, red surface, black paint black on red).

53) Fuğla H. Buff ware, polished buff slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

54) Yassı H. II. Buff ware, red surface, black paint (black on red).

55) Fuğla H. Buff ware, white slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

56) Fuğla H. Buff ware, black paint (black on buff).

57) Fuğla H. Buff ware, polished black and red paint (bichrome).

58) Fuğla H. Buff ware, red paint (red on buff).

59) Mancarlı H. Buff ware, polished slip, black paint (black on buff).

60) Kızılhisar H. Buff ware, red surface, black paint (black on red).

61) Kızılhisar H. Buff ware, red wash, black paint (black on red).

62) Mancarlı. Buff ware, brown wash, blackish paint (black on red).

63) Yazır H. Buff ware, red surface, black paint (black on red).

Elmalı Plain. Bichrome.

64) Söğle H. Orange ware, smoothed in, dark brown and red slightly glazy paint.

65) Söğle H. Red ware, black and red paint.

66) Söğle H. Orange ware, black and red paint.

South-West Anatolia.

67) Reconstruction of 68 and 69. A black on red I pedestal bowl.

Fragments of Pedestal Bowls.

Buff ware, fine red slip, polished, all *Black on Red:*

68 and 71) Medet H.

69 and 70) Kızılhisar H.

73) Ferezli H.

74) Yassı H. II.

76) Seller H.

Black on Bu H. I.

72) Ferezli H.

Bichrome: (red and black on pink wash):

75) Kızılhisar H.

Three Colour Ware (buff ware, red polished slip, black on red interior, and red and black on yellow slip exterior):

78) Hasanpaşa H.

Bases and Pedestals:

77) Sarayköy H. Red ware, polished, black paint.

79) Mancarlı H. Red ware, polished, black paint.

80) Kızılhisar H. Buff ware, red wash, black paint.

81) Seller H. Buff ware, Yellow wash, black paint.

Sherds, possibly from Pedestal Bowls:

82 and 83) Kara H. (Acıgöl). Black on red I.

Painted Sherds from Lake District (84 see also 105 to 108).
and Eastern Part of Konya Plain:

84) Evreği H. I, Buff ware, black core, polished surface, black paint.

85) Zeive H. I. Buff ware, polished slip, black paint.

86) Kara H. (Ereğli). Buff ware, polished slip, black paint.

South-West Anatolia:

87) Seller H. Buff ware, polished, black and red paint (bichrome).

88) Mancarlı H. Red ware, polished, black paint (black on red).

89) Kara H. (Acıpayam). Buff ware, smoothed, brown paint (black on buff).

90) Seller H. Orange red ware, polished slip, black paint (black on red I).

91) Pınarbaşı H. II, Fine buff ware, red wash, glazy black and red paint (late bichrome).

92) Pınarbaşı H. II, Fine buff ware, red wash, black paint (black on red II).

93) Mancarlı H. Red ware, polished, black paint (black on red I).

94) Seller H. Buff ware, grey core, yellow slip, black paint (black on buff).

95) Mancarlı H. Orange ware, polished, black paint (black on red I).

Three Colour Ware:

96) Mancarlı H. Buff ware, coated inside and out with scarlet paint. Reserved band of polished buff with black decoration. Black design on scarlet rim.

97) Mancarlı Buff ware, coated inside and out with scarlet paint. Reserved band of polished buff with faded red decoration.

98) Mancarlı Buff ware, fine surface, black and red paint.

99) Güney H. Buff ware, fine buff surface, black and red paint.

Naturalistic etc. Ornament:

100) Mancarlı H. Bird. Red ware, thick bright yellow slip, red and dark brown paint.

101) Güney H. Fish (?). Buff ware, black paint (black on buff II).

102) Ferezli H. Bird (?). Buff ware, smoothed, black and red paint.

103) Gencali H. Reddish ware, yellow wash, blackish brown paint.

104) Mancarlı H. Lion attacking sheep. Red ware, slip, black paint (black on red II).

Painted Pottery from the Lake District:

105) Karaçayır H. Buff ware, grey brown surface, glazy black paint.

106) Ören H. Buff ware, red-black paint.

107) Karahisar H. Buff ware, yellow surface, red paint.

108) Ortakaraviran H. II. Red ware, black paint (black on red II).

East Greek (?) Imports:

109) Seller H. Buff ware, smoothed, black paint.

110) Seller H. Buff ware, dull brown surface, black paint.

117) Söğle H. Buff ware, smoothed, blackish brown paint (footed bowl).

Miscellaneous Painted Sherds:

111) Seller H. Red ware, yellow slip, oran e paint.

112) Söğle H. Orange ware, black paint (black on red II).

113) Dinar H. Orange ware, black paint (black on red II).

114) Söğle H. Orange ware, red and black paint (bichrome).

115) Hüyükköy. Greenish buff ware, black paint (black on white).

116) Söğle H. Orange ware, dark brown slightly glazy paint (black on red II).

118) Söğle H. Buff ware, purplish surface, dark brown slightly glazy paint.

Marbled Ware (from Meander Valley and Konya Plain):

119) Emircik H. Buff ware, marbled yellow orange brown paint on cream slip.

120) Emircik H. Pink ware, marbled brown paint on pink surface.

121) Alibey H. II Buff ware, marbled red paint on buff surface.

South-West Anatolian Painted Wares:

122) Kızılhisar H. Buff ware, red wash, black paint (black on red II).

123) Mancarlı H. Buff ware, red wash, black paint (black on red II).

124) Dinar-Kelainai. Buff ware, polished yellow slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

125) Emircik H. Buff ware, red polished slip, black paint (black on red I).

126) Pınarbaşı H. II. Buff ware, smoothed, black paint. (black on white II).

127) Kızılhisar H. Buff ware, polished slip, black paint (black on white I).

128) Seller H. Buff ware, polished cream slip, black and red paint (bichrome).

129) Medet H. Brown z smoothed inside, polished white slip, brown and red paint (bichrome).

130) Kızılhisar H. Buff ware, polished yellow slip, black and and red paint. (bichrome).

131) Dinar-Kelainai. Pink ware, black paint (black on red).

Grey Ware, Çumra Area:

132) and 133) Alibey H. II. Fine slipped and polished grey ware.

134) Çumra H. C. Coarse grey ware (another at Dinar-Kelainai).

135) Alibey H. II. Fine slipped and polished grey ware.

136 and 137) Alibey H. II. Coarse grey ware.

138) Alibey H. II. Fine slipped and polished grey ware.

139 and 140) Okçu H. I. Coarse grey ware.

South-West Anatolia: Grey Ware, Black and Red Burnished and Red Wash Ware:

141) Dinar-Kelainai. Black ware, dark grey burnished slip, fluted.

142) Mancarlı H. Grey wash ware.

143) Dinar-Kelainai. Coarse grey ware.

144) Dinar-Kelainai. Buff ware, red burnished slip.

145 to 147) Mancarlı H. Fine slipped and polished grey ware.

148) Mancarlı H. Grey wash ware.

149 and 150) Mancarlı H. Buff ware, red wash.