

THE DOUBLE-HEADED EAGLE OF THE SELJUKS

A HISTORICAL STUDY

by

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ÖZET

ÇİFT BAŞLI SELÇUKLU KARTALI

TARİHSEL BİR ÇALIŞMA

Biz bu çalışmamızda 'çift başlı Selçuklu kartalı' olarak Anadolu'da adlandırılan ve Selçuklu sanatı bünyesinde oldukça yoğun biçimlendirmelerle karşımıza çıkan, çok yönlü tarihsel bir gelişimin ürünü bir simgeyi, sanat tarihi içindeki erken görünümlerinin getirdiği anlamsal koşutlukları göz önüne alarak açıklamayı, tanımlamayı ve içinde bulunduğu kültürel ortamda getirdiğimiz tanımlardan doğacak bir değginlik kazandırmayı erek olarak amaçladık.

Fransa'da Lascaux mağarasında bulunan tarih-öncesi dönemin yabanıl kültürlerinin üyesi avcı-toplayıcı insanın duvar resimleri arasında varlığını bildiğimiz, tarihin ilk kuş resimlerinden olan betimi ikinci bölümün ana konusu olarak seçmemizin nedeni, onda bulduğumuz birincil nitelikleri, oldukça uzak kültürel dönemlerin ya da bölgesel uygarlıkların ürünü olan sanatlardaki üstün konumdaki kuş betimlerinin pek de yitirmediğini, bundan da öte, bazı bölgelerde onun oluşturduğu ortamın kültürel verilerinin çok yakın benzerlerinin sürdüğünü ve ilk Lascaux deneyiminin sonrası Yakın Doğu'lu gelişimin koşutunda benzer betimlerin uygular-

nilmasına devam edildiğini saptamış olmamız nedeniyledir. Bunların da üzerinde bir neden ise, geç dönem Selçuklu kartalının tarihsel bağlanımlarını göstermek için bugüne dek girişilen çabalarda paylaşılan bir tutum olarak yerleşik 'iki ırmak arası' kültürlerinin inanç birimleri koşutunda yabancı inanç varkalımlarının ürünü Uzak-Asyalı kuş ya da kartal betimlerinin simgesel ve dinsel anlamlarının, Selçuklu Anadolu kartalını açıklamak için, bölgesel belirteçler önemsenmeden, tek bilgi kaynağı olarak alımlanması ve onun bu Uzak-Asyalı kalıntıların bir parçası ya da devamcısı olarak gösterilmek istenmesi, hepsinin karşısında, bizim ise, Anadolu'da, Yakın Doğu'lu bir simge buluşumuz ve bu gerçeği kanıtlamak için, Samanizm denilen ve tarih-öncesi insanın düşüncesinde yer etmiş bir inanç biriminin ürünü olarak da onaylanan Lascaux kuşu üzerine konuşmak ve ondan yola çıkarak Samanizm'in gelişmiş iki ırmak arası kültürler koşutunda bu ilk başlangıçların sanatını inançlar ile birlikte sürdürdüğünü ve Yerleşik Yakın Doğu'lu bir kültürün ürünü olan Selçuklu Gök-kartalını tanımlamak yolunda bu inanç biriminin getireceği simgesel ya da anlamsal açılmalarının yetersiz kalacağını göstermektir.

İnsanın doğadan temel algılanımları, belirgin düşünsel niteliklerin doğa karşısında tavır alışları ve onu anlamlandırım

isteği ile yönlendirimiyle, evrensel simgelerin oluşumunda etken olmuşlardır ve bu simgeler tümüyle insansal değerlerin hem olgunlaşmasında katkıda bulunmuşlar hem de onlarca zenginleştirilmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda Friedrich Nietzsche'nin bir belirlemesini anmak aydınlatıcı olacaktır, "insan, en yabanıl, en yürekli hayvanları kıskanmış, bütün erdemlerini yağma etmiştir onların: ancak böyle insan olmuştur o" (Nietzsche, 1984, p.287). Bu görüdeki zengin imgelemi bir yana bırakıp biz konumuzla ilintili bir çıkarım yaparsak: gerçekten de doğal veriler, çağlar boyunca, mitik düşüncenin esin kaynağı olmuşlardır ve hayvanlar dünyası devinim güçleri ile bitkilerin durağanlığı ve insan-öteliği karşısında her zaman yoğun bir etkileşimin odağı olmuşlardır. Hayvanlar dünyasından kotarılan simgeler özgün biçimsel anlatımlarla yüklü olmaları nedeniyle, temel, olumlu ya da olumsuz, değerlerin aktarımında ve vurgulanmasında uyarıcılık güçleri ile daha öğretici olmuşlardır. Kartal da böyle bir etkileşimin ürünü simgesel bir doygunluğa Yakın Doğu'da gerçekleşen bir sürecin sonucu ulaşabilmiştir. Yabanıl kültürlerdeki ilk görünümü Lascaux mağarasındaki isimsiz kuşun yerini belli bir uzam ya da zamandan bağımsız, dönüşümlü olarak almış bir takım canlandırmacı (animistic) eğilimlerin dürtüsü ile yabanıl insan tarafından tinler daha sonra ise tanrılarla özdeşleştirilmiş ve dinsel bir simge konumuna ulaştırılmıştır.

Ondokuzuncu yüzyılda bir kurala ya da zorunluluğa bağlanmadan seçimlenen kartal betimleri, 'göğün direği', 'kasaba direği' veya 'altın direk' olarak adlandırılan onları önceleyen bir devrin totemlerinin kalıntısı olabilecek direkler üzerinde, kuzey-doğu Asya'da özellikle Yakutlar tarafından, tahtadan oyularak yerleştiriliyorlardı. Bu olgu aslında kartalın, çok önceleri gördüğümüz iki ırmak arası (Mezopotamya ve Indus vadileri) kültürlerde kullanımının temel öğelerini tarih öncesinde belirleyen bir dönemin deneyimini yansıtmaktadır. Bu açıdan da gerçekten gelişmiş kültürlerin temel inançsal verilerini veren, tarih içerisinde güneyden gelen bir takım etkiler sonucu yoğun değişimlere uğrasalar da yabancı başlangıçların ilerlemiş kültürlerin çok işlenmiş yüksek simgelerinin temelini nasıl çizdiğini ve ne olduğunu öğretmeleri bakımından aydınlatıcıdırlar. Ancak Yakın Doğu'lu geç bir simgeyi tüm açılımları ile açıklamaktan uzaktırlar.

Çift başlı Selçuklu kartalının, tarihsel gelişimi içindeki simgesel konumu nedeniyle Gök-kartalı olarak adlandırdığımız güneş-simgesi Sümer kartalının bir ardılı olarak Anadolu'da uygulandığını görüyoruz. Orta doğulu söylenler bizim onun Yakın Doğu'luluğunu kabul etmemizde büyük etken olmuşlardır. Bundan da öte İsa'dan sonraki yüzyıllarda artık tüm Asya'ya yaygınlaşan ileri yerleşik kültürlerin bir takım bulguları ve deneyimleri, onun

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Anadolu'daki simgesel deęerlendirilişinde yapıcı bilgi kaynakları olmuşlar ve Asyalı halkların yüzyıllar süren bir gelişimin sonucunda doğa ve evren üzerine olan yoğun yorumlarını içeren kozmolojisinin bir parçası olduğunu göstermişlerdir. Bu kozmolojiye yabancı göçebe ya da yarı-göçebe ilksel toplulukların kültürlerinin katkısı azımsanamaz ya da yok sayılamaz. Ancak, Asyalı kültür öğelerinin bileşiminde bir katılımandır ve yukarıda da söylediğimiz gibi güneyli simgeleri tek başına açıklamaktan uzaktır.

Sibirya'da bulunan yabancı halkların sanatı ise, mitolojilerindeki güneyle olan bir takım koşutlukların verdiği serbestinin getirdiği güvenle girilen kıyas çabalarının bu alanda da sürdürülmesine son derece kaldırımsızdır. İlkel yorumları ve gelişmemiş çekirdek bir düşünsel tabanın ürünleri olmaları dolayısıyla da, küçük topluluklara seslenen, şaman giysilerinde ya da davullarında sergilenen verileri ile gerçekten, Anadolu Selçuklu kartalının sanatsal verilerinden ve dönemin Yakın Doğu'lu tininden çok uzaktır. İşte biz gördüğümüz bu gerçeği kanıtlamayı ve Selçuklu Gök-kartalının Yakın Doğu'luluğu gerçeğini göstermeyi bu çalışmamızda amaç edindik.

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I. INTRODUCTION

As was noticed before by El-Biruni (973-1048), the religions of mankind came into being under similar psychological impulses experienced by men everywhere in the world (Barthold, 1984, p.53).

After a definite stage of mental formulation the religious culture was built on the desire of man to contemplate the phenomena of nature animated by mythology so as to render it perceptible by comparative thought. External definite existence of objects or living beings was the first source of inspiration in establishing meaningful network of relations between the natural phenomena.

This was accomplished by means of a comparison made through the mediation of humane merits which reached a considerable degree of maturity. The conflicts of opposing powers within man's mind were identified with the contrasts of the natural phenomena and were expressed by comparison in art with symbols derived from the participants of these contrasts.

The 'eagle and serpent' composition was one of the most popular symbolic themes practised in art, from South America to Siberia, demonstrating the dualism prevailing in universal cosmic symbolism. The basic universal impulses protected fainthearted man from the hands of inhuman nature providing him with an intellectual attitude towards it.

At the sametime it created a universal symbolic language more or less shaped by the same data taken from nature everywhere in the world. The stages in the cultural or social development of the human groups caused differentiations in the symbolic interpretations of distinct cultures. Primitive beginnings in a symbol's life were enriched by the sedentary civilizations, and a symbol eventually reached a level of complete satiation in its allusions in the art of highly developed mythologies. Similarly, the religions of the world, although based on some common impulses present in human nature presented an advanced original set of rules and interpretations written in the sacred books, preserving the spirit of the culture of their age.

The Seljukid eagle, double-headed or not, previously was one of the very old solar symbols of Mesopotamian art and mythology. Since the beginning of history in Mesopotamia, the eagle was accepted as a heavenly creature providing communication between the gods and the earth and symbolic allusions had, similarly, been attributed to it by almost all cultures of the Near East. In this respect, the differentiation of the symbol in the developed mythologies of Mesopotamian civilizations draws our attention, because of some efforts made to explain the double-headed eagle of

the Seljuks by referring to the primitive shaman mythologies of the entire Asia, which however did not completely uncover the hidden meanings and symbolic allusions attributed to it by the advanced cultures of the Near East.

The aim of this study is to show the Near Eastern character of the Seljukid eagle without neglecting its adventure in the vast steppes of northern and central Asia. While doing this we have primarily occupied ourselves with the relevant mythologic texts and have given a brief historical background not only in the notes section but parallel to the appearance of the eagle in art, which is necessary to determine its historical connections with the past.

After completing this study we have realized that in a study of the late Asian cosmic symbols we must primarily, refer to the Sumerian prototypes closely followed by all Near Eastern cultures. However, we must not draw any conclusions without taking into account the conditions of the particular time span, from which we departed to discover a past continuity in thought and art, which makes the original spirit of the age incomparable to any time span of any art, contemporary or not. An art historian's responsibility is to define and to reach this state of concurrence among all determinants of a civilization experienced in an art work in a particular time span; then, to conclude his words with a last analysis upon the

individuality of the subject composition. For our part, in the beginning of this study we were very far from such an aim because of the insufficiency of our iconographic and historical knowledge of Anatolian Seljukid art. We only endeavoured to show possible connections between the symbolic definitions of a symbol which appeared in distinct cultural eras or areas and, in light of their accumulation in the past, strived to understand and to explain the second appearance of the eagle in Anatolia. For these reasons, in this study advanced on a well-known Mesopotamian symbolic composition practised in Anatolia with some additions which are derived from the Asian cosmic symbolism, we have occupied ourselves more with the mythological, historical, religious and symbolic determinants than with artistic expression, giving the spirit of the age peculiar to the Seljuks in Anatolia.

II. PREHISTORIC BIRD ON THE WAND FROM LASCAUX

We are confronted by a ritual scene in the first narrative picture in the world discovered at Lascaux (Dordogne in France), from around 14.000 B.C. (figure 1). In addition, in this picture, the bird outlined in black on the top of a wand is one of the first bird paintings made by man on the earth.

The schematically drawn, ithyphallic, bird-headed man of this scene falls backward before a standing bison. The improperly positioned head of this bison makes its posture curious as though it is preparing to gore its victim. Its intestines hang from its belly and a throwing stick is at the feet of the man. The bird is on the top of a vertically positioned wand in back of the man. If this scene describes a combat, the functions of the bird on the top of the wand, the erect penis of the man, his hook-nose and their relation to the bison pose some unsolved questions.

Various attempts have been made to reveal the secrets of the scene. A.L. Gourhan attributed sexual qualities to some elements of the painting (1). For example, he interpreted the stick at the feet of the man as a male sign called

'assegai phallus', and the intestines in concentric oval forms as a wound vulva. A.L. Gourhan's recognition is found obscure by P.M. Grand, who points out that, "Leroi-Gourhan's system reduces the signs a little too theoretically and no hypothesis exhausts the complexity of the mural art" (2). N.K. Sandars proposes more convincingly the identification of the so-called rod with a bird on top as a spear-thrower which was compared with those Magdalenian ones that had the ends carved as animals or birds (3). H. Danthine thinks that the bird over the wand is a totemic emblem and the falling man is a member of a clan (4). Horst Kirchner advanced an interesting hypothesis on this painting. His theory explains the anthropomorphic figure as a human being (shaman) collapsing in a state of complete ecstasy (5).

Animal figures of Palaeolithic cave art are rendered in real postures and painted with actual natural impressions for ritual ceremonies in which the death of the prey in the hunt to be made is provoked, or performed to give back the life of the dead animal (6). In spite of these realistic animals, the human body is never depicted in its natural form. Insufficient intellectual capability of primitive man might be responsible for this clumsiness of anthropomorphic figures. Probably totemism was a social and religious practice of his life, and totemism, according to E.

Reuterskiold, is connected with an impersonal conception of life. A group of animals connected with a group of men, and there was nothing personal, nothing individual in their union (7). Naturally the expression of his own image could not go beyond the bounds of a poor vapid type in art. He not only made a cartoon-man at Lascaux, but instead of a human nose, even added a bird's beak on the head. Moreover, he stressed the erect penis before the bison and the effacement of the head above evidences the weakness of the Palaeolithic hunter as a thinking man.

A.L. Gourhan states that "birds are rare in mural art, as in 'art mobilier', and their symbolic position is imprecise" (8). As could easily be surmised, birds, because of their peculiar qualities were usually, accepted as the most privileged living beings on the earth. First of all they could freely fly over the ground and could go wherever they wanted to go. More than this, some species of the bird family could dive and could stay in water longer than man and they, also, had communication with earth. This triple life style made man feel envious and inferior. As a result he naturally distinguished birds from ordinary animals and, in his spiritual world (9), some peculiar functions were attributed to them.

Big birds of prey flying with spread wings over the heads of hunters and plunging into valleys on their

prey were another source of interest for Palaeolithic man. Sometimes, an eagle or hawk took game from the hand of a hunter. In such cases, he looked behind the bird in fury under the oppression of failure. He uneasily felt the power of this flying, extraordinary animal and reasonably sublimated it in his mind so as to reach a state of spiritual agreement with its ability to fly. Two eagle-like birds from the murals of unknown American Indians discovered on the Baja peninsula in north-west Mexico, must be explained in this way (figure 2). They were painted at an unknown date but probably in the time of Columbus (10). Their makers were Indians who provided daily food by hunting and gathering under similar life conditions with our man of the advanced Palaeolithic Age. The wing and tail feathers of these black birds are stressed by vertical lines. They spread their wings and turn their raised heads to the left with open beaks. They treat the spectator with this posture and give evidence of the hunter's awe - inspiring expression before a bird of prey.

H. Danthine accepts the bird over the wand at Lascaux as a totemic emblem. We found his explanation more reasonable than N.K. Sandar's view (11) identifying it as a spear-thrower. It is unlikely that a spear-thrower (as if the artist wished to stress its distinctness) would be positioned vertically beside the broken simple one

thrown on the ground. Furthermore, the bird on the top of the wand is so big that it would prevent a spear-thrower from functioning. It, as a totemic emblem (12), is similar in shape to the ithyphallic man figure thickly outlined in black and instead of being perched on the top of the wand, it is fixed on it without wings as though its ability to fly has been captured and transmitted by the wand to man. Before this painting we feel the inner world of primitive man who wished to identify with the superhuman qualities of a bird particularly painted for a special purpose in a narrative picture (13). The spirit of the dead man lying on the ground is, probably, thought to be like a bird which has flown out of the body and perched on the wand.

In the late village and urban cultures, when an intellectual relationship was established between heaven and earth by the mediation of personified gods and their individual characteristics, ordinary natural functions of birds had been a rich inspiration source for mythological poems and artistic products which required an intermediary element between heavenly and earthly worlds. This intellectual approach, without too much differentiation from that of primitive man, aimed at the exhibition of a mighty imagination inspired by a single quality: the ability to fly and its mysterious predominance over man.

III. THE EAGLE OF THE SUMERO-AKKADIANS

We have legends from Mesopotamian mythology (14) which dealt with monstrous birds and eagles. One of these birds, the storm dragon Zû occupies an important place in Sumero-Akkadian (15) myths. According to a version the storm dragon Zû discovered the royal power of Enlil (the Lord of the Earth) who possessed the 'Tablets of Fate'. He wanted to take possession of the tablets. At day break he stole them, seized them in his hands and flew away to the mountains. The Gods were troubled and they consulted, Anu (the Sky-god), their father and counsellor. He dispatched the god Lugalbanda, or Ninurta, the son of Enlil, who found the nest of Zû or Imgig, in the fabulous mountain Sâbu, and by the aid of the Wine-goddess Ninkasi rescued the Tablets of Fate (16). Another legend narrates a gigantic conflict, this time between the Sun-god and the demon of darkness. Ninurta (Sun-,War-and Irrigation-god) is ordered by Anu and Enlil to subdue the dragon of chaos, ushumgal, the 'Great Sea Serpent' and his ally Zû. In this myth the eagle, bird of the sun is clearly distinguished from Imgig or Zû (17). For the first time the eagle is shown as the bird of the sun and we know Ninurta as Zamama was later identified with the constellation Aquila (18) and it is evident that Ninurta was symbolized by the bird of the sun. The eagle standing for the god Ninurta as

'sol invictus' on the monuments of all periods is this bird of the sun, and the eagle with raptorial claws is the storm bird captured by this god (19). The original name of the deployed eagle grasping lions and other animals is 'Bird Imgig', in later times 'Bird Imdugud', or Zû, that is 'Storm bird'. After its conquest by Ninurta in the above-mentioned myth of Zû, it became his symbol also (20).

The eagle was the symbol of the Sun-god as the spring and morning sun, victorious over the powers of darkness and the underworld through which he passed nightly. Like all Sun-gods, Ninurta was also a twin-god, and one of his Sumerian names was 'god-Mash', the twin-god, expressing his two original aspects as god of the sun, both the beneficent spring sun, and the hostile god of summer heat and winter's cold. Later, Nergal (the Sun-god, and also a god of war) was assigned the character of the hostile phases of the sun, and Ninurta received the favourable powers of that luminary, but he also retains in many minor aspects traces of the ancient duality. The two names of Mash are Umunlua and Umunesiga, 'Lord who gives plenty' and 'Lord the cruel' (21). This distinction between beneficent and evil powers came into being for the first time with the philosophical epopee of the Sumerians (22).

On the boundary stone of Melishipak (Cassite period 12th c. B.C.) (figure 3). The symbol of Ninurta (second from left in the second register) is a weapon with eagle's head, standing between a winged griffon (Nergal, Sun-god), and his other symbol the eagle. In the fourth register, the last symbol on the right has an eagle perched on a pillar, also, a symbol of Ninurta. The eagle on a pillar is also called the 'twin gods of battle', Shuqamuna and Shumaliya (23). The War-god Ninurta is consistently described in the mythological poems. He leads the armies of Sumer to victory over the mountainous lands east of the Tigris, and in these legends appear mythical monsters. Zû and Mushussû (another version of the dragon of Chaos), the eagle and serpent dragon both occur in the myths (24).

In the well-known epic of Gilgamesh the eagle and the monstrous bird Zû contain an important place in the flow of myth. Senechorus, king of the Babylonians, heard how his astrologers prophesied that his daughter would bear a child and that his child would seize the kingdom. He locked his daughter in the citadel, but, she bore a son by an obscure man. The king's guards threw the child from the tower. An eagle seized him by the back and carried the babe to a gardener who reared him. This child was Gilgamesh who became king (25). An original Sumerian text

contains an episode not mentioned in the Akkadian version, a battle with the dragon Zû (26). Furthermore, the legend of 'Etana and the Plant of Birth' has fragments dealing with the eagle. The plant of birth was in the keeping of Anu in high heaven, Etana, king of Kish, wanted to take that magic plant which would cause his wife to bear a child. The eagle must be brought into the story (at the end of the myth) to provide the ascent of Etana to Heaven, but the mythical significance of a strife between the serpent and the eagle is unknown (27). The text describes an alliance between the eagle and the serpent. They hunted for food together in the mountains. But when the eaglets of the eagle had grown strong, it endeavoured to eat the young serpents. The eagle descended and devoured the young of the serpent, and tore apart its nest. Then the serpent went before Shamash. (In one version dealing with the weeping of the serpent, the eagle is identified with the dragon Zû, the lion-headed eagle, enemy of the gods). The serpent acted on the advice of the Sun-god Shamash who prepared a trap to ensnare the eagle. The serpent seized the eagle in a carcass of a wild bull on whose body the eagle had attempted to feed without heeding the warning of its wise young eagle against a possible attack. The serpent stripped its wings and cast him into a pit. Shamash directed Etana to the pit where the eagle was cast.

Etana found the eagle praying to Shamash and promising to repay the man who would deliver him by doing anything he might ask. Etana asked for the plant of birth. Then, Etana ascended on the back of the eagle to find the plant of birth in the third heaven of Anu. After fourteen double hour's ascent over the second heaven, Etana could no longer distinguish the sea and wanted to descend. Through the spheres they fell. It is known from the lamenting of Etana's wife that apparently Etana perished in his fall. Alexander the Great who had conquered and ruled Babylonia later replaced the role of Etana in this legend (28).

After briefly stating S.H. Langdon's praise-deserving deductions on the Mesopotamian mythology, we henceforth have valuable evidence to be used to reveal the meaning of the eagle of Sumer. Firstly, it is necessary to sum up our detailed knowledge of the various aspects of the subject.

We have two distinct types of the Sumerian eagle. One is the monstrous storm dragon called Zû or Imgig (Imdugud in late periods) and the other is the symbol of the sun, the eagle. The storm dragon Zû, in the myth, stole the tablets of fate of the gods. It, then was subdued by the War-, Sun- and Irrigation-god Ninurta (Ningirsu, the early name) and became his symbol after its conquest on the fabulous mountain Sâbu. H. Frankfort

states that the eagle, lion-headed or otherwise represents the god as bringer of the fertilizing rain. It is the bird Imdugud which represents the dark clouds of the storm (29) and Ninurta as the god of irrigation firmly connected with the dragon bird personifying the spring rains. The God Ningirsu was the bringer of the rain storms and inundations for the people of Lagash. The violent and sudden rise of the waters in the Tigris and the ill-tempered rains of the rainy seasons were likened to the violent warlike character of Ningirsu (30) whose symbol was Imdugud, the lion-headed bird (storm dragon). On the other hand, the eagle was the Sumerian symbol of the luminary, taking its daily flight across the vault of heaven and traversing the celestial dominion of the stars and constellations. The original name of Ninurta was Ninurash and urash means 'morning light' (31). In the legend narrating the gigantic conflict between the Sun-god and the dragon of chaos, ushumgal, the eagle is clearly distinguished from Zû, the ally of ushumgal, and Ninurta was symbolized by this eagle, the bird of the Sun-god. Earlier, as we know, the storm dragon Zû, in the legend of the 'Stolen Tablets of Fate' had already become the symbol of Ninurta. In the legend of the 'Etana and the Plant of Birth' we see the eagle of this myth in one version identified with the dragon Zû. Moreover, Zû and the eagle both occur in the myths dealing

with the wars of Ninurta. Consequently, the relation between Zû, the storm dragon, and the eagle as a luminary symbol, is apparent. Both symbolized the War-, Sun- and Irrigation-god Ninurta, combined, sometimes, in the single image of the lion-headed eagle.

The cult statue of the god Abu (a title of Ninurta) found in the Abu temple at Tell Asmar from the first-Early Dynastic Period (32) is identified by the eagle (probably lion-headed but the head is lost) on its base (figure 4) (33). A great symbolic panel found in the temple of the Mother Goddess Ninhursag (Lady of the Mountain) at Al Ubaid (figure 5), from the third-Early Dynastic Period, shows in the center the lion-headed eagle Imdugud gripping a stag with either claw. The gesture does not represent aggression but affinity. In Mesopotamian mythology, the Sun-god Ninurta is also the son of Enlil (Earth-god), and Enlil himself is identified with Shamash (Sun-god) (34). In this composition stags represent the earthly principle and the heavenly one is represented by the bird Imdugud. With this composition and the related religious interpretation, the relation between heaven and earth is clearly indicated. Henri Frankfort states that "At Lagash the god was said to enter the temple of Ninhursag, like a rumbling storm, like a bird of prey descrying its victim, when he arrived for his sacred marriage with the goddess" (35).

A silver vase from Telloh (Lagash) bears on the neck an inscription of Entemena, king of Lagash, and was presented to the temple of the god Ningirsu who was the god of natural life at Lagash. On the vase the lion-headed eagle, Imdugud personifies the violent character of the god. In the main frieze the bird occurs four times (figure 6). First he grasps a pair of lions, then two goats, again a couple of lions, then a pair of oxen. The combination of these creatures points out the functions of the god: his violence in war, in rain storms, in floods, and his beneficent manifestation in natural life (36). A boundary stone (from the third-Early Dynastic Period) found at Lagash records a victory of its ruler Eannatum. At the reverse side of the stele, the War-god Ningirsu is carved destroying the men of neighbouring city Umma (figure 7). Ningirsu holds his emblem, the lion-headed eagle over two lions, this time, as a direct symbol of the War-god victorious over the men of Umma (37).

After an impression on a fragment of a clay bulla of a seal classified by Leon Legrain as belonging to Archaic period (4200-3500 B.C.) showing an eagle with two lions heads, seizing with its talons two rampant deers (38), and a serpentine cylinder classified by Von der Osten as archaic (3000 B.C.) showing a double-headed eagle with outspread wings and two flying birds above a chariot drawn

by an animal (39). We see, for the third time, the double-headed eagle on the seal of Urdun (figure 8) from the time of the Guti invasion (40). On this seal the god Ningirsu sits on his throne which has two crossed lions on its side, symbols of war, and holding a curved weapon with a lion's head on his left shoulder; a lion's head springs from each shoulder and his right hand holds seven weapons, each with feline heads (41). The owner of the seal was a priest of that deity and he pours out a libation before him. The inscription behind the god gives information on the seal, saying 'Urdun, priest of incantations of Ningirsu' (42). There in the square space below the inscription, behind the throne of the god, the double lion-headed eagle placed with spread wings and rapacious claws can be seen.

Some scholars, such as, N.P. Kondakov, M.L. Heuzey and W.H. Ward accepted the second head as being placed for the sake of bilateral symmetry (43). S.H. Langdon judiciously identifies this double-headed eagle as the characteristic symbol of the twin-god. He adds that "but often one head was represented" and "it was the emblem of all types of the War-god" (44). In general, W.H. Ward states that "the lion-headed eagle would appear to have belonged originally to the special worship of either Ishtar or Bau (wife of Ningirsu) and Ningirsu, the gods of Lagash". He further indicates that "it was the particular emblem of the kings

of Lagash" and equally was the emblem of Ningirsu (45). M.T. Dangun gave the translation of the inscriptions of Gudea. We there read "the divine bird Imgig, the emblem of his king" (46). Furthermore, the first known king of Lagash, Ur-nina was represented by this bird seizing two lions. An even earlier king of Kish, Mesilim around 4.000 B.C. used Im-gig without the lions in its claws as his emblem (47). S.H. Langdon connects the emblem directly to the War-god whose cult under various local names was prominent in the cities represented by the lion-headed eagle (48). According to S.H. Langdon at Lagash he had the title of Ningirsu; his emblem is the eagle grasping two lions in each talon (figures 6, 7). At Umma (modern Djakha) the animals are ibexes (49), at Kish, the seat of the principal cult of the War-god Zamama, the animals are stags or antelops, and on the emblem of Kish the head of the eagle is natural, not lion-headed. The principal god of Elam, Nin-Shushinak, 'Lord of Susa', was identified with Ninurta. On painted vases of great antiquity from Susa, the eagle grasps two aquatic birds, a symbol which occurs also on bitumen vases. Emblems from unknown sites on which the eagle does not have the lion's head, seizing other animals such as rams, are quite numerous (50).

In the first half of our century new discoveries of scholars shed much more light on the scant knowledge

of Mesopotamian history and religions. The bearded figure holding an eagle-emblem on the side of the Eannatum's stele of victory (figure 7) was identified as Eannatum by W.H. Ward in 1910's (51). In the first half of the century, H. Frankfort truly accepts the figure as a representation of the Sun-god Ningirsu and the emblem as his symbol (52). This is a case exemplified to show the advance in our knowledge. S.H. Langdon's recognition of the so-called eagle of Lagash (53), could be added to the list. He showed that it did not originally belong to the city of Lagash or its kings but to the War-and Sun-god Ninurta whose cult was valid in this city and others and who was symbolized by this bird (54). Lastly, S.H. Langdon's identification of the double-lion headed eagle as the direct symbol of Ninurta (who had a twin-god character) fills the old gap in our knowledge of the second head of the eagle on the seal of Urdun (55).

After taking into consideration S.H. Langdon's information we can conclude that small variations in the composition of the emblem indicate distinct cities but the existence of the bird Imdugud does not show a particular one, that is Lagash. On the other hand, it is not improbable that the kings of Lagash later identified themselves with the symbol of War-and Sun-god Ninurta as stated by W.H. Ward giving M.T. Dangun's translation of the Gudea's inscription

as proof (56). Furthermore, the symmetrical convenience of the second head beside the first on the double lion-headed eagle of the seal of Urdun should not be overlooked. This composition is rather a variation of the eagle's representations. Yet, it is improbable that an element of antique art was not caught in the net of the symbolic and mythological interpretations.

In all of these sample representations, the eagle, symbol of Ninurta, is rendered with spread wings in a heraldic posture. It sometimes has a lion's head instead of an eagle's and one quadruped in either claw. The main theme of this composition is an eagle's body frontally painted or carved as if hovering in the sky. We have exemplified in the first chapter the distinctive spiritual approach of primitive man to the world of the birds. The townsmen of Mesopotamia symbolically enriched and artistically differentiated this emblem of primitive man parallel to the changing interpretations of the phenomena of nature. Most important of all, the eagle replaced the nameless simple bird of the Lascaux (57).

We have indicated the two known centers of the sun cult in Babylonia (58). The sun, like any other natural element was personified as a deity and added to the pantheon in the Neolithic Age. The earliest Semitic name of this god is Shamash who was later adopted by the Akkadians in

their pantheon which was taken over directly from the Sumerians (59). The previously mentioned deities, Ninurta and Nergal are clearly distinguished from the Sun-god Shamash. They were special aspects of the sun and far more important in mythology than the deity of the sun alone. Ninurta is a special form of the morning or spring sun (benevolent) and Nergal of the midday or summer sun (malevolent). Shamash as the god of light was the patron of law and justice. The ordinary symbol of Shamash is the four-pointed star with rays streaming from the inner angles, the whole put on a convex disk (figure 3 at the top left). The eagle, symbol of the luminary, with which we dealt as the symbol of Ninurta, was originally an attribute of Shamash (figure 9) (60). It was not directly identified with the god himself as among the Egyptians (61). But the sun's daily course bringing light and darkness was likened to the moulting of the eagle whose feathers were continuously dying and replenishing themselves, and is also a prominent characteristic of the sun, interpreted as immortality in popular belief (62). If other distinctive qualities of the eagle are taken into consideration, its selection by the Sumerians to be the symbol of the sun could more firmly be approved. As a predatory animal the eagle always attracted special attention away from the other birds. Because of its magnificent majesty in

flight and almost effortless mastery of the air, man distinguished an eagle from the other birds of prey. The vulture could contest with the eagle in these respects, but an eagle's physical and behavioural nobility over ferocity made it superior to a vulture. Moreover, an eagle is rarely satisfied with carcasses which are the foot sources of all necropagous birds, but it boldly hunts its prey. For these reasons, man respected the eagle and elevated it to the presidency of the world of the birds, deserving to be accepted as the symbol of the Sun-god who was the most important of all deities. Beside the anthropomorphic god who was figured on cylinder seals (63) as a bearded old man, the eagle symbolized the peculiar qualities of the sun, such as its movement in the sky as if it were flying and its dynamic light. Moreover, the eagle was not only the symbol of the sun's light and movement, but also that of the stars and constellations symbolically connected to it. Unlike the Egyptian symbol of the Sun-god, the falcon, the eagle of Mesopotamia was not directly depicted representing the Sun-god himself. The Sumerian style of approach towards gods was the reason for this distinctness.

The god of a Sumerian city which had a peculiar patron-god, was in reality its king. On the other hand, the human ruler, patesi (governor) or king was simply his

representative, the tenant farmer of the god. The king or governor was himself a priest (64), but not identified with the god. This classified authority, when compared to that of Egypt, exhibits a more democratic hierarchy in administration. As a result, Sumerian deities were anthropomorphic and their symbols were not fused with the god himself so as to not render them superhuman beings. For this reason the eagle of the Sumerians, the symbol of the Sun-god, did not lose its natural particularities and, usually, functioned in legends as itself. This recognition is, particularly, true for the early period. W.H. Ward states that, "as art became more conventionalized emblems of gods were substituted for the gods themselves" (65), but these symbols were still emblems but not the gods themselves.

The lion was another symbol of the sun, not only in Sumerian mythology but also in almost all the civilizations of the Near East (66). The resemblance between the sun disc and a lion's head whose mane, in antiquity, was likened to the unseen rays of the sun is apparent. In addition, the lion was the most powerful of all earthly beings and was accepted as the king of animals. It was the animal image of majesty and the power of the earthly kingdom. On the other hand, the eagle, in mythology, was the dominator of heaven and it was the king of the birds

in man's mind, thus deserving to be accepted as the symbol of the Sun-god. In Mesopotamian thought the heaven and the earth were related to each other (67). In art and mythology they combined and represented in a single image, the lion-headed eagle. A sort of supernatural virtue emerges from this composition and this quality distinguishes the lion-headed eagle from the simple, natural one of the Sun-god. This difference is stressed in such a way that the composition showing the lion-headed eagle grasping two quadrupeds with either claw became in time a complete representative motif disconnected from a direct symbolic meaning. Essentially, it exhibits an integration of the two efficient powers: heaven and earth, and this situation made it a self sufficient motif. S.H. Langdon's recognition justifies this fact. He states that "in the early period 'Bird Imgig' was always called a god" (68).

According to W.H. Ward the composition represents a protective power and is a benevolent emblem (69). This practical function and the rich ornamental possibilities of the composition which was capable of being ranged in alternating units on the surfaces made the lion-headed eagle, figured in front view with wings spread on either side, a popular charming figure deriving its effect from a symbolic conglomeration created by the decorative and

mythological determinative elements. The magical attraction of the composition results from the unlimited power of each component within the whole. The first factor, the actual sensual effect of the eagle with spread wings and rapacious claws and sometimes, with a lion's head (70) gazing directly at the spectator is most convenient for decorative purposes and for a direct supernatural meaning which transcends everyday reality. Secondly, the mythological background comprised of legends dealing directly with the eagle and with the monstrous bird Imdugud, was well-developed and had an eminent place in the Sumero-Akkadian and Babylonian mythology. Thus the lion-headed eagle was seemingly connected with several gods, and became the direct symbol of Sun-gods whose personalities had a strong impact on the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon.

Almost all scholars who have dealt with the monstrous bird Imdugud, agree that it was the fore-runner of the late oriental monstrous birds and heraldic double-headed or natural eagles of the succeeding periods. W.H. Ward, referring to M.L. Heuzey's remarks, states that "fantastic and monstrous birds have remained popular in oriental history, such as the rok of the Arabs, the karshipta of the Persians, the human headed garudha of India and the harpies of the Greeks" (71). S.H. Langdon indicates the continuance of the

Sumerian eagle in Hittite iconography, rendered with deployed wings and rapacious claws (72). W.H. Ward and O.M. Dalton directly associate the double-headed eagle of Urdun with the Hittite double-headed eagle. Furthermore, they agree that it continued down through Turkish and modern European royal symbolism. A.J. Wensinck agrees with them while stating that "the eagle has been duplicated and taken its way from ancient Western Asia via the realm of the Seljuks to modern Europe" (73).

A. CONTINUANCE IN ANATOLIA

Folk traditions, local beliefs and their transmitters, merchants, kept the old Sumerian state and artistic traditions alive for centuries in Mesopotamia and its neighbouring countries; with some modifications they carried the original Sumerian ideas over to the late peripheral cultures whose art and religion were under the intense impact of Mesopotamia.

One such country was Anatolia, the land of the Hittites (74). O.R. Gurney states that "true history begins in Anatolia with the arrival on the plateau of Assyrian traders about 1900 B.C." (75). The idea of an intermediary element between heaven and earth, and its representation as a bird with spread wings holding a quadruped in each claw,

probably, came with the arrival of these merchants.

A.M. Dinçol states that the double-headed eagle of the Hittites was represented on seals in Anatolia before the coming of the Hittites and later continued to be used by the new-comers (76). Moreover, realistically rendered eagle representations in bronze have been frequently found in Cappadocia and dated to prehistoric times (old bronze age 3000-2100 B.C.) (figure 10) (77). However, they are different in shape from the late eagles carved in heraldic postures on the seals of Cappadocia since around 2000 B.C. (figures 11,12). The former prehistoric ones, are cult objects or ornaments related directly to the pantheon. However, the later samples are heraldic, motifs stamped on merchandise and they are inspired by age-old Mesopotamian mythological legends in which heavenly, monstrous solar birds are associated with earthly powers.

Seals found in Konya, Karahöyük and Kanesh, show in their impressions such eagles. The double-headed eagle of figure 12b touches the backs of two sitting lions raising their fore legs with a characteristic Hittite guilloche circling them. This composition, like the Symbolic Early Dynastic panel found at Al Ubaid (figure 5) represents a peaceful relationship between the bird and the quadrupeds calmly raising their forelegs. Another

seal bears a crested single-headed eagle (figure 12a). The reason for this addition is to fill the empty space of the other absent head. A crest, or second head, was, usually, added to obtain a complete figure in the circular space and to stress the legendary intellectual meaning, i.e., the eagle was generally, represented with two heads when it grasped (or touched) a quadruped with each claw. As an example, the eagles of figures 11b and 12a do not require a second head and are depicted with a crest on the head because of the absence of the symmetric quadrupeds below the talons. A cylindrical seal impression shows the characteristic Hittite guilloche between the two double, this time, lion-headed eagles touching ibexes with each claw (figure 13). It is a fine example to show a connection with the early Sumerian representations of the bird Imdugud, the lion-headed eagle, sometimes represented while touching two ibexes (cf. with figures 5, 8).

Pterie was the late Greek name of the Hittite city Boghaz Keui (Hattusas) in the north of central Anatolia. Pteron means wing and Pteria: the country of wings (78). The Iasily Kaya sculptures are located about two miles east of this village. Iasily Kaya is an open-air sanctuary whose rocks have reliefs probably carved in the fourteenth

or thirteenth centuries B.C. On the walls of the main gallery two great processions of gods numbering seventy figures are carved in succession. According to John Garstang "the scene is that of a Divine Marriage represented as a national religious ceremony at which were present the local deities of the chief states or the personages representing them in some cases with their ministers" (79). The large panel at the back of the main gallery shows the meeting of the supreme god and goddess, and their nearest relatives (figure 14). Teshub, the Storm-god, is supported by two mountains come to life in the shape of two men with conical hats. The goddess Hapat, Sun-goddess of Arinna, stands on a panther walking on mountains. Her son, by Teshub, Sharma, follows her and is also supported by a panther. Next come two goddesses over a double-headed eagle (80). These two goddesses are identified as Mezzulla and Zintuhi, the daughter and granddaughter of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (81).

The double-headed eagle of this composition (figure 14 at right) is, as Henri Frankfort states, probably the attribute of these two goddesses carved to identify them (82). The two heads of the eagle are turned to the right and the left, and connected over the body by a two strand rope wrapped around the neck, thus, unifying the heads. This is a peculiar example which is different from the other double-headed Hittite eagles

whose necks are separated from each other. The wings are turned upwards and have lateral lines bound by vertical lines on each side. An interesting feature of this composition is the addition of the two lituus like strings coming from the back of the wings and descending in a thin line on each side of the body and curling outwards at the level of the top of the legs. John Garstang defines this addition as a horse-shoe-shaped device, but he does not give an explanation for its existence on this eagle (83). This device closely connects this double-headed eagle of the Hittites to the winged disk of Egypt, Syria and Assyria (84). The principal winged disk representations from Assyrian art (figures 21, 22, 23, 25) have on the disk a scroll whose extremities curl upwards and two tails fall from the upper part of the circle (85). On the other hand, the winged disk of the Hittites has the horseshoe shaped device falling from the disk and curling upwards at the end (figure 15) as on the double-headed eagle of Iasily Kaya. This form of the device is peculiar to the winged disk of the Hittites. But, it seems to be an imitation of the Egyptian uraeus serpents or, an interpretation in a new composition. It is obvious that this double-headed eagle is related to the winged disk of the Hittites and to the previous Egyptian and Syrian samples.

In the stamp seal impressions, below the talons of the eagles, we have seen the quadrupeds (figures 11b, 12b). On some seals the single eagle extends its legs towards two sides on which its talons curl upwards (figure 12a). However, at Iasily Kaya the artist neither carved any quadrupeds nor represented the eagle suspended in the air. The reason for this treatment is to give the function of the eagle as an attribute; besides, the artist, probably wished to stress the 'Sun-bird' character of the double-headed eagle whose necks are tied together as if to reduce it to a single image (representing the sun on the breast ?). Furthermore, the tips of the wings are upturned as originally represented on the Hittite winged disks (figure 15). The eagle safely stands on its legs because of its other function as a footstool. We know that there was a fundamental religious conception peculiar to the Ancient Near East of representing the god as soaring on and carried by his servants. The double-headed eagle of the Iasily Kaya reliefs is a part of a kind of ceremony of such a religious conception. In this kind of ceremonial representations when the servants are winged it is obvious that as H.P. l'Orange states we are dealing with creatures of air, wind and heaven or with astral beings (86).

Another double-headed eagle figure is represented on a monument at the entrance to, a special district (temple or palace) at Alaja Euyuk. On the side of the great sphinxes that flank the entrance there are reliefs dated to the fourteenth c. B.C. and a double-headed eagle is represented on the door jamb behind the one sphinx on the right (figures 16, 17). In this case the talons of the bird are fixed on two hares whose faces turn outwards. The wings are straight and they extend towards the two sides in a posture similar to the ordinary stamp seal representations. The eagle of this composition is characteristically divided into two parts on the breast by a slightly deepened line as if to give the sense of a unification of the two eagles placed back to back. This time instead of an eagle with two heads on the body, we see two eagles looking towards the inner and outer sides of the gate. The peculiarity of the monument, which is an entrance to a sacred area, is the cause of this artistic treatment.

We know that sphinx originated in Egypt and probably reached Asia Minor by way of Syria (87). Sphinxes, in Egypt, guarded the entrances of tombs and protected them from the attacks of the spirits of the desert (88). They were carved for the same purpose at Alaja Hüyük (89). Furthermore, over the doors of Egyptian temples the winged

disk of the sun was placed to keep the demons away from the building (90) and we know of the affinity between the double-headed eagle and the winged sun disk of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Hittite. The images of the monstrous bird Zû functioning as a protective charm were used at the entrances to the gates of the temple of Ishtar in Arbela (91). This is an old oriental tradition and comes from Sumerian times. Besides its use in practice at Nineveh, old Sumerian myths contain episodes dealing with the gates of heaven over which guardians were placed. In the epoch of Gilgamesh, the mountain which surrounds the earth or some part of of it, has a gate in the West and in the North, and probably also in other characteristic places, and the sun goes in and out through these gates (92). In an archaic cylinder seal impression showing a libation scene we can see such a gate over which is placed the so-called eagle of Lagash (figure 18). Another late example (figure 27) from the age of Dungi of Ur (circa 2032-1986 B.C.) shows two mountains representing the gate of the earth and heaven, the 'tree of light' between them, and the eagle, symbol of the Sun (93). Here the triple symbol of the Sumerian cosmology consisting of the 'gate of heaven' the 'sun' and the 'tree of light' (or life) marking the east and standing at the eastern end of the earth can be seen. The single-headed eagle of these two

compositions paralleling its symbolic function protects the gate from possible outside attacks. This old function continued to be demanded from the eagle figure by the Hittites and as R.A. Jairazbhoy states the double-headed eagle of the sphinx gate "threatens to seize all enemies whether they come from East or from West, for the eagle is equipped to watch both ways with its double-head" (94).

There was apparently only one figure represented upon the back of the eagle of Alaja Hüyük (figures 16, 17). Only the skirt trailing behind and the shoe turned up at the toe remained from this human figure who was firstly identified as a man by John Garstang (95) because of the plain skirt and reversed lituus. However, this figure was recognized as a female goddess by Henri Frankfort and O.R. Gurney (96). John Garstang found the traces of a shoe with turned up toe and an eagle's head upon the corresponding side of the opposite sphinx. It is still being argued whether the twin-goddesses of Iasily Kaya are represented on this monument or whether some of these figures were rendered in a later period as claimed by W.J. Hamilton and H.H. Von Der Osten (97). We think that the double-headed eagle primarily, most probably, functions at this gate as a supernatural creature protecting the entrance. The horse shoe-shaped device of the Iasily Kaya eagle is not present on this eagle which has a line on the breast and two hares in its claws. This representation brings forward the

possibility of a reuse of its old function which was to protect the gate from evil powers. In addition, it could, also, be used as a footstool for a male or female figure.

D.G. Hogarth states that the double-headed eagle does not appear on any known Syrian monument and an eagle displayed on the seals with one or two heads possibly originated in Asia Minor, probably from Cappadocia (98). Henri Frankfort finds this view probable when he identifies a cylinder seal impression from Boğazköy as Hittite because of the double-headed eagle (99). In fact, it seems peculiar to the north of Syria, that is, to Anatolia.

John Garstang states that there was a local worship associated with the eagle at Boghazkeui (Hattusas) indicated by a sculptured head of this bird, in black stone, larger than life and a cuneiform fragment found in the same site which mentions the house or temple of the eagle. Furthermore, there was a cult practised generally within the circuit of the Halys river (Kızılırmak, in the north). A great sculpture representing an eagle lying prone was found in a wild spot overlooking the river near Yamoola (to the north of Caesarea) (figure 19) (100).

The monument is made of stone and sculptured in the round. It is carved in one piece with a solid base which is decorated in bold relief on the front and sides with the design of seated lions within panels. The overall

height is seven feet. The head is lost. John Gorstang stated that it was possible that the bird was human-headed because of the hair-like treatment of the feather pattern on the neck. However, after a detailed research he is disposed to believe that it was a simple though gigantic eagle, set upon a lion-base. The lions on the base are shown almost crouching as though supporting the weight of the eagle and they look outwards. A wavy ridge of stone suggesting a writhing serpent frames the lions' panel and separates the pedestal from the eagle above (101).

There is no evidence of an inscription to date this monument and John Garstang, accepted it as a Hittite work by relying upon other samples found at Bulumashlu, Aleppo and Sardis. Uncertainty about the origin and date of the Yamoola eagle, remains, nevertheless.

John Garstang gives more information about the Hittite eagle. He states that it was associated with the rites of the god Sandon of Tarsus (102). Sandon is the Greek name of the Hittite god Santas whose cult was celebrated at Tarsus. Hittites identified Santas with the Sumerian god Marduk (Sun-god) (103) and we find the eagle as the servant of the Sun-god in a Hittite myth called the 'Missing God' recorded on a cuneiform document from the thirteenth c. B.C. Telepinu, the god of agriculture, disappeared from the world and cultural life

began to die. The Sun-god (who shared the same role as the Weather-god) sent out the swift eagle to search for Telepinu whose father was the Weather-god and the husband of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The eagle could not find him. The goddess Hannahannas then proposed to send a bee to look for the missing god. The bee went forth and discovered Telepinu. The god was brought home on the back of an eagle. We know that there was an old custom in Near East of a tree being brought into the temple as part of a religious ceremony (104). Telepinu on his return showered the king with presents in his temple and before him stands a tree (ever green) on which hangs a sack containing gifts (this tree is a prototype of the Christmas tree). The withered tree of the year before was taken from the temple, and was replaced by the new tree before the millstone of the god Telepinus. George Lechler relates this tree to the Assyrian 'tree of life' around which the cross, the star with eight rays, the moon cycle and the cuneiform ideogram of the word *ilu* (=god = sun = year) are sometimes pictured on seals. He interprets the sun-wheel with eight spokes as representing the ideogram for *ilu* found on the other pictures beside the tree. They all give the complete symbolization of the circle of the year. As a result, the Assyrian 'tree of life' is a synonym for the tree symbolizing the year (105).

The eagle and the tree indicated in this legend, as we know are prominent elements of the corresponding Mesopotamian myths. The eagle, messenger and attendant of the Sun-god, brought Telepinu home on its back as it carried Etana, in a Sumerian myth, on his wings through the heavens (106). Furthermore; the 'tree of life' (or 'light' and 'fortune' and as George Lechler states 'year') is an old motif which was depicted on the archaic Sumerian seals. It is a known fact that the Mesopotamian types continued to be effective in the culture of the peripheral countries. Syria played an important role in this matter as a passage way to the north between Asia Minor and Babylonia. Worship of a Sky-god as the predominant deity among others was a Syrian religious practice. His name was Ba'al Sammin (Baal of the Sky) (107) and the eagle (Sun-bird) was the bird of the Ba'als, solar gods, who carries those who had been his servants and representatives in the world below to his master. This was a widespread belief in Roman times which originated from Syria (108).

Franz Cumont states that people who were living in Anatolia before the coming of the Hittites, probably, worshipped the Sky-god on the hill tops (109). Later the most famous temples of the Hittite Weather-god who was inherited from his elder prototype, were to be found in the Taurus region and in the plain of Northern Syria

where the Hurrians formed the predominant element in the population (110). The Hittite Weather-god was called 'the king of Heaven, Lord of the Land of Hatti' and he, like his consort, the sun-goddes of Arinna, was a god of battle and was closely identified with the military fortunes of the nation. In the later years of the Hittite Empire the Hurrian god Teshub was identified with the Weather-god of Hatti (111). There was a Sun-god in the pantheon. He appeared in mythology as the king of the gods and was regarded as the god of right and justice. However, his position in relation to the Sun-goddess is obscure. Scholars think that the Hittite Sun-god is not an indigenious god of Anatolia but was brought there by a people (Hittites) dwelling on an eastern littoral. King Muwatallis prays to him saying "thou risest, O Sun-god of heaven, from the sea and goest, up to heaven". One text describes him as having fishes on his head, and there was a distinct type of Sun-god known as the 'Sun-god in the water' (112).

We think that this uncertain character of the Hittite Sun-god indicates the answers to some questions about the Hittite double-headed eagle. First of all, the eagle was not a direct attribute of the Sun-god as accepted by the Sumerians. We do not know precisely the reason for its existence at Iasili Kaya and at Alaja Hüyük, but can only estimate it by comparing the eagles

with the previous samples. As we know, the eagle is the bird of the Sun-god sent by him to find the missing god in the legend. However, in this legend the Sun-god shared his role with the Weather-god, the husband of the Sun-goddess. Thus, the eagle was, also the bird of the Weather-god who was a Syrian originated deity. This situation can explain the double - or single - headed eagles of the stamp seals used before the coming of the Hittites by the indigenous population of Asia Minor. These were Hattians who worshipped the Skygod like the Syrians. They borrowed the eagle from Syria (113) as the symbol of the Sky-god (Ba'al Sammin) together with their god whose worship was widespread in the Taurus area and in North Syria, and they established cult centers for the eagle worship. Their deity, lately, was identified by the Hittites with the Syrian Weather-god Teshub.

The eagle was sometimes, represented with double-heads or most frequently with a crest. The reason for this is very simple. Stamp seals were used in Anatolia instead of the Mesopotamian type cylinder seals which make a rectangular impression when rolled on merchandise (figure 18). An aesthetic impulse is responsible for this placement of a second head or crest to fill the empty space beside the single head because when the seal surface is circular the emptiness in the triangular space above the left wing is instantly felt. The double-headed

eagles carved on the late Hittite monuments are the successors of these stamp seal compositions, rendered with two heads in the accustomed form. This situation explains the absence of the double-headed eagle on the Syrian cylinder seals and the emergence of the first crested heraldic eagles in Anatolia (figure 12a).

The ambiguity in the prestige of the Hittite Sun-god and his almost equal rank with the Weather-god are the results of a confusion in the religious sphere of the Anatolian plateau. The original Hittite gods brought from their native land caused a confrontation with the Hattian and Hurrian pantheons and this situation defined the complex character of the Hittite religion.

The eagle, in Sumer and Akad, was the symbol of the solar gods; in Syria, it was the symbol of the Ba'als who were respected under various forms by the Hattians and later by the Hittites in Anatolia. It was then adapted on the winged disk of the god Ashur whose prestige, according to Henri Frankfort was supplied by the Egyptian kingship (114). Parallel to their religious instability and complexity, Hittites used the eagle, the Sumerian sun and Syrian sky symbol (115), on the monuments without giving it a precise original character, but only repeating a very old Mesopotamian legendary animal representation.

Under these circumstances the clearly recognized symbol of the Sun-god lost some of its original qualities and its secondary functions (as a protecting solar creature or footstool) gained primary importance on the monuments or it was accepted as the attribute of less important deities. The basis for this uncertainty in use could lie in the unwillingness of the Hittites to ascribe the Mesopotamian symbol to their native Sun-god.

B. ASSYRIAN CONTRIBUTION

Assyrian art (116) introduced the winged disk to Mesopotamia. The winged disk as the symbol of Ra (in his various forms such as Amon or Horus) originally belonged to Egypt (figure 20). It was used there for the first time during the reign of the fifth dynasty. Count Goblet D'Alviaella gives a good description of the symbol: "round the Disk, now a Globe, they twisted symmetrically two uraens snakes with heads erect and sometimes wearing the crown. Behind the uraei this Globe received the outstretched wings of the sparrow-hawk, on its top the undulating horns of the goat spread out" (117). The Egyptian winged globe was brought into Syria and Phenicia by the native Egyptians who came as rulers during the time of Egypt's greatest expansion under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty (118).

But it was only from the time of the sargonidae that it appeared on the seals and bas-reliefs of Assyria (119).

We see the two principal types of the winged disk in Assyria (figures 21, 22). The disk of one of these (in the words of Goblet D'Alviella) "surmounted by a scroll whose extremities curl upwards and thus produce the effect of two horns, not straightened out as in the Egyptian symbol, but curved in the manner of an inverted Ionic column. Below the Disk, which sometimes takes the form of a Rosette, or a wheel, a pennated tail opens out like a fan between two wavy or slightly bent appendages which fall obliquely from the upper part of the circle"(figure 21). "The other type is distinguished by the presence of an anthropoid genius inscribed in the Disk between the wings in such a manner that the horns seem to spring from his cap and the pennated tail forms a skirt with plaited flounces. This personage sometimes holds a crown or bow or appears his right hand uplifted in an attitude of protection or of benediction" (figure 22) (120).

Scholars agree that the winged disk originated in Egypt. However, there are clear signs which indicate that the distinctive style of Assyrians modified it. First of all, the eagle's wings replaced the wings of the sparrow-hawk, and the eagle's pennated tail which was lacking in the Egyptian samples was added. A double

image found by Renan in the temple of Amrit (figure 23) (121) provides strong evidence to identify the winged disk directly representing the sun on the breast of the bird between the spread wings. These two confronting figures provide an intellectual explanation of the case. A.J. Wensinck states that "it can hardly be doubted that the two images delineate the same idea" and he adds "it is clear that the eagle is intended here to represent the same idea as the winged disk" (122).

The sun disk represented between the wings of a sparrow hawk (or falcon) with the uraeus snakes and horns, is originally an Egyptian idea, but the preference of Assyrians for the eagle, the traditional symbol of the Sun-god and luminary, instead of the falcon, Egyptian Sun-symbol and -god, is highly significant. It is accepted that the reason for this could be the importance attributed earlier to the representation of the Sacred Bird (the eagle and its derivative, the bird Imdugud) in Mesopotamia (123). In a lot of sample compositions from Mesopotamia the uraeus serpents and the goat's horns are absent. Furthermore, the ornithomorphic character of the Mesopotamian disk is far more marked than that of the winged globe of Egypt (124). This treatment clearly gives evidence for the Assyrians' reinterpretation of the Egyptian symbol; moreover, for the fact that (in the words of d'Alviella) "equivalent symbols tend to merge into one another" (125).

According to W.H. Ward, among the Assyrians the disk with wings certainly designated the supreme deity Ashur (126). On monoliths and steles the winged disk also stands in the place of the Sun-god Shamash. On a rock relief of Sennacherib near Barian, the winged disk represents Shamash as is written on the inscription (127). W.H. Ward thinks that "the winged disk must have originally represented the sun and that later it was confined to the representation of Ashur ... Ashur who was a new Assyrian god unknown to the Babylonians may have been originally a Sun-god, and so at first identified or confused with Shamash" (128). According to H. Frankfort Ashur can be considered the Assyrian form of the Sumerian War -and Sun-god Ningirsu worshipped under many names from the earliest times and he finds more probable the view that the Assyrian winged disk which was later represented as Ashur with the disk reduced to a ring (figure 22) (129), replaced the bird Imdugud which is not found on Assyrian monuments (130).

The relation between the gods Shamash, Ningirsu, the sun and the eagle is well-known; as a result the triad of 'Sun-god-eagle' can easily be seen once more in this connection of the Assyrian winged disk.

Assyrians did not contend with these two types of the winged disk but added another one which has two bearded heads on its wings in front and behind the god

Ashur (figure 24). This composition probably is a symbol of the great Triad. Anu (Sky-god) - Bel (Sky-god) - Ea (Water-god) with Ashur in the place of Enlil (Bel, the Akkadian name of the Sumerian god) (131).

In Assyrian art, we see the winged disk with or without Ashur between the wings, in some compositions placed over the 'sacred tree' (figures 24, 25, 26). The 'sacred tree' is an old cosmological element connected directly to solar symbolism. Some subordinate functions were attributed to this figure, such as the acceptance of as the 'tree of fortune' determining the fates of men, the tree symbolizing the eastern part of the world, and the 'tree of life' whose life-giving function was represented by its fruits or flowers waiting to be picked (132). The Assyrian god Ashur, whose image figured between the eagle wings of the disk, was directly related to the 'sacred tree', because of the old solar symbolism. King Adad-Nirari III mentions this when he says that his god Ashur has "made his rule over the people of Assyria like the plant of life", and in a hymn to Marduk the god is praised as the dispenser of the plant of life (133).

C. CONTINUANCE IN PERSIA, THE EAGLE
OF THE EASTERN INDO-IRANIANS

We have narrated in the third chapter, the Sumerian myths, 'Etana and the Plant of Birth' and an episode from the well-known 'Epic of Gilgamesh'. The most important elements of these old legends are found in the late mythologies and epics of the eastern Indo-Iranian cultures. Benjamin Rowland states that "in Baluchistan and Sind primitive village centers existed as early as 3500 or even 4000 B.C. and there were trade relations between these settlements, the culture of Iran and Early Dynastic Sumer. These relations linked the two valley cultures and Iran which was an intermediary land, and they continued as late as the period of Mohenjo-daro and Harappo (2500-1200 B.C.). India, in the second millenium B.C. was not an isolated cultural pocket, but continued as a kind of eastward extension of the culture of Mesopotamia and Iran" (134). Thus, it is not so curious for us to find similar legends in the mythologies of these three neighbouring cultures ranged on the trade routes of the antique world.

In an Indo-European myth, the fire of the sky (the lightning) is said to have been brought to earth either by a bird or by a daring human being (prometheus) and in the Veda, amrta soma (immortal soma) has been brought from heaven to a high mountain by an eagle (135). Furthermore,

in the late Persian epic Shahname, Zal, the son of Sam, was found by the Simurgh (a fabulous creature, most probably the eagle) and borne by him to his nest, (136) and in Iranian as well as Indian myths the eagle is directly related with the 'sacred plant of the gods'. The Sumerian myth narrating Etana's flight through the heaven on the back of the eagle to find the 'plant of birth' and the life of Gilgamesh, who was exposed by his grandfather and seized in the air and borne by an eagle, are in all probability, the prototypes of these late mythologic episodes whose contents have various similar expressions to the Babylonian types.

In the Persian written texts, the eagle and its derivative forms, together with the sacred trees, have a considerable place, and drew the attention of scholars because of a common origin with the Indian written texts. Simurgh is a fabulous creature of the Persian mythology. V.F. Büchner states that 'murgh' means bird and 'si' is the modern Persian equivalent of Pahlawi 'sen' (Pahlawi is the official language of Parthian and Sassanian). In Avestan (: the language of the Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrianism) 'saena' is the name of a great bird of prey, probably the eagle. In Sanskrit cyena (a falcon) cognate with the Iranian word. The 'tree of the saena' standing in the midst of the sea Wourukasha is mentioned

in Avesta (Yasht, XII). This tree is called Wispobish (having all healing powers), and it contains the 'seed of all plants'. According to V.F. Büchner", there is probably, implied that the dwelling place of the bird is on that tree" (137). In the heroic tradition of Iran there are two Simurghs, the bird shaped guardian genius of Zal and Rustam, and a monstrous bird, killed by Isfendiyar. The first Simurgh, according to Shahname, lives on the mountain Alburz, far from the dwelling places of men. When the Simurgh comes near, the air darkens, the bird is like a cloud whose rain is coral. Zal, the son of Rustam who was exposed after his birth by order of his father, was found by the Simurgh, who bore him to her nest, where she educated the child (138). Later on, the bird delivered the youth to his father Sam. When parting, the Simurgh gave the young man one of her feathers so as to be able to ask for the bird's help in times of distress. Simurgh gave counsel at the occasion of the birth of Zal's son, Rustem. The second and last time the Simurgh was called upon, was on the occasion of the fight of Rustam with Isfandiyar. The Simurgh conveyed Rustam within the space of a single night to the place where the fatal tree (the gaz tree, the tamarisk) grew; from a branch of this tree an arrow was to be made with which Isfandiyar could be slain. In contrary to this

beneficent Simurgh called Shah-i murghan (murg: bird), the other Simurgh is a noxious monster which was killed by Isfandiyar in the course of his seven adventures. It lived on a mountain and resembled a flying mountain or a black cloud; with its claw it could lift crocodiles, panthers, even an elephant. It had two young ones; if they flew, they cast an enormous shadow. Isfandiyar slew this being by using a stratagem (139). V.F. Büchner states that "the book Bundahishn (: 'First Creation', written in Pahlawi by the Sassanians and based on the old texts) indicates that the sen of two kinds (aspects) was the first of birds. If the malignant Simurgh in the adventure of Isfandiyar is not merely an addition to the older epic tradition, also, in Zoroastrian realm there would have been a difference between two kinds of saena (sen). This Avestan saena may, originally, correspond to one of the bird shaped beings of Aryan mythology" (140).

Ameretat is a feminine archangel and is one of the six beneficent auxiliary divinities of the Zoroastrian faith. Ameretat literally signifies 'immortality' and together with Haurvatat form the promised rewards of the blessed, after death, in paradise. The name of Ameretat is especially associated with the 'gaokerena' ('Ox-Horn'), or sacred 'white haoma' tree, from which is extracted the draft of ambrosia (haoma) which bestows immortality at

the Resurrection. The terrestrial haoma is said to grow on the Albruz mountain and was brought down from heaven by divine birds (141). It could only be drunk by priests after being prepared in a manner for which there are many ritual prescriptions (142). The deification and personification i.e. the worship of the 'sacred plant' and drink haoma dates back to a common Indo-Iranian time, because, 'soma' is the name of its counterpart in Indian mythology. In the Veda 'amrta soma' (immortal soma) has been brought from heaven to a high mountain by an eagle swift as thought. He broke through the iron castles, and going to heaven he bore the soma down for Indra (143). According to A.B. Keith the myth seems to denote that the lightning in the form of the eagle burst through the castle of the storm cloud and brought down the water of the cloud, conceived as the ambrosia, while at the same time life came to earth (144). Garuda, the enemy of the serpent, is a fabulous bird who stole the soma and is a charioteer of Surya (the Sun). His proper name is Garuda from the root gri (:to Swallow, swallowing the serpents). Garuda is a relentless annihilator of serpents (145). He, after many adventures, defeated the gods, extinguished the fire which surrounded the ambrosia, penetrated the whirling wheel of blades, and after slaying the snakes which guarded the soma, he bore it away without drinking of it.

In reward for this great deed Vishnu (the Sun-god) gave him immortality, set him on his standard, and chose him for his steed. Garuda bears Vishnu on his shoulders. He is a solar divinity devouring the Nagas (serpent genii) and represents the sun drying up the marshes and the stagnant pools. Garuda is represented, generally, with wings, human arms, vulture legs, and a curved, beaklike nose (146) and he is related directly, to the soma plant which is 'lord of the waters', who makes the rain stream from heaven. Soma is the 'draught of immortality', ambroisa, rich in healing and 'lord of the plants'. When drunk by Indra, soma made the sunshine. The abode of soma is in the mountains of the earth but it is also celestial. He is the 'child of the Sky' or 'of the Sun' and the companion of Vivastaut (the Sky-god). He is the lord, the 'bird of heaven', he stands above all worlds like the god Surya (147).

The Persian deified sacred plant 'haoma' appears constantly in the younger Avestan texts and in Pahlawi literature (148). The book Bundahishn indicates that the 'tree of all germs' (or all seeds, and as we know the 'tree of the bird Saena') is in the middle of the wide ocean near the gaokerena tree (haoma). A lizard is an opponent of the haoma in the deep water and Ahura Mazdah has created ten kar-fish to keep away this lizard

(149). A paragraph from the Pahlawi literature, combining these two trees, states that the nest of the Simurgh is on the 'tree of all seeds' (medicinal tree of Saena called Wispobish = 'having all healing powers'), the 'white hom' or 'gokart tree of immortality'. Simurgh (saena) bites the seeds from one thousand twigs and the bird Cinamros collects those seeds that are bitten and scatters them there where Tishtar (the star Sirius) seizes the water and he shall rain them on the world with the rain (150). According to W.H. Ward "this Persian tree, the Gaokerena or the Gokart tree, 'tree of immortality', which in the resurrection will give immortality to the bodies of the dead and, the 'tree of all seeds' on which perched the Simurgh (saena) and another bird, Cinamros, assisting him in stripping and gathering the seeds, have a genetic relation with the tree of life of the Assyrian monuments". He states that "in Assyria there is no evidence of two differentiated trees and it is not unlikely that in the Persian mythology there was originally but a single tree, whose functions, of immortality and productiveness, came to be separated" (151).— Attendant figures of the Assyrian tree carry a pail in which probably a similar elixir of life with haoma or Indian soma was to be carried. Furthermore, the protective spirits, kar-fish and lizard (serpent) are found on the Assyrian and Syrian cylinder seals under

the tree and the birds rendered over the tree or around it may be prototypes of the Simurgh and Cinomros birds (152) (figures 28, 29, 30).

A.J. Carnoy states that "mythical birds are incarnations of the thunderbolt, the sun, the fire, the cloud etc. and their use in this way goes back to Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European times. The soma in the Rigveda is called a bird; the fire is described as a bird or an eagle in the sky, and the sun is at times a bird, whence it is called garutmant (:'winged'). The eagle is the most prominent bird in the Veda. He carries the soma to Indra and represents lightning and in Eddic mythology the god Odhin, transforming himself into an eagle who flies with meat to the realm of the gods" (153).

An early representation of the eagle which carries an anthropoid female figure is from Hasanlu (Azerbaijan), depicted on a gold bowl and dated to the twelfth or eleventh century B.C. (figure 31) (154). Etana on the back of the eagle soaring in the sky represented on early cylinder seals is the prototype of this scene (c.f. figures 31 and 32) which became a very popular theme on Sassanian stufs and silver plates and on Islamic silks. Edith Porada states that "the emblem deriving from a bird of prey, especially the wings, had been associated exclusively with the god of war and victory, Verethraghna" (155).

The Iranian god Verethraghna or Bahram is the Genius of Victory and equated with Herakles and Ares by the kings of Commegene. Its origin goes back to a time of Indo-Iranian unity (156). We have seen the Eagle in Sumerian and Babylonian mythology as the symbol of Ninurta the War-god. This situation in Persia gives evidence for the continuance of the old Mesopotamian religious symbolism. Moreover, the kings of the Sumerian city states trusted in the protectiveness of the War-god Ninurta or Ningirsu, and probably accepted the lion-headed eagle, which has the effect of a protective charm on people, as their insignia. This tradition continued throughout the ages down to the time of the great kingdoms of the Near East and Persia. Xenophon indicates in the fourth century B.C. the commands of prince Cyrus (young Kaihusrev) in the 'Great Battle' (157) : "and he gave orders to keep an eye upon his ensign and advance in even step. Now his ensign was a golden eagle with outspread wings mounted upon a long shaft".

The eagle as a symbol of might and power was identified with the king in almost all Near Eastern monarchies. The eagle guides the king and cavalries on the Urartian bronze belts and on their buckle rings from the ninth century B.C. It is depicted in front of the army, flying towards their target. The Urartian

king is rendered in eagle form in some reliefs showing hunting scenes (158). Urartians were Hurrians whose small cities were established after the fall of the Mitannian kingdom in the thirteenth century B.C. In the ninth century B.C. these cities united and made a state whose capital was Van (Tuşpa). They welcomed the religious and artistic elements of Mesopotamian culture. The Sumerian Sun-god Shamash was taken over via Assyria and called Shivini by the Urartians. The tree of life and winged disk were represented on the monuments in the same form as their Assyrian prototypes (159). For these reasons the Urartian eagle should historically be connected with the Syrian and Mesopotamian sun-symbol.

The Achaemenid kingdom, like the Urartians, directly borrowed the Assyrian winged disk and depicted it on the monuments and on cylindrical seals. It is rendered in almost the same form as the previous Assyrian samples. (cf., figures 33, 34, 35 and 21, 22, 25); only the wings are often made very long and narrow. Very often the composition is completed by the upper part of a human figure set upon the disk raising one or both arms (cf. figures 35 and 22, 25), this well-known symbol represents Ahura Mazda, the principle of good in Zoroastrian faith (160). Persians accepted Ahura Mazda

as the equivalent of Ba'al Sammim (the Sky-god of Syria) (161) and his throne was in the heavens in the realm of eternal light which was created by him (162). Thus, the view that the eagle, symbol of Ba'als and of the luminary was accepted by the Persians as the symbol of Ahura Mazda who was rendered between its wings on the monuments should not be rejected. The golden eagle's existence is thus not curious for us, when carried by the Achaemenid king to be the protector and guide of his sovereignty.

On an Achaemenid seal from between 464-404 B.C. a single-headed eagle spreading its wings and turning its head to the left, is represented over the head of a Persian archer hunting a winged-lion (163). This eagle functions in the scene as both a source of power and a heavenly protector of the hunter, similar to the earlier representation of Ahura Mazda between the wings of an eagle on the seal of king Darius (521-485 B.C.) who hunted under the guidance of the token (figure 33). Another version of the Persian winged disk is very interesting because of its peculiar interpretation (figure 34). We have dealt with the Egyptian and Assyrian winged disks (cf. figures 20, 21 and 34). The undulating horns of the goat spread out with slightly curved ends on the wings of the Egyptian disk, and in Assyrian art these elongated horns take the form of a

curved inverted Ionic column. In spite of the new Assyrian rendition of the scroll, both of them share a particularity i.e. the horns are fixed on the disk and wings while curling out at the ends. However, in the Persian sample these scrolls are not fixed on the wings and disk but raised slightly; moreover, they are not curled at the ends but swollen in order to form two vague heads (figure 34). Besides, the disk is encircled by a thickly bordered ring from within which the sun disk emanates.

W.H. Ward points out that the triad of the Assyrian winged disk was also frequently applied in Persian art as an architectural ornament, as well as on cylinders. He thinks that the prevalence of the triad in Persian times indicates the prevalence of a pure dualism with one supreme god of good, Ahura Mazda, but that the polytheism of Babylonia still continued to survive (164). With great probability the two upper appendages of the Persian winged disk (figure 34) symbolized the bilateral conception of the religious faith; on the one side Spenta Mainyu (the Holy Spirit) and on the other Anra Mainyu (the Destroying Spirit). Probably Ahura Mazda, the supreme and primordial spirit, is symbolized by the circled disk of the sun between the wings because of the monotheistic tendency recognizing

Ahura Mazda as the sole creator. Furthermore, as we know, Ahura Mazda is Spenta Mainyu who will destroy Anra Mainyu and will be victorious over the evil power. His name, Ahura Mazdah, Pahlawi Auharmazd, in new Persian Ormazd or Ormuzd, signifies the 'Lord Wisdom', the 'sovereign' (ahura) who is 'knowledge' (mazdah). Knowledge and 'intelligence' are prime characteristics of Ahura Mazdah (165). These recognitions strengthen his power as a single all encompassing god. Besides, Herodotus states that the Persians had worshipped the sun from ancient times (166). Later, Zoroastrian faith also deified the sun and Khstathra Vairya, one of the six attendant spirits of Ahura Mazdah, had as auxiliaries the sun, Mithra (who became identical to the sun) and heaven, in the court of heaven. Khshathra Vairya represented a personification of Ahura Mazdah's might, majesty, dominion, and sovereignty ; in short, the kingdom of heaven (167). There is no reason not to accept that the Assyrian symbol of sky and sun, the winged disk which is indirectly the eagle, ascribed to Ahura Mazdah, the heavenly sovereign, whose presidency is in the heavens and (as Williams Jackson indicated) created the path of the sun. (168).

A silver plaque from between the fourteenth and ninth centuries B.C. found in Luristan (a district near the Iraquian border) exhibits some distinctive particularities

which have utmost significance for us (figure 36). The sacred scene on the plaque is good evidence of the history of archaic Iranian religion. In the middle, Zurvan or Eternity, a primitive androgynous deity, is shown. He has two heads both shown full face, one over the three rowed long wings of the body and the other beneath, on the breast. He is a god of firmament and this explains the bird-like character of the body. According to tradition, Zurvan sacrificed for a thousand years to have a son, Ahura Mazda, and had begun to doubt the utility of his sacrifices when the twins Ormazd and Ahriman were born. The first became 'the Lord, the Wise (Ahura Mazda), because Zurvan sacrificed; the second, the spirit of evil, because he had doubted. On the plaque twins flank the head of Zurvan (cf. figures 36 and 24 the Assyrian triad). Zurvan who expected the birth of Ormazd, had promised the universe to the first born. Now Ahriman, having learned of this promise, left his father's bosom first, before his brother. However, the father recognized Ormazd, luminous and sweet-swelling, and, giving him the barsom, said to him: "I have sacrificed for you until now; henceforth you will sacrifice for me". The plaque pictures the transformation of the barsom, a bundle of twigs, into a palm leaf. Three groups of figures carry barsoms. The youngest supporting the adult figures seated on the ground on the left-hand, a procession

of old men is on the right. According to literary sources Zurvan was a tetraform being, referring to the three phases of terrestrial life represented by the barsom carrying figures which are the same god Zurvan (169). Thus, according to Roman Ghirsman "it is understood that the cult of Zurvan is one of the most ancient in the Iranian religion and it dates from a period earlier than the teachings of Zoroaster. It would also seem to confirm the hypothesis that this cult was propagated especially in the western portions of Iran and was an old Median religion" (170).

We know of a common Indo-Iranian belief in a great Sky-god who according to Franz Cumont, associated with Ahura Mazda after the conquests of king Cyrus and the establishment of Persian dominance in the Near-East (171). Probably Zurvan, a god of firmament, is this god, and, although recognized as a woman's head by Roman Ghirshman (172) the swollen face on the breast, with great probability, is Ahura Mazda who is sweet swelling and luminous, rendered in his father's bosom, representing with its round head the sun which emerges from behind the Sky and disappears there again. Wings representing the Sky as we know as an Indo-Iranian invention applied in Syria over the pillar of heaven by the Mitannians (173). But there, under the Egyptian influence the wings were spread in the same manner as the Achaemenian ones

which sometimes had two heads, keeping alive the old sky symbolism in which Zurvan had two heads with half bodies rising from each shoulder. These half bodies over the wings took the form of long necks and vague heads over the Achaemenid winged disk representing Ahura Mazda as the sun in the middle (figure 34).

In conclusion we can say that the double heads of the eagle or winged disk have a great symbolic meaning which goes back to the archaic ages of the Iranian cultural area. Before the Achaemenid interpretation of the winged disk which required more natural head-like appendages in the place of human figures on the realistically rendered wings and tail of the Assyrian eagle, no culture attributed to the double heads of the eagle such a strong clearly visible symbolic allusion directly related to the religious requirements.

We know the sun cult had great importance in Mesopotamian religious centers before the coming of the Indo-Iranian element into the population. After 2.000 B.C. the Sky-god of this people was associated with the sun in Syria and the peripheral countries. Luristan on the south-west of the Iranian plateau was naturally influenced by this formation and the sun was identified with Ahura Mazda who, with great probability, was, always, represented between the wings of the Sky god; almost equal in rank to the god of the firmament.

Thus, the eagle of the late period in Syria and in Persia gained a two-fold character as the symbol of the Sun - and Sky - gods.

The eagle with spread wings depicted on Achaemenid and Sassanian gold or silver plates, roundels and on Parthian buckles, was a very popular figure used from the Achaemenid period down to Sassanian times. All of these ornamental or practical instruments were round in shape, giving the form of the natural sun whose symbol is the eagle which was depicted in the middle, so as to keep alive the old solar symbolism of the Near East. Apart from plates it was found on garments worn so as to be noticed by the man who faced the owner. The eagle with spread wings threatened the enemy while functioning as a protective charm and as a source of power.

On a roundel from the Achaemenid period the eagle, symbol of fearlessness and sovereignty, is rendered in the middle, in repoussé (figure 37). It furiously looks to the left with half opened beak. Its claws are ready to grasp and they, together with the taut wings and turned head, remind us of the two eagles painted at the Cueva Pintada rock shelter in west Mexico (figure 2). The nearly identical posture shows evidence, of the existence of a similar impulse at work in creating a spiritual shelter for the defenceless man

who, in prehistoric times, fought with nature and, in the age of the great empires, frequently faced a human foe.

A flying eagle is more realistically depicted in the center of an Achaemenid gold plate (figure 38). Its body, head, as well as its feet are rendered in profile, but the wings and tail are represented frontally. It hovers in the sky over its target as the symbol of the king's determination and power in war.

On a round clasp or harness ornament from the Parthian period (174) the traditional sun symbol is indicated in a very interesting way (figure 39a). The circular frame and acanthus leaves on the lots at two sides were set with coloured stones or paste and the heart shaped perforation on the breast was also filled with a precious transparent stone. This interpretation of the eagle with a hole in the breast and an ear on the head is peculiar to the Parthian period. The perforation is applied so as to give a sign of its direct attribution to the winged disk of the Achaemenid kingdom and even earlier to the representation of the Sky-god with the sun bust on the breast found in south-west Iran (figures 35, 36). The ear indicates a connection with the art of the Eurasian steppes and will be dealt with in the course of this study.

The heart-shaped device on the breast of this eagle and on other ones (figure 39b) stands for the ring of the disk of the gods of Mesopotamia and Persia. This ring as we know served as an opening for the anthropoid genius identified with the sun between the wings which symbolized the sky. The god emerges from within the ring as the embodiment of the sun's beneficent light in peace and the harmful corrosiveness in war. The perforation is in heart form because of the realistic rendering of the eagle on whose breast a ring form would be inappropriate and would diminish the importance of the eagle as the symbol of the king's power. Furthermore, the heart is the most vital part of the body so it could only be identified with the life-giving sun whose light would reflect by way of the transparent paste in the heart-shaped device.

A double-headed eagle on a silver plate from the Sassanian period (175) repeats the innovation (figure 40). This eagle is depicted with two crested heads tied together at the neck by a cord. Its breast, wings and tail feathers are frontally rendered. In the middle of the wide frontal breast two side wings attach to each other to make a heart motif, stressing the old Parthian perforation. Moreover, it repeats the upper goat's horn-like appandages of the winged disk over the top line of the heart shape and the oval feathers on the side

wings are repeated. This new form of the heart-shaped device is not without reason. Confronting eagles grasping goats or ibexes were displayed on textiles through the Sassanian period. Two samples have hexagons on the breast carrying anchors which are repeated thrice on one wing of each eagle (figure 41). When these facing eagles were brought together in the middle a double-headed eagle looking both left and right and holding ibexes in each talon could be obtained. This arrangement indicates that the double-headed eagle could have been separated and represented as two confronting eagles for the sake of decorative harmony, especially on the silks and textiles which did not require a concrete religious symbolism. Triple anchors on the wings which are spread outwardly to the right and left stress the sense of an eagle divided into two parts. According to Phyllis Ackerman, the anchor in this fully developed form is most uncommon in this period, but it had been a conspicuous figure on the coins of Elymais (Elam, Khuzistan, in the south-west) where it functioned as a sky symbol. She attributes the eagle inside the Sassanian sphere to Khuzistan (176) which is on the border between Iran and Mesopotamia. The wings and breast of the eagle are understood to be the embodiments of the same symbolic meaning emphasized in the repeated anchor motifs. The two ibexes in the

talons are clear signs of a connection with the Sumerian lion-headed eagle holding ibexes in each talon (cf. figures 5, 6 and 41) but this time the talons are more rapacious.

After the Assyrian contribution, the Parthians and Sassanians altered the symbol and rendered a natural eagle in the place of the winged disk. It is impossible to find a winged disk representation from Parthian and Sassanian periods, but the traditional religious and royal symbol persisted in art and mythology in the form of a fabulous eagle-like bird (:saena or Simurg) which was always present in the minds of the Iranian people. An important differentiation from the past is not only the wings' but also the complete acceptance of the eagle as the symbol of the sky. As we know, the disk on the breast was the sun, but now the breast becomes the sky and the sun is behind the new device, the 'sky-door' shaped in heart-form projecting from the breast.

A.J. Wensinck indicates that "Parsism knows Simurgh as the bird that is at the gate of the world". In late Muslim Persian literature which was completely based on Persian national tradition Simurgh inhabits the mountain Kaf. We find in the Sumerian epic Gilgamesh a mountain surrounding the earth or some part of it which has a gate to the west, to the north and probably also

in the other characteristic points; the sun goes in and out through these gates. In Muslim tradition it is said identically that the sun rises from Mount Kaf (177). We know the cosmic pillar supporting heaven was one of the most common elements of Indo-Iranian mythology, and its association in Mesopotamia with the indigenous element the 'sacred tree' created the complete representation of the 'tree of light or life' (178) which was a very popular motif in ancient Near Eastern art. "The belief in such a Cosmic Axis - a great mountain, a giant tree, or simply a column or post - which extended from the Underworld, up through the middle of the Earth, and through the center of the Sky, to or beyond the topmost layer of Heaven, was a widespread tradition in Asia" (179). "At the apex of the sky there was a door or gate (Janua Coeli, Oculus-in Roman) leading into Heaven, beyond which dwelt God, or the gods. Through this "Sky-Door" divine spirits could communicate with Man" (180). "It was alternatively named the 'Sun-Gate' referring not to the actual sun, but to a metaphysical one, in symbolic allusion to the blaze of splendor thought to be pouring out from the Celestial Glory behind it. The Metaphysical Sun-Gate was later considered as a separate entity as the entrance to the Throne of God in the innermost part of Heaven, far within the Sky-Door proper" (181).

Because of the interchangeability of symbols and symbolic ideas, the symbols of the actual sun came to be transferred to the metaphysical one.....which was quite generally represented as a giant bird atop the World Axis" (182). This bird was generally a huge eagle usually with two heads and a hole through its body to signify the Sun-Gate through which the Divine Light streams out ward" (183).

It is very interesting to note the application of the double-headed eagle as a Sky-Door even in China. "On the backs of Old Chinese mirrors was often represented an idealized view of the Earth as it would be seen looking down through a hole in the Sky (the Sky-Door). Western scholars give the name 'TLV pattern' to one particularly elaborate cosmic pattern (figure 42) which for the first time appeared in rudimentary form in about the second century B.C., but its meaning was not fully exposed until the first quarter of the first century A.D. On these kind of mirrors, a raised outer rim represents the sky, as part of a Sky plus Earth diagram, and one looks down through this as if through an aperture in the Sky (the Sky-Door) towards the Earth below. The magical center of the earth, the Cosmic Axis, was prominently indicated by a tall hemisphere (the mirror's centered boss) intended to represent the Axis-Mountain. Around this was a central square, and in the

specific 'TLV pattern' the latter had a T projecting from the center of each side, while the V's, farther out, served to mark off the corner squares on the nine-fold plan of its inner and most auspicious region, with the 'four quarters' radiating outward from the vital central square (184). According to Schuyler Cammann" the 'TLV' pattern and its derivatives had their peak of development during the later Han and early T'ang dynasties, two periods when the Chinese Empire extended far into Central Asia, and when its products-including the bronze mirrors-reached even farther afield through trade. Lama Buddhist mandalas (circular plans outlining the cosmological concept) seem to have developed their characteristic framework from the earlier 'TLV' mirrors and late Persian rug patterns emphasize some particular characteristics of the same cosmological plan of the Chinese mirrors. Consequently, Indian, Persian and Chinese Universe patterns must have sprung from a common Asian World view" (185).

In the Gilgamesh epic, Gilgamesh travels to the West to visit his ancestor Ut-napishtim who possesses eternal life. He finally reaches the Mashu-mountains, where, when the sun 'goes out and in' and Mount Mashu is split asunder, it forms a gate (Epos IX 41). By the 'two brazen mountains of Zecharja' the gate in the

East is meant (Zecharja 6, I). The gate in the North of the earth is described in the Romance of Alexander and the two mountains forming the gate are called the Breasts of the North. The chains of mountains are said to surround the earth (the mountain Kaf in Arabic cosmology, derived from Elburz in Persian thought). Furthermore, in the mythology of Western Semites, to the south stands the mountain of the moon (186). These 'mountain gates' in the mind of antique man originated from the concept of 'Four Quarters' which must have arisen when people came to recognize the Four Cardinal Directions: North, South, East and West. This system could have been extended to space after people noticed that the sun consistently moves across the Sky from east to West (187).

This world concept was a natural result of a thought process which prevailed in primitive man's mind, deprived of modern scientific knowledge. Its application, a simple world plan, was a product of a common impulse in the human mind and should not be ascribed to any particular group living in the antique world. The well-organized Chinese world plan is a good resumé of its precedents in Asia. During the Han dynasty, a new device called 'cloud-collar', yün-chien, which consisted of four 'trefoils', as a frame surrounding

the Axis boss at the center of the 'TLV' mirrors was introduced for the first time (figure 43). These trefoils, which are Sunbirds with double heads, took the place of 'T' motifs indicating the four directions of the plan. They are four Sun-gates with circles on the breast, marking the imaginary portals through which the actual sun was believed to enter and exit at the extreme limits of its course across the Sky: in the Northeast and the Northwest at the summer Solstice and in the Southeast and the Southwest at the winter Solstice. The metaphysical sun stands in the middle (188).

According to Schuyler Cammann "the ancient feeling of reverence for the Sun fitted neatly into the Zoroastrian religious system. Later old Iranian ideas were given new life in the first millenium A.D. through the teachings of Mani whose religion carried them to the China Sea. In particular, the Uighur Turks of Central Asia were deeply influenced by the Manichaeian faith and they encouraged the further spread of the religion in China" (189). He implies that the Persian cultural sphere was the origin of the Sun-bird, Sky-eagle or the double-headed eagle.

Schuzler Cammann states that "before the phoenix-form Simurgh, which was a late development in Persian court art, there was apparently no established convention

for representing the Simurgh in the Iranian tradition. Therefore it is possible that the single-, double-, and triple-headed Sun-bird types may reflect earlier stages in its depiction which have survived in the conservative folk tradition" (190). We have indicated in the third chapter, part B, the importance of the local beliefs and folk traditions in keeping alive the cultural inheritance of the preceding centuries who had witnessed the golden ages of a cultural area. Old cosmological symbols of Western Asia survived in the forms adapted to the ornamental needs of daily instruments. Through investigation we can infer some useful conclusions about their meanings and origin.

Sugar-spoons purchased in our century in Afghanistan, have complex symbolic allusions to Old Persian traditional arts and to antler spoons used by the Lapps, of Northern Europe. This situation indicates that the patterns of Afghan spoons probably originated elsewhere in the west (191). The upper part of one of these spoons (figure 44) suggests the form of a winged double-headed bird with a hole through its chest. The bird form was not only associated with sugar-spoons but also with 'Sugar-axes' used to break sugar loaves into spoon sized pieces for dispensation (figure 45a,b). As indicated earlier, old Indo-Iranian legends told of the sweet nectar of the gods (haoma or soma), first

brought down to earth from Heaven by a divine bird. According to Schuyler Cammann since the Sassanian period in which sugarcane was introduced to Persia, people living in Iranian cultural area associated sugar with the traditional nectar and with the divine bird. "The handles of Afghan sugar-spoons and axes are probably intended to represent the 'World Tree' and the rounded projections at the sides could be the survival of fruits, flowers or blossoms and as we know in the Zoroastrian tradition of Old Persia, the tree of life, Gaokerena, was also called the "White Haoma", and it was the source from which the divine nectar was brought to earth by the divine bird. Furthermore, it served as the perch for a sunbird, the Saena, prototype of the later Persian Simurgh" (192).

Sugar breakers are used for special occasions such as weddings, and one ceremonial type (figure 46) exhibits some important distinctive qualities. A sphere symbolizing the sun is placed atop the handle. The projections below it resemble snakes or two 'bands or streamers' that often hang from the early winged sun disk (193). Strife between eagle and serpent is a recurrent theme in the old Babylonian myth of Etana, in Persian mythology where the evil lizard strove to eat the roots of the Old Persian Gaokerena Tree, and in Indian mythology where Garuda is an enemy of nagas (serpents). These examples give evidence for the long

persistence of an Asian legendary tradition with courtly representational elements which has survived until this day. The perforation on the breast (figure 44) or elsewhere on the body (figure 45) of the bird is a distant memory of the sun hole circled by a ring on the bird-shaped body of Zurvan, a god of firmament (figure 36) and of the original pierced disk or ball of the Assyrian and Persian winged disks. However, their direct prototypes are early Parthian and Sassanian realistically rendered eagles whose breasts have the same perforation (figures 39 a, b and 40).

Sugar breakers are still being made in Eastern Iraq, just over the border from Iran in the Old Persian cultural area. An interesting one from Kirkuk exhibits all elements of the archaic Near Eastern solar symbolism (figure 47 a, b).

The blade represents a stylized mountain in the middle of which sunburst with a pierced center (pointed red) surrounded by the twelve signs of the Zodiac is represented, with a stag's head placed overhead. Two attendant birds flank either side of the mountain. Mesopotamian prototypes of this composition show the sacred tree flanked by two birds or attendant human figures or griffins (194). A stylized peacock is placed over a round column (sacred tree) and the perforation on its body are indicated in the traditional way.

Another sunbird with the same perforation in its side, is perched on the back of the handle (figure 47 b) (195). As we know, the eagle, with lion or natural or double head, gripping stags, was a popular composition in Sumer and Akad. Later this figure appeared in Anatolia during the Hittite period. On cylindrical seals, we see the eagle holding stags in a peaceful manner like the previous Sumerian samples (cf. figures 13 and 5) and in Roman times local people made small cult bronzes showing a solar eagle perched on a stag or stag's head (196). As a result, it is clear that the whole composition together with the stag which is the earthly principle under the tree comprises all the prominent elements of old Near Eastern cosmological symbolism.

The sugar-breaking rite was a part of the traditional Afghan marriage ritual. The Sugar-axe, used to break the pieces of loaf sugar, and the mirror, used to see each other's (the bride's and groom's) images, were important ceremonial instruments. They were also the gifts presented by the bride's parents to the new couple. The backs of some metal mirrors reflect pre-Islamic Persian elements from the Sassanian period. The central plaque of a typical bridal crown (figure 48) used in these ceremonies represents a round body with two arching heads flanked by protruding wing

tips, composing a greatly conventionalized bird, with a red jewel set in the middle of its breast, in place of the traditional hole. It functions here as a talisman (197). The stylized double-headed eagle is also used as a talisman, on horse charms from Turkistan (figure 49). It is interesting to note the heart-shaped device in the middle of the body, applied fourteen centuries later in the same style as the one on the breast of the Sassanian double-headed eagle (cf. with figure 40). The central projection between the two heads could be a stylized tree of life. These kinds of horse charms are now principally used by the Tajiks and Uzbeks, many of whom are refugees from Soviet Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, across the Oxus river. Other examples are from Egyptian Mamluk bridle ornaments which show the true nature of the symbolic figure on the horse charms from Afghanistan (198).

In many parts of Asia marriage customs tend to reflect old coronation rites, with the bride and groom being considered as 'King' and 'Queen' during the celebrations. Therefore, one might expect to find that bird symbolism had also figured in old Asiatic royal ceremonials. Persian empires contributed to the world the concept of the empire and many ritual coronation regalia such as the ritual axe and the royal umbrella were passed on to neighbouring countries to

the east and west. With great probability Afghan ceremonial sugar axes were descended from the old tradition of bird-tipped royal scepters, or their ceremonial equivalents (199).

Highly stylized double-headed birds ornamenting the central plaques of bridal crowns and horse charms indicate that old royal symbolism, although having taken on other meanings and functions, has not been forgotten and continues to be used in forms adapted to the daily needs of the wider human groups. They always lived under the impact of the Near Eastern kingship whose orientation in art and in social affairs has been influential up to the present. Their existence in eastern Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq and Egypt demonstrates the importance of Persia as a central point from which the old Near Eastern inheritance radiated east and west after being clearly kept alive until the Sassanian period. By this means we must not ever forget the use of the images of the eagle or monstrous bird Imdugud as a protective charm on the monuments by the Sumerians. We have already shown its historical adventure, being taken to Persia via Asur and Syria, as the fabulous messenger bird between Heaven and Earth and the sun symbol in Sumer and, later, in Syria and in south-west Iran as a sun and sky symbol. The eagle was chosen to represent the Sky-door on the monuments and was usually depicted with

two heads when serving such a cosmological purpose. This was because of old religious symbolism going back to the Luristan period in which the seeds of the Zoroastrian faith could be found and where a reciprocal dialogue in art with Mesopotamia was always present in the west. This is evident from the use of the lion-headed bird Imdugud as part of the blade ornaments from Luristan, (200) dated to eighth-seventh centuries B.C.

Sassanians too took pleasure in the use of such an old imperial insignia, the eagle, the embodiment of the king's fearlessness and power. On a Sassanian silver plate (figure 50) an eagle with spread wings and tail is depicted. Its crested head, body and legs are represented in profile and half turned towards the right so as to ensure its acceptance not as a symbol of the Sky-door but as an imperial insignia. Another sample (figure 51) holds in its talons a stag like the previous Parthian samples (cf. with figures 39a, b). The peaceful relation of the Sumerian bird of the sun with quadrupeds had been replaced by a new interpretation which showed the eagle as a victorious power over the deer (cf. figures 51, 39 a, b and 5, 6). We are inclined to attribute the responsibility for this treatment to the north Eurasian element in art which entered the country with the Parthians.

The eagle associated with an anthropoid figure was a very popular motif applied by the Sassanians, especially, on silver plates (figure 52). On this plate, a frontally represented eared eagle looks to the right and carries a nude female figure on the breast, held by the talons. This figure is Anahit, the Fertility Goddess of the sun indicated by the great flanking lotuses which are the principal sun plant. Anahit was the planet Venus, the morning star. The sun (Mithra) is both child and lover of the planet and, as a small nude boy, is seen below the right wing about to kill the morning star with bow and arrow, suggesting the sun blotting out the morning star. The youthful moon is identified by the axe which, from being a general sky emblem, had become attached to the moon (201). In this composition, mainly, the eagle, the symbol of sky, represents the morning star.

Etana's ascension on the back of the eagle widely represented on early seals and on a bowl from the Iranian cultural area (figures 32, 31) is the prototype of this theme on the Sassanian Plate. In the same manner as the Persians the Hellenistic world recognized the eagle as the porter of Ganymede and the eagle was accepted as a sky symbol by the Romans under the influence of Syrian religion. It was represented on altars bearing the bust of Sun-god (cf. figures 53 and

52 (202). Later Islamic legends have similar episodes with an ascension theme. The Persian epic poet Firdausi (935-1025) in his well-known shahname ('Book of Kings') indicates that Kaikaus (a fabulous king) reared eaglets until they become as strong as lions and built an artificial throne and had it yoked to four eagles who then rose into the air and lifted the throne. However, like the Etana's descent the strength of the eagles was spent and they came down (203). This legend is connected with old royal symbolism. On a Sassanian silver vessel a ceremonial scene shows the king seated on his throne which is supported by two eagles with their wings unfolded in flight, recalling the throne of Kaikaus yoked to four flying eagles (204).

The 'sacred tree' (Haoma or Gaokerena) of the Zoroastrian texts is represented on the Sassanian silk fabrics made before 640 A.D. and they were later sold in the West where they were modeled into Christian ritual garments. One of these fabrics (figure 54) has designs of mounted archers who as hunters defend the tree of life against the animal foes. On the two lateral branches of the 'sacred tree' two Simurghs (or saena) looking each other (when associated would make a double-headed eagle) in the circled frames as if applied on round plates. It is interesting to note in this composition the similarities in form

between the trefoil pattern on the top of the central bough of the tree and one of the four trefoils of the Chinese 'cloud collar' motif which was used to indicate the Sky-door and the Sun-gates (cf. figures 54 and 43). Another Sassanian silk fabric (figure 55) this time has two men leaning out of the leaves of the 'sacred tree' towards two riders looking back to their animal foes. The two men on the tree have identical faces, suggesting a single man; so do the riders. George Lechler states that the Sassanian king Yazdegerd, personified with Ahuramazda, is shown in connection with mythological Zoroastrian elements based on ancient Persian tradition. He struggles against Ahriman, his enemy and in doing so protects the tree of life and Ahuramazda is seen in the tree blessing the fighter (205). As can be seen Ahura Mazda took the place of the two Simurghs about which the old sacred book Bundahishn speaks as a 'bird of two aspects' and this replacement demonstrates that Ahura Mazda was identified with the Simurgh (or Saena, the Sky-eagle). Anchor motifs on the tree once more symbolize the sky (cf. with figure 41) and we know a triple symbolism associated with the tree stands for the 'three worlds' in which the sky is present as the upper world. In this sky symbolism the lower world (: the underworld) is depicted as the roots, the middle world (:earth) as the trunk and the upper world (:heaven) as the foliage. Dragons and snakes (primal forces) are

associated with the roots; the lion, the unicorn, the stag and other animals expressing the ideas of elevation, aggression and penetration, correspond to the trunk; and birds and heavenly bodies are brought into relation with the foliage (206). The similarity of the intermediate motif (Sky-door, stylized double-headed eagle) between the foliage and the trunk (a symbol of world axis) and the sun-doors of the Chinese 'cloud collar' should be pointed out. There are two hares around the roots of another tree of life on a Sassanian silk fabric (figure 56). They symbolize the darkness and underworld because they live in dark tunnels below the earth. The king or archer of Ahura Mazda is hunting these hares to be victorious over darkness (207) and the two Simurghs can be seen on the widest leaves on the two side of the tree.

As a conclusion we can say that the eagle as a fabulous creature, as a religious symbol as well as a symbol of sovereignty had a prominent place in Iranian art and mythology. It easily found its way through the Persian culture because of the Persian kingship which succeeded the old centralized or separate city states of the Near East in the second half of the first millenium B.C. The kingship was supplied by a rich courtly world which welcomed the Mesopotamian tradition of the kings' houses.

We should call the eagle in Persia, not Sunbird but Sky-eagle. A plaque from Luristan (figure 36) shows that the god of the firmament was imagined as a bird with wings, and Ahura Mazda in his bosom as the sun emerging from behind the sky as well as from the shoulder, corresponding to Ahriman. After the establishment of the Achaemenid kingdom the Persian kingship accepted the winged disk of Assyria as an insignia of Ahura Mazda, the protector god of the king whose image was rendered between the eagle wings (figure 35). By this time the Avestan mythology already had adopted the 'tree of all healing powers or all seeds', Wispobish and the bird saena (probably the eagle). The formation of this mythological composition goes back to a time of Indo-Iranian cultural unity, because in the Indian sacred book Veda 'amrta soma' (immortal soma) is mentioned and is a counterpart to the Iranian Gaokerena ('the tree of immortality'), and the bird shaped deity Garuda is associated with the soma plant like the saena of Wispobish. We have mentioned the Mitannians worshipping Mithra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya. They were an Aryan race who brought to Mesopotamia the cosmic ritual element, the 'pillar of heaven', which was mentioned in the Indian sacred books Rig - and Atharva Vedas. Its association with the autochthonous ritual element the 'sacred tree' created the tree of life of the Assyrians over

which was placed the Egyptian winged disk with eagle wings, introduced in a rudimentary form, for the first time, by the Mitannians (figure 29) (208). Maybe the Gaokerena tree or Wispobish and the Indian Soma are the same as the Mesopotamian sacred tree, the 'tree of life or light' (figure 27). However, the tree of life as a ritual representation was rather a common religious object peculiar to all Near Eastern cultures and its origin could not be precisely attributed to any one of them. However, as pointed out by W.H. Ward the similarities between the Assyrian tree of life and the description of the Persian composition in the sacred books, are not negligible (209). Moreover the representation of the bird saena or Simurgh on the tree of life usually suggests the form of a real eagle which was a Sumerian sun symbol.

Simurgh had a twofold character in Iranian heroic tradition: a malignant side contradict the good Simurgh and this late Simurgh corresponds to one of the two aspects of the saena of early Zoroastrian tradition. As mentioned earlier in Sumero-Akkadian mythology the eagle, and Zû, the monstrous bird, were the symbols of the War - and Sun - god Ninurta who was a twin god (210) symbolized by a unified form of the two sun symbols i.e. the lion-headed eagle. Ninurta collected two primary characteristics of the sun, which were the beneficent

light of spring and the hostile light of summer and winter. Thus, the twofold sun symbolism could be explained by his nature. Thus, the two aspects of the Persian bird saena or Simurgh correspond to this symbolism, and this situation is beyond the bounds of a mere coincidence. We must further state that it was a tradition in Mesopotamia to represent the monstrous bird Zû as a natural eagle (figure 57) and the fabulous Persian creature, Simurgh, was also rendered as an eagle on the monuments (figures 40, 54, 56).

As we know, the eagle was popular in Sumer and Akkad as the symbol of the Sun-gods. Later the Mitannians attributed another concept that of the sky, to its wings, but it still was also a sun symbol carrying the sun disk on its breast. The bird shaped god of the firmament was replaced by the eagle in Achaemenid period. Ahura Mazda must have gained a prominent place in the religious faith to be identified with the eagle, the symbol of all the great heavenly gods of Mesopotamia. However, the eagle this time was accepted as a sky symbol, according to the Iranian faith in which the most prominent place was for the bird shaped Sky-god, and later for Ahura Mazda. In the Achaemenid period when the Assyrian winged disk was adopted, it was rendered with two vague heads indicating the triad of the Zoroastrian faith (cf. figures 34 and 36 with the

Assyrian triad figure 24). It was an old Iranian tradition to place the triad on the shoulders of the bird shaped deity and the double-anthropoid-headed form over the wings. We can say that the late double-natural-headed eagle with this symbolic allusion (211) and its preparation period is peculiar to Persia. The heart-shaped device on the breast of the late Parthian and Sassanian eagles is reminiscent of the ring of the winged disk. This device suggested the existence of the sun and of the deity on the back of the Sky i.e. the eagle, and the Sky-door. Thus, it is nearest to reality to call it in the Persian cultural area the 'Sky-eagle' rather than the Sun-bird.

If we classify our samples we see five types of the eagle in Persia:

1. Saena, sen, Simurgh, a fabulous bird, probably the eagle (also in the myths)
2. The eagle-winged disk, with two head-like appendages
3. The eagle, sometimes double-headed, with a heart-shaped device.
4. The eagle bearing the kings' throne the king and his men.
5. The eagle, symbol of king's power and sovereignty.
6. Saena (the eagle and the tree).

1. THE EAGLE IN THE ART OF THE PERIPHERAL
REGIONS OF PERSIA

One of the earliest representations of the double-headed eagle beyond the borders of Persia proper, in the east, was in Pakistan at Sirkap near Taxila, which was an antique city to the north-west of the modern city of Rawalpindi. Later it was transferred by the Bactrian Greeks to Sirkap in the opening years of the second century B.C. (212). The Scythians (called the Sakas by the Indians and Persians), a nomadic tribe, came from the interior of Asia and invaded the city in 90 B.C. They followed where the Greeks had led in town planning, adopted greek forms in their architecture, and were inspired mainly by Greek ideas in their minor arts and crafts. The Parthians broke the Saka power at Taxila after 19 A.D. Many of the buildings at Sirkap were destroyed by an earthquake in about 30 A.D. and rebuilt by the Parthians around 40 A.D. (213). On the facade of a stupa-shrine (214) a double-headed eagle is represented (figures 58 a, b). This bird is perched over a niche surmounted by ogee arches and there are also three single-headed birds over the central and outer niches of the facade. John Marshall states that "it (the double-headed eagle) seems to have been especially associated with the Scythians, and we may well believe that it was the Scythians who introduced it at Taxila" (215).

The dome-shaped top of Old Indian Buddhist stupas intended to represent the sky arching over the flat earth and the World Axis over which sometimes perched a bird, was symbolized by a mast protruding through this top (216). The double or single-headed birds of the stupa at Sirkap could be the symbols of the Sun-gates numbered four around the metaphysical sun of the Chinese cloud collar (figure 43) which found its way through India and was adapted on Buddhist Mandalas (figure 59).

L. Leeuw dates the stupa to the first century B.C. and contradicts the idea of John Marshall of a Scythian influence, "as it was such a specific Scythian motif it is very difficult to assume that the Parthian monarchs would have made use of it and thus, this double-headed eagle might also point to the fact that the stupa was built in the first century A.D., probably during the reign of Kujula Kadphises" (217). We agree with Leeuw's opinion and add that the Scythians did not employ the double-headed eagle consistently, something which does not accord with its heraldic allusions to the spirit of the nomadic art. Moreover, the double-headed eagle was not unknown in Parthian art (figure 60). On this intaglio the double-headed eagle is engraved in the traditional manner going back to the Hittite eagle at Euyuk, holding a hare in each claw (218).

The four birds on the facade of the stupa at Sirkap are Central Asian in their rendering. They are in profile and do not spread their wings but fold them. They do not have heraldic allusions originating from the signs of power previously indicated by the threatening talons or by the dualistic ideas given in a bilateral composition which also had references to religious symbolism. Beside the double-headed eagle, others bend their heads backwards and indifferently clean their feathers; only the double-headed eagle stays alert and looks to the left and right for possible attacks from the outside. The ogee arched niche on the left should have been accepted as the main entrance to the stupa and the bird on it is rendered differently to stress its function as a protective charm of the door. Furthermore, we know that Buddha in his doctrine speaks about a 'spirit migration' in dream and in death. The travel of his consciousness consists of some stops at the Sky-domes where Buddha's masters with whom he had discourse dwelled (219). As we know the stupa is a funeral-mound associated with the death of Buddha for whom people prayed on the outside. These arches on the facade of the stupa could symbolize the domes of the layers of sky and if so the birds are the symbols of the masters of Buddha or Buddha himself. The double-headed bird shows a twofold symbolism because of its

other function as a door-keeper and this two-headed form is customary on the late Buddhist mandalas, indicating the Sun-doors.

John Marshall states that the double-headed eagle found its way from Taxila to Vijayanagar and Ceylon (220). J.P. de Souza indicates that in south India it became popular as 'Ganda Bherunda'. The earliest Ganda Bherunda found is from the later Chalukya dynasty (973-1190). In 1047 A.D. an elegant monolith Ganda Bherunda pillar was erected at Belgami, surmounted by the image of Bherundeswara in human form with two eagle's heads. The rulers of Vijaynagara adopted the title of 'Ganda Bherunda' from the earliest times. On the gold coins of Achyuta Raya a double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks and claws was pictured (figure 61). Another coin of the same king has the same double-headed image as the Taxila eagle (figure 62). In the Virabhadra temple at Keladi in South India, the most striking example of the Ganda Bherunda motif was found (figure 63). This temple belongs to a period between 1500-1763 A.D. The bird is represented on the ceiling and consists of two eagles in profile placed back to back, holding lions in their beaks and elephants in their talons. A line made with feathers, is drawn between the backs of the two eagles. Ganda Bherunda is still used as the vehicle of idols carried in processions on the occasion of the

annual festival of the god to whom the temple is dedicated. On such occasions the wish-giving celestial tree is also used as a vehicle. The double-headed eagle is still the crest of the royal family of Mysore and is associated with elephants (221). J.P. de Souza thinks that Ganda Bherunda "having come all the way from Central Asia to the southern most part of the Indian peninsula could not fail to cross the Palk strait and reach Lanka, where it still appears on the banners of the Kandyan chiefs (222).

The association of the eagle with the elephant is peculiar to India and indicates a well-known myth narrating the 'Deliverance of the Elephant' by Garuda, the sunbird, the relentless annihilator of serpents and the vehicle of Vishnu (the image of the Sun-god). In this legend, the elephant became ensnared in the coils of a serpent king while taking a cooling bath in a lotus lake. The elephant sent a prayer for the help of Vishnu who, seated on Garuda, came and rescued him. Garuda is represented in the form of an angel in a relief scene in the Dasha-Avatar Temple of Deogarh from between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. showing the deliverance of the elephant (223). Two Garudas are represented triumphant above a pair of giant snakes (Nagas) on the endpiece of a balustrade from Siam, from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries A.D. (figure 64).

They have wings, human arms, vulture legs and a curved, beaklike nose (224). The representations of Garuda are not stable in appearance, and show alterations in the various treatments of artists and regional schools. As we know the earliest double-headed eagle was in human form with two eagle's heads like the common representation of Garuda as an anthropoid genius with a bird's beak. Probably the Persian double-headed eagle was identified with Garuda in southern India and particularly rendered as two eagle-like birds placed back to back holding elephants in their beaks and talons as a new interpretation (225). Furthermore Heinrich Zimmer indicates that representing gods standing on animals is a western idea which must have reached India. He explains Yazilikaya sculptures as the prototypes of Indian gods carried by lions, sun-birds (Garuda) etc. (226). As we know Ganda Bherunda has functioned as the vehicle of gods until this day and it is interesting to note that the Indian people kept the mythological connotations of the Hittite double-headed eagle in its original symbolic and functional form alive for centuries.

John Marshall, R.A. Jairazbhoy and Goblet D'Alviella agree that probably Persia transmitted the double-headed eagle to India, (227) which meanwhile also found its way through Central Asia. We have talked

about the spread of Manicheanism in the eighth century among the Uigur Turks who were Buddhist before this time (228). The double-headed eagles from the eighth and ninth centuries found at Qyzil in temples and attributed to Manichean and Buddhist Turks, are identified as Garudas because these eagles, like the Indian Garuda are represented as the foes of the Nagas (serpents) which are rendered in their beaks (figures 65, 66) (229). This time the eagles accord in form with the previous Sassanian prototypes. They are not separated from each other like the late Indian samples but are represented as a single eagle with two heads. The Ganda Bherunda in the Virabhadra temple at Keladi (1500-1763) is depicted with snakes in the beaks on the ceiling of the temple like the example in Qyzil on the ceiling of a cave temple indicating its heavenly character as the Sky-eagle. Probably the Indian double-headed eagle was taken over from Central Asia and spread in South India. We do not hesitate to accept the eagles at Qyzil as Persian because, the late Indian double-headed birds resemble vultures more than eagles as the products of a new interpretation in South-India (figure 63). On the other hand the eagles at Qyzil are beyond a doubt real eagles following the Persian type. However, Nagas (serpents) in the beaks are the signs of the Indian Garuda (nagantaka, bhujagantaka: he who kills nagas) (230). These double-headed

eagles are the products of a people whose religion contained both Manicheistic and Buddhistic elements and who lived in a zone which was under the profound influence of both Persian and Indian cultures. Thus the eagle with double heads and serpents in the beaks, is an associated form of the two symbols (the double-headed eagle and Garuda) found in different forms but indicating similar symbolic allusions. Though separately developed in Persia and in India both come, from the same Indo-Iranian mythical source which had historically had relations with Mesopotamia.

Garuda is known by the Uigur Turks as Ghrdi, Garudi, Karudi and Kara-kuş and is frequently represented in the Central Asian Gök-Turk (550-740) and Uigur (850-1220) arts (231). According to B. Brentjes, the fact that Garuda represented while abducting men and infants, was a motif of eastern origin brought to the west by the Turks is evident from the iconographic remains found in Siberia, Kazan, Peru, Bulgaria and Hungary along the path of the nomadic Turkic groups (232). One of these indicators is found in Hungary in the Nagyszentmiklos treasury which is attributed to the Petcheneq Turks (233). This is a gold vase dated 900-920 A.D. (figure 67). On the one side in the circle of a guilloche around the vase the Sky-eagle

is represented holding Anahit who raises two lotus bunches (the plant of the sun) in her hands. If we compare the composition with another gold vase from the same site (figure 68) we see that similarities indicate a common source with the Sassanian Sky-eagle (figure 52). First of all the classical appendage spread on the wings and curling at the ends goes directly back to the goat's horn device of the Egyptian and Assyrian winged disks (cf. figures 67, 68 and 20, 22, 25) and this statement alone is sufficient to approve that the eagle is Mesopotamian in character. As a matter of fact this appendage is missing on the wings of the north-east Asian eagles (figure 80) of the Turko-Mongol nomads. Only the ears on the head show the Eurasian spirit but they are also present on the Sassanian eagle which had the addition since the Parthian period (cf. figures 67, 68 and 39). In the previous chapter we have already indicated the historical development of this motif representing the Sky eagle soaring with Anahit on its breast. In fact the Persian influence upon the materials from the Petcheneq treasury is at its highest level because of the Central Asian origin of the Petcheneqs who lived in the Persian cultural area near Balkash and Aral lakes before coming to Europe (234).

IV. THE EAGLE OF THE EURASIAN STEPPES

Until the end of the nineteenth century Shamanism (235) was a widespread religious practice among the Uralo-Altaic peoples whose mythology has various episodes which give information about the legendary birds, and the eagle is frequently associated with some facets of their religious life. The belief in a cosmic axis (or world pillar) was a wide-spread religious practice in northern Asia. It is named, variously, by different groups, the 'Golden Pillar', the 'Iron Pillar,' the 'Lone Post' or the 'Golden Post'. According to Uno Holmberg "the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period" (236). The Sky pillar aims to connect the three levels-sky, earth and underworld - of the universe. This axis passes through an 'opening', or 'hole' from which the gods descend to earth, and the dead to the subterranean regions. The shaman in ecstasy flies up or down through the opening in the course of his celestial or infernal journeys (237). As we know this symbolism of the World Pillar is also familiar to Mesopotamia and further, to Egypt, India, China and Greece. Among the Babylonians the link between heaven and earth was sometimes imagined as a celestial column in the place of a Cosmic Mountain or its replicas (Ziggurat, temple, royal city, palace).

This symbolism of the Center appears to be of considerable antiquity for it is found in the most primitive cultures (238). The Ostiaks regarded so-called 'town-pillars' in a certain tale as the 'tree planted by God'. People believed the sky which protected the earth and life on the earth to be a kind of roof supported by the pillar which was sometimes opened slightly by the gods to see what was happening on earth. The Ostiaks and Buriats believed that God granted everything desired of him while 'the door of Heaven' was open, causing a light to shine from the sky making the whole world glow in a strange fashion (239). Uno Holmberg indicates that "this childish idea of the light phenomenon which follows the flight of a meteor through the belt of air, has been earlier very general both in Asia and Europe..... and this conception of the sky as a kind of roof is without doubt of extreme age and the product of an extremely early culture". An iron ring to admit a sleeved arm is believed by the Ostiaks of Vasyugan to exist on the Iron and Stone post on the side of the sun. The Ugrians imagined that the pillar was seven-storaged to symbolize the seven levels of the sky and called it man-father (the pillar god) (240). Yakuts planted several trees before the sacrifices and believed that seven bears lived on them and a few have figures of

birds upon (figure 69 a). These trees represent the different levels of heaven. Dolgans at the Shamanizing ceremony set up nine stumps on which figures of birds were represented (figure 69 b). These stumps represented the nine levels of Heaven through which the shaman, with the help of these birds would fly to God (241). Some peoples in North-West Siberia placed a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes had two heads and was called the 'lord of the birds' by the dolgans on the world pillar (figure 69 c). The pillars on which these birds were placed and which sometimes have cross-pieces like branches, are, according to Dolgans, a symbol of the 'never falling props' before the dwelling of the Supreme God (242).

Mircae Eliade's praise-deserving deductions about the 'world pillars' of the Uralo-Altai Peoples must be cited here: among the Yakut of Turukhansk the eagle was likewise considered to be the creator of the 'first shaman' and the eagle also bore the name of the Supreme Being, Ai (the Creator) or Ai Toyon (the 'Creator of Light'). Ai Toyon's children were represented as bird-spirits perching in the branches of the World Tree; at the top of it was the two-headed eagle, Toyon Kotor (the 'Lord of the Birds'), probably personifying Ai Toyon himself (figure 69 d) (243). The Dolgans thought that this was a sky-bird

who closed the door of the sky to men. There is a tribe descending from the eagle (Bürküt or Merküt) among the Teleüt Turks residing in Altai. They thought of Merküt as a legentic, sacred sky-bird whose left and right wings could scarcely be covered by the moon and the sun (244). Like a number of other Siberian peoples, the Yakut established a relation between the eagle and the sacred trees especially the birch. When Ai Toyon created the shaman he also planted in his celestial dwelling a birch tree with eight branches, on which were nests containing the Creator's children. In the initiatory dreams, the shaman was carried to the Cosmic Tree, at whose top was the Lord of the World. Sometimes, the Supreme Being was represented in the form of an eagle, and in the branches of the Tree were the souls of future shamans. The likelihood is that this mythical image has a paleo-oriental prototype (245). Mircae Eliade further states that the Cosmic Tree, expressing the sanctity of the world, its fertility and perennial nature is related to the ideas of creation, fecundity, initiation and always presents itself as the very reservoir of life and the master of destiny. These ideas are sufficiently old, for they are found among numerous 'primitive' peoples, incorporated in lunar and initiatory symbolism and there is no doubt that south eastern influences

contributed greatly toward the present physiognomy of the mythologies of the Central and North Asian peoples. In particular, the idea of the Cosmic Tree, reservoir of souls, seems to have been imported from more developed civilizations. The prototypes of the Cosmic Trees of Siberian people are found in the ancient East as well as in India (where Yama, the first man, drinks with the gods beside a miraculous tree) and Iran (where Yima on the Cosmic Mountain imports immortality to man and animals). The cosmological schema Tree-Bird (= Eagle), or Tree with a Bird at its top and a Snake at its roots, although typical of the peoples of Central Asia and the ancient Germans, is presumably of Oriental origin, but the same symbolism was already formulated on prehistoric monuments. The Ostyak believed that a goddess seated on a seven-storey celestial mountain, wrote a man's fate, as soon as he was born, on a tree with seven branches. The same belief is found among the Batak, but as both the Turks and the Batak acquired writing only comparatively late the Oriental origin of the myth is obvious (246). (W.H. Ward's recognition of the Assyrian 'tree of life' as the 'tree of fortune' should be remembered.)

Mongol tales speak about an evil giant snake called Losy residing in the ocean under the earth and squirting poison on the earth to crush out life by

killing men and animals. At the request of God the hero Otshirvani engaged this sea-monster in battle but could not overcome it; he changed himself into the mighty Garide bird, attacked the giant snake and vanquished it (247). Uno Holmberg indicates that "its (Garide) name is identifiable with that of the Indian bird Garuda. The hero Otshirvani, who changes himself into a bird, is the Buddhist Bodhisattva Vairapani and is only an addition, taken from legends, to this ancient tale" (248). Yakut folklore deals with an eight-branched tree from whose crown streams a heavenly, foaming, yellowish liquid which, when drunk, refreshes the tired passers-by and satisfies the hungry. According to Yakut tales this life-giving tree is the dwelling-place of 'the First Man' and therefore some sort of paradise. In a variant of the same tale a tree in the east on a mighty hill is referred to. Its crown rising over the seven storeys of Heaven, was the tethering-post of the Over-god Yry-ai-tojon, and its roots went deep down into the underground depths where they were the dwelling pillars of the strange mythical beings there (249). Uno Holmberg indicates that "the belief in a paradise mountain of the gods, the tree and the water of life is of extreme age

among the civilized peoples of Nearer Asia" (250). In a Central Asian tale the Indian tree of life Jambu is mentioned as Zambu at the foot of the mountain on a triangular plain with the Asura giants of India dwelling at the foot of the mountain. In the beginning of the tale two eternal mountains of the ancient civilized peoples of Nearer Asia are mentioned (251). According to Uno Holmberg "the Indian tales cannot, however, be regarded as the model for the Yakut tale mentioned. Their tree of life resembles more the ancient Egyptian pictures" (252). Abyrga was a mythological snake said to dwell at the foot of the tree in a 'lake of milk' and in certain Central Asian tales the Abyrga snake entwines itself around the tree, while at the same time the Garide eagle living in the crown attacks and pecks at it (253). Uno Holmberg's opinion is that "this Garide which, when flying furiously causes storms, is, as the name indicates, the Indian Garuda, the well-known robber of soma". He further indicates that "precursors of the Yakut tales have probably been the paradise ideas of the ancient Iranians like the beliefs of the West Siberian peoples" (254). In ancient Persian literature Hara Berezaiti (the iron mountain) is the name of the central mountain of the earth and the tree

of life was believed to be on the summit of this mountain. The spring of the water of life, Ardivisura, was under the tree of life and the paradise of the Iranians in which dwelled the first man, was Gajomartan, as in the Yakut paradise. Uno Holmberg states that "the tale in question has spread along with a current of civilization from the Iranians to the Turco-Tatar peoples and with the Yakuts wandered to the distant River of Lena" (255).

The Siberian peoples speak about thunder as a large and mighty bird. In ceremonial gatherings the Tungus made a wooden image of a bird to represent thunder and fixed it outside their tents at the top of a long pole (figure 70). The thunderbird is a protector of the soul of the Shaman, who in his flight may encounter many dangers. The Yurak Samoyeds of Northern Russia made the images of thunder in the form of a goose and Tremyugan Ostiaks preferred a grouse (256).

Urak is the name of the 'first milk' in the Buriat cosmology sometimes poured from Sky by the Tengeris, the sender of thunderbolts during a thunder-storm to a very fortunate person (257). Uno Holmberg thinks that "this urak which falls from the Sky during a thunder-storm and must immediately be sacrificed to its sender again, reminds one of the Indo-Iranian tales

about Haoma or Soma which an eagle brings down from the sky. The soma, sometimes called 'first milk' in the Rgveda, was originally the favorite drink of Indra, the god of Thunder..... Compared with Indo-Iranian legends, the beliefs of the Buriats seem to represent a more primitive standpoint. The basis of these tales may be conjectured to mean that the Indo-Iranians, like the peoples of Northern Siberia, originally regarded thunder as a giant bird resembling an eagle" (258).

Among the Tungus certain birds, water birds in particular, such as the loon, seagull, swan, crane, etc., are sacred. Among the Yakuts and Buriats, the eagle is treated with extraordinary respect and Yakuts believe that it is not a sign of good luck if an eagle flies over a village. The Buriats around the Baikal call the eagle 'Olkhon island's master' or 'the son of the god living on Olkhon island'. Some myths call it 'the first shaman'. The Buriats throw milk or kumiss into the air each time a swan or an eagle flies over their village. Yakuts respect the eagle with timidity and fear (259). Abdülkadir Inan cites V.M. Ionov's recognition indicating that the eagle cult has survived among the Yakuts to this day (260). Yakuts believe that for the coming of the spring and for the melting of the ice the eagle must

shake his wings. This situation indicates an actual connection between the eagle and the spring sun whose appearance causes warmer days after the long, dark winters of the north. Abdülkadir Inan states that "traditions among Yakuts about the eagle cult show that in olden times this bird was the symbol of the Sun - and Sky - god" (261). The Selkup divide their tribe into two exogamous halves or phratries called 'the people of the eagle' and, 'the people of the nutbreaker'. On the 'tribe tree' perch the eagle and the nutbreaker, totems of the Phratries, and the sun and moon hang on its branches. They believed that the Eagle moiety 'walked' with the sun, and the Nutbreaker moiety against the sun (262). The eagle and its nest constantly figure in Selkup folklore and fairy tales. The hero of a tale is carried away by the eagle to its nest, where he is transformed from a simple mortal into a man possessing miraculous powers to communicate along with other unusual qualities (cf. with the Simurgh giving counsel to Zal, chapter III, c). In the concepts of the Selkups, although the eagle was not connected as intimately with the supreme deity, it nevertheless appeared as a strong radiant spirit tied to fire, sky and sun (263). According to Ye D. Prokafyeva "judging by the term 'first progenitor' it is possible that in

previous times it was honored as a deity". Among the Enets, however, the eagle (minley), was called 'son of god', 'sovereign of the mind', 'keeper of the fire', 'the main intermediary between people and Nga (Num), the sky spirit and in the belief of the Enets minley could take the shape of a man. There are analogous concepts of the Selkups and Kets in whose Shamanism (especially that of the Kets) the eagle played an exceptional role, appearing as the principal helper of the shaman (264) in his ecstatic journey to the underworlds, from which he returned on the back of his koori (the bird-spirit) (265). The Nanays supposed that every clan had its clan-tree of incipient life, i.e., of the souls omia. These souls restoring life in the clan lived on the branches of the clan-tree. The souls omia were imagined as twin birds omiani choka (choka, 'bird') (266), (the two Simurghs and others placed symmetrically on the Persian tree of life, should be remembered). The bird was accepted by the Ob Ugrians, in certain places as a conductor of the souls into the afterworld. For example, at the burial ground in the Karaul mountain bird figurines among which a larger bird exist are found standing vertically in the earth (267). A.F. Anisimov indicates another function of the birds on sticks around the shaman's tent that is to guard

the tent 'from the air' (268). The peoples of the Siberian Far North sewed on the Shaman's costume certain images of water birds, a number of mythical animals and the eagle with a ring around its neck, symbolizing - according to the Yeniseians - that the imperial bird is at the shaman's service (figure 72) (269). The Selkup, Enets and Ngonasar Shaman's parka portrayed a bird (i.e. the skin of a bird) whose long and short feathers were cut on the coat with a bundle of feathers over the tail (270).

Mircae Eliade states that, "the Altaic shaman ritually climbs a birch tree in which a certain number of steps have been cut; the birch symbolizes the World Tree, the steps representing the various heavens through which the shaman must pass on his ecstatic journey to the highest heaven; and it is extremely probable that the cosmological schema implied in this ritual is of Oriental origin. Religious ideas of the ancient Near East penetrated far into Central and North Asia and contributed considerably to giving Central Asian and Siberian Shamanism their present features" (271). As a matter of fact during the period of Manicheanism, the influence of the Persian culture, bearing in its essence the inheritance of the ancient Mesopotamian civilizations, was extremely far-reaching in Siberia. This is evident from the

correspondence of certain mythological names used by the Mongolians and Turco-Tatars dwelling at Sajan and the Altai to the Persian originals (i.e. Mongolian Hormusta, Kalmuck Hormustan: Persian Ahura Mazda; Buriat Arima: Persian Ahriman; Altai-Tatar Aina ('an evel spirit dwelling under the earth'): Persian Aenanh) (272). The similarities between the Siberian culture and the Orient were so striking that according to Laszlo Vajda, the North Asian shamanic complex was the result of exchanges between the agricultural cultures of the south and the hunters' cultures of the north. However, shamanism is not characteristic of either the former or the latter; it is the result of a cultural integration, and it is more recent than its components. North Asian shamanism existed no earlier than the Bronze Age (273). On the contrary, K.J. Narr states that he can prove that North Asian shamanism originated at the moment of the transition from the Lower to the upper Paleolithic Age (274).

The cultural contribution of the nomadic or semi-nomadic north to the southern settled civilizations has been argued about by many scholars, some of whom even maintain that Near-Eastern civilizations are the products of an intervention by the organized, military, nomadic groups of the Eastern

and Northern Asia into the sedentary, pacific, unorganized tribes of the Near East (275). Although in some respects, these views are overstated, it must never be forgotten that later, particularly after the great migrations took place in the second millenium B.C., a reciprocal dialogue between the sedentary cultures of the settled south and the pastoral culture of the nomadic or semi-nomadic north had always existed. As a result, Siberian mythology exhibits some basic mythological elements of these Near-Eastern settled cultures, but not always in their most developed forms; on the contrary, frequently in their embryonic and, sometimes, reduced stages. According to A.F. Anisimov's hypothesis (276), shamanism as a communal organization was a historical step in the social development of human groups. If so, we should accept that shamanistic religious concepts, although very altered by time, sometimes give the first primitive signs of the more developed mythologies of the Near-East.

- The mobility of the nomadic people of the north caused their continous intercourse with the south through trade. Furthermore, throughout the ages the complex, eminent southern religious with their advanced programmes have attracted the primitive

hunters or semi-nomadic peoples of the north. As a result in our day Altaic people, except one group in the far north, do not have faith in shamanism. Buddhism, Lamaism, Manicheanism, Christianity, Islam and the political mutations of the last century replaced in time the old widespread faith in shamanism. Under these circumstances it is a very difficult task to define the origin of any religious or mythological element from Siberian mythology whose tradition was completely based on oral narration. On the other hand, we are required to obtain conclusive information about the origins and symbolic allusions of the eagle of the north.

First of all probably, the World Tree of the Altaic people is descended from a more developed Mesopotamian type. As we know the Mitannians who were an Indo-Iranian race, came from the north-east to Syria in the second millenium B.C. and they associated their native ritual object the 'pillar of hevaven' with the Mesopotamian 'sacred tree' and made the nucleus of the Assyrian 'tree of life' (277). We have indicated the close resemblance between the Indo-European and Turko-Tatar religions (278). Uno Holmberg states that the leaf crowned birch tree erected in the centre of the tent in the shamanizing ceremonies of the Altai Tatars, is an intermediate

stage between the world-pillars and the branched world-tree supposed to rise from the centre of the earth (279). The Indo-Iranian 'pillar of heaven' is identical to the Siberian world-pillars and the 'tree of life' of the Assyrians is, probably, the prototype of the Uralo Altaic 'World Tree'. Near Eastern mythologies placed the tree of life in the east together with paradise so the Siberian Turks also accepted the tree of life and paradise as being in the east (280). Examples of these Near Eastern ideas found in Siberian mythology are from within widespread boundaries; moreover, the Indian contribution to them is clearly evident from certain names such as Garide or Zambu.

The eagle is another cult and mythological element of Siberian shamanism and directly related with the concept of world pillar or world tree. Questions about the origin of the single or double-headed eagle, are more complex but not without possible solutions.

The existence of the eagle in the north-east goes back in time to a rather early period contemporary with the Scythian animal art of north-west Asia (281). One of the earliest eagle representations of the Altai was found in the second Bashadar kurgan dating back

to the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. (figure 73). It is a heraldic eagle carved in wood with spread wings, mighty paws and unfolded tail. Its head is eared but has no crest. According to S.J. Rudenko eagles with large ears, a crest, and sometimes a small forelock are scarce in the Black sea region as compared with West Siberia and the Altai. However, the treatment of eagles from the west are known to have many varieties, whereas they are extremely rare in the regions inhabited by the Asiatic tribes. These eared and crested eagles are of Asiatic origin (282). Another eagle from the same epoch, this time from the first Tuektin kurgan, is depicted in a wooden pendant. The tail of the conventionalized eared eagle with a hooked beak and a small tuft, terminates in an eagle's head (figure 74). Eared eagles are rendered in the scenes of combats on gold clasps from Siberia of the same period. In one of these scenes, on the gold fastening of a garment, the victim is a monster with the body of a steed, the head of an eared and crested eagle and a cat's tail with a small eagle's head on its tip (figure 75). The crested eagle is clutching the head of the victim with its paw and simultaneously plunging its beak into the skull of the tiger biting into the body of the prey.

Pazyryk kurgan explored in Siberia by S.J. Rudenko is of extreme importance because its rich material evidence throws light on the problem of the eagle of the north. Findings of this kurgan are dated to the fifth century B.C. by S.J. Rudenko (283). Anne Roes indicates that "the many analogies between this kurgan and the art of the Achaemenids indicate that they must be contemporary" and dates Pazyryk kurgan to the fourth century B.C. (284). A combat scene showing an elk in the talons of an eagle-griffin is a characteristic Siberian work (figure 76) found in the barrow 1. S.J. Rudenko points out the Eastern Asian origin of the eagle-griffins, yet with individual Altaian treatment: "native works display some inherently Achaemenian qualities. These things were not mere copies of foreign objects, but their appearance in Altaian art in Achaemenian times could only be as a result of earlier cultural links between the peoples of the two areas". He further indicates the direct Oriental origin of the griffins ornamenting saddle covers and carpets; Neo Assyrian griffins found their way to Achaemenid art, but "the struggling griffins point back to even earlier examples of Sumerian art, and indicate undoubtedly pre-Achaemenian links between the Altaian tribes of Scythian times and Hither Asia" (285). "It should be noted that among several thousands

of works of art of the Mongolian and North Chinese tribes, mostly bronze cast ornaments (so-called Ordos bronzes), there is not a single representation of a gryphon or a winged lion. Those fantastic animals of Upper Asia evidently did not penetrate eastwards beyond the Altai" (286). M.I. Rostovtzeff agrees with S.J. Rudenko while indicating that "the eagle-griffon borrowed certainly from Persia or from peoples subject to Persia" (287). S.J. Rudenko departing from the affinities between the art of the north-eastern and north-western nomadic groups concludes, "the so-called Scythian Animal Style of art prevailed over all the area inhabited by the horse-breeding tribes from the Carpathian mountains in the west to the Altai, the T'ien Shan and the Pamirs in the east Asiatic shaman tribes, the Altaian included, evidently experienced the influence of Near Eastern art, in its Persian variety in particular. Representations of gryphons serve as convincing evidence of this" (288).

Like the gryphon the animal combat motif is a Near-Eastern originated composition going back in time to the third millenium B.C. In these scenes carnivores fall upon herbivores, predominantly ungulates which were very popular in the last millenium B.C. in the High Altai. On the palace reliefs of Persopolis a lion attacks a bull (figure 77 a); a leopard attacks

an elk on a Siberian art work (figure 77 b); in figure 77 c a lion attacks a deer found in Kul-oba; in a scene from Kelermes in the Kuban region, a lion attacks a goat (figure 77 d); figure 77 e shows a lion-griffin attacking an elk (from Seven Brothers barrow) and f shows a lion-griffin attacking an elk (from Pazyryk) (289). This motif was developed in Central Asia and Southern Siberia and was a characteristic one among the Altai. Later it spread for to the east. Western dualistic ideas, although modified, seem to have reached the Altai at the time the struggling animals were adopted (290). After indicating the birth place of these combat scenes we are required to give more information on their important element: the winged, lion - or eagle - griffin.

On a pile carpet from Pazyryk the central field is enclosed by a row of repeated figures of a griffin with raised wing and head turned back (figure 78). On the wall reliefs of the Assyrian palaces the griffin-demon as a beneficent creature with a man's body and eagle's head and wings, acts as guardian of the vital power contained in the sacred tree, or it transmits this power to the king (figure 25) (291). This function of the griffin as a protector genius is repeated on the Pazyryk carpet whose central composition is bordered by these composite creatures; again the row

of deers and the riders around it are limited on the outer edge by a second row of griffins, most probably meant to be the barrier of the central and outer compositions which could symbolize heaven, and the earth around it. On later Turkish rugs stylized double-headed eagles (the symbols and protectors of the Sky-door) on the borders of the central composition, replaced the griffins of the Pazyryk carpet.

S.J. Rudenko indicates that "the griffins of the High Altai are distinguishable from those of Hither Asia by their long ears" and M.I. Rostovtzeff identifies an eagle as an eagle-griffin by its ears (292). The griffin is a composite monster which goes back in time to the fourth millenium B.C. On a seal from Susa a male lion with mane has a bird's head, wings and talons on its front legs (293). This creature is the prototype of the late griffins which are the products of an association between the eagle's head and the lion's body. Another version of this type, which is well-known by us, is the so-called lion-headed eagle Imdugud. In the third chapter we have described the symbolic and artistic particularities of this composition which functioned as a symbol of the War - and Sun - gods and as a protective charm. The lion's head of the bird Imdugud has ears (figures 5, 6, 7); on the other hand, late griffins of Assyria

have long crests but not ears (figure 25). We have given S.J. Rudenko's view of a possible relationship between Altaic and Sumerian art (294). As a matter of fact animal forms of nomadic art are the products of a synthesis of realism and abstract expressionism. They do not recede from the reality of the actual image but overcome it in an aesthetic refinement (figure 76). The demonic, intellectual art of the Sumerians, in general, is far from the art of the Eurasian steppes. Despite these distinctive artistic spirits, the single elements are shared like the ear of the eagle-griffin; Although Altaic in treatment for placement on a real eagle's head, it slightly indicates the lion's head of the Sun-symbol of Sumer and the feathered neck (toothed comb) connects it to the Assyrian griffin demon (figure 25).

The heraldic cocks placed chest to chest are depicted in leather found in the Pazyryk kurgan. They confront each other in profile in a heraldic posture (figure 79). According to S.J. Rudenko "it is possible that the cock was sacred, for it heralded the dawn with its crowing and drove off the dark spirits of the night" (295). Mario Bussagli accepts these cocks as Iranian transformed into an exquisite decorative element reflecting the local style. He points out that "chamber tombs at Pazyryk clearly prove a strong Iranian radiation" (296). These cocks are purely conventionalized

decorative motifs demonstrating the inclination of the nomads' art towards ornamentation far from a symbolic or idealistic purpose. On a gold plaque one of the finest crested eagles of Siberia is depicted (figure 80). It has widespread wings and tail feathers and is devouring a stag in its claws. Its posture indicates the power and magic of the hunt rather than a heraldic or symbolic allusion. We are well acquainted with the bird 'Burgut' identified with the Golden Eagle in eastern Turkistan and among the Kirghis (297). This bird was used to hunt game animals and probably was the inspiration source of these realistically rendered aggressive eagles of the steppe art. As realistic imitations of the actual images, the eagle's ferocity and mercilessness and the elk's wretchedness and helplessness replaced the Hittite double-headed eagle's neutral heraldic posture and the tranquil obedience of the quadrupeds below it (cf. figures 80 and 11 b, c, 12 a, b, 13). Moreover, the peaceful relation between the Sumerian lion-headed eagle (heaven) and the quadrupeds (earth) under the talons (figures 5, 6, 7), is far from the message of this vital, momentary, combative scene.

In northern Mongolia, around the Selenga river-basin the Noin-Ula kurgans were found. These were the graves of the Mongol princes who dominated the Mongolians

living in the eastern part of the Hun state, and they date to the first century B.C. On a wooden tapestry with leather appliques a combat between the eagle-griffin and an elk is depicted (figure 81). The composition is very similar to the previous Altaic samples. Gregory Borovka sees a Greek influence on this native Scytho-Siberian work. M.I. Rostovtzeff agrees with him while stating that "Noin Ula woollen stuffs are in the neo-Iranian orientalized Greek style perfectly familiar to us from the finds of the Hellenistic period in Syria and Asia Minor". He indicates a relationship with Maikop (Kafkasia) finds and Siberian plaques (298).

The Scythian eagle's double-headed variation (figure 82) was applied in the Sarmatian period. In this epoch an animal shown from both sides became one of the favorite motifs of the Central Asiatic neo-animal style (299). Not only the eagle but hares, horses and other animals were represented in pairs with heads sometimes passing over each others' backs. Thus, in this version, the eagle with two heads, is only an ornamental version of two confronting eagles. This kind of representation of the eagle with two heads is not exceptional in other cultural eras in which the eagle or eagle-like birds had a wide symbolic or

purely ornamental value. An ivory fibulae from the Geometric period of the Spartan pottery (800 B.C.) from the western Anatolia is in the shape of a two-headed eagle-like bird whose single-headed images were represented with Artemis, probably, as her attribute (figure 83) (300). Such ornamental variations of the birds (cf. figures 79, 82, 83) indicate that a common impulse determined the existence of the second head facing the opposite direction of the one eyed, single head in profile. Naturally, it is impossible to establish a relation between these double-headed compositions or between others which emerged elsewhere (figures 8, 87).

As we know, the Yakut Turks of north-eastern Asia identified the eagle with the Supreme Being and called it Ai Toyon (the 'Creator of light'). The Buryats and Enets called the eagle 'the son of the god', the 'keeper of the fire', 'sovereign of the mind, the 'main intermediary between people and Nga (Num), the sky spirit'. A tribe among the Teleüt Turks accepted the merküt (the eagle) as a 'sky-bird' whose wings cover the moon and sun. The Selkups believed the eagle moiety 'walked' with the sun and connected it also to the sky. In Selkup folklore, the eagle carried the hero, who was transformed by the eagle into a man possessing miraculous powers. Altaian

shaman describes the eagle in the shamanizing ceremony as "god's bird, the eagle, the copper hooked terrible bird whose right and left wings cover the sun and the moon" (301). The Siberian eagle's role as a vehicle or intermediary, its relation with the sun, the fire, the sky and the Creator are shared by the Indo-Iranian eagle too.

It is known that in the far past Turks and Mongols worshipped the 'Sky' directly for they used the word 'God' to name the sky and the deity. Moreover, some tribes of northern Asia have the same word for the Sky or Sky-god. The Shamanist people of northern Asia thought of the Sky-god as an anthropoid genius living in a certain storey of the Sky and Altaic Turks called him 'Bay Ülgen' (302). Similarly in Indo-European religion there is the same importance given to the Great-God of the sky or of the Atmosphere and the same function attributed to the sons or messengers (303). Zurvan of the Iranians (the god of the firmament) about whom we talked before, was the father of Ahura Mazdah and is represented on the silver plaque from Luristan, in the form of a bird with an anthropoid head (figure 36). The winged disk of Assyria replaced this composition on the Achaemenid monuments. Indirectly, the Mesopotamian eagle took the place of the nameless bird's body of Zurvan (figure 35). Then

the eagle with its great symbolic allusion spread over Persia and was particularly accepted as the symbol of the sky (figure 41) (304), but not without losing its character of a Sun-bird whose prestige, was always, accepted by the kings of the east. The symbolic attribution of the Sky to the eagle, was practised for the first time by the Mitanniens, then more strongly by the Achaemenid kingdom and was continued by the Siberian peoples. This is not only proved by the late mythological or shamanic tradition but also by a heraldic Sky-eagle found in the Tuyakta Kurgan together with the celestial symbols which are the moon, the sun, the night and the day (figure 84). The question remains whether the north took the symbol directly from the south-west or whether a common belief in the sky-symbol in the west and north was responsible for this diffusion of the eagle.

Heavenly birds rendered by the Siberian shamans, were discovered recently (figure 85). These mythological birds were a part of the shamanizing ceremonies in which the Shaman's fly had an important place. They emphasize a naive approach towards the birds' world in order to be on good terms with their supernatural power and to establish a spiritual harmony with their magical ability to fly (cf. figures 85, 2). Under the compulsion of

a universal desire every member of the tribe wished to fly like a bird and wished to control the bird's extraordinary, unearthly power. The shaman in the shamanizing ceremonies collected the community's soul in his body and combined the people in a social catharsis. He then disguised himself as a bird or mounted on an imaginary bird and ascended to the heavens and descended to the underworld so as to keep the communication with the spirits and gods in good condition. The eagle as the most powerful and wild of all birds was called the lord of the birds and was held to be the father of the first shaman whose flying ability was attributed to it. However, the eagle was not the only tutelary spirit or vehicle of the shaman, or his robe which was always thought of as a bird; sometimes the horse, the goose, the crane, the loon, the otter, the elk, the reindeer and the bear could alternate with the eagle in these functions (305). Among these animals birds were usually chosen for the faculty of flight which made them like spirits. Shamans were able to accomplish 'coming out of the body', that is, the death that alone has power to transform the rest of mankind into 'birds'. The identification of the deceased with a bird as we know, has already been documented in the religions of the archaic Near East; there are even signs of this treatment on prehistoric monuments. The bird perched on

the post at Lascaux beside a slain man (figure 1) could be ideologically related to the idea that shamans can change themselves into birds and are able to fly to the World Tree to bring back 'soūl birds' (306).

According to Mircae Eliade "the symbolism and mythologies of 'magical flight' extend beyond the bounds of Shamanism proper and also precede it, they belong to an ideology of universal magic and play an essential part in many magico-religious complexes" (307). As such North American Paviotso shamans accepted the eagle and owl as being messengers that brought instruction from the spirit of the night. Among the Thompson Indians the eagle beside other animals is regarded as a guardian spirit of the shaman. North American shamans have a ceremonial costume consisting of eagle feathers and the eagle's tail feathers are believed to contain all healing powers (308). A Melanasian wizard in Leper's island was known to send out his soul in the form of an eagle to pursue a ship and learn the fortunes of some natives who were being carried off in it (309). An Aztec myth refers to the importance of the eagle, rising towards the sun with a serpent in his talons (310). Mexico's modern national emblem; an eagle with a snake in its talons and beak, originated from this mythological episode.

In the first place, as has been shown, the eagle in the mind of primitive man, was always a privileged flying animal to which collective functions in the community's religious life were attributed. The Altaic shaman's acceptance of the eagle also illustrates this. The eagle was chosen along with other birds as a soul bearer and a symbol of the soul. This recognition of the eagle shows the first signs of its purely utilitarian use as a porter and exemplifies a universal concept of primitive religions. In the second stage, the eagle became the Sky-bird, the Creator, the Supreme Being, and was placed by the Yakuts over the World Pillar or Cosmic Tree which symbolized the earth.

Old Turks thought of their tent as a Sky-dome, the pillar of the tent as a Sky-post and the tent shaft as a Sky-door. The tent was a model of the world. They further imagined that the earth was separated from space by a Sky-dome, the symbol of the micro-cosmos which was related to the world. They called the sky circling the earth 'kalık' comprising the micro-cosmos. 'Kök kalık', on the other hand, was beyond the sky in infinite space. The Great-God was believed to be residing in this 'High-Sky' above the moon, the sun and the stars. The same concept of

'High-Sky' was called 'Şang - T'ien' in Chinese (311). A similar belief must have shaped the Assyrian tree of life and winged disk composition (figure 25) and gives a clear explanation for their symbolic allusions. If the tree, accepted as the microcosmos, comprised not only the trunk but also the foliage, then the wings and tail of the eagle above it, represent the Sky, and the god emerges from behind the Sky-door (the sun-circle, the breast of the eagle). This sky-door opened from the macrocosmos in which resided the Sky-god of the Indo-Iranian and Turanian (312) peoples.

On the breast of some of the legendary shaman birds we can see the classical perforation, the Sky-door (figure 85 a). These birds are not exactly eagles but eagle-like mythological flying creatures (cf. figures 69, 72) some of which are in human shape. On the other hand their predecessor, the Sky-eagle of the Tüyahta kurgan (figure 84) was a representation of the natural eagle.

Only the Yakuts in north-eastern Siberia placed the image of the so-called double-headed eagle on the top of the World Pillar (313). Other tribes do not insist on the eagle but render simple double -or single-headed birds above the pillars (cf. figures 69, 1).

There was no consistent agreement among the Siberian peoples on how to render the eagle; rather,

a very common archaic representation was continued until recently, generally, as eagle-like legendary birds. In conclusion, we can say that the shamans' birds (figure 85) were the descendants of the early Sky-eagles of Siberia. However, their shapes have been modified, since the interruption of a period of continuous cultural contact and intercourse with the Near East. In the meantime, the life and religious formation of the Asiatic peoples was becoming static; sometimes symbolic allusions were confused, and the abstract existence of the god behind the eagle was eventually attributed to the eagle itself, and it was called the 'creator' or the 'Supreme Being'. Abdülkadir Inan judiciously relates the contemporary eagle cult of the Siberian peoples to the old Sky - and Sun - symbolism (314).

Early Siberian Sky-eagles and their recent successors must not be evaluated without a reference to the south-west Asian eagle of the Assyrian and Persian monuments, and without referring to a certain archaic Sumerian cylinder seal impression in which the eagle was associated with the gate of heaven (figure 18).

The second head depicted beside the other head of some birds (figures 69 c, d, 85 b) were intended to

make the legendary bird intellectually more capable and to render it spiritually potent as a door-guarding supernatural creature. We know that since the Han Dynasty on the Chinese 'TLV' mirrors the double-headed Sky-eagles stand for the Sun-door (figure 43). The Tumarcha horse charm from Afghan Turkestan (figure 49) represents a conventionalized double-headed eagle with the classical perforation on the breast connecting it to the Sassanian double-headed eagle (figure 40). These kind of horse charms used in Soviet Tajikistan and Uzbekistan probably spread over Central and Northern Asia. Furthermore, we know that in its early history, Siberia had communication with Achaemenid Persia and China. Chinese mirrors discovered in the Pazyryk kurgan, one of which is dated to fifth century B.C. are of the Tsin type (315). S.J. Rudenko speaks about a great wall-hanging found in the Pazyryk kurgan (figure 86) as a "hybrid of foreign and native motifs organically linked in a single idea" (316). The Pazyryk carpet scarcely differs from the earliest Persian rugs (cf. the face of the rider and the ones on the Sassanian silk, figure 55) and the robe of the Great Goddess closely resembles a Chinese dress, so the rider's clothes differ from the nomads' clothes (317).

The lotus type palmettes (the symbols of the sun) on the border of the carpet are designed in branches, repeated four times around a circle in which a square is inverted and which in the middle has a sphere also repeated four times on the palmettes. This coordination precedes the Chinese 'TLV' mirrors and cloud collars (figure 43) giving a universal cosmic plan (moreover cf. with the two quincunxes below the Sky-eagle of the Tuyakta kurgan (figure 84). With great probability the ornamental composition made of lotus flowers on the border of the Pazyryk carpet follows this kind of a world plan which originated in Persia and later found its way to China. However, to comprehend the cosmic symbolism it is more creditable to identify it as an Asian cosmic device which was independently developed in the various parts of Asia (cf. figures 42, 43, 59, 86). The double-headed eagles in the place of the palmettes are not exceptional in Asia general. It seems nearer to reality to accept that the palmette-like double-headed eagles of the Chinese mirrors and late Seljukid arabesques are the product of an association of the Persian lotus with the crested double-headed Eurasian Sky-eagle (318).

The double-headed eagle was the symbol of the Sky-door as is seen applied on the monuments from a very early period. The Parthian double-headed eagle

at Sirkap, from the first century B.C. over the blind-door of a Buddhist stupa, could be given as another example, since, the double-headed eagle of the Yakuts is not an isolated unique example but a part of a widely known religious symbolism. In reality, the second head could spontaneously be placed beside the other head of the Sky-eagle. As an example, another double-headed eagle found in Paracas, southern Peru, has a second head which was placed for the sake of symmetry (figure 87). It suggests another symbolic allusion i.e. the dualism, the conflict between the eagle and serpent and it is represented on an embroidered design. This eagle is double-headed and seizes two serpents in its talons. Another eagle from the Aegean islands on an embroidered bedspread from the seventeenth century is again double-headed and even has the crest or ear of the Eurasian eagles (figure 88). The motif of the S-curves on the body of the bird represents the symbolic reduction of an original serpent. According to Carl Schuster, "it seems very likely that the American designs, because of their roots in an apparently universal mythology, were, so to speak, 'independently invented' without reference to similar designs in Europe and Asia. It is equally likely, in my opinion, that the various European and Asiatic examples of our motive (the eagle

and serpent) were not 'invented independently' of each other, but were drawn from a common fund of artistic symbolism which was current throughout Eurasia over a long period of time" (319).

After the discovery of this double-headed eagle with serpents (cf. with the Indian Garuda victorious over Nagas) in its claws in Peru, we are convinced that it is really vain to seek a special place of origin for such a universal tendency to add a second head next to the original one on the body of the eagle. Moreover, the serpents could easily be associated with the eagle in any culture recognizing dualistic ideas in its idology. We already know that the double-headed eagle is merely a variation of the single-headed Sky-eagle. We saw samples supporting this fact from Sumerian, Hittite and Persian art. The double-headed eagle of the Yakuts is also a variation of the Sky-eagle and this type could have been borrowed from a late southern prototype or spontaneously brought into existence in the far north-east. In either case, it is a certain descendent of the Sky-eagle of the Indo-Iranian and Turanian peoples.

V. THE EAGLE OF THE ISLAMITE SELJUKS

The holy book of Muslims, naturally, inherited and masterfully interpreted the Mesopotamian written texts and mythological tradition. We once more find the eagle and the tree composition defined not only in the Kor'an but also in Arabic literature. In a verse from the Kor'an the well-known old Oriental ideas of light and tree are associated, "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost glow (of itself) though no fire touched it. Light upon light" (320). This central tree of the fourteenth sura belongs not only to the earth but reaches towards heaven and as such is a tree of heaven and the sky, in the seventh heaven, near which is situated paradise (321). In the fifty-third sura of the Kor'an this tree is mentioned, "And verily he (Mohammad) saw him (Cebrail, Gavriel) yet another time! By the lote-tree (Sidrat-ul Munteha) of the utmost boundary. Nigh unto which is the Garden of Abode. When that which shrouded did enshroud the lote-tree. The eye turned not aside nor yet was overbold. Verily he saw one of the greater revelations of his Lord" (322).

A.J. Wensinck indicates that "the Kor'an unanimously explains the term 'utmost limit' by the highest stage of the universe. What Mohammed meant by it is not known to us; apparently he borrowed the term or the idea from the current cosmological views of his days" (323). Probably, the Asian idea of 'High-Sky or Space' is responsible for this concept of Mohammad's utmost boundary (324).

The 'lotus of the utmost limit' (lotus: the Sidra) which was taken over from the Gilgamesh epic, is described in Arabic literature. In the book of Marvellous Things the Sun-tree is represented to be on one of the Western islands, related to old traditions concerning Alexander. In an Arabic description it is mentioned that the counterpart of the 'tree of the sun' on the earth is the sun, which is in the heaven and whose rays descend along its ladder and reach every place (325). In another book the throne of God is connected with the tree whose roots are under it. In Islamic cosmology the throne of God forms the summit of the Universe and the sidra is represented as reaching this highest cosmic stage; 'unto it reaches knowledge, but not farther'. The sidra originates in paradise and from there reaches up to the throne of God. Another tree standing in heavenly paradise is called by the proper name of

Tuba (the cypress tree) described as growing from its high place in the Universe downwards to the lowest heaven (326). There is also a tree of hell in the Kor'an called al-Zakkum (327). According to A.J. Wensinck "it is possible that the tree owes its origin to the well-known symmetricising tendency" (328).

The cosmic cock has an important place in Islamic tradition. The cock is believed to be possessed by God and precious stones are interwoven on its wings. Its one wing is in the East, the other in the West. Its feet are in the lowest earth and its head is bent under the throne. When the day of resurrection begins God says to it: Take thy wings and lower thy voice that the inhabitants of heaven and earth know that the Hour is near (329). A.J. Wensinck thinks that "the bird is of a cosmic bulk: he reaches to the highest part of the Universe, so that he can be said to represent the world. He has a solar character, as appears from his wings in East and West" (330). It is said in Arabic literature that the earth was created in the form of a bird and is a replica of the cosmic bird and there are parallel ideas in Jewish folklore. In Theosophic conceptions, Mohammad, before the creation of the world, was a luminary substance in the form of a peacock and the

peacock was on the tree of certainty (yakin). From this substance the world was created (331). The eagle is another solar bird which took a primary place among the others. According to Damiri just as the sun, it flies from the East to West in one day (332). As we know the eagle was accepted as a symbol of immortality because it could continuously lose and regenerate its feathers; this is particularity identified with the sun's daily course. The Arabic proverb 'living longer than the eagle (nasr)' is underlied by this tradition. The uqab (vulture) and nasr are sometimes linked together in Arabic literature. Uqab also is an immortal bird who revived after molting his feathers and leaving behind the weakness of old age. The nasr and uqab are interchangeable in Oriental tradition. The uqab is associated with a town in Egypt called 'Madinat al-uqab', or 'vulture's town'. The antique description of the phoenix which had on Oriental origin, accords well with the uqab. The eggs of another bird of Arabic literature, the anqa, are as large as mountains; it dwells in the West, on one of the islands of the ocean and it lives for two thousand years. The anqa is a cognate of the uqab and nasr, although is totally a mythical being as opposed to their merely mythical features. When the male and female anqa grow old,

one of them devotes itself to the fire-death, and its place is taken by a younger one. In mythological descriptions the anqa, as a hybrid creature, has a belly like that of an ox and bones of a lion or it has a human face and resembles all animals. The cherubium (composite creatures with the face of a man and griffin's body) of the Bible corresponds to these descriptions (333). The cherubium of the Bible were placed at the eastern end of paradise to guard the way to the tree of life which could be eaten by man. The scorpion men of the Gilgamesh Epos are also mixed beings and guard the Western gate of heaven (334). According to A.J. Wensinck, "here tree and bird (anqa) meet, for the cherub is the attendant of the tree. Here it appears that the cosmic tree and the cosmic bird belong to each other" (335). The anqa is called Simurgh in Persian literature and is associated with the mountain Kaf at whose gate it stands. It is also, associated with the sacred tree. A.J. Wensinck thinks that "it is very probable that such ideas, which do not originate in Islamic cosmology, go back to Persian national tradition" (336). The roc is another bird sometimes confused with the anuq and is an enemy of the serpent. It would seem to be some kind of fabled rook; however, it is the eagle, known as the

'Simrukha' among the Uigur Turks. The roc is also a descendant of or at least a conception closely related to the Simurgh. Muslim writers conceived of the roc, the anuq or the uqab as a crested black-bird (the eagle) (337).

The ascension theme was also transferred to Muslim tradition. Namrud strived to reach the abode of God without taking into account that no mere mortal can approach God in his heaven. Namrud is a tyrant, djabbar, in the Kor'an and is also called tamarrada, i.e. he who rebelled, in Muslim legend. Namrud is forewarned of the birth of a child who will annihilate his kingdom and throws Abraham into a fire. The prophet is miraculously protected by the cooling presence of an angel. Namrud then builds a lofty tower to search the heavens for the God of Abraham. He desires to continue the journey by flight at the attitude of 5000 cubits. He traps two eagles and attaches a light two-storey palanquin to their feet and seats himself below. After soaring sky-ward for the duration of a day he falls down or in another version descends to his tower, after discharging an arrow into space and retaining it stained with blood. Kaikaus in Islamic legends ascends into the heavens on a throne carried by four eagles (338). In Muslim tradition the fabulous bird anqa is said to have abducted a bride and to have been driven

by God to a deserted island on the Equador. It is believed that the anqa sometimes carried off children, and even the heroes of some tales were borne into heaven on the wide wings of the anqa (339). As we know the Simurgh was the carrier and protector of Rustam, the son of Zal, and the anqa was definitely assimilated with the Simurgh (340) so the Arabian roc is identified with the anqa and the Simurgh, and was the carrier of Sinbad who was taken by it to the Valley of Diamonds where the bird seized serpents of monstrous size (341). Furthermore, the uqab and the nasr are also cognates of the anqa.

The eagle of the Sumerian Sun-god Shamash is the prototype of all these late variations. The monstrous bird Zû or Imdugud corresponds to the anqa, the fabulous bird imagined as a composite creature, and the eagle is identified with the uqab or nasr in Arabic literature. The Simurgh is purely old Oriental in character (342).

The phoenix of the west (343) is related to the tree and to the sun, just as the anqa. Phoenix is not only the bird but also the name of the tree (344). Similar to the phoenix is the saena of the Avestan texts (345) and the Wu-t'ung (phoenix-tree) of Chinese mythology. The eagle-tree on the peak of

the Cornelian mountain dealt with in the Sumerian story of Lugulbanda (346) is the prototype of these late eagle-trees. On a Mesopotamian seal the eagle replaced the tree and is represented in the middle like a tree (figure 89 a) flanked by two attendant figures. On another cylinder seal impression the eagle is represented in the middle with spread wings, this time including the solar disk from which the tail feathers go down (figure 89 b). The wings of another eagle (figure 89 c) are modelled after twigs with leaves like the one in figure 89 b (347). This tradition was also continued in Islamic art and, the eagle and the tree are frequently associated on monuments.

The well-known Oriental dual cosmic symbolism, i.e. the eagle and serpent theme, found its way into Islam too. It is believed that God sent from the cupola of heaven a bird (the symbol of the sun) in the form of an uqab, a bird with a black back, white breast and yellow paws. As the serpent (the Ocean) on the wall of the Ka'ba (the earth, the sanctuary) opened its mouth in order to repel the bird, the latter came, caught the serpent by its head and took it to one of the surrounding mountains (348).

We can conclude with a classification of our knowledge on the eagle of the Islamic world.

1. The Cock, cosmic and solar bird, whose wings are in the east and west and possessed by God.
2. The Peacock, cosmic and solar bird, related with the tree of certainty, who also was Mohammad as a luminary substance before the creation of the world.
3. The Nasr (the eagle), solar and cosmic bird or uqab (vulture) or anuq (anqa) or roc, legendary birds, all of them related to and frequently associated with the tree.
4. Any kind of legendary birds (the eagle) carrying the heroes of the legends.
5. The eagle (simurgh) and serpent (dragon or Avestan lizard) in conflict.

As has been seen, the cock, the vulture and the peacock were added in the Islamic period to the old mythologic lore, but they are interchangeable with the eagle; that is, they are variations of the cosmic bird. The rich mythological accumulation of the centuries prior to the Islamic times is responsible for this augmentation of the subject. The philosophic reinterpretations of the Arabic writers made the tradition more colourful and guaranteed its survival in the Islamic period. Without their liturgic explanations it would be impossible to understand the symbolic

allusions of the Persian and Anatolian double or single headed Sky eagle-tree compositions. They were most celebrated in these countries because the old tradition of the Sassanian representational arts underlied, especially, the forms of the motifs of the Islamic textiles on which the double-headed or confronting Sky-eagles were plentifully depicted.

In the Near East when during the third and fourth centuries the importation of finished textile goods from China had ceased, a flourishing textile industry grew up in Persia. Strongly encouraged by Shapur I, this industry had generally employed Syrian workers, and especially Antiochian craftsmen (349). Even in the sixth century Greek-Syrian silk weavers were brought to Persia, which after 626 A.D., and definitively in 640 A.D., fell into the hands of the Arabs. They continued not only old Persian but also Mesopotamian and Assyrian traditions, as is reported by the Arab writer Masudi (350). Islam was the true heir to Sassanian art in general, and through Iranian Islam, Sassanian art continued to cast its spell over the peoples and cultures with which Islam maintained or reestablished contact in the course of its long history (351). Islamic silk manufacturers produced new motifs or patterns of the tree of life and the eagle, revealing

artistic re-creation of the old Indo-European, Semitic, Christian and pagan traditions (352).

In the book of 'A Thousand Nights and a Night' Sinbad claims that he tied himself to the leg of the roc which soared and ascended "till I thought it had reached the limits of the firmament". The anqa abducts brides in Muslim legends. The ascension is an ancient Iranian theme transferred directly from the Sassanian Anahit and the Sky-eagle association, and even further back in time to the Etana myth of the Babylonians. The eagle ascension theme occurs in Islamic art by the ninth century in the fragments at Nishapur. On a tenth century Islamic graffito bowl from Rayy at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a modestly dressed woman is the subject of the ascension (figure 90 a) (353). On a Buyid (354) silk (figure 90 b) from the tenth-eleventh centuries the double-headed eagles are represented with spread wings holding quadrupeds in their talons in the Mesopotamian manner (cf. with figures 5, 41). The double heads of these birds have the stylized combs of a cock and eagles' beaks and body below. This new form was obtained through the association of the eagle with the cock because of the latter's sanctity in the Muslim tradition. A male figure is rendered on the breast of the eagle and the inscriptions between the beaks of the upper confronting eagles and on the robe

invoke, "Mercy" and add "You remain the Emir of the faithful and your appearance is for the epoch an event of great value". Here it is implied that the hero of the ascension is the Caliph himself. The profusion of curls forming a halo around the youthful head have been traced back to a type of head dress initiated in Roman times (355). On another silk of Buyid period the crested or eared double-headed eagle holding a male figure on the breast is represented (figure 90 c). The eagle's tail spreads out into a stately pedestal terminating in half acanthus scrolls, and scrolls form the tips of the wings into which are fitted the griffin sejant whose paw is upraised in homage. The prince hangs from the eagle's neck by a circlet, which he grasps with his two hands and two lions leap up on either side of the tail (356). The griffins are replaced by the sun disks on another printed cotton fragment. Here, the griffins, are the sun and luminary symbols paying homage to the eagle. The inscription reads "complete favour" (357). The eagle is also a tree, for the acanthus scrolls on the wings and tail indicate the twigs. On another Buyid silk a feminine looking passenger is borne by the double-headed Sky-eagle and the inscription reads "All men of pure race act nobly" (358). On a bronze plaque from the Artukid (359) period

found in Mesopotamia the double-headed eagle with the cock's comb and spread wings is depicted (figure 90 d). It has a horseshoe shaped crescent on the breast in which a male figure stands. Gaston Migeon identifies this double-headed eagle as a heraldic symbol (360). It is very interesting to note the classical appendage on the breast of the Sky-eagle which continued to be practiced in the Islamic period. The crescent is a reminiscent of the Assyrian and Persian sun disks' circle from within which Asur and Ahura Mazda emerged, replaced by another sacred personality of the Islamic faith (cf. with figures 25, 35). On this occasion we should indicate that the Mesopotamian origin of the Islamic ascension theme is, once more, properly evidential through artistic reinterpretation.

Confronting eagles were popular motifs of Islamic textiles. On a Sicilian textile from after 1150 A.D. two eagles confront each other and between them is the sacred tree (figure 91). This time the bird is a composite one with the peacock's tail feathers and tuft, the cock's combs, and the eagle's beak, ears, body, legs and talons. The eagles are also trees, indicated by the lotus type palmettes arising from the wings. These two composite creatures accord well with the legendary birds of Arabic literature,

reinterpreted in the continuously enriched eastern tradition of divine birds. The confrontation of the Sky-eagles and the Simurgh's neckband on their body follow the Sassanian tradition (cf. with figure 41). Furthermore, the tree between them is also Sassanian because of its upper appendage at the top of the stylized trunk, which could be related to the lotus, the Sun-symbol, of the Sassanian sacred tree (cf. with figure 54). On a Hispano-Moresque silk fabric (figure 92 a) from the thirteenth century the eagles are placed face to face with circles on their shoulders (breast?). These circles give the classical perforation (the heart-shaped device) on the breast of the Sassanian eagle (figure 40), reinterpreted in the form of a medallion. The heart-shaped device is repeated on a Persian silk fabric of the eleventh or twelfth centuries. This fabric, is decorated with double-headed Sky-eagles soaring with spread wings over lions holding stags and flanking stylized trees with lotus type palmettes in the foliage (figure 92 b). The Arabic inscription on the wings reads "Let us praise the Lord" (361). The lotus type symmetric palmettes on the tree connect it to the Sassanian types and the lotus flowers between the legs and wings of the eagle show its eagle-tree character.

Khagani in the twelfth century wrote that "the face of the beloved is paradise. From the cheeks and the face and the tresses you have a peacock and a paradise and a serpent together". The cypress-Tuba was identified with the beloved in Persian romantic as well as religious poetry (362). Thus we see that in Muslim lore the elements of the old trifold symbolism (the eagle, the tree and the serpent) found their place in its complete symbolic allusion. On a Persian or Mesopotamian silk fabric (figure 92 c), from the eleventh-twelfth centuries, we see the eared double-headed eagle-tree with the conventionalized serpents in 'S' curves on the heads and beaks. This time even the roots of the tree are rendered as scrolls curving around the tail feathers, beside the others terminating the wing feathers on the tips. On the breast of the eagle, in medallions, converted stylized plants standing on the trunks and divided into two parts on the top (stylized double-headed eagles) could be the Tuba tree (the cypress) growing from its high place i.e. heaven, downwards to the lowest heaven and the tree associated with the eagle is Sidrat-ul Munteha. The hares, symbols of darkness, are also present under the beaks of the eagle, struggling to escape from the possible attacks of the eagle (symbol of the light). The whole composition is bordered by a two-lined frame within which stags

flanking sacred trees in the Mesopotamian manner probably symbolize the earthly principle beside the Sky-eagle (363).

Incense vessels are another group of objects with which the double-headed eagle and the other elements of the well-known 'trifold symbolism' are associated particularly in Persia. As we know Ahuramazda was said to dwell above in the realm of eternal light and fire was his symbol. Furthermore, in Shahnama a noble cypress was said to have been planted by Zoroaster in front of the portal of the fire. After Zoroaster, Mithra was also the god of light (364). Fire and light, as we know, are associated with God in Muhammedan times (Kor'an XXIV, 35) and even with the prophet himself, "O Prophet! Lo! we have sent as a witness and a bringer of good things and a warner. And as a summoner unto Allah by His permission and as a lamp that giveth light" (XXXIII, 45-6). Then, the sun is also associated with the lamp: "See ye not how Allah hath created seven heavens in harmony. And hath made the moon a light therein, and made the sun a lamp?" (LXXI, 15-16). As a result, the lamp, which as an instrument, is a source of light was directly related with the religious symbolism, and, according to Schuyler Cammann "a lamp was also used as symbol of the Divine

wisdom which is to be apprehended through the Sun-gate" (365).

On a Persian incense burner the trifold symbolism is represented to indicate the abstract existence of God associated with light (figure 93 a). The mouth of the burner is enclosed by a double-headed bird (eagle) with the classical perforation on the breast. This time the hole is in the bead form closely akin to the 'hearth' shaped device. The birds flanking the perforation on the breast indicate that the double-headed eagle is also a tree on which two Simurghs are seated. The heads of the eagle flank the trunk of the tree over which the crested eagle (the fire bird) with the peacock's tail is placed. The mouth of the incense burner unquestionably symbolizes the door giving way to God's throne. His light shines from within and is thought to be paradise by the lote tree, (Sidrat-ul Munteha) the tree of the sun. The double-headed eagle-tree is the guardian of the gate (cf. with the cherubium of the Bible) and the symbol of the sun-tree. On another Persian incense burner from the same period (twelfth century) the symbolism is continued without alteration of the more slender body of the fire bird (figure 93 b). A small lamp from the twelfth or thirteenth century (figure 93 c) is double-spouted to display the double heads of the eagle and the perforation on the horizontally

rendered breast. The fire bird is over the handle and two guardian lions flank the eagle-tree on each side. As is seen the archaic trifold symbolism of Persia was applied on fire producing instruments used all throughout the Islamic period (366).

On a Persian processional axe the sacred tree and the double-headed eagle association is clearly shown (figure 94). Two simurghs are perched on the branches of the tree and the Sassanian lotus (shaped in a palmette) is on the top of the trunk (world-pillar). It is interesting to note its application, also, at the bottom below the roots, therefore, between the lower world and the pillar (the tree).

We have talked before about the 'metaphysical sun' concept of the Asian peoples (367). Plato thought that our world was but a mirror of the world Above, and according to Schuyler Cammann this idea was strongly shared by many Muslim thinkers (368). We see the old cosmic symbolism continued on the backs of the mirrors used in the Islamic period. On the back of an Artukid bronze mirror from the end of the thirteenth century (figure 95) the twelve signs of the Persian Zodiac are represented on the outer zone and the seven planets (the sun and the moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn) are depicted in the inner zone. The single-headed Sky-eagle is placed in the middle with the

classical perforation on the breast and has been clearly identified as the Sun bird by Schuyler Cammann; Since the physical sun was already symbolized, this must have stood for the Metaphysical sun (369). "In the Islamic philosophy there was the Sufi preoccupation with Light, and the Metaphysical sun as the source of that light, so frequently, symbolized by the old Central Asian 'Sunbird'". "Later the Metaphysical Sun-Gate was considered as a separate entity: the Entrance to the Throne of God, in the innermost part of Heaven" (370). The eagle as a symbol of the sun become the central point of the Zodiac on a Mithriac plate (371). This Near Eastern tradition is followed by the Artukid mirror with peculiar symbolic additions. We have talked about the old Turkish cosmological concepts (372) and stated that God was believed to be residing above the moon, the sun and the stars. This cosmological concept is applied on the Artukid mirror's back and God's abstract existence above the sun and planets is imagined to be behind the mirror, in paradise. As G.F. Moore states, the vision of God, as Kor'an promises, is a spiritual vision, not a seeing with the eyes of sense; for God is not a sensible object (373).

The Sky-eagle is frequently displayed on the Persian ceramics of the Islamic period. On a carved

polychrome engravd plate from the eleventh century, the Sky-eagle (-tree) is frontally depicted (figure 96 a) and identified as a cock by A.U. Pope (374). The eagle has the cock's combs and the lion's ears, as in the traditional Islamic representations of the Sky-eagle. Moreover, the scrolls extending from the wing tips indicate the classical eagle-tree of Mesopotamia and the circle from within which the body of the eagle emerges above the tail, is reminiscent of the Persian winged disk whose middle portion has this roundel. Most important of all, the Sky-door is represented by a prolonged split on the breast. The round form of the plate symbolizing the sun's circle like the previous Sassanian types should not be overlooked (figure 40). Another interesting sample exhibits distinctive qualities (figure 96 b). This time a half acanthus scroll is displayed in the bead shaped perforation and stands for the lote-tree covering the Gate of God's Abode. The two cat-faces on the wings could be reminiscent of the Assyrian and Persian triad of the winged disk (figures 24, 34).

The old Asian cosmic plan showing the four directions and five doors, one of which belonged to the metaphysical sun in the middle, is painted on a eleventh century Persian bowl (figure 96 c). Palmette

type lotus flowers, four in number, terminate the four arms of the quincux. Sun-doors are indicated by the signs of perforations on these flowers and by the circled one in the center. This plan was present on the border of the Pazyryk carpet (figure 86). There the same design was a decorative element without the arms of the quincux. The double-headed stylized birds (eagles) of the Chinese cloud collar replaced, probably under Persian influence, the 'T' shaped gates of the old plan (figures 42, 43). The double-headed eagle could alternate with the lotus which was a sun-symbol in Persia, or could even change into its form. As a matter of fact, the lotus type palmettes of Islamic Persian art are made up of an association of the classic lotus with the crested double-headed eagle. The double-headed eagle displayed on an Artukid textile could be given as an example to show the close relationship between the late Persian lotus type palmette and the Sky-eagle (figure 97). The eagle with the Cock's combs and crests, is also a tree, shown by the scrolls on the wing tips, and in the place of the perforation a converted lotus type palmette is represented to stand for the Sky-door. We know that the palmette is assumed to have originated in the sacred tree ornament of Mesopotamia (figure 98) (375). It is depicted over the tree trunk with wide spread leaves. Later,

on the top of the Sassanian sacred tree the lotus replaced the Assyrian palmette (figures 52, 54). Then in the Islamic period the double-headed eagle was associated with the lotus of the Sassanian art so as to stylize an animal motif of pre-Islamic periods and to render it an abstract ornament which had hidden symbolic meanings. We do not know exactly when this unification took place, which could have been applied before the Islamic period. We know very well however, that the lotus type palmette stands for the double-headed eagle on the Persian monuments of Islamic times and this tradition continued in the art of the Anatolian Seljuks. The stylized double-headed eagles (lotus type palmettes) make the four Sun-gates of a cosmic plan represented on a Seljukid glazed tile (figure 99) from the Divriği mosque, 1228-29, in Anatolia. If we compare our samples (figures 100 a, b, c, d, e) we see that the back to back placed crested heads of the double-headed sky-eagle (100 d) give the well-defined form of the late Persian or Seljukid lotus type palmette (100 e) (376). There was a strong tendency at work to stylize the animal genera in the figural world of the Turkoman rugs and it seems probable that the double-headed eagle reduced to a flower type (lotus plus palmette)

was first created and implemented by the rug weavers of Central Asia.

Before giving a detailed resumé of our knowledge upon the Anatolian double-headed eagle of the Seljukid period, we should indicate the Central Asian eagle of other groups in Turkic stock, who resided in a definite stage of cultural and racial unity in the vast steppes of Asia before advancing towards the Near East in the Islamic period.

In the second quarter of the second century B.C. according to Chinese chronicles, Hun princes worshipped, the Sky-god through the mediation of an idol called 'ongon' or 'töz'. The eagle (bürküt) was one of the various idols widely worshipped by the Shamanist Turks (377). Eagle figurines made for decorative or religious purposes were very popular objects for the Huns and were found in their kurgans. Their style follows the previous Scythian samples and as in Scythian and Siberian arts, the western symbolic allusions of the double-headed eagle and the double-headed eagle itself are lacking. Only the old respect to the Sky-eagle was continued in the north-eastern tradition. On the other hand, the sacred tree flanked by two birds and by two stags' heads with another bird placed on the top, typical particularities of the Near Eastern types, are rendered on portable objects (378).

We know that the Göktürk Khans were real shamans and they had felt images of their gods and offered them sacrifices (379). Some monuments discovered in Mongolia in the Orhon valley are related to the Göktürk state. One of the four monuments is the head of a statue showing a male figure with a conical hat (figure 101). This figure is identified as prince Kül-Tigin, the brother of Bilge Kağan (716-34) and after Kül-Tigin's death in 731 was erected in his memory by Bilge Kağan. The eagle is represented with spread wings on the crown of Kül-Tigin (figure 101). Contrary to most Western types, it is pictured from behind while flying upwards. This posture has utmost significance for us because it demonstrates the purpose of its existence on this monument. Lumir Jisl states that the crown of Kül-Tegin originated from a western source and, probably, the eagle came from the Central Asian cultural heritage (380). We know that the eagle with spread wings is represented on the crowns of the Parthian kings, illustrated by a limestone head of a king found in Hatra (381). The eagle of the crown is over a band on the forehead like the one on the head of Kül-Tigin. However, it is depicted en face with spread wings as a heraldic, power symbol. Lumir Jisl indicates that this bird on the hat of Kül-Tegin is unique, without a counterpart in Asian art and, probably, as an eagle, is a heraldic

symbol. Oktay Aslanapa agrees with him while recognizing it as a blazon (382).

In reality there is no conclusive evidence to prove the armorial nature of the eagle on the crown of Kül-Tigin's statue. However, we are well-acquainted with the eagle as a carrier of souls and a popular spiritual helper of the Asian and Siberian shamans. With great probability, on the head it symbolizes the ascension of Kül-Tigin's spirit after his death. Moreover, an eagle pictured from behind has nothing to do with armorial signs such as the exhibition of power or sovereignty, the most common qualities of the western armorial eagles. Then, Lumír Jisl states that Orhun monuments were constructed by Chinese craftsmen (383) and for the Chinese the Sky-door shaped as the Sky-eagle (cloud collar) was not unknown. We know the late helmet symbolism of the Asian peoples (384) and could advance the theory that it was probably, thought that the eagle over the band would function, in the eyes of the Turks, as a Sky-door by which the spirit of Kül-Tigin could pass to the world above the sky. We think that the prince was first identified with the eagle, upon his death, and no more heraldic meaning was attributed to it. Like a shaman experiencing in the shamanizing ceremonies while disguising himself in an eagle's body, the deceased Kül-Tigin was believed to, as an eagle,

be able to fly through the heavens up to the abode of the Sky-god (385).

In Islamic times the first known representations of the double-headed eagle as an architectural ornament, are found in the Ghaznavid (386) palace in ancient Zabul (Afghanistan) which dated to the twelfth century. According to Alessio Bombaci "the creative impetus of the Ghaznevid culture came from outside, primarily from the lands of the Islamic East. A fundamental factor in the culture of these countries was the revival of Iranian traditions, which had been submerged after the Arab conquest but were triumphant after the 8th century" (387). The Ghaznavids spoke Persian, celebrated pre-Islamic festivals and promoted neo-Persian letters; thus, the traditions of Sassanian art continued with a vigor corresponding to the spirit of the age, infused with the concepts of Islam. Later Ghaznavid art was transmitted to the art of the Seljuks (388). All the components of the Ghaznavid design repertory derive from Sassanian tradition, but they were developed in an original and inventive spirit (389). On a large marble transenna from the eleventh century found during the Ghazne excavations, fantastic animals and scrolls are intermingled on both faces. On one face elephants and peacocks, some of them equipped with fantastic wings, are arranged at the sides in series within octagonal frames. On the other face, heraldic figures

of winged sphinxes (harpies) (390), two-headed eagles and the like are composed in arabesques (figure 102) (391). Harpies and double-headed eagles, as we know are directly related to the celestial symbolism, and their existence on the border of a central composition reminds us of the rugs on which the double-headed eagles functioned as talismans and door-symbols woven on the borders. Alessio Bombaci states that "this is a type of decoration typical of textiles. Therefore motifs from textiles must be added to the repertory of themes used in marble" (392). Furthermore, the lotus type palmettes in place of the tail feathers of the double-headed eagles point to Persian influence. They are lined up to be the guardians of paradise, on the inner sides of the two inner and outer frames bordering the compositions.

The Ghaznavids erected a 'World-axis' in Ghazni in the shape of a tall column, the cross-section of which represented an eight-pointed star. According to Schuyler Cammann the "influence was Iranian since in earlier Persian diagrams the center of the world had been depicted as an eight-pointed star. However, a related form is shown on the Buddhist mandalas" (393). Schlumberger states that it was customary for an ancient sovereign to provide pictures in his palaces of the men who guarded his person (custodians of his power)

and cites examples from Persopolis and Susa (394). A piece of marble decorated with niches with pointed arches inside which guardians with lances in hand are depicted in relief, was discovered in the Ghazni palace. The crested double-headed eagles with spread wings are represented in the triangular spaces between the arches and placed over symbolic pillars (figure 103). Their tails extend into wands flanked by crescent-shaped devices near the base and are depicted by a line drawn from the two lower starting points of the arches and continuing down by way of a small opening on the base. Doubtless the function of the double-headed eagles on this slab is, in alliance with the guardians, to protect the niche-shaped symbolic doors of the palace. The wands below the eagles are stylized representations of the world-axis (world-pillar or sacred tree) and the crescent-shaped devices (most probably crescents) continue the old Near Eastern tradition in which the sun-disk was the limiting boundary of the attainable earthly world, behind which was thought to be the abode of god and paradise. The composite creatures (the double-headed eagles, harpies or cherubium) are the guardians of its gate (cf. with the double-headed eagle of Sirkap in Afghanistan, similarly associated with a niche, figure 58 a, b).

As we know the Ghaznavid dynasty was from Turkic stock and for this reason we should pay attention to what degree and dimension the Turkoman groups and Turkish culture, in or near Persia proper, were in contact with the Persian heroic and Islamic tradition. This would reveal several clues towards making definite conclusions about the origins of the matter and mythological meaning of the late Sky-eagle. These conclusions could lead to possible solutions to some of the unsolved questions about the Seljukid double-headed eagle.

Turkoman groups of Asia embraced the Islamic faith in the time span between 920-960. A few years before this time, during the reign of the Abbasid caliphs al-Muktefi (902-908) and al-Muktedir (908-832) some sects who opposed the dogmatic rules, gained power in the Islamic World. Shi'a Iranian nationalists and Zoroastrians were adhered to these adverse groups. In 921 the Shi'ahs conquered the principal cities of Horasan and spread out in north-eastern Persia. According to Z.V. Togan it is certain that Islam reached Turkish groups in the east by way of Iran and was presented by the Shi'ahs (395) who could to some degree easily adapt themselves to other popular faiths of the time, such as Manicheanism, Buddhism and Shamanism. Islamic Oghuz Turks and Seljuks, before

coming to the border of the Byzantine state, found a rich culture which would have a great impression on them; that was the Arabian and even more strongly the Persian civilization, united under the title of Islam (396). Shi'a doctrine was brought into Iran by the Arabs who emigrated from Küfe to Kum.

M.F. Köprülü emphasizes the important role of the Turks in the diffusion of the Shi'a doctrine in Western Asia (397). He further states that in the far east beyond Horasan and Maveraunnehir in the tenth and eleventh centuries, among the Turkoman groups 'Ali' replaced the Sky-god (tengri) and the predominance of the Sufi's Shi'a doctrine was caused by the Oghuz immigration towards west (398).

Within Islam, it is certain that, the Shi'ah doctrine was more open to outside influences than the others. İ.Z. Eyüboğlu indicates that while, in the west, Islam was gaining power, Iran, in the east, was weak and helpless after the end of the glorious days of its powerful kingdom which had spread over and controlled the Near East for centuries. As a result the descendants of the kings of the old heroic age were reluctant to accept and to obey the Sunni doctrines brought by the Arabian conquests. In a poem Firdausi humiliated the lizard-eater Arabs and accused them of audacity and attempting to overthrow the Iranian kings.

In this mood, during the collapse of the caliphate, Iranians did not miss an opportunity and inflamed the disputes in the election of the new caliphate. Opposing the Umayyades who supported the views of Ali's followers and had faith in twelve imams believed to be the descendants of Ali, Shi'ah Persians gave credit for their heritage to the Sassanids and had sufficient resources to reshape and interpret their old traditions in the melting pot of Islam. Old pantheist beliefs and the Zoroastrian creed participated in the newly created faith and culture of Iran (399). In Iran Shi'ah doctrine meant the old creeds continuing in the new interpretation and mystic philosophy of the sects; the new creed was based on the rich sources of antique Persian culture. The Central Asian originated Turkoman groups further added to this the Buddhist creed and culture.

Phyllis Ackerman states that "it is generally assumed that no symbolism persisted in Islam, and this seems to be almost wholly true of western Islam, the conspicuous exception being some early Islamic and medieval textiles attributable chiefly to Syria. But Persia certainly clung to her old symbols, not merely as established forms of ornament, but clearly in many instances and through many centuries with conscious meaning. It is noteworthy, however, that the old

Sky-god symbols, though not all of them may have wholly disappeared certainly played no conspicuous part, presumably because the Great God became Allah, and here Islamic Iconoclasm did prevail" (400).

The Sky-eagle, or its variation the double-headed eagle, the symbol of Sky-door and light is, generally, not peculiar to the early Muslim art of Mesopotamia. Highly stylized decorative birds in stucco, discovered in Samarra, from the Abbasid period, and the bird heads on wood from the art of the Tolunoğlu Dynasty which reigned in Cairo in the ninth century, are very far from the symbolic and representational connotations of the late Sky-eagle of Persia (401). Representations of the Sky-eagle continued to be applied in the Islamic arts of Persia, not only because of its long past in this country, but, also, because of its immense prestige in Asia; in all of Asia, the same symbolic meanings were attributed to it with slight differentiations. Turkoman groups from the east were not unfamiliar with legendary birds, which made the communication between heavenly and earthly worlds possible and were the products of the old cultural links with the west. Otherwise the approval of the Sunnite Seljuk sultans of the use of the Sky-eagle could not definitely be explained. A more effective factor which contributed to its wide popularity among

the Seljuks was the Shi'a doctrine of the Islam, which shaped the philosophy and customs of the sects which originated in Persia and radiated throughout Anatolia after the Seljukid conquests. A third factor responsible for the tolerance of the Seljuk Sultans, in the use of the figural arts in general and the Sky-eagle in particular, was the immense prestige of the Persian kingship in the courtly world of the Seljuk palaces (402). We already have shown that the late Sky-eagle of Iran had strong ties with the early Persian Sky-eagle which primarily developed from Mesopotamian mythological heritage from which Muslims derived their mythology, i.e. Arabic literature. The Turks of Central Asia were not ideologically alien to the concept, but that the late Persian eagle was originally Mesopotamian in character is evident from the fact that without the explanations of the late Arabic and Persian compilers and original Indo-Iranian mythological sources, it would be impossible to evaluate the composite Sky-eagle of the Islamic period either symbolically or artistically.

In Siberia the pillar of heaven and tree were sometimes, associated or fused together in a definite stage of cultural development. In various parts of Asia the tree and pillar are thought to be the same cosmic symbol (403). As an example the association of the Mitannian 'pillar of heaven' with the Mesopotamian

cosmic element, 'the sacred tree', created the sacred tree of the Assyrian monuments, on which is placed the winged disk. Bahaeddin Ögel indicates that the Turks' view of the 'world pillar' has changed by their conversion to the Islamic faith. They now identify the world pillar with Mohammad, and Shi'ahs additionally thought of it as being Ali (404). As we have seen, following the Mesopotamian and Persian traditions the Sky-eagle of the Islamic period was also accepted as being the tree which is imagined to be near paradise. C.H. Pellat states that a Shi'a group, the Shumaytiyya, adopted the 'anka' created by God and included it among the attributes of the Hidden Imam (405). The Sky-eagle in the Islamic period too, under various names such as Cock - Peacock - Uqab - Nasr - Anqa - Simurgh, is associated with God and the prophet and with the heroes of some legends dealing with ascents planned to pass through the heavens so as to reach the upper-sky, the abode of God. Some inscriptions written on or around the Sky-eagles represented on the Persian Islamic textiles, read: "You remain the Emir of the faithful and your appearance is for the epoch an event of great value", "Mercy", "Complete favour", "Let us praise the Lord", and so on. Our view is that these words probably suggest the identification of the Sky-eagle with the prophet or with another sacred

personality who had equal rank with him, which could only be Ali or Mehdi for the Shi'ahs.

The Sky-eagles with relevant inscriptions could be found not only on Persian textiles but also on any Sky-eagle represented in the arts of the Sundry Turkoman dynasties who established states or city states in the Near East after the eleventh century. Prince Imad-ed-deen Zengee established a city state in Sinjar in Syria called by his second name. The Sky-eagle with double-heads is stamped on his coins. On one of these coins dated to 1190 ? , on the breast of the eared, double-headed eagle the words 'El-Imam, Ahmad' are inscribed in Arabic letters (figures 104 a, b). The double-headed eagle represents the Hidden Imam Mohammad Mehdi for his name is inscribed on its breast. As stated by C.H. Pellat, the anka was among the attributes of the Hidden Imam. Some connotations of the word Ahmad are "more, or most, worthy of praise", or "praising (God) to a higher, or the highest degree". In the Kor'an it is said that Jesus spoke of himself as the messenger of God, confirming the coming of another prophet whose name is the Praised One (Ar. Ahmad) (LXI, 6) and Muhammad is believed to be this prophet yet to come. His name in St. John is Paraclete in Greek and means Advocate or Intercessor (XIV, 15-16). According to J. Schacht the word Ahmad in the Kor'an is to be taken

not as a proper name but as an adjective, and that it was understood as a proper name only after Muhammad had been identified with the Paraclete (406). As it is seen Ahmad was the name of a prophet yet to come and Muhammad was this prophet, whose last descendent Muhammad Imam Mehdi's return was expected by the Shi'ahs. Thus the reason for the association of Ahmad with Mohammad and its use on the Sky-eagle (the symbol of the celestial light lodged in Muhammad and received into the souls of the Imams in succession) can be definitively explained. However, these deductions of ours still need detailed research in the area of the Turkoman coins of Mesopotamia. For the time being we have shown some possible solutions to some questions which appeared at first glance.

On a coin of the Arthukid prince Nasir-Ad Din Mahmud of Amid (1200-1222) the eared double-headed eagle, this time with a man's bearded head on each wing, is represented in the middle (figure 105). This composition is not more than a follower of the triad of the winged disk of Assyrian and Achaemenid monuments (cf. with figure 24). It is probable that this triad survived for centuries on the coins of Greek, Roman and Byzantine colonies and, was, probably kept alive in Persia (cf. with figure 96 b). We know that Turkoman princes had tolerance to put on the coins the old

symbols of their vassals. As an example the Ghaznevids continued the traditional momentary systems after their invasion of the country. S.L. Poole states that "the Urtuki Turkumans (as well as the contemporary image-coining dynasties) had frequent intercourse with the Greeks and other Christians of the coasts of Asia Minor. To facilitate their monetary exchanges some currency intelligible to both had to be devised. The result was a mixed coinage - Arabic inscriptions with European, generally Byzantine images" (407). We do not know whether the Turkomans of northern Mesopotamia attributed to this image a triple symbolism which could be the association of the 'God-Muhammad-Ali' trio; whether or not this is so, it is sufficient at present to see the continuity, or return of the Assyrian triad into Mesopotamia.

On another coin dated to 1220 the title Imam is associated with Nasir-Ed-deen Mahmood in an inscription stamped in a hexagon on the reverse side and on the other side is the double-headed eagle (408). The double-headed eagle was also stamped on the coins of Kutb-Ed-Deen Mohammad (atabeg of Sinjar 1197-1219), and Rukn-Ad-Din Maudud (atabeg of Kayfa 1222-1231) (409). According to S.L. Poole, "the two-headed eagle was apparently the armorial badge of the city of Amid. The first coin struck at that city since the introduc-

tion of images on Muhammadan coins bears this eagle....
The origin of the two-headed eagle is very obscure"
(410).

In Amid (Diyarbakır) in the Artukid palace from the thirteenth century a black-coloured eared double-headed eagle pointed on glazed tile and identified as a blazon was found (411). It has the classical perforation on the breast, in which a lotus-type palmette is depicted, and has the crescent shaped circle over the tail. The lotus type palmette is repeated below the tail and decoratively rendered on the four corners of the square tile representing the four Sun-gates (412).

Two distinctive samples of the double-headed eagle are depicted in low relief on the two big towers of the city walls of Diyarbakır. One of them is on the Evli-Badan (Ulu-badan) tower (1208-9). Over the border of an Arabic inscription the crested double-headed eagle grasping in the claws the curls of its tail is placed in a rectangular blind niche making a pointed-arch above (figure 106 a). On the two sides of the central inscription two sphinxes (human-headed winged lions) menacingly turn the heads towards the spectator, and two lions whose heads are broken confront each other (cf. these creatures with the cherubim of the Bible and the harpy of Arabic literature). The

other double-headed eagle is on the Yedi-qardash tower (1208-9) over the border of the inscription, this time placed below a wide lobed and stepped arch (figure 106 b). Two lions with heads turned outward flank the inscription below. The double-headed eagle (figure 106 c) has two crescent shaped circles between the heads and body, which are also repeated between the tail and body. Moreover, two extra wings are added whose upper sides are shown behind the frontally depicted wide wings. This posture indicates that, as with the Alaja Hüyük eagle (figure 17), two eagles, are placed back to back watching in both directions. For this reason the shape of the classical perforation on the breast is more elongated and narrowed than in the ordinary samples.

According to Max van Berchem these birds of the Diyarbakır wall are probably personal emblems. He accepts that the relationship between the eagle of the empire and the Amid bird goes back in time to the eagle's first appearance on the coins of the Artukids in the first half of the thirteenth century. Max van Berchem tends to think that the double-headed eagle is related to the Mahmud's (1200-1222) title 'Sultan' and that these heads symbolize either the Kaifa and Amid cities or the dual might of the kingship

or political and marital attachments (413). Albert Gabriel states that we cannot consider these reliefs to be simple decorative elements. The most simple idea is to attribute heraldic values to them, but their variation is not explained by this one-sided hypothesis and we do not possess any inscription to interpret these enigmatic figures and to obtain a satisfactory conclusion. He distrusts attributing these emblems to the cities of this region (414). M.F. Köprülü states that Islamic cities could not possess emblems because of the lack of 'personnalité juridique'. He accepts the rare existence of the dynastic blazons (415).

We have indicated the Sky-door function of the Sky-eagle which was applied, as a protective charm on the borders of Turkoman and Persian rugs, in or around the symbolic door-niches of some buildings, around the central medallions of the Asian mosque domes, in the middle of the metal mirrors etc. This cosmological symbolism was also believed and practised in Islamic cities. Around the Sky-door giving way to the metaphysical sun (God's light source) the four openings of the Persian-Chinese cosmic plan were considered to be the four gates of Old Baghdad (planned in 762) whose plan was designed to represent a reflection of Heaven upon Earth, and consisted of a circle

of walls pierced by four gates in the intermediate directions and a quincux made by two transverse streets intersecting each other in the center of the circle made by the wall (416). Similarly the four main gates of the Diyarbakır wall give way to four streets making a quincux by their lines (417). The main plan of this wall shows the scheme of a Roman castrum but its towers and wall lines have been rebuilt and restored several times. The Yedi-qardash and Evli-badan towers were built by the Artukid Turkomans in the thirteenth century and they depicted the Asian solar symbol, the double-headed eagle, on these late additions. Repeating the well-known Oriental tradition, feline quadrupeds protect the eagle-tree, which is associated with the symbol of Sun-and Sky-door. The double-headed eagle is depicted with the classical perforation on the breast over the inscription, in a door-niche, which symbolizes the entrance to paradise - God's abode - the city (figures 106 a, b) (cf. the round towers with the symmetric mountains on the Sumerian seals standing for the gates of Heaven (figure 27). Birds of prey were among popular Saracenic blazons (Saracenic means belonging to the Muslims in Syria, Palestine and Egypt after the crusades). The white falcon (griffin-vulture)

was the blazon of Aqush bin Abdallah al-Ashrafi, an Egyptian amir of the fourteenth century. The crested eagle or falcon was the blazon of Musa bin Ali bin Qalaun (1288-1318). The double-headed eagle was the blazon of Baysari as-Salihi ash-Shamsi (1229-1299). The eagle or falcon with a napkin was the blazon of Bahadur Al-Hamami (418). L.A. Mayer states that "the eagles known in two varieties frequently show a lanceolate patch on their breasts which at times has the appearance of a gash, hence the description 'aigle éventré'. But more often it looks like a pear-shaped Shield, and is probably meant to be an ornament only" (419). As shown also by Schuyler Cammann L.A. Mayer did not realize the existence of the traditional hole on the breast of the eagles (figure 107) (420). These birds in reality are Persian Sky-eagles brought to the west by the Seljuk Turks who held sway over Syria and Palestine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the bottom of a pot, around the Sky-eagle which is represented in the middle, four Sun-gates are shown as four single-headed eagles (figure 107 a). We do not have enough knowledge to justify the heraldic quality of these eagles rendered in the Persian manner on the ceramics. L.A. Mayer does not attribute these eagles to any sovereign of this period, but includes them in his list of Saracenic blazons (421).

After, generally having dealt with the historical aspects and symbolic allusions of the double-or single-headed Sky - eagle, we are well - enough acquainted to evaluate the Sky-eagle of the Anatolian Seljuks and to explain some of its still hidden particularities.

Kor'an stands were important instruments used in any Muslim sacred house. They were usually made of wood and ornamented with so-called arabesques or, more rarely, with animal figures. One such rare sample (figure 108 a) on which is pictured our Sky-eagle, exhibits the elements of Asian cosmic symbolism, for the Muslims worshipping God while reading Kor'an placed between the wings of the stand. This Kor'an stand is now in the collection of the Mevlana Museum in Konya and was presented to the Mevlana convent by as Sahibi in 1279. On the inner side of the Kor'an stand (108 b, a) the decoration carried out in gold and black is painted on a red background. A square border encloses a circle in which is the main design. In the middle of the medallion-like circle the eared double-headed eagle is represented in an intricate design in which fourteen lions appear on a background of floral motifs. Four Sun-gates of the Cosmic Persian-Chinese plan are represented by the four lotus type palmettes in the triangular spaces of the square border. The circle

shows the entrance to the throne of God and also symbolizes the metaphysical sun in whose luminary essence is God. The eared double-headed eagle with the Cock's combs is rendered in accordance with the information given by Arabic and Persian literature. It is also a tree, evident from the lotus type palmette made by the elongated necks of the two heads above which stand for the Sun - and Sky-gate of the sacred tree (cf. with figures 54, 91). Another lotus type palmette repeated on the breast represents the classical perforation (cf. figures 108 c, 97, 99, 100, 91, 54, 43). The double-headed Sky-eagle as symbol of the Sky-door, firstly, is the guardian of God's abode (paradise), secondly, is the tree (sidratul Munteha) and, thirdly, is the Sun-symbol. It shares the first function with fourteen symmetrically designed lions who protect the gate and who also, are the well-known sun symbols of the Near East, associated with legendary birds such as Imdugud and anka.

The exterior of the stand (figure 108 d) according to T.T. Rice is, "exquisitely carved with elaborate arabesques enclosed in a square border, the inscription cut along the top of the lower section being executed with particular skill and elegance" (422). We have some clues to symbolically explain the composition made up of the so-called arabesques and enclosed

by a square border (figure 108 e). Most of all, at first glance we see the crescent-shaped disk of the Achaemenid winged-disk from within which scrolls emerge and make, the first small lotus type palmette (cf. with figure 96 a). Two scrolls depart from this palmette and symmetrically extend upwards, making two elongated rumis on the two sides. These outer, palmette-like symmetric rumis circle two inner ones made by scrolls coming from the bottom of the crescent and touching each other over the first palmette. The third upper palmette is an extension of these inner rumis circling the second, biggest lotus type palmette at the center of the whole composition. This last palmette has a hole in the middle indicating the passage to the upper sky, which, as we know, is a highly stylized form of the double-headed eagle. The eagle is also a tree proved not by the third palmette over this central one but by the two other lotus type palmettes terminating the scrolls which emerge from the central palmette on the two sides and curl behind the outer rumis. These rumis come from the first palmette which is another eagle whose tree character is indicated by the third upper palmette terminating two scrolls emerging from this first palmette over the central crescent. Two other crescents on the left and right show the start of the second eagle - palmette - tree. Thus, as is seen

the whole composition essentially consisted of an association of two eagle-trees symbolizing the door of God's abode. The outer and inner rumis stand for the wings and the branches, and the scrolls extending from them make the legs, trunk and roots. Directly related to this composition are the two trees of paradise (Tuba - Sidrat, Saena - Gaokerena) and the two Simurghs of the Persian tradition, emphasizing in their ideology the dualistic concepts of the Near Eastern mythologies.

Below the wings of the stand (108 d) the single eagle-tree composition is represented in open work. A similar motif exists on a Persian Kor'an stand dated to 1360. In a niche the sacred tree is represented as a cypress and a lotus type palmette is on the top of an encircling line. On the wood door of the mosque of Ahmad Yasari in Turkistan dated to 1397-9 the stylized eagle-tree composition is depicted in almost the same style as the Anatolian types (423).

The mystic poet Mevlana himself was not unaware of the concept of the Sun-bird. In one of his poems he says "the feathers and pinions of the sun consume when we open our feathers and pinions" (424).

Ferideddin-i Attar was a Persian mystic poet and thinker and a Shi'ah Muslim born in 1142 in Nishapur. His most important work is Mantik At'-Tayr in which

the king of the birds, Simurgh is spoken about. Simurgh is searched for by the birds (mystics) who wanted a king (God). It was believed by the birds that behind the mountain Kaf Simurgh, the king of the birds, dwelled. In the last chapter of the book the living birds, after finding him, saw themselves on the face of Simurgh which resembled a mirror and realized that the mystics themselves were Simurgh (425). Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı states that 'Mantık At-Tayr' allegorically narrates the belief in 'monism' (Vahdet-i Vücut). The birds ('salik': followers) are the seekers of the remedy for reality and the bird hoope (hüt hüt) is their guide (mürşit). Simurgh is the manifestation of God which is also the birds themselves. He who reaches to real unity understands that people are manifestations of God and God is people (426). We know very well that in Persian epic tradition the sun emerges from behind the mountain Kaf and thus Simurgh is the Sun.

These literary sources show that the cosmic sun-symbolism was still alive in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Persia and in Anatolia and the mystics of the age were not unaware of the old symbolism. Artists of the age consciously interpreted the elements of it on daily instruments used particularly for religious purposes. One of such instruments is

an oil-lamp box (figure 109 a) found in a Mevlevi convent and preserved in the Konya Mevlana Museum, dated to the end of the thirteenth century (427). This bronze box is made in the form of a bird cage giving the shape of a cube covered by a pyramidal hat (roof). There is a two-winged door on the one square face of the box and this face has elements of the Sky-symbolism. On the top of the door a six pointed star shaped rosette is placed and flanked by two snake-like dragons (428). Two lions with tails terminating in dragon heads stand on the upper corners with legs upraised. Two eared double-headed eagles are frontally depicted on the left and right sides of the central door. They are, also represent a tree, indicated by the upper lotus-type palmettes above the heads. Below the bifurcated tail crescent shaped circles are also present, seen clearly particularly on the right hand eagle. Most important of all the classical perforation is rendered as a quadrangular hole on the breast.

As has been shown, in mystic thought the trefoil symbolism of 'God-Sun-Simurgh' prevailed. This bird cage-shaped lamp box was thought of as the dwelling place of Simurgh and indirectly as the abode of God, and the lamp is the light source of the metaphysical sun (God). The interior of the cage is

paradise behind the door in the east marked by the dragons flanking the rosette the symbol of the real sun (or metaphysical sun). The two double-headed eagle trees together with the lions stand for the symbolic Sky-door and as antique Sun-symbols associated with the cage. They are also the traditional guardians of the Sky-door. The two side faces of the box are not only ornamented by rumis, palmettes and rosettes as advanced by Şerare Yetkin (429), but the double headed eagles are applied in a new interpretation (figure 109 b). On these faces a central six pointed star-shaped rosette stands for the sun and for the Sky - or Sun - gate. Each head of the eagle is depicted as a large lotus type palmette made of rumis terminating the upper left and right arms of the rosette. In these palmette-shaped heads another lotus type palmette with a hole in the middle is placed symbolizing the Sky-doors. In the place of the tail another large palmette made of rumis encircles a little one. The abstract eagle is also a tree, which is indicated by the upper appendage in the lotus type palmette shape above the central medallion. Moreover, four lotus type palmettes in the corners of the square surface stand for the four Sun-doors of the old Asian cosmic plan, which flanked the metaphysical sun in the middle.

The fourth side of the box has the same composition as the second one, but, on the fourth side (figure 109 c) the lotus type palmettes on the corners are replaced by four sun-rosettes and the metaphysical sun on the breast of the double-headed eagle together with it is circled by a round medallion (cf. with figures 42, 43, 96 c). The heads of the double-headed eagle are once more represented by lotus-type palmettes which have the classical perforation in the middle and terminate the two middle arms of the six pointed star-shaped sun. The double-headed eagle-tree composition is once more depicted, this time on the pyramidal hat in an oval medallion. The double-headed eagle in the shape of a lotus type palmette stands on the top of this medallion encircling the elements of the trifold symbolism i.e. the eagle-tree and the metaphysical sun behind it... Following the Persian prototypes, (cf. with figures 93 a, b, c) on a simple oil-lamp box all elements of the old cosmic symbolism are applied with intricate designs using abstractions of the eagle-tree and the elements of the cosmic plan. The armorial qualities of the figures on the box are open to dispute and have not yet been clearly explained (430).

Because of the ultimate theme of return to God implied by the existence of the double-headed eagle, grave stones were one of the most convenient places

for the application of this cosmic divine symbolism. One such stone is found in the Aşık Paşa tomb. Aşık Paşa (1272 ? -1333) was a mystical poet who come from Horasan to Anatolia. He was also a sheikh related to the Babai sect. After his death his tomb was constructed in 1333. A grave stone found in the Aşık Paşa tomb exhibits exquisite evidence for the cultural history of Anatolia and for the symbolic explanation of the hitherto so-called arabesque decoration of the grave stones.

The Kırşehir Aşık Paşa grave stone (figure 110 a) is a rectangular stone which has a round medallion in which the double-headed eagle-tree is intricately carved within the border of the circle. A lion figure in movement is rendered below the medallion in the space between the medallion and base of the stone. The space over the central medallion is filled with rumis (figure 110 b). The central medallion symbolizes the sun (cf. with figures 108 b, c). The five armed star shaped hole stands for the classical perforation through which the deceased would pass beyond the sky to paradise, and also is the symbol of the metaphysical sun (cf. with figures 109 b, c). Around the metaphysical sun, planets, this time six in number, are represented with small holes (cf. with figure 95). The heads and tail of the eagle are represented as in lotus type palmettes and

three of the four Sun-doors are represented by other palmettes terminating the scrolls coming from between the palmette shaped legs. The fourth Sun-door is converted into a large palmette, composing the upper Sky-door appendage of the eagle-tree. The whole composition is designed according to a tripartite arrangement i.e. three palmettes placed on the corners of a converted triangle. The posture of the lion below the central medallion indicates the rotation of the central medallion, alluding to the daily path of the sun. The lion also functions as a guardian of the Sky - and Sun - door. Moreover, according to Beyhan Karamağralı the medallion and the lion (Şır-u Hurşid) could symbolize Ali because such symbols were popular in Bektashi sects (431). Not the medallion but the double-headed eagle is probably related to and identified with the prophet and Ali who were intermediary personalities between God and people like the double-headed eagle as a symbol of the Sky. Semavi Eyice after discovering the stone talks about the whole composition: "on the grave stone there is a medallion decoration which consists of rumis" (432). Beyhan Karamağralı thinks that medallions in general with great probability are the symbols of the moon, sun and stars. Gönül Öney, after stating the Shamanic beliefs in man's ability to fly in the shape of a

bird, connects the realistically rendered (not abstracted) double-headed eagles of the Anatolian grave stones with the guardian bird of the north-eastern Asian shamans (433). But as has been seen, the symbolic and mythological allusions of the double-headed eagle could not properly be explained without referring to the Islamic interpretations of Arabic literature and Persian sects in whose dogma and art Near Eastern mythologies prevailed since the formation period. Furthermore, the double-headed eagle was a part of the old Asian cosmic symbolism and was not unknown to the Chinese or Indians too. Shamanic ritual elements could only explain some primitive beginnings of the religious symbolism in general, but no more than this, particularly in the Near East.

The double-headed eagle-tree is represented on another grave stone (figure 111) preserved in the Tokat Museum and dated to 1422-23. The eagle-tree is depicted above the inscription in a blind niche with a pointed arch above. The eagle has the cock's combs and is a typical legendary bird in accord with Islamic iconography (cf. with figures 90 b, 91). The eagle is also a tree, indicated by a lotus type palmette terminating a pole between the two heads. Another palmette is on the breast of the eagle and stands for the classical perforation. Beyhan Karamağralı identifies this eagle as a two-headed cock, connects it to the Pazyryk cocks of the Altai

kurgans and states its use as the symbol of fire and sun by the Zoroastrians in Persia. Moreover, the cock was also sacred for the Shi'ahs of Anatolia. They called it Cebrail (Gabriel) and sacrificed a cock in 'jem' ceremonies. It was believed to be the vehicle of Hadji Bektashi Veli (434). In the Kor'an Muhammad saw Gabriel by the lote-tree (Sidrat-ul Munteha) of the utmost boundary nigh unto which is the Garden of Abode (paradise) (LIII, 13-18). The association of the cock with Gabriel and with the double-headed eagle on this grave stone is significant. The cock-eagle of Islamic textiles, (figure 90 b) probably a descendant of the cocks rendered by the Sassanians, also continued to be applied on monuments by the Shi'a Muslims who kept faith in Bektashi or similar Shi'a sects. We do not see any relation with the Central Asian tradition as suggested by Beyhan Karamağralı (435) nor could we find a prototype of this composition in Central Asia. Moreover, the decorative double cocks of Pazyryk kurgan (figure 79) had nothing to do with the symbolic allusions of the double-headed eagle, besides their role as Persian, Sun-symbols.

Another double-headed eagle showing evidence of a close relation between its symbolic references and the religious concepts of the Shi'a doctrine, is found on the entrance to the Hadji Bektash convent

in Hacı Bektaş to the north-west of Konya (figure 112 a) from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. This crested double-headed eagle is carved on the upper linchpin of the door of the convent. It is also a tree, indicated by the scrolls coming from the wings and curling towards the heads, and others terminating the tail feathers. The lotus type palmette between the heads stands for the Sky-door of the tree and terminates the tips of the elongated necks making a bigger palmette whose left and right appendages are replaced by the heads of the eagle. Şerare Yetkin states that the double-headed eagle was interpreted as the emblem of Hadji Bektash Veli the founder of the sect. The Scholar does not indicate by whom the figure is defined (436). However, probably people living in the village thought of the eagle as a symbol of Hadji Bektash Veli. We know that in the Bektashi doctrine the dualistic ideas of Manicheanism were continued as a struggle between God and the devil and it is believed that men bears a light from God. The trio of Ahura Mazda - Ormazd - Ahriman was replaced by the God-prophet-Muhammad trinity (teslis) and on a miniature painting from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries attributed to Mehmet Siyahkalem and preserved in the Topkapı Museum, this trinity is represented by the three upraised fingers of a woman sitting on the ground at the center of an ecstatic

ceremony performed by four dervishes (figure 112 b) (437). The people who kept their faith in the Shi'a doctrine probably attributed such symbolic meanings to the heads and body of the double-headed eagle. Originally however, the function of the figure at the entrance to the convent was, symbolic, to guard the Symbolic door opening into heaven which was accepted as the residence of the dervishes on earth. The double-headed eagle in sects' art was a popular symbolic and heraldic (alluding some sacred personalities) motif still used in the sixteenth century in the Marmara region. In the convent of Halveti Aziz Mahmut Hüdai in Üsküdar, in Istanbul, built in 1595, we see on a stone a stylized double-headed eagle over whose head a small rose figure is carved (438). It is significant to note that this sect was also related with the Shi'a doctrine.

On the wood window wing of the Kileci Mescid in Akşehir, from the thirteenth century, the eared double-headed eagle-tree composition is rendered in the middle of an oval medallion (figure 113). On this wood work exists another important element, of the Asian sacred-tree symbolism, i.e. the dragon-lizards of the haoma (or nagas of the soma or Abyrga snakes and lun kanı of the Central Asian tales) (439).

The heads of the double-headed eagle have cock's combs and there is a converted lotus type palmette in the classical perforation. The bird is also tree, demonstrated by the two gates of the upper and lower worlds, placed over the heads and below the tail. Two dragons flank the medallion below on the two sides of a circle from within which emerges the eagle-tree as the central composition enclosed by the oval medallion. In the Persian sacred book it is mentioned that the tree of the bird saena is in the middle of the wide-formed ocean near the gaokerena tree (haoma) and a lizard is an opponent of the haoma in the deep water. These dragons below the medallion are the symbols of these lizards and the triangular spaces filled with floral designs in the corner on the outer side of the medallion's border could be symbolizing the primordial ocean; the dragons, as symbols of the east probably mark the eastern gate of the earth from which the sun emerges from the dwelling place of God, i.e. from paradise, on whose gate is the double-headed eagle-tree. A complex series of symbolic allusions are combined in this composition in Anatolia as the products of centuries-long evolution in the mythological thought of the Near Eastern and Asian peoples who preceded the Anatolian Seljuks.

On the wood door-wing of the Birgi Ulu camii built in 1312 a lotus type palmette encircles the double-headed eagle-tree composition (figure 114). The circle of the winged disk took the form of a complete crescent and this time was placed over the central palmette in the middle. It is hard to distinguish the main elements of the early prototypes of this composition. The prominent crescent which is the main characterizing element of the composition and from within which spread the scrolls of an eagle-tree, which stands for the upper composition completed in another medallion above the top of the subject medallion. It was understood that the ornamental composition was not made in medallions but medallions placed over the scrolls. Due to the fact that artist who made up this wood-work was indifferent to the natural eagle-tree composition, he rather enriched the abstract ornamental possibilities of the motif.

On the wood door-wings of the Seyid Harun Kümbet (tomb) in Seydişehir, built in 1320, the double-headed eagle-tree is carved and demonstrates the complete symbolism in a finely designed abstract composition (figure 115). In a octagonal frame the eagle-tree is indicated only by the ornamental divisions and arrangements of a lotus type palmette. Below the crescent shaped circle two half palmettes

(rumi) make the bipartite feathers of the tail and above the crescent a palmette with the classical perforation in the middle forms the body of the eagle and two scrolls extending from the two side appendages of the palmette stand for the legs of the eagle. Two rumis terminate these scrolls and embrace the crescent. Above the central palmette two rumis terminate the two scrolls coming from its top and these two half-palmettes form the two heads of the eagle. These rumis extend down and curl upwards at the ends, making the wings of the eagle-tree. The eagle is also a tree, demonstrated by the lotus type palmette shaped Sky-door placed over the central palmette (the body of the eagle) and terminating in two rumis coming from the tail feathers. This upper palmette is circled by the two scrolls emerging from the rumis making up the heads and another bigger palmette enclosing it. It is evident that these double-headed eagle-tree compositions on the door wings function as signs for the door of heaven which was thought to be symbolized by sacred houses on the earth, and were believed to give symbolic protection.

The double-headed eagle-tree is rendered on the exterior wall surfaces of some of the Anatolian Seljukid sacred buildings. One of them is the Sungur Bey camii in Niğde dated to 1335, where we find the

eagle-tree on the portal (figure 116 a). The eagle is eared and has the crescent shaped device between the tail and body. The upper lotus type palmette of the tree is also present. The elongated and knotted necks make this palmette and form a second bigger palmette below whose side appendages are the eagle's heads emerging in the accustomed form from within this second palmette (cf. with figure 112 a). The whole composition is encircled by a four lobed medallion on whose outer corners are carved four palmettes.

On the western face of the Hüdavent Hatun tomb in Niğde dated to 1312, a human head is associated with the upper palmette of the eagle-tree represented in an arched niche (figure 116 b). In the Persian tradition two dragon's heads terminate the wing tips (440) instead of flanking the composition. Dragons probably symbolize the roots of the tree and the powers of darkness or one of the guardians of the eagle-tree. The human bust between the necks of the eagle, suggesting the Islamic Persian tradition, probably symbolizes the deceased carried by the Sky-eagle through the heavens after her death (cf. with figures 90, a,b,c,d) and does not function only as a protective charm or amulet as previously stated (441). So-called arabesques are intricately carved in the background of the eagle-

tree and probably stand for its branches. These make a tulle-like covering on the entrance to paradise to which the deceased believed to be brought on the back of the Sky-eagle (cf. with figures 108 c,e).

The double-headed eagle and tree on the portal of the Erzurum Çifte Minareli Madrasa from the end of the thirteenth century, is a very well designed original composition clearly presenting all basic elements of the Asian cosmic symbolism. This time the tree and the eagle are separated from each other and the eagle is placed over the tree. The tree is a palm and has pomegranates on the leaves. Two Simurghs in the place of the two pomegranates perch on the second line of the leaves. Two snake dragons terminate the roots of the tree emerging from the crescent shaped device and they flank the tree with opened beaks. The door of lower-heaven is indicated by a lotus type palmette extending from between the bodies of the dragons. The crested double-headed eagle is depicted between the upper leaves of the tree in a niche with half opened beaks. - The small niche behind the eagle is the symbolic door of upper heaven. It is the guardian and token of the gate. The pomegranates are the fruits growing in paradise or could be accepted as the seeds of the Persian 'tree of all germs' on which perch the Simurgh. The tree symbolizes the earth, comprising

the atmosphere on whose top is the door of heaven. The dragons form the roots of the tree, and are symbols of the lower world, the wide formed ocean and the powers of darkness. The converted lotus type palmette below them symbolizes the gate of lower heaven and the Tuba tree growing downwards to the lowest heaven (figure 117 a).

Gönül Öney relates this tree to the Central Asian shaman trees (442). However, we know very well that without referring to the Asian and Near Eastern ideas about the cosmic symbolism it is impossible to find out the real intellectual values of this kind of composition. For this reason Gönül Öney who confined herself to Siberian mythology, did not realize the cosmic symbolism attributed to the sacred tree and double-headed eagle association. Not only the Shamanism of north-eastern Asia, but also the Asian cosmic concepts, the products of the mythical (i.e. scientific for its day) thought of the Asian advanced composite culture, extremely influenced by the Near Eastern and Southern ideas, are responsible for the representation of these figures of Anatolian Seljukid art. Above all it is faulty to compare the Shamanic trees with the Seljukid ones because of the latter's highly developed forms, which could not bear an analogy with the primitive shamanic trees neither in mythological allusions nor

in artistic treatment. Particularly, in the first stage, if an analogy exists between the ideological concepts, this time, it is necessary to suspect the originality of the Siberian sources which have always been open to influences from the south and were only very recently indeed transferred into written texts by western scholars. Moreover, these kind of primitive shamanic trees in art and in mythology could have been found everywhere in Asia, in Europe and even in America (443). While making a comparison between the sacred trees of distinct cultures not only should the basic ideas underlying the concepts be compared and attributed to each other, but a detailed study must be advanced on their regional particularities, formed by the additions and evolution of long centuries, bringing in matured concepts and eliminating or advancing primitive beginnings. As an example, in north-eastern Siberia birch, cedar and pine were the popular trees dealt with in the mythological episodes as the sacred trees and shamans were thought to have climbed on them during shamanizing ceremonies (444). On the other hand, the palm-tree which grows in the south is rendered in the Seljukid sacred-tree compositions as a part of an advanced cosmic symbolism adapted on the facades of some buildings in a well-organized plan. Ideological sources of these compositions should

be researched in the mythologies and literature of the Asian and particularly, of the Near Eastern peoples (445). Besides the abundantly practised later interpretations of the Muslim compilers on the sacred-tree of Mesopotamia, a fourteenth century Persian poet Hafiz even explains the birds over the sacred tree of the Islamic periods, "On the holy boughs of the Sidra, High up in the heavenly fields, Being beyond terrestrial desire, My soul-bird a warm nest has built" (446).

The double-headed eagle and tree composition on the portal of the Yakutiye medrese built in 1310 in Erzurum shows other basic elements of the cosmic symbolism (figure 117 b). The palm-tree is flanked by two lions protecting the tree as the traditional Sun-symbols. The crescent shaped circle is replaced by a medallion on the trunk of the tree. One of the two heads of the eagle is broken and another medallion is placed over the heads of the eagle perched between two parted leaves. This boss is a symbol of the metaphysical sun and the former one most probably stands for the sun of the winged disk reduced to a crescent in Persia. The other boss below the tree is depicted for symmetry's sake or for another symbolic function unknown to us, but probably standing for the primordial ocean. A similar composition is carved on

the left side of the portal of the Döner Kümbet in Kayseri, built in 1276-77. Two lions flank the tree and two Simurghs are placed on the two sides of the boughs of the palm-tree. On the portal of the Gök medrese in Sivas dated to 1271, the sacred tree is carved below a single headed eared eagle. Pomegranates and two Simurghs are also present among the leaves of the palm-tree. A single double-headed eagle is rendered on the Patnos tomb in Ercis village, dated to the fifteenth century (447). On the tombs the association of the double-headed eagle and sacred tree emphasize the internal symbolism of the building. The main room represented our world and below this the deceased was buried in the symbolic underworld, above the dome, beyond the stars, moon and sun is the abode of God.

Another well-known Mesopotamian element of the tree and eagle compositions, the fish, is also associated with the double-headed eagle tree of the Anatolian Seljuks. On a stucco fragment in the Karatay museum in Konya from the Felekabad palace from the thirteenth century, beside the left head of a double-headed eagle a fish curls, seemingly swimming in the water (figure 118 a). The eagle is crested and has the cock's combs of the Islamic type. The fish was previously seen on the early Syro-Hittite

and Assyrian cylinder seals associated with the sacred-tree and usually depicted below the trunk. Later, in the Persian sacred book Avesta deals with ten-Karfish protecting the haoma tree from the attacks of the lizard, probably are of the sources of inspiration for the Seljukid samples (448).

Because of the widespread popularity of the cosmic Sky-symbolism the double headed Sky-eagles were rendered on the wall-decoration of the Seljukid palace buildings. On a stucco fragment found in the Konya Alaaddin palace dated to 1222-37, the double-headed eagle-tree is depicted with two dragons terminating its bipartite tail feathers (figure 118 b). The double-headed eagle again is eared and has the cock's combs on the head on top of which the lotus type palmette indicates the Sky-door. As we know the ten Karfish were created to keep the harmful lizard away from the sacred tree; for this reason, the existence of the dragon's heads could be to symbolize the struggle between light (the eagle) and darkness (the dragon or snake).

On the breast of a double-headed eagle found on a octagonal tile fragment in the Beyşehir Kubadabad palace dated to 1236, an inscription is peculiarly rendered following the Islamic Persian prototypes (figure 119 a). The heads of the eagle have the

cock's combs and it is also a tree, shown by the upper lotus type palmette and scrolls emerging from its wings. A second lotus type palmette indicating the gate of the lower world forms the tail and a circle is drawn between this palmette and the body of the eagle. On the breast of the eagle reads "El-Sultan". This inscription which is not unique, is applied on a pediment-like stone fragment with a pointed arch and bordered by a thin line, brought from a Konya wall dated to 1221 (figure 119 b). The widely carved inscription reads again "El-Sultan" and on the two side of this central inscription two single-headed eagles are depicted looking towards each other. This type of confronting eagles is not unknown in Anatolian Seljuk art. As an example, on an anonymous tomb (kümbet) in eastern Anatolia in Erciş, from the middle of the fifteenth century, confronting eagles with cock's combs are depicted on the two sides of the portal's pointed arch over the door (figure 119 c). Their heads are turned back and a distinguished decoration which consists of lotus type palmettes and half palmettes (rumi) encircling them, fills the space between them. As it is understood we are faced with double-headed eagle divided into two parts representing a Sky-eagle on

each side with heads turned back. The Sky-door which should have been depicted on the breast of the eagle, is rendered in a different way between these two eagles. It is significant to note the Sky-door function of the composition over the portal of the tomb. Moreover, another double-headed eagle is depicted above two antithetic lions over the confronting eagles (449). All these figures function as the signs and protectors of the gate, rendered in the Near Eastern tradition going back in time to the Sumerians (450). On a stone fragment found in Diyarbakır and dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, two eagles in the center flank a lotus type palmette with their backs while turning back their heads to look at each other (figure 119 d). They form a heart shaped space between them, which is a clear sign of the gate of heaven in the Sassanian tradition. Another palmette over the first one indicates the existence of the tree in front of the Sky-door. These eagles also belong to our category and they show the segregated form of the double-headed eagle, or they could be standing for the two Simurghs of the sacred tree, which are not more than variations of the Sky-eagle. Moreover, two griffins over the round toothed arches function as the protectors of the gate of heaven and sacred tree (451). The confronting Sky-eagles are among the

variations of the traditional representations of the Sky-eagle following the Sassanian types (cf. with figure 41).

Because of the inscription on the breast of the Kubadabad eagle and on the stone fragment brought from the Konya wall most scholars accepted the double-headed eagle as a personal emblem and advanced the view that the stone fragment was displaced from a 'Sultan-gate' of the Konya wall (452). For the title 'Sultan' J.H. Kramers states that in the Kor'an the word frequently appears, meaning a moral and magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import and the prophets received this sultan from Allah. 'Sultan' also has the meaning of 'power' in the Kor'an and the aspect of governmental power was attached to the word Sultan in the early centuries of Islam. In the literature of Hadith the Sultan exclusively had the sense of power usually governmental power, but also sometimes the power of Allah, and "Governmental power is the shadow of Allah upon earth". This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. The Saldjuks were the first for whom Sultan had become a regular title for a ruler. Soon the Saldjuks of Rum

also called themselves Sultan. Sultan is also a title given to mystic Shaikhs. This use of the word did not appear earlier than the thirteenth century and spread particularly in Asia Minor (453).

'El-Sultan', written on the breast of the eagle on a tile from the Kubadabad palace and inscribed on the stone pediment from a Konya wall, most probably designates the complete twofold character of the word interpreted in Hadiths. The double-headed eagle, probably, was thought of as the embodiment of God's heavenly power on earth. If God was imagined as residing behind the Sky-door, evidenced as is evident, from the many representations of the double-headed eagle, this meant, the eagle was the worldly creature nearest in space to heaven. It was depicted in most compositions both as a real eagle and as a supernatural creature by means of the ears of the lion and the two composite bird heads. As an earthly as well as a heavenly creature it collected on its body the symbolic allusions of these two worlds, following the Old Sumerian tradition in which the monstrous bird Imdugud had the same twofold symbolism. Just like the lion-headed bird Imdugud the double-headed eagle of the Islamic period as an emblem, most probably, did not belong to any city or any sovereign of the time. Rather it found prestige in the courtly

and religious art of the age because of its liturgic symbolism which went far beyond the bounds of a mere heraldic emblem. As an idea which has secondary importance for us, the people or even the Sultan himself could have interpreted the double-headed eagle as the symbol of God's power on the earth; then, as the embodiment of the Sultan's power suggested by a false concept showing the Sultan as the shadow of Allah upon the earth.

The inscribed stone pediment was originally probably placed at the entrance of a gate of the Konya wall. This was also seen as the entrance to the abode of God i.e. the city, whose power was emphasized on the gate to be the protective charm for visitors or against enemies of the city. As we know it is an old tradition coming from Sumerian times to put a gate under the protection of divine powers. This was also practised in Egypt and continued by the Hittites, Assyrians and Romans, reaching down to the Islamic period.

The double-headed eagles on the two sides of the western gate of the Divriği Ulu cami dated to 1228-29, are symmetrically rendered in the same style. The one on the northern side (figure 120 a) is intricately carved for decorative purposes. The eagle is also a tree, shown by the scrolls coming from the tips of the wings and making the gate of the lower world between

the bipartite feathers of the tail. Dragon's heads expelling fire from the months terminate the wing tips. The crescent shaped device this time imitates a ring encircling the end of the body below. The crests of the heads touch each other on the tips and the round eyes are carved in the middle of the heads in such a way that if the eagle's beaks were eliminated the heads of pigeons would appear with slightly curved beaks, looking upwards. They probably stand for the two symmetric birds perched on the sacred tree (cf. with figure 117a). Two small balls in the beaks of the eagle are probably the symbols of the seeds of the 'tree of all germs' dealt with in the Avestan texts. The function of the double-headed eagles on this portal of the Divriği mosque is both to guard and symbolize the gate and to enhance fertility.

A peculiarly interpreted single-headed Sky-eagle is only known from a drawing of it made by Léon Laborde (figure 120 b). In the past century it stood in its original place on the arch of a gate on the wall around the Konya hill (figure 120 c). The eagle has two serpent dragons coming from the back of the tail feathers and holding its legs in the months. The classical perforation, shown by an arrow-head shaped motif, most probably is the upper appendage of a lotus type palmette whose lower additions curl to left

and right at the bottom of the line limiting the tail below. From between them this arrow shaped device which stands for the Sky-door, emerges. The serpent dragons are the traditional foes of the sacred-tree, whose tree character once more is shown by the small curls elongating the border line of the wings. These kinds of small curls or scrolls, in the place of the so called arabesques, show the existence of the tree fused with the eagle in front of the door of paradise. More examples could be derived from various sites, such as the one below the right hind leg of the lion on the Aşık Paşa grave stone (figure 110 b), the rumis on the border of a medallion encircling the double-headed eagle on the Sungur Bey camii, (figure 116 a) and scrolls on the inner border line of the octagonal tile of the Kubadabad palace (figure 119 a). The head of the single-headed Konya eagle is marked by a fish-scale shaped armour accentuating its power as a protective charm and as a supernatural creature.

In a manuscript of Qazwini (454) we see an Arabian phoenix (anqa) depicted in the customary double-headed way (figure 120 d). It has the cock's combs, the neck feathers and ears of the griffin, and the wings, tail and talons of the eagle. A double-headed eagle found on the Konya wall follows this

design with its cock's head decorated with long neck feathers and it has between the body and tail the crescent shaped device of the winged-disk (figure 120 e). This double-headed eagle was most probably carved on the top of an arch over a gate of the wall, evident from the curved border of the carved stone. Naturally, the double-headed eagle once more functioned as a symbol of the door and as a protective charm.

The well-known relief of the double-headed eagle (figure 120 f) brought from the Konya wall (1221) to Ince Minareli Museum, definitely accords with the description of the anqa or Simurgh given in Arabic and Persian literature. It also bears signs showing its connection with the Sky-eagle of all periods. Firstly, the ears as we know were for the first time associated with the eagle by the Sumerians who combined the lion's head with the eagle's body and created the lion headed bird Imdugud (figure 5). The griffin demons of Assyrian art has the eagle's head but not the ears (figure 98). The ears emerged on the heads of the Eurasian eagle-griffins, particularly in Siberia (figures 76-81) in relation to early Sumerian art. The Parthians, who were a nomadic race who came from the south of Oxus (Amu Darya), introduced the eared eagle to Persia (figures 39 a,b). It was then borrowed by

the Sassanians (figure 52), inherited by the Persian Seljuks (figures 92 c, 96 a) and continued to be applied by the Artukids and Anatolian Seljuks (figures 106 c, 120 f). Secondly, the heads of the double-headed eagle could not be identified without referring to the heads of the actual eagle, the vulture and the peacock. In its shape their heads are combined and the cock's comb is added below the chin, in accordance with all legendary birds dealt with in Arabic literature (cf. with figures 90 b, 91, 96 a, 97). Thirdly, the necklace which holds together the heads is Sassanian (cf. with figure 40). To stress the supernatural character of the eagle which has two heads on one body they must have been thought of as having emerged from a world of secrets and unseen wonderful things. Fourthly, the body has the widespread wings, rapacious claws and spread tail feathers of an eagle depicted in accordance with the previous heraldic forms (cf. with figures 5, 8, 12 a, 17, 40, 60, 63, 90 b, 90 d, 92 b, c, 96 a, 97, 117 a). Fifthly, the crescent shaped device of the Islamic eagle is also present between the tail and body. We have shown that the Mitannians of Syria took over the winged disk from Egypt (figure 29) and depicted it on the cylinder seals; next the Assyrians introduced the symbol to Mesopotamia (figures 22, 23, 25). The

Hittites also adopted the winged disk on their monuments (figure 15). The Achaemenids borrowed the symbol in the sixth century B.C. (figures 34, 35) but before this time the sun circle on the breast of a bird shaped anthropoid figure was not unknown to them (figure 36). The Parthians rendered the heart-shaped disk not between the wings but on the breast of the Sky-eagle (figure 39 a, b) because of the influence of the Eurasian animal style in art recognizing realistic images. This caused the reduction of the disk between the wings to a small heart shaped device. Later the Sassanians continued the tradition (figure 40). The disk on the breast of the double-headed eagle even reached China before the Sassanian period (figure 43), probably, by the way of old trade routes connecting China to Mesopotamia. The Islamite Seljuks also rendered the sun circle on the breast of the eagle in the shape of an olive-stone, a bead, a circle, a crescent, a six pointed star, a lotus type palmette, or only as an elongated split on the breast (figures 90 d, 92a,b, 93 b, 95, 96 a, 97, 106 c, 107, 108 c,e, 110 a, 111, 113, 115, 120 b). Usually it is in the form of a crescent because its upper half is covered by the body of the eagle. Sixthly, following Near Eastern tradition a second head was added beside the other one on the body. A second head was firstly

practised by the Sumerians (figure 8) and probably symbolized the Janus (two fold) character of the Sun-god. The Hittites more frequently rendered a second head beside the other one (figures 11 a, 12 b, 13, 14, 17); its symbolic allusions are not known to us but probably continued the Sumero-Akkadian tradition and a second head was particularly added for symmetry's sake. The Achaemenids put two heads on the winged disk (figure 34) most probably symbolizing Ormazd and Ahriman, the dual powers of their faith. Later Sassanians continued the tradition parallel to their unchanged religious interpretation (figure 40). The idea even reached China (figure 43) by the way of Central Asia (figures 58 a, 59, 63, 65, 66) and was always present in the memories of the primitive cultures which outlined almost all basic elements of the developed mythologies (figures 69 b, c, d, 71, 85 b). It spontaneously emerged in America as a decorative addition again for symmetry's sake (figure 87). Islamic Persia and Anatolia inherited the tradition from the Sassanians and reinterpreted the heads of the Sky-eagle, rendering it a more fabulous bird (figures 90 b, c, 92 b, c, 93 a, 97, 103, 106 c, 108 c etc.). Neither in Mesopotamia nor anywhere else did the double-headed form have a consistent, stable use but was rather alternated with

the single-headed one as a product of the ornamental requirements and the symmetrizing tendency which prevailed in the mythological thought of the Asian peoples. Seventhly, a leaf of the palm-tree below the crescent of the Sky-eagle stands for the tail and is a close follower in form of the wide upper palmette of the Assyrian sacred-tree (figures 26, 98). The eagle is probably also the tree in the customary Seljukid tradition demonstrated firstly by a double-headed eagle rendered on a silk textile in almost the same shape as the Konya eagle and dated to 1220 (cf. figures 120 f, g). The dragon's heads and rumis terminate the scrolls coming from the wing tips and show the tree character of the eagle. The gate of heaven this time is demonstrated by a shield or heart shaped frame (cf. with figure 92 b) in which is the double-headed eared eagle. Moreover, two single rumis in front of the beaks stand for the branches, the symbolic covers of the gate of heaven (455). Our second sample is on a Seljukid carpet (figure 120 h) and the lower gate of heaven or the Tuba tree is shown as a converted palmette below the tail like the one in the place of the Konya eagle's tail (cf. with figure 120 f). For this reason, we should state that the double-headed Seljukid eagle must never be evaluated separately from the sacred-tree.

On the borders of some Safavid rugs we see the welcoming angels symbolically standing in front of the door of paradise which is thought to be the central part of the rugs (456). This symbolism is also carried out by the representation of ideal Islamic cities and we find the angels represented on the gates of the Konya wall welcoming people entering the symbolic paradise (figure 120 c). Without doubt the Konya double-headed eagle also functioned on a gate of the wall as the symbol of the Sky-door and as a protective charm. At this point we must point out that the Safavids of Persia were ardent Shi'ahs in the sixteenth century (457) and the double-headed eagle was a popular motif on the Qashqai rugs from Shiraz and on Caucasian rugs. This second revival of the Near Eastern cosmic symbolism in the hands of the Shi'ah Persians shows strong links between the Anatolian Seljukid figural art and the cosmic iconography of the Shi'ah Persians.

We know that some Turkoman tribes of Central Asia had emblems (ongun). These emblems were the remains of totemic animals and each Oghuz tribe had a species of the bird family as its symbol. The eagle (bürküt) was the 'ongun' of the Salur tribe. However, there was no individuality attributed to their symbol so as to differentiate it from the other Onguns of

various Oghuz tribes; nor was it double-headed. In Central Asia cosmic symbols show variations in their allusions parallel to the complex racial and religious mobility of the district. As an example for the Turks the raven and not the eagle was the bird of the Sky-god, and the eagle was the bird of the planet Jupiter. Moreover, the magpie was worshipped by a Kirghiz tribe (458). Ibn Bibi who was a thirteenth century Persian writer of chronicles, states that the Seljuk Sultans of Anatolia used tents on the top of which a figure of the eagle was placed. He saw in this the relation between the sun and the eagle, indicating that the eagle of the kings covers the sun of the Sultans with its tail and wings and disseminates the shadow of good fortune (459). To place the Sun - and Door - symbol on the pole top of the tents or royal umbrellas was a Perso - Chinese tradition also practised by the Mongols. Later, most probably the Anatolian Seljuks and the Mamluks of Egypt applied the cosmic symbolism which had been in valid for a thousand years before the coming of the Mongols to Iran. The golden bird topped tents or royal umbrellas had no emblematic significance for the Mongols or the Chinese; at least there is no evidence to the contrary. They merely continued the old Asian cosmic symbolism which occupied

itself with the reflection of the macrocosm on the microcosm by placing universal symbols on earthly objects (460). There is general agreement that the late Near Eastern eagle was a personal emblem (461). However these views could not be taken beyond the bounds of a mere surmise. The Anqa of western Asia was named 'Huma' and it was believed to be living in Chinese territories in Arabic literature. It was a symbol of God's immaterial nature. Smarag, Samrak, Samurak and Zumrat are all names used by Turkish nomadic tribes for the Simurgh, and its association with the anqa created the Turkish bird Zümrüt-ü Anka which was frequently confused with Huma and also called Kumay (462). In the Bustan, a book of Sadi who lived in Shiraz in south-western Iran in the thirteenth century, a person speaks in these words. "I wished that, thanks to my fortunate star, the wing of the huma should be spread out over my head". Huma was considered to be a good omen in the Gulistan of the same writer and it was believed that the shadow of the huma falling on a person's head predicted his elevation to loyalty. The epithet humayun meant 'august, royal fortunate and good omen' and Humay with the same meaning became a proper name. In Firdawsi's Book of Kings it is mentioned that the royal crown was sometimes ornamented with Huma feathers

but that the magical powers of Simurgh were not attributed to it (463).

We have shown the relationship of the double-
-or single- headed Sky-eagle to all kinds of oriental
legendary birds which are not more than slight varia-
tions of the eagle, the symbol of Sun-god Shamash,
and its monstrous version, the lion-headed bird
Imdugud. Huma of Islamic literature symbolizes the
eagle's association with the king but not with any
particular one. It was a messenger and a symbol of
the earthly power granted by God, which later replaced
the Sun-god of Mesopotamia.

VI. CONCLUSION

Mesopotamian civilizations were always in a reciprocal cultural dialogue with the nomadic peoples of the north and north-east. The Nomads of the north, to a great degree, contributed to the culture of Mesopotamia, not only in the formation period of its sedentary culture, but all throughout its long history. At intervals, they invaded the country and imposed their own pastoral culture on the sedentary people of the south.

The Sumerians most probably came to the country from Central Asia having originated somewhere between lake Aral and the Caspian sea. They intermingled with the Semitic inhabitants and were responsible for the cultural blooming of Mesopotamia in the third millenium B.C. The Gutis (2150-2050 B.C.) and the Kassites (1680-1160 B.C.) later invaded the country, from the mountainous district on the north-east, and reigned for centuries in the old cities of the Sumero-Akkadians. Although they adopted what remained of the culture prior to their coming, they brought about a certain degree of dullness and stability in art and thought. The Mitannians (2000-1200 B.C.) came in waves from the north and invaded the country at about the beginning of the second millenium B.C. They superimposed their

Indo-Iranian nomadic culture on the people of Mesopotamia, particularly, on the inhabitants of Syria. Mitannian culture was reinterpreted and assimilated with the culture of the south by the Assyrians who created a powerful empire innovative in cultural and state affairs. The Egyptian kingship was the source of inspiration for the Assyrian kingship and the assimilated nomadic element was a factor to excite and evoke a new cultural awakening based on Sumerian and Babylonian contributions.

Before becoming sedentary the Mitanni-ans lived a nomadic life on the vast steppes of Asia. Their life style and mythology was shared by the other nomadic peoples of the north and north-east. Almost the same subjects of myths, similar family bonds and ritual elements made scholars suspect a common cultural background of Indo-Iranian and Turanian peoples and they sought it somewhere in Central Asia. The 'pillar of heaven' of the Mitanni-ans, which goes back in time to its prototype, the bird perched on a wand at Lascaux from prehistoric times, most probably was brought from their native land and was a common cosmic element of all Asian nomads' mythologies. Its association with the autochthonous ritual element, the 'sacred tree' created the well-developed Assyrian 'sacred tree' compositions.

The images of nameless birds were placed over the town pillars of the Asian semi-nomadic and nomadic peoples. Birds of prey were popular symbols of the Sky-god of the Indo-Iranians and Turanian peoples, and the eagle always attracted the widest interest among the others. The Iranian god of Firmament (Sky-god) represented in a nameless bird's body (figure 36) and the wings of the disk, the symbol of the sky, on a Mitannian seal (figure 29) are indistinguishable from any bird's wings. On the shamanic trees or pillars we see simple bird figurines, sometimes, two-headed, but usually with a single head (figure 69 c, d) continuing the antique tradition, depicted for the first time by the Palaeolithic hunter (figure 1).

The Mesopotamian Sun-symbol, the eagle was rendered for the first time above the sacred tree by the Assyrians who replaced the falcon of the winged disk (figure 23) and accepted the wings as the symbols of the sky under the Mitannian influence. Thus, the allusions of the symbol of the Mitannian Sky - and Sumerian Sun - gods fused in the Assyrian winged disk. The Hittites before them took over the eagle, most probably from Syria but they did not place it over the sacred tree; on its top they usually, placed the

falcon or vulture winged Hittite disk taken over from Egypt by way of Syria. They preserved the use of the eagle or Imdugud as a door-keeper, Sun-symbol and foot-stool and the double-headed form is rendered on their seals and monuments most probably for symmetry's sake. We know that Mesopotamian civilization and religion was influenced from without and exerted a far wider influence on the peoples of the north and north-east. Achaemenids under this influence adopted the winged disk of Assyria together with the eagle, and, most probably, in this period, the prestige of the Sumerian Sun-god found its way into Persia and became identified with the Sky-god of the Indo-Iranians. Ahura Mazda borrowed his symbols in turn and was represented on the monuments between the wings of the winged disk, who later would be identified with the one God of the Muslim Persians. From this time on the eagle was an important element of Persian courtly art and was also interpreted as a symbol of earthly power and the king.

The spread of Iranian culture in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was responsible for a diffusion of the Mesopotamian ideas in eastern and central Asia. The emergence of the eagle-griffin or Sky-eagle in Siberia in the sixth century B.C.,

however, was not merely a result of this late extension of the Persian culture, but also a sign of an early strong cultural interaction between the Indo-Iranian and Turko-Tatar peoples of Asia and their relation with the Mesopotamian civilizations. As a Sky-symbol the eagle primarily belonged to them. We know that the Scythians in the west were from Turko-Tatar plus Iranian stock and in Siberia the Mongolian element contributed to them. From Siberia in the east to Transylvania in the west a considerable degree of cultural unity was provided by the racial assimilation of the nomadic peoples scattered on this vast district, strongly influenced by the Mesopotamian culture in the south. Under the impact of the Persian dualistic ideas the peaceful relation of the bird Imdugud with the quadrupeds was replaced by the hunter's magic and his wish to depict the eagle of the steppes as more rapacious and dominant over the symbols of the earthly principle, the quadrupeds (figure 80).

The inventions of the Babylonian and Syrian uranographs created the concept of the upper-sky, or space. The Sky-god of the Indo-Iranians (later replaced by Ahura Mazda) and Asur of the Assyrians were believed to be residing in this high, inattainable Sky. This

belief was taken over by almost all Asian peoples and they thought the eagle with a hole (the disk) on the breast to be the symbol of a kind of Sky-door behind which was their god. As a cosmic element it was frequently, represented in their art and survived for centuries until Islamic times. The idea originally goes back to Sumerian times. The Sumerians associated the eagle with the gate of heaven which they believed to be in the East from where the sun comes. On the cosmic plans of the Asian peoples the eagle symbolized the sun and its gates in four directions and in the middle was the center of the cosmos behind which was believed to be heavenly power radiating his light by means of the metaphysical sun, again, symbolized by the eagle.

Besides the legendary eagle of heroic times, which was a late descendant of the Sumerian Sun-symbol the eagle, with the hole on the breast was a popular motif in Islamic Persian art. In the minds of men a new God replaced the anthropomorphic Mesopotamian deities depicted in the disk. However, Muslims could not render Him between the wings but only imagine His abstract existence, so the Persians personified the Sky-eagle (or Simurgh) to be God's appearance on whose back is His abode through the passageway of the Sky-

door. The Turks from the north were not unaware of the concept of a door on the top of the World Pillar, through which the gods could easily communicate with the earth. Furthermore, Persian mythology enriched by the Mesopotamian original texts had a widespread influence on all of Asia. The cosmic concepts of the developed mythologies were attractive to the primitive shaman peoples of the north. Besides this, the Seljuks of Iran, lived under the extreme influence of the old Asian kingship and adopted the symbols of its art. Later, they carried them to Anatolia and continued the Persian traditions in their figural arts. After adapting the Islamic dogma to the traditional faith the second revival of the Persian traditions was most influential on their culture. To seek in the art and thought of the Seljuks, only, the primitive elements of the mythology of the Asian shamanism, which outlined the Near Eastern mythologies, is to neglect the Persian i.e. Mesopotamian determinants of the Seljukid culture and, is inconclusive and inefficient for a complete understanding of the late double-headed eagle which was, after the Hittites, brought for the second time to Anatolia. This time it came from Persia, to continue the old Asian cosmic symbolism, rendered in the Mesopotamian manner as an intermediary element

between heaven and earth. It was a legendary bird widely dealt with in Arabic literature and its late forms in Persia and Anatolia accord with the liturgic information given on its appearance in the works of the Muslim compilers. The sacred tree holds an important place in the Kor'an and the eagle is associated with it under the influence of Persian traditions based on the Mesopotamian types. As a cosmic symbol the eagle-tree was particularly rendered on the monuments of the Persian and Anatolian Seljuks. It was abstracted as a lotus type palmette in the hands of the Muslim artists and continued to be practised in the Anatolian Seljuk, Beglik and Ottoman arts. The double-headed eagle was merely a variation of the single-headed Sky-eagle of all periods, which sometimes was represented in the form of two confronting eagles alluding to the same symbolic meanings. Because of the Mesopotamian tendency to seek symmetry in art and mythology and a common impulse of the artists to fill the empty space beside the other head, the double-headed form was frequently used on the monuments of the Seljuks, stressing its supernatural heavenly qualities as the bird of deity, as a mythological creature and as a protective charm.

The single headed Sky-eagle had always been a popular figure in the art of the steppes which seldom receded from the attraction of the real images interpreted in material without obliterating or overcoming it. Scythian and Siberian Sky-eagles must not easily be compared with the eagle of the late Asian peoples, because of the former's participation in a very original art inspired by the conditions of a nomadic hunter's life, lately, enriched by Greek and Persian elements which were skillfully adopted to the objective art of the Palaeolithic man. Far from this mood, the mythology always inspired and shaped the art of the south and it is not logical to show a continuance or similarity between the arts of the early northern nomads and late Persian and Anatolian Seljuks who were, particularly in the ruling class, from Turkic stock.

The double-heads of the Sky-eagle most probably symbolized the two basic elements of the dualism which prevailed in almost all Mesopotamian religions. The janus (dual) nature of the Sun-god in Babylonia and dualism of the Zoroastrianism in Persia was continued in the Islamic times by the Shi'ah Muslims and, if not traditionally, Muslims most probably, have individually attributed twofold symbolic allusions

to the heads of the eagle. We do not have enough information to regard the late Sky-eagle as a personal emblem of any sovereign of the Islamic period; rather, its widespread use was shared everywhere in the arts of the Seljuks, nor did it belong to any city as its badge. Like the bird Imdugud, as a mythological and religious symbol found popularity, and as the bird Huma was identified with the kingship whose authority was provided by God by the mediation of his bird, the double-headed Sky-eagle in art.

The Sky-eagle of all periods is not more than a descendent of the Sumerian Sun-symbol. The eagle and its supernatural type the monstrous bird Imdugud have survived under various names (saena, simurgh, garuda, anqa, huma, nasr, uqab, zumrut-u anqa, phoenix, or cock, peacock) until this day.

NOTES

- (1) Quoted by P.M. Grand, Prehistoric Art (New York-Milan, 1967) p. 34.
- (2) Loc. cit.
- (3) N.K. Sandars, Prehistoric Art in Europe, (London, 1968) p. 71.
- (4) Cited by Jacquetta Hawkes and Leonard Woolley, History of Mankind. Vol. I: Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization (New York-Evanstoy, 1963) p. 130, Note: 6.
- (5) Cited by Hawkes, loc. cit. Andreas Lommel sees in this scene a conflict in psychic nature, in which only one of the contestants has assumed the shape of an animal with which the shaman fights within his own mind (Andreas Lammel, Shamanism, The Beginnings of Art (New York 1967) p. 128)
- (6) T.G.E. Powell, Prehistoric Art (New York-Washington 1966) p. 42.
- (7) Cited by E.S. Hartland, "Totemism", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by J. Hastings, XII (Edinburgh 1921) p. 406.
- (8) As quoted by Grand, loc. cit.
- (9) Professor Debetz states that, "he (Palaeolithic man) learnt when making tools to produce the forms that he required according to a pattern or plan previously conceived" (as quoted by Hawkes, op. cit., p. 214, note: 1). This obligation to form in the service of

practical necessity and his effort to produce forms made his intellect grow in time. He, then, attributed liveliness and spiritual qualities to the most prominent and specific particularities of earthly creatures and he got hold of their internal life-giving spirits. He lastly put into order these qualified spirits in the required sections of his mind, which would relieve his anxieties before the various mysterious phenomena of nature. He thus provided a harbour for his faint-hearted, defenceless mind in the center of the inhuman cycle of nature. "This state of mental relationship with the world has sometimes been known as animism the further state (and they cannot, of course, be sharply distinguished) when the spirits began to take shape as individualized divinities has similarly been called the daimonic view of the universe. With further strengthening of conscious powers divinities tended to take larger, more abstract forms" (Hawkes, op. cit. p. 207).

- (10) Harry Crosby, "Baja's Mural's of Mystery", National Geographic, CLVIII/5 (Washington, November 1980) p.699.
- (11) Loc. cit.
- (12) The totem is a fundamental element of a primitive community bound to totemism. A totem is accepted as the ancestor of all members of the clan. They used

its images as coats of arms on weapons and they made tattoos of it on their bodies. Sometimes carved symbols of the totem are placed visibly in the open air. E.S. Hartland states that, "Malanesians hold that their mothers were impregnated by the entrance into their wombs of spirit animals or spirit-fruits, and that they themselves are severally nothing but the particular animal or fruit" (E.S. Hartland, op. cit., p. 405). J. G. Frazer points out that as a religious system, totemism expresses the mystical unity of man with his totem and as a social system it comprises the relations between different totemic groups. The prohibition of killing a totem animal or doing harm to the totem and the ban of marrying with a member of the same clan provide the continuity of the system (cited by Sigmund Freud, Totem ve Tabu, trans. by K.S. Sel (Istanbul 1984) p. 149).

- (13) Sigfried Giedion indicates that "primitive symbols were neither complete in themselves nor transcendental" (Sigfried Giedion, Sign, Image, Symbol, ed. by G. Kepes (London, 1959) p. 87). Primitive man could not yet have been able to attribute individual determinative qualities on objects beyond their external definite particularities. These qualities would have been derived from some similarities between the phenomenal

happenings. For this reason his hand-made images were not more than direct transmitters of the original source's complete external existence, and their message did not go beyond the bounds of an actual real impression established in the mind of man. Unlike the Christian symbols which are, as J.J. Backofen says, "reposing in themselves" - that is complete in themselves (cited by Giedion, loc. cit.) and could have been evaluated in one way revealing a primary symbolic meaning, Palaeolithic symbols, such as the ones in our subject composition at Lascaux, would have been interpreted in a lot of distinct ways. Yet, an intellectual total coherence emerges from this complexity of comments, that is, the same inconsistency in his definitions of nature was dominant in primitive man's mind as demonstrated by scholars endeavouring to think on nature and to look at nature in various ways so as to approach his hidden world a little more.

(14) In the course of the advanced Palaeolithic Age (which lasted from around 40,000 to 10,000 B.C.) a mythological oral tradition surpassing the daily indefinite perceptions of man had not yet come into being. First settled villages of Mesolithic emerged from 10,000 B.C. on. Then their progression concluded by the developed cultures of Neolithic (lasted from about 7,000 to

3,500 B.C. - in Mesopotamia -). Neolithic, as a transition period, was a turning point in the life style of the primitive hunter. The peasant of this age enriched the old way of contemplation of nature, which consisted of so-called Animistic view of the universe. Figurines of the Mother Goddess and carved phalli, the two fertility symbols, were still absolutely dominant in the religion of the Neolithic period. But, the villager of this age added a male divinity inspired by the seasonal rebirth of plants from the buried death seed in the earth which represented the principal of woman. Furthermore, the Sun, rain and earth aroused a new wide interest, and man started to distinguish one year from the other by their distinct productive qualities. Thus seasons gave him the sense of a continuous time. Some powerful divinities as originators and controllers were invented to continue the regular cycle of the seasons (Hawkes and Woolley, op. cit. pp. 334-44). Mesopotamian city of the Bronze Age inherited the religion of the Neolithic village communities. But, their pantheon was enlarged and the tradition of oral mythology changed into written texts. In the Neolithic Age, man had started to leave the animistic religion; then the townsmen of the Bronze Age personified every individual spirit which had been attributed

to the phenomena of nature. This time instead of spirits "the gods as personifications of power among other things fulfilled early man's need for causes to explain the phenomenal world" (Henri Frankfort and Others, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, Myth and Reality (Chicago 1950) p. 17). According to W.W. Fowler, "religion is the effective desire to be in relation to the Power manifesting itself in the universe" (as quoted by E.A. Gardner, "Mythology", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by J. Hastings, IX, 1917, p. 118). The nature of the powers and gods was explained and illustrated by mythology which kept man's relation to them on a right basis. The desire in W.W. Fowler's definition can be made effective by the ritual and religious worship supplying the means which were dependent on the nature of powers animated by mythology. Mythology and ritual became an inseparable whole in the thought of man (Gardner, loc. cit.). Furthermore, "mythology and history are often inextricably mingled, and many of the early speculations of natural science have been embodied in mythical form" (Gardner, loc. cit.). This mythological, that is historical, accumulation of the preceding centuries gave man the knowledge of mankind which was made up by the oral narration of the memorials of the past ages.

Our scientific knowledge upon nature from which the life of man as a source of question could not be separated, replaced this mythological one of the antique man. Similar impulses were at work, made up both. "For the life of man and the function of the state are for mythopoeic thought imbedded in nature, and the natural processes are affected by the acts of man no less than man's life depend on his harmonious integration with nature" (Henri Frankfort, op. cit., p. 26). As H. Frankfort points out antique man expressed his existence with mythopoeic thought which was established upon the phenomena of nature personified as anthropomorphic deities. On the other hand, in the twentieth century, man endeavours to pass beyond the single dimension of the phenomenal world and modern science gives man the immanent secrets of objects; furthermore, the history of mankind surpassing man's relation with nature made him believe that his life dominated nature. On the other hand, antique man thought of nature without distinguishing his life from the phenomenon of nature. Mythology comprised both and provided an association. Then, "throughout the ancient Near East we find speculative thought in the form of myth" (Frankfort, ibid, p. 10).

15) This name is called for the mixed population occupied

the alluvial plain of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is thought that the Akkadians (the Semitic Section of the inhabitants), probably, came from some monstrous district, in an early stream from the west (the Amoride or Palestinian highlands). Later they dominated the north of Sumer under the reign of Sargon (circa 2340-2180 B.C.). According to G.F. Moore, "they appropriated much from the civilization of the Sumerians, and developed and improved it in accordance with their own genius" (G.F. Moore, History of Religions, (New York, 1920) p. 205). The Sumerians founded cities all along the Euphrates and the Tigris before 4,000 B.C. De Lacouperie states that Sumerian both language and writing is an early form of Chinese (cited by T.G. Pinches, "Sumero-Akkadians", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by H. Hastings, XII, (New York, 1921) p. 40). According to T.G. Pinches, "then their Mongolian origin would seem to be proved and the likeliness of certain Sumerian words to Turkish suggests that they may have been a pre-historic race from the Far East of Turko-Mongolian origin" (Pinches, ibid., p. 40). B. Hrozný states that, "the Sumerian language seems to be an agglomeration of Indo European and Turko-Tataric elements, in their very primitive, embryonic forms ... the Sumerian people seem to have

arisen somewhere in the Kirghiz steppe on the border of the territory settled by the ancient dolichocephalic Indo Europeans and brachycephalic Turanians" (Bedrich Hrozny, Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete (Prague, undated) pp. 55-6). B. Landsberger cautiously approaches these suggestions: "a relation between Sumerian and Turkish, is certainly in need of correction and supplementation on the basis of progress in Sumerian textography achieved since, and probably also in regard to its correctness from a Turkological point of view" (Benno Landsberger, Three Essays on the Sumerians, trans. by M. de J. Ellis (Los Angeles, 1974) p. 7).

Akkad in the north of the great alluvial plain in which the Tigris and Euphrates most closely approached each other, was predominantly Semitic; Sumer, in the south was more mixed but the Semitic element was dominant (before the arrival of Sumerians). After a Semitic stream came from the Arabian plateau and another one from Asia Minor, the last of the incomers into Sumer were the Sumerians who swamped the old Semitic element. These were a dark-haired people - black-heads, the texts call them - speaking an agglutinative language somewhat resembling ancient Turkish (Turanian) in its formation though not in its etymology (C.L.

Woolley, The Sumerians (Oxford, 1928) pp. 1-6). A. Keith states that "one can still trace the ancient Sumerian face eastwards among the inhabitants of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, until the valley of Indus is reached some 1,500 miles distant from Mesopotamia" (as quoted by Woolley, ibid., p. 8). According to C. L. Woolley "it is safest to regard the Indus valley and Mesopotamian plateau as offshoots from a common source which presumably lies somewhere between Indus and the Euphrates valleys" (Woolley, ibid., p. 9). B. Landsberger agrees with this opinion, "in all probability Sumerian came from the east across the sea", and he states that "Sumerian maintained lively trade relations with the original inhabitants of India" (Landsberger, op. cit., p. 9).

Intellectual and artistic achievements of the Sumero-Akkadians were created by the Sumerians. But, the date of the Sumerian immigration is obscure and it is unknown whether they produced this intellectual awakening only in Mesopotamia itself, or whether they already brought the seeds from their eastern home (Landsberger, ibid., p. 12). Sumero-Akkadians were highly organized in social and industrial spheres at an exceedingly early date. Their systems naturally formed the foundation of those of the Babylonians and

the Assyrians later on. The gods of Sumerians were in majority anthropomorphic and this is different from the pantheons of other western peoples and the Egyptians. A subordinate place was given to lions, bulls and snakes in the pantheon. They represented the class of 'demons'. The triple organization of the pantheon was essential: the Sky-god An, the Lord of the Earth Enlil, and the god of the oceans Enki partnered in the rule of the world. The Mother goddess was at the same rank and there was another triad, the sun, moon and storm-gods. Every god has a large cult city. Only the Sun-god had a cult center in both North and South Babylonia (Landsberger, ibid., pp. 13, 14). The Sun was worshipped in two principle centers from early Sumerian times, one at Ellasar in the south and the other at Sippar about twenty-five miles north of Babylon. (S.H. Langdon, The Mythology of all Races. Vol. V: Semitic, ed. by C.J.A. Culloch (New York, 1964) p. 150).

The heirs of the early Sumerians were Babylonians, Akkadians, Hittites and Assyrians whose social and religious life was based on the Sumerian types. They kept the traces of the first urban culture of Mesopotamia alive for centuries.

(16) Langdon, ibid., pp. 101-2.

(17) Ibid., pp. 118-19.

- (18) Aquila: the name of the eagle constellation in Latin ("Aquila", Meydan Larousse, I (Istanbul, 1969) p. 603)
- (19) Langdon. loc. cit.
- (20) Ibid., p. 117.
- (21) Ibid., pp. 115-6.
- (22) Benno Landsberger, "Sumerler", trans. by M.O. Tosun, Ankara Universitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, I, no. 5 (Ankara 1943) p. 92.
- (23) Langdon, op. cit., p.115.
- (24) Ibid., p. 130.
- (25) Ibid., p. 235.
- (26) Loc. cit.
- (27) Ibid., pp. 166-67.
- (28) Ibid., pp. 166-74. The bird man represented on the seal cylinders as being brought by attendants before the seated Sun-god Shamash, is identified as the captured eagle of the Etana and the Plant of Birth myth by W.H. Ward, Cylinder Seals of Western Asia (Washington 1910) pp. 102-07, figs. 291-300b. Moreover, we see on the seals this eagle of the Etana myth bearing Etana on his wings through the heavens to the heaven of Anu (Sky-god). Look at our text figure 32 and Ward, Ibid., pp. 143-48, figs. 391-98.
- (29) Henri Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient (London, 1954), p. 17.

- (30) Ibid., p. 31.
- (31) Langdon, op. cit., pp. 60, 115-6.
- (32) Early Dynastic Period (circa 3000-2340 B.C.) is divided into three subsequent periods called First, Second and Third Early Dynastic Periods.
- (33) Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, p. 24.
- (34) Langdon, op. cit., pp. 61, 63.
- (35) Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, p. 30.
- (36) Ibid., p. 31.
- (37) Ibid., p. 34.
- (38) Léon Legrain, The Culture of the Babylonians From Their Seals in the Collection of the Museum, (Philadelphia 1925) Pl. IV, no. 46; Léon Legrain states that this double-headed eagle is the first attempt of an imaginative mythology (Ibid., p. 10).
- (39) J.P. de Souza, "The Double-Headed Eagle", Indica (The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemorative Volume) (1953) p. 395; for the plate look H.H. Von der Osten, Ancient Oriental Seals, XXXVII, (Chicago 1936), Pl. IV, fig. 28.
- (40) The Akkadian Dynasty (reigned from around 2450 to 2250 B.C.) was overthrown by the Gutti who were wild mountaineers who came from the Zagros mountains on the

border between Persia and Iraq in Luristan on the north-east. Guti people held control of Mesopotamia from about 2250(?) to 2050(?) B.C. Ethnical origin of the Guti is unknown to this day. But, scholars put forward hypotheses, such as the one of B. Landsberger, who after comparing some words of the Guti language to Turkish, is inclined to accept them as Turks (as cited by Wilhelm Koppers, "İlk Türklük ve İlk Indo Germanlik", T.T.K. Belleten, V (Ankara, 1941) p. 476, note: 16, p. 445). On the other hand, E.A. Speiser openly accepts the Guti people as the ancestors of today's Kurds living in northern Mesopotamia (E.A. Speiser, Mesopotamian Origins: The Basic Population of the Near East (Philadelphia, 1930) p. 119). During the Guti dominion, city states, especially ones in the south though limited in administrative facilities, maintained a considerable degree of prosperity in culture. The monuments of Gudea, king of Lagash can be exemplified. In glyptic art Akkadian themes were relinquished. The ritual scenes illustrating the close relationship of men and Gods, were valid (Henri Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, (London, 1965), p. 177). L. Legrain states that the horse was introduced to Babylonia at the time of the Guti and it came from the northern steppes over the Persian Highland. After the Guti invasion there had

been a transition period breaking up the old Sumerian, Akkadian tradition and introducing new elements (L. Legrain, op. cit., pp. 22, 25).

- (41) Langdon, op. cit., p. 116.
- (42) Loc. cit.
- (43) Cited by A.V. Solovjev, "Les Emblèmes Héraldiques de Byzance et Les Slaves", Seminarium Kandakovianum Recueil D'Etudes, VII, (Praha, 1935) p. 123; Ward, op. cit., p. 34.
- (44) Langdon, loc. cit. We have indicated the twin-god character of the Sun-god Ninurta (Ningirsu, early name) one benevolent and one malevolent (lately identified with Nergal). It should be noted that the double-head could merely be a variation of the single-headed bird. But, the two-headed composition was most convenient for simple emblematic representations, more firmly symbolizing the two aspects of the god.
- (45) Ward, op. cit., pp. 34, 407, relying upon the deductions of M.L. Heuzey.
- (46) As quoted by Ward, op. cit., p. 35.
- (47) Ward, op. cit., p. 34, figs. 73, 74.
- (48) Langdon, loc. cit.
- (49) For the figure look Ward, op. cit., fig. 63.
- (50) Langdon, op. cit., pp. 116-17.
- (51) Ward, op. cit., p. 35.

- (52) See note: 37 and the related passage in the text.
- (53) Called by Ward, op. cit., p. 34; look note: 45.
- (54) See note: 48 and the related passage in the text.
- (55) See note: 44 and the related passage in the text.
- (56) See notes:45-6 and the related passages in the text.
Furthermore, M.L. Heuzey explained the composition representing the eagle above two lions found on some monuments at Telloh, as an expression of the supremacy of the king of Lagash, as a ruler over East and West (cited by A.J. Wensinck, "Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia", Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam: Afdeling Letterkunde, XXII, (Amsterdam, 1921) p. 47).
- (57) According to Francis Klingender, both in Egypt and in Western Asia important elements of the old hunter's cult survived in forms adapted to the needs not only of peasant cultures but even of urban civilizations (Francis Klingender, Animals in Art and Thought, (Massachusetts, 1971) p. 34). A seal of Urlama, patesi of Tello (Lagash) who succeeded Gudea in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (circa 2200-2000 B.C.), shows an eagle with spread wings and legs fixed over a pole top (see for the figure Ward, op. cit., fig. 39a). This sign bears in its rendering the traces of the old totemic emblems, cf., our text figure 3, in

the fourth register the last symbol on the right, the eagle perched on a pillar, the symbol of Ninurta.

(58) See note: 15.

(59) Langdon, op. cit., p. 2

(60) N.P. Kondakov states that the eagle represented the Sun-god. It was ascending to heaven and seizing the celestial fire; as quoted by Solovjev, op. cit., p. 123, note: 21). According to S. Reinach's convincing hypothesis which is similar, in some respects, to N. Kondakov's, the eagle firstly represented the titan who had taken the fire from heaven and given to men (cited by A.V. Solovjev, loc. cit.).

(61) The Egyptian Sun-god Horus incarnating in pharaoh and had various forms as Amon or Ra, directly represented on monuments by a falcon or falcon headed man whose eyes symbolized the sun and the moon. "Horus is generally called 'the Great God, Lord of Heaven' and pharaoh was Horus" (Henri Farnkfort, Kingship and the Gods (Chicago, 1948) p. 37). M. Brion, after indicating the importance of the old Sahara civilization as the origin of the art of Egypt and its gods with animal heads, states that "it was the animal which without ceasing to be absolutely natural became supernatural as the dwelling of the divine. And this was so flexibly achieved that the change from animal into

human was almost imperceptible so that man became animal and vice versa without difficulty, thus unconsciously acquiring a double nature" (Marcel Brion, Animals in Art, trans. by F.H. Gaute (London, 1959), p. 17). In Egypt the falcon was not the symbol of the Sun-god but god. The preference for the falcon is significant. The physical convenience of a falcon's head to be placed over a human body is the reason for this. If compared to an eagle's head, its cheeks are stouter and this, together with its slightly curved forehead made the head of a falcon higher than an eagle's head. Moreover, its blunt beak beside the disproportionately long one of an eagle, is placed in harmony with the height of the head. On the contrary, the large and sharp beak of an eagle with a severe curl at the end, is dominant in front of its head. A falcon's head would not keep an artist far from his purpose which was to unite an animal with the anthropomorphic divine without losing their natural shapes. As a result, the image of the falcon was preferred to that of the eagle to be named as the Sun-god Horus.

(62) A.J. Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 38-9.

(63) The use of cylinder seals was peculiar to Mesopotamia. The earliest tablets with seal impressions are dated to the fourth millenium B.C. and they precede the

invention of writing. Cylinder seals were firstly used for the safeguarding of possessions or merchandise. Clothed and stinged openings of jars were laid with moist clay over which the cylinder seal was rolled, or it was used more seldomly to legalize written documents. The earliest clay tablets bear only numbers inscribed to assist memory. Then almost immediately writing signs were added to the numerals beside the pictures whose subjects are historical and religious (Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pp. 1-4).

- (64) Woolley, op. cit., p. 128.
- (65) Ward, op. cit., p. 389.
- (66) The lion was accepted as sacred in prehistoric African art. Its gaze had a supernatural power for Africans and its head was represented in full face beside the profiled animals of African art (for further detail look Brion, op. cit., p. 16). Moreover the Egyptian Sun-god Horus was, sometimes, represented by a lion with a falcon's head (W. Max Müller, The Mythology of All Races, vol. XII of Egyptian, ed. by. L.H. Gray (New York, 1964), p. 24). For the Sumerian lion as a symbol of the Sun-god see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, plt. XIVa, and Langdon, op. cit., p. 60, fig. 36.
- (67) We have indicated the mythological relationship between the Sun-god Shamash and the Earth-god Enlil

whose son was Ninurta (who was one of the two special aspects of the Sun-god Shamash).

- (68) Langdon, op. cit., p. 117.
- (69) Ward, op. cit., p. 35. The Assyrian king Asarhaddon (who reigned from 680 to 669 B.C.) placed images of the bird Zu beside lions, lahmu (dragon or the god of order) and god Kuribu (cherub in Hebrew mythology) at the entrances to the gates of the temple of Ishtar in Arbela so as to set it under the protection of mystic powers (Langdon, op. cit., p. 108). The idea of putting the images of monsters or supernatural creatures on the gates to protect the city from illnesses or harmful effects of evil spirits was inherited from the Sumerians. The gates of Nineveh were decorated with sculptured and polychromed monsters protecting the city from all enemies both visible and invisible (Brion, op. cit., p. 9).
- (70) The eagle's head facing the spectator over the body is not favorable in a frontal depiction. We have talked about the physical characteristics of an eagle's head (see note: 61) and there stated the dominant size of its beak when figured frontally in front of its rather small head. This beak would be first in importance in a real representation and the magical effects (which are the products of a supernatural

creature's gaze) of a complete, eared, oval head of the lion (looks like a human head with a smooth nose, prominent cheeks and round big eyes) would not have been obtained.

- (71) Ward, op. cit., p. 34. Moreover, A.V. Solovjev finds logical the probability of a religious relation between the Sumerian and Hittite emblematic eagles and Asian fantastic birds: "il est logique que cet emblème fut mis en liaison avec la croyance en des oiseaux inconnus ou fantastiques de dimensions colossales, commune a diverses religions de l'Asie. D'êtres divins qu'ils avaient été, ces oiseaux sont devenus, dans le résultat d'un procès religieux habituel, des ministres divins ou des démons, affables aux hommes et liant la terre aux cieux"; for further details looks Solovjev, op. cit., pp. 122-23.
- (72) Langdon, op. cit., p. 117.
- (73) Ward, op. cit., p. 34. O.M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology (New York, 1911), p. 707. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 47.
- (74) Before the second millenium, the indigenous population of Asia Minor consisted of the Hattians who gave the name Hatti to the country and were a non Indo-European people. At about the beginning of the second millenium an Indo-European speaking Aryan people (called Mitannians

by B.B. Charles) who had Caucasian elements came in waves and gradually invaded the land. Their migration reached its peak in the eighteenth century B.C. They superimposed their Hittite language on the Hattian. They establish a centralized Hittite kingdom with Carchemish as their capital and united the separate city-states. Their culture was under the influence of the neighboring countries and old cultures of Anatolia. Hurrians who settled in northern Mesopotamia and Syria and established the Mitannian kingdom played an important role in the transmittance of the old Mesopotamian tradition to Anatolia. Besides, their native Indo-Aryan culture had a part in the make-up of the new state. The complex religious character of the Hittite land was the result of the Hittites' tolerance in accepting the alien deities. This brought about the thousand gods of the Hittite land and accounted for the crowded Hittite pantheon. Beside the other foreign gods, some Mitannian gods, such as Mithra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya, the twins, show a close connection between the Hittite culture and that of the Aryans of India. Each city state had its own gods as applied in the early Babylonian kingdom. Most predominant of all city deities were the local forms of the Mother-goddess and of the Storm-god (Weather-god). The Storm-god

Teshub hold the foremost place in the pantheon though the Sun-god is mentioned first in the enumeration of the Hittite gods. Another important adaptation from alien cultures is the cuneiform script which was borrowed from Euphratean civilization (B.B. Charles, "Hittites", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by J. Hastings, VI (Edinburgh-New York, 1913) pp. 723-27; O.R. Gurney, The Hittites, (London, 1975) pp. 17-18; A.M. Dinçol "Hititler" Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi, (Istanbul, 1982) pp 25, 77).

(75) Gurney, op. cit., p. 18.

(76) Dinçol, op. cit., p. 113.

(77) K.A. Waddell, The Makers of Civilization in Race and History, (Lodnon, 1929) p. 72. H.H. Von der Osten after stating that several eagle bronzes representing various periods were said to have come from Cappadocia, points out that from the Roman layer at the Alishar Hüyük came a small bronze figurine showing a stag's head which stands on eagle (H.H. von der Osten, Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1929, ed by J.H. Breasted (Chicago, 1930) p. 170). Furthermore, we know that the eagle represented on the head of a stag or bull was an emblem of Jupiter Dolichenus (Georges Contenau, La Glyplique Syro-Hittite, (Paris, 1922) p. 143) who was a late prototype of the Hittite Weather-god

standing on the bull (Gurney, op. cit., p. 134) and we know that the Weather-god in the Hittite pantheon had almost the same rank as the Sun-god who was inferior in some respects to him.

- (78) Solovjev, op. cit., p. 125. This name must have been given to the city because of the ages-old eagle cult in the district and it gives evidence for the existence of a religious tradition which inspired the name before the Roman period.
- (79) John Ganstang, The Hittite Empire, (London, 1929), p. 116.
- (80) Frankfort, The Art and Arch....., pp. 125-26.
- (81) O.R. Gurney, The Hittites, (London, 1952) p. 144.
- (82) Frankfort, loc. cit.
- (83) Op. cit., p. 105. Another double-headed eagle has this lituus-like device, this time, depicted on a stamp seal, for the plate see D`G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals (Oxford, 1920) plt. VII, 192. D.G. Hogarth sees a relation with the Egyptian winged disk and states that this device indicates the eagle's solar character (ibid., p. 73).
- (84) The winged disk was the Egyptian symbol of royalty and the eighteenth dynasty had extreme prestige in the Syrian and Anatolian kingdoms. The kings of Mitanni firstly adopted the symbol and as we know

assimilated it into a concept of a sky symbol supported on a pillar, such as is mentioned in the Rigveda. The Hittites took the symbol from Syria, where it had become confused with the Babylonian sun symbol. It assumes in Hittite a distinctively Syrian form with its radiant star-like sun instead of Egyptian disk with the upturned ends of the wings. (Frankfort, The Art and Arch....., p. 117; Gurney, 1975, p. 212).

- (85) These latter devices are interpreted as the "Band of Heaven and Earth" or the rendering of the rain by Henri Frankfort, look note: 80.
- (86) H.P. l'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, (Oslo-London-Cambridge, 1953) p. 51.
- (87) Frankfort, Art and Arch....., p. 117.
- (88) J.A. Mac Culloch, "Door", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, IV (1911) p. 848.
- (89) J.G. Macqueen, The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor (Southampton, 1975) p. 111.
- (90) Mac Culloch, op. cit., p. 850.
- (91) Look note: 69.
- (92) Wensinck, op. cit., p. 42.
- (93) Ibid., p. 44.
- (94) R.A. Jairazbhoy, Oriental Influences in Western Art (New York, 1965) p. 314. The eagle is divided by a

line on the breast probably so as to stress this two-fold character. Etrusco-Roman Janus was the primitive numen of the doorway of the house and the city gate, preventing the passage of all evil things into the house and also, the porter of heaven. His double head symbolizes the gate that opens and shuts alternatively on two sides of the gate (Loc. cit., Mac Culloch, op. cit., p. 848.

- (95) Garstang, op. cit., p. 143.
- (96) Frankfort, The Art and Arch..., p.127; Gurney, 1975, p. 102.
- (97) W.J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, Armenia, I (London, 1842) p. 383; H.H. von der Osten, Explorations in Hittite Asia (Chicago 1927) pp. 107-8.
- (98) Hogarth, op. cit., p. 73.
- (99) Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 284. Goblet d'Alviella's view accepting the double-headed eagle of Eyuk as having originated from Mycenae by comparing it with two golden fibulae showing purely ornamental birds realistically rendered, leaning towards each other with turned heads, is not acceptable; For further detail see d'Alviella, op. cit., pp. 24-5, figs 8, 9.
- (100) Garstang, op. cit., p. 115; this monument today is at the Archaeological Museum of Kayseri (Caesarea) and classified as a Roman eagle. Von der Osten recorded another, this time, half broken stone eagle in

Bulumashlu (H.H. von der Osten, Explorations, 1927, p. 33, fig. 27).

- (101) Ibid., pp. 115, 123.
- (102) Ibid., p. 115, note: 1.
- (103) O.R. Gurney, 1975, p. 138. It is noteworthy that the Sun-god Marduk, was also identified with the Assyrian God Ashur, look note: 126.
- (104) George Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures", Ars Islamica, IV, (Michigan, 1937) p. 373.
- (105) Ibid., pp. 374-9.
- (106) See note: 28.
- (107) Ba'al means 'owner' or 'patron' in Semitic languages. Ba'al was a god of fertility and commemorated in various communities as the 'patron of earth', 'patron of storm' or 'patron of sky'. Ba'al, called Belos in Greek, was identified with Zeus in Greek mythology. Look for further detail, "Baal" Encyclopaedia of Ana Britannica, III (Istanbul, 1986) pp. 131-2. Ba'al Sammin was indebted for his grandeur to the progression of Syrian astronomy which withdrew the interest of men from the constellations while showing their distance from the world. Religious uranography of the Syrians placed the residence of supreme divinity above the planets and stars. Ancient Semites believed that most power-

ful of all deities were constellations and planets directing the course of time; above all, the sun was the king of all stars and arbitrator of the world. Later they placed the abode of the superior being over the limits of universe and they accepted the light-giving sun as the image and manifestation of predominant might, as the mediator between men and unattainable god and they respected it. Belief in an indescribable single god felt in all nature was the last formula on which the religion of idolater Semites was based and this belief provided ground for the Christian monotheism (Franz Cumont, Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain, (Paris, 1929) pp. 118-9, 123-4)

- 108) Franz Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganisme, (New York, 1959) pp. 101-2.
- 109) Franz Cumont, Les Religions Orientales, pp. 136-7.
- 110) Gurney, 1975, p. 134. In addition, according to H.G. Güterbock, the god Telepinu who is a son of the great Storm-god and bears many traits of a Storm-god existed also in the Hattic pantheon before the coming of the Hittites who adopted the myths together with the gods of their predecessors (H.G. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology", Mythologies of the Ancient World, ed. by S.N. Kramer (New York, 1961) pp. 144, 150).
- 111) Ibid., pp. 140-1.

- (112) Ibid., pp. 139-40.
- (113) Georges Contenau states that the use of the double-headed eagle on the early seals entirely depended on Mesopotamian art (Contenau, op. cit., p. 95). But, in reality, the Hattians took the eagle from Mesopotamia, but probably, not the double-headed variation of it. The double-headed form was, rarely applied before them. When used, it was a variation and lion's heads were rendered instead of eagle's, implying the lion-headed eagle, Imdugud. On the other hand, the double lion-headed eagles are found in Hittite art (text figure 13), but contrary to Mesopotamia their number is very few either with one or with two heads.
- (114) Frankfort, Art and Arch....., p. 67.
- (115) Henri Frankfort accepts the wings of the Assyrian winged disk as the rendering of the sky and the bands hanging from the disk as the 'Band of Heaven and Earth', see note: 132.
- (116) Assyrian art was born in Asur (in the north of Babylonia) during the second half of the fourteenth century B.C. South of Mesopotamia at this time was weak under the foreign Kassite Dynasty and the kingdom of Mitanni on the north was disrupted by the Hittites. This caused the abolition of the Mitannian pressure which had lasted since the beginning of the second

millenium B.C. As a result Assyrian kingdom became independent and its art flourished ("Asur", Ana Britannica, II (Istanbul, 1987) p. 419).. H. Frankfort indicates that "there was no break in continuity between the art of Assyria and the art of Babylonia and Sumer" (Frankfort, The Art and Arch....., p. 66); rather some alterations in religious and state affairs introduced new elements interpreted in the old artistic tradition.

- (117) Count Goblet d'Alviella, The Migration of Symbols, (reissue of the 1984 Westminster print) trans. by G. Birdwood (New York, 1956), p. 205.
- (118) Ward, op. cit., p. 396. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, P. 208. The winged sun disk appears in Syrian cylinders of about the middle of the second millenium (Frankfort, Art and Arch....., p. 66).
- (119) D'Alviella, op. cit., p. 214.
- (120) Ibid., pp. 212-13.
- (121) Indicated by A.J. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 43.
- (122) Ibid., p. 43.
- (123) By Count G. d'Alviella, op. cit., p. 216 and H. Frankfort, The Art and Arch....., p. 67.
- (124) We have talked about the distinct mentalities of the two valley cultures in the concept of symbolic expression (see note: 61). The natural particularities of

the animal symbols of Mesopotamia are more accentuated and retained than that of Egypt.

- (125) D'Alviella, loc. cit.
- (126) Ward, op. cit., p. 397. Ashur was the national protector god of Assyria. He borrowed his entire mythological character from the Sumerian Earth-god, Enlil, and the Sun-god, Marduk, and it is supposed that he lately identified with them (for further detail see Langdon, op. cit., pp. 160-1.
- (127) For the figure of the relief and for further detail see Ward, op. cit., fig. 1282, pp. 390-92, 397. .
- (128) Loc. cit.
- (129) Ward, loc. cit. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pp. 207-8, see Frankfort, The Art and Arch....., plate 84 showing Assurnasirpal II at war in a relief composition from Nimrud. The god Ashur here is placed above the king between the wings, drawing his bow in support of his protégé, the king.
- (130) Frankfort, ibid., p. 67.
- (131) Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 214. Ward, op. cit., p. 397. We will take into consideration this triad of the Assyrian winged disk when it is seen on the monuments of the Persians and on the coins of the Artukid Turkomans.
- (132) The 'sacred tree' is found in Assyria rather than in

Babylonia. One early example from the south is seen in the impression of a cylinder seal from the age of Dungi of Ur (circa 2032-1986 B.C.) (text fig. 27), showing a tree between two conventionalized mountains. A.J. Wensinck recognizes this tree, as the 'tree of light' and the bird near it, as the symbol of the Sun, the eagle. According to him, in the old Oriental conception light and life are ideas which cannot be separated from each other and the name 'tree of life' is chiefly due to biblical influence. He thinks that a cosmological bunch of symbols connected directly with the Sun comprises also the 'sacred tree'. On the monuments, the tree symbolizes one of the characteristic points of the world (the Eastern part from which sun comes) and stands at the Eastern end of the earth. The eagle stands for the sun, and the mountains represent one of the 'gates of the earth' which are at the same time the 'gates of heaven' (for detailed information see A.J. Wensinck, Op. cit., pp. 3,44). Before the Assyrian interpretation the 'sacred tree' did not have primary importance in art and mythology; rather, it was a complementary element of the solar symbolism. The Mitannian 'pillar supporting heaven' is the nucleus of the Assyrian fully grown representation of the 'sacred tree'. The kingdom of Mitanni

was founded in Syria at the end of the eighteenth century B.C. by the Aryan Hurrians who worshipped Mithra, Varuna and other Indian gods and spoke an Indo-European language (Frankfort, Art and Arch....., p. 62). In Syria, according to Henri Frankfort, "then we find for the first time in the seals of Mitanni a suggestion of ideas which subsequently were more explicitly expressed by the seal cutters - and scribes - of Assyria (Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 207). The earliest winged disk of an Asiatic monument is seen on the seal of king Shaushattar of Mittanni, supported by a pillar (Frankfort, ibid., p. 209, plt. 42a). The Rigveda and Atharva Veda (two of the four known books of the Indian sacred Vedantic texts) mention the 'cosmic pillar' which separates heaven and earth and supports the first. This device is used in primitive cosmology to explain the relation between heaven and earth and for the first time appears with the settlement of Indo-Europeans in the Near East. Before the Middle Assyrian times the 'sacred tree' replaced the 'pillar of heaven' and the winged disk, sometimes with the god Ashur in place of the disk, was placed over it (text fig. 25, 26). The bands hanging from the winged disk possibly are the "Band of Heaven and Earth", or an abbreviated rendering of the rain and

the wings which symbolize the sky. The association of the 'sacred tree' with the disk was a result of the assimilation of the alien conception of the 'pillar of heaven' with the autochthonous ritual object, the 'sacred tree' (Frankfort, ibid., pp. 209-14, 276). W.H. Ward states that there were mythical trees in the early Babylonian stories which were either palms or cedars, but these trees are not clearly connected with the Assyrian 'sacred tree' which is an original, more stressed ritual object. He further indicates that the Assyrian 'sacred tree' is a 'tree of fortune and life' and the attendant figures, human or composite are the guardians of the tree (look for the confirmation of the case Ward, Op. cit., pp. 219-38).

(133) Ward, ibid., p. 232.

(134) Benjamin Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India (Bungay - Suffolk, 1956) p. 12.

(135) A.J. Carnoy, The Mythology of All Races Vol. VI: Iranian (New York, 1964) p. 283.

(136) V.F. Buchner, "Simurgh", The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. by M.T.H. Housma and A.J. Wensinck, IV (Leyden-London, 1934) p. 427.

(137) Loc. cit.

(138) Cf. the eagle of the Sumero-Akkadians, as a rescuer who seized and carried the babe Gilgamesh (Chapter III).

- (139) Büchner, loc. cit.
- (140) Loc. cit.
- (141) Williams Jackson, Zoroastrian Studies, (New York, 1928) pp. 51-2; Carnoy, op. cit., p. 282.
- (142) Clement Huart, Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization, (London - New York, 1927) p. 173.
- (143) B.B. Keith, The Mythology of All Races, Vol. VI, Indian (New York, 1964) pp. 47-8.
- (144) Loc. cit.
- (145) Cf. the strife between the eagle, symbol of the Sumerian Sun-god, and the serpent in the 'Etana and the Plant of Birth' myth (Chapter III).
- (146) Ibid., pp. 139-40; C.H. Marchal, "The Mythology of Indo-China and Java", Asiatic Mythology, intro. by Paul-Louis Couchoud (London, 1932) p. 200; Heinrich Zimmer, Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization, ed. by J. Campbell (New York, 1962) pp. 75-6, Heinrich Zimmer states that Indian gods or superhuman beings do not use wings as attributes except in the case of Garuda, but in ancient Mesopotamian art winged divinities or genii are traditional vehicles and this Indian figure betrays connection with that tradition (Zimmer, ibid., p. 93).
- (147) Keith, op. cit., pp. 47-8.
- (148) Jackson, op. cit., p. 62.

- (149) Bundahishn XVIII, 19; LX, 5, 6; as quoted by W.H. Ward, op. cit., p. 235.
- (150) Mainog-i-Khivat; as quoted by W.H. Ward, ibid., p. 236.
- (151) A.J. Wensinck indicates the existence of a second tree in the Western Asia, the 'tree of truth or wisdom' (or the tree of night and death) a counterpart of the 'tree of light and life') (Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 11-2).
- (152) Ward, op. cit., pp. 236-7-8.
- (153) Carnoy, op. cit., p. 291.
- (154) Edith Porada, The Art of Ancient Iran, (New York, 1965) pp. 96-7, plt. 24; André Godard, L'Art de L'Iran, (Paris, 1962) p. 94, figs 135, 138; Anahit (Water-and Fertility-goddess) is usually depicted in Sassanian Art, which carried by the eagle on the breast.
- (155) Porada, op. cit., p. 201.
- (156) Jackson, op. cit., pp. 60, 172, 204.
- (157) Xenophon, Cyropaedia, VII, trans. by W. Miller (London-New York, 1914) I.4.
- (158) Oktay Belli, "Urartular", Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi, (Istanbul, 1982) pp. 202, 204, fig. p. 198.
- (159) Ibid., pp. 197, 205, figs. p. 155, 176 for the Urartian tree of life see Oktay Belli, "Urartularda Hayat Ağacı İnancı", Anadolu Araştırmaları, VIII (1980), pp. 237-46.
- (160) C.J. Gadd, "Achaemenid Seals", A Survey of Persian Art, I, ed. by A.U. Pope (Oxford, 1938-39) p. 384. Zoro-

astrianism was the religion of Iran prior to the spread of Islam and takes its name from its founder Zoroaster, about whose personality and dates little is known. Probably in between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. he took action to reform and unify the religious thought of the ancient Iranian people in a monotheistic religion. The religion was dualistic in character, divided between the forces of good and evil, which mankind follows of its own free will. In choosing good, man is aided by the Zoroastrian message, the instrument of salvation given him by Ahura Mazda through the mouth of Zoroaster (M.C. de Azevedo, "Zoroastrianism", Encyclopaedia of World Art, XIV (London, 1967) p. 966).

Another name of Ahura Mazda, the creator of all that is good, is Spenta Mainyu (the Holy Spirit) and that in opposition to him is Anra Mainyu (the Destroying Spirit). In later Persian literature they are Ormazd and Ahriman. The whole religious system of Ahura Mazda consists of the perennial warfare between these two powers. The dualistic conception symmetrically divides the world into two parts called the 'world of the Spirit' and the 'world of Matter'. Some of the Pahlawi (: old Panthian and Sassanian official language) treatises of the Avesta (holy book of the Zoroastrianism) such as the Bundahish, even listed

animals arranged in two hostile armies, among those of the good creation being the falcon, wild ass, dog, fox, magpie, crow, kite, etc., whilst the serpent, locust, wolf and intestinal worms are of the evil creation. Allthrough the Zoroastrian system, from the Avesta down to the Pahlawi theologians, the evil spirit is considered as a real creator, and for this reason even apart from the question of his origin, the system may fully be termed dualistic. But, Anra Mainya and his hosts are to be entirely destroyed on the last day by the power of good. Furthermore, Ahura Mazda and Anra Mainyu are coexistent from eternity. Thus, this is a monotheism limited and modified by dualism as well as a dualism modified by an ultimate monotheism. (L.C. Casertelli, "Dualism, Iranian", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, V, (Edinburgh - New York, 1912) pp. 111-2). According to Williams Jackson Zoroaster's dualism is a monotheistic and optimistic dualism, since it inculcates that Ormazd will be exalted and will gain the victory, and that good will ultimately triumph over evil. (Jackson, op. cit., p. 31). The thoughts of Zoroaster are expressed in the Gathas, a collection of verse sermons which constitute the oldest part of the Avesta, the canonical book of Zoroastrianism. On the Gathas of modern Parsis,

Anra Mainyu (Evil Spirit) is constantly opposed not to Ahura Mazda, but to Spenta Mainyu (Holy Spirit). Ahura Mazda, they hold, is the one supreme and primordial spirit and sole creator. He is however, possessed Anra Mainyu and Spenta Mainyu (Casartelli, loc. cit.).

- (161) Cumont, Les Religions Orientales....., pp. 118, 140.
- (162) Jackson, op. cit., p. 40.
- (163) Look for the impression, Léon Legrain, op. cit., pl. XLV, 95).
- (164) Ward, op. cit., p. 398.
- (165) Jackson, op. cit., p. 39.
- (166) Herodotus, Herodot Tarihi, I, trans. by M. Ökmen (Istanbul, 1973) 131.
- (167) Jackson, op. cit., p. 50.
- (168) Ibid., p. 119.
- (169) Roman Ghirshman, "Iranian Pre-Sassanian Art Cultures", Encyclopaedia of World Art, VIII (London 1963) pp. 257-8.
- (170) Loc. cit.
- (171) Cumont, Les Religions Orientales, p. 137.
- (172) Ghirsman, loc. cit.
- (173) See note: 132.
- (174) Parthians or Arsacids, was a nomadic race which showed in its social organization and art traces of the nomadic world of Central Asia. Their migration from

north to south began circa 250 B.C. and Parthian power was established in Iranian and neighboring territories in about 140 B.C. Their kingdom covered an area far greater than that of Iran proper, and included the Indian subcontinent, Mesopotamia and Armenia. The Parthian invasion of Iran seems to have been related in some respect to the movements of the Sarmatians and of the more obscure Yüeh-chih tribes (Mario Bussagli, "Parthian Art", Encyclopaedia of World Art, XI, (London, 1966) p. 106).

(175) The Sassanian dynasty ruled Iran from the third to the seventh century and constituted the last great Iranian empire before the Moslem conquest. It was a period of Iranian national revolt against the Parthians and the restoration of the Achaemenid Empire. Sassanian art was the final phase of a gigantic artistic development that had started in the Mesopotamian and Iranian area some four thousand years earlier (Umberto Scerrato, "Sassanian Art", Encyclopaedia of World Art, XII (London 1966) p. 702.

(176) Phyllis Ackerman, "Textiles Through the Sassanian Period", A Survey of Persian Art, ed. by A.U. Pope, II (London-New York-Toronto, 1963) p. 706.

(177) Wensinck, op. cit., p. 42. It should be remembered the Sumerian eagle figured over the 'Gate of Heaven',

see text fig. 18.

- (178) See note: 132.
- (179) Schuyler Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings in Oriental Rug Patterns, II", Textile Museum Journal, III, No. 3, (Washington, 1972) p. 25.
- (180) Loc. cit.
- (181) Ibid., p. 28.
- (182) Ibid., p. 37.
- (183) Ibid., p. 38.
- (184) Ibid., pp. 29-30.
- (185) Loc. cit.
- (186) Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 1-2, 51-4.
- (187) Cammann, op. cit., p. 27. Turks of Central Asia call 'türt yingak, or singar' to these four directions and 'tört bulung' to the four crossing sections. They also recognized upper (sky) and lower (earth) directions called 'üstün yingak' and 'altın yingak' (Emel Esin, Türk Kozmolojisi (Istanbul 1979) p. 19).
- (188) Ibid., pp. 31, 39. Four 'trefoils' (double-headed eagles) later applied on Buddhist mandalas, the basic plan of which seems to have descended from the old 'TLV' patterns, text fig. 59, (Cammann, Ibid., p. 39).
- (189) Ibid., p. 41. Mani was born in a village near the modern city of Baghdad, 216 A.D. and died in 277. His endeavor was to find a universal religion by

uniting into one system the essential elements of Zoroastrianism and Christianity, supplementing these with Indian and especially Buddhistic traits, combined with old Babylonian beliefs together with marked Hellenistic Gnostic features, all of which were current in the atmosphere of his time. At the basis of Mani's conception of the universe lay the old-time doctrine of dualism, the eternal struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, as thought by Zoroaster. According to him at the final time all that belongs to Light shall reign supreme forever. (A.V.W. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 187-93). Manichaeism sacred books were translated into Uighur Turkish in the eighth century and Manichaeism was accepted as the official religion in 759 by a Uighur sovereign. But before this time Manichaeism, in the first century after its foundation, reached even to China. Uighur Turks accepted this religion under the influence of the Chinese Manichaeans (M.F. Köprülü, "İzahlar ve Düzeltmeler", İslam Medeniyeti Tarihi, by W. Barthold (Ankara 1984) pp. 86-93).

(190) Schuyler Cammann, "Ancient Symbols in Modern Afghanistan", Ars Orientalis. II, (1957) p. 33.

(191) Ibid., p. 5.

(192) Ibid., p. 7.

- (193) Ibid., p. 8; cf. text figs. 46 and 20, 25, 15, 35.
- (194) J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, trans. by J. Seige (New York, 1962) p. 329.
- (195) Cammann, "Ancient Symbols in", p. 13.
- (196) See note: 77.
- (197) Ibid., pp. 15-17.
- (198) Ibid., pp. 29-31, fig. 8.
- (199) For further detail look ibid., pp. 19, 20 and references.
- (200) Frankfort, Art and Architecture ..., p. 213, fig. 107.
- (201) Phyllis Ackerman, "Some Problems of Early Iconography", A Survey of Persian Art, II, ed. by A.U. Pope (London-New York-Toronto, 1963), pp. 882-3.
- (202) Under the influence of the Orient the eagle in the Hellenistic world became a god- and soul-bearing vehicle. Ganymede carried to heaven by the eagle of Zeus became a symbol of the ascension of the soul to the stars. (l'Orange, op. cit., pp. 69-70). In Roman times the deceased, particularly emperors were believed to be borne to heaven on the chariot of Helios, or that the eagle carried off their souls to bear them to his master. A funeral altar of Rome bears the characteristic inscription: "Sol me rapuit", "the Sun has seized me up". This was a very widespread belief of Syrian origin going back to the Ganymede and Etana

myths and was the product of a transformation from the original idea of the bird-soul which took place in Syria. The eagle in Roman funeral art symbolizes this religious and mythological meaning. (Cumont, After Life in, pp. 101-2, 158). In the Roman empire the sun was the god of the dead and the eagle was its messenger and porter, as well as a symbol of sky, Ba'alshamin, who formed a triad with the Sun- and Moon-gods (Cumont, Les Religions, p. 29).

- (203) Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 221,; l'Orange, op. cit., p. 69
- (204) L'Orange, ibid., p. 78, fig. 55.
- (205) Lechler, op. cit., pp. 403-4.
- (206) Cirlot, op. cit., pp. 329, 331.
- (207) The hare was a popular motif of Hitite stamp seals (text fig. 11b) and we see it crouching under the talons of the Alaja Huyuk eagle (text fig. 17). It was not associated with the eagle by the Sumerians who rendered other quadrupeds in a peaceful relation below the claws of the eagle, aiming at the realization of the idea of unification of Heaven and Earth.
- (208) See note: 132.
- (209) See note: 152 and related passage in the text.
- (210) See note: 21 and related passage in the text.
- (211) On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that

S.H. Langdon judiciously identified the double heads of the Sumerian eagle as the embodiment of the twin god character of Ninurta, see note: 44 and related passage in the text. But the double-headed form is not persistent in Sumerian symbolism and alternated with the single headed one which was usually preferred.

- (212) John Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, (4th ed.; London, 1960) p. 60. I thank Prof. Dr. Aptullah Kuran who provided me with this book.
- (213) Ibid., pp. 24-6, 65.
- (214) Stupa is primarily a funeral-mound or tumulus; it became especially associated with the death of the Buddha and an outstanding symbol of Buddhist faith (Ibid., p. 187).
- (215) Ibid., p. 73.
- (216) Cammann, Symbolic Meanings in, p. 28.
- (217) J.E. van L. Leeuw, The Scythian Period, (Leiden, 1949) p. 185.
- (218) D'Alviella, op. cit., p. 22.
- (219) W. Ruben, "Budizma'nın Menşei ve Özü", Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, I, no. 5 (Ankara 1943) pp. 116-17.
- (220) Marshall, op. cit., p. 73.
- (221) J.P. de Souza, op. cit., pp. 404-7.
- (222) Ibid., p. 406.

- (223) Joseph Campbell, The Mythic Image, (New Jersey, 1975) pp. 8-9; Zimmer, op. cit., p. 77, fig. 13.
- (224) Ibid., pp. 75-6.
- (225) Goblet d'Alviella cites the idea of Moore who accepted the Indian double-headed eagle as Garuda, Op. cit., p. 24, and Naga is also a name applied to elephants in India (R. Pinner, "The Animal Tree and the Great Bird in Myth and Folklore", Turkoman Studies, I, ed. by R. Pinner - M. Franses (London 1980) p. 226.).
- (226) Heinrich Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, (New York 1960) pp. 42-3.
- (227) Marshall Loc.cit., Jairazbhoy, op. cit., pp. 315-16, d'Alviella, op. cit., pp. 23-4.
- (228) See note: 189.
- (229) A. von Le Coq, Bilder Atlas Zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel Asiens (Berlin 1925) p. 25. Emel Esin indicates that tales of naga (serpent and dragon) kings and queens, were taken over from India by the mediation of Buddhism and called 'lun kanı' (dragon khan) in the Chinese-Turkic milieu. (Esin, op. cit., p. 37).
- (230) Heinrich Zimmer states that Mesopotamian Sumer may well have been the cradle out of which the eagle and serpent group made its way eastward into ancient India (Zimmer, Myths and Symbols in, p. 74).

and there existed a strife between the eagle and serpent in the Sumerian legend "Etana and the Plant of Birth" (see note: 28 and related passage in the text). Birds in art in general represent the firmament, the upper, celestial, ethereal realm, and serpents represent the life-bestowing, fertilizing element of the terrestrial waters. The serpent lives in the deep body of Mother Earth and the Earth is the primordial mother of life, she feeds all creatures out of her substance and again devours all as a common grave. In contrast, the infinity of heaven denotes the free sway of the unbound spirit, freely roaming as a bird, disentangled from the fetter of earth. The eagle represents this higher, spiritual principle, released from the bondage of matter and soaring into the translucent ether as a natural antagonist of the serpent (Zimmer, ibid., pp. 73-5).

- (231) Emel Esin, "Kuşçı, Türk Sanatında Atlı, Doğancı, İkonografisi Hakkında", Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, VI, (İstanbul 1976) p. 414.
- (232) As cited by E. Esin, op. cit., p. 415.
- (233) The Petcheneqs lived near lake Balkash before the eighth-ninth centuries. They came to the vicinity of Don river in 889, then between 950-1000 they dominated the district between the Volga and Tuna rivers (see

for the historical detail Şahabettin Tekindağ, "Peçenekler" Meydan Larousse, IX (Istanbul 1972).

- (234) Bahaeddin Ögel, İslamiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi, (Ankara 1984) pp. 279-80.
- (235) Shamanism is a religion whose roots are in the social system and psychology of animistic philosophy and, in the strict sense, is peculiar to Siberia and Central Asia. Shamanism focuses on the facilities of a magician who specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascent to the sky or descend to the underworld. The Shaman of a clan by his trances cures the sick men, accompanies the dead to the 'Realm of Shades' and serves as a mediator between them and their gods, celestial or infernal. A Shaman not only directs the community's religious life but guards its 'soul'. The Arctic, Siberian, and Central Asian peoples are made up chiefly of hunters - fishers or herdsmen-breeders. A degree of nomadism is typical of them all and despite their ethnic and linguistic differences, in general their religions coincide. Chuhckee, Tungus, Samoyed or Turko-Tatars, to mention only some of the most important groups, knew and revered a celestial Great God, an all-powerful Creator. Morphologically, this religion is, in general, close to that of the Indo-Europeans: in both

there is the same importance of the great God of the Sky or of the Atmosphere. No religion is completely 'new', no religious message completely abolishes the past. Rather, there is recasting, a renewal, a revalorization, an integration of the elements - the most essential elements - of an immemorial religious tradition. There is little pure or primordial elements in Turko-Mongol Shamanism; and it is decidedly marked by Oriental influences (Mircea Eliade, Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, trans. by W.R. Trask (New York, 1964) pp. 5, 8, 9, 10, 12). We have indicated in the second chapter Horst Kichner's view which interpreted the 'bird and wounded bison' scene at Lascaux as a representation of a Shamanic trance. Futhermore, K.J. Narr is another scholar who advanced the view that probably about 25,000 B.C. Europe offers evidence for the earliet forms of Shamanism (Lascaux) with the plastic representations of the bird, the tutelary spirit, and ecstasy (as cited by Mircae Eliade, op. cit., p. 504). Shamanic rituals and symbols have come down from great antiquity. Mircae Eliade indicates that "the shaman's ecstatic experience is fundamental in the human condition and hence known to the whole of archaic humanity; what changed and was modified with the different forms of culture and re-

ligion was the interpretation and evaluation of the ecstatic experience" (Eliade, Loc. cit.). "The symbolism of ascent plays an essential part in the Shamanic ideology and technics. The celestial ascent of the shaman is a survival, profoundly modified and sometimes degenerated, of a archaic religious ideology centered on faith in a celestial Supreme Being and belief in concrete communications between heaven and earth" (Eliade, ibid., p. 506). "The shaman's adventures in the other world, the ordeals that he undergoes in his ecstatic descents below and ascents to the sky, suggest the adventures of the figures in popular tales and the heroes of epic literature. Probably a large number of epic 'subjects' or motifs, as well as many characters; images and cliches of epic literature, are, finally, of ecstatic origin, in the sense that they were borrowed from the narratives of Shamans describing their journeys and adventures in the superhuman worlds" (Eliade, ibid., p. 510). In the Central Asian and Siberian Shamanism "there are influences from the south, which appeared quite early and which altered both cosmology and mythology and technics of ecstasy. Among these southern influences we must reckon in later times, the contribution of Buddhism and Lamaism, added to the Iranian and in the last analysis, Meso-

potamian influences that preceded them" (Eliade, ibid., p. 506). "From earliest prehistory, southern cultures and, later, the ancient Near East, influenced all the cultures of Central Asia and Siberia ... Ethnologically, all the cultures of the nomads are to be regarded as tributaries of the discoveries made by the agricultural and urban civilizations; indirectly the radiation of the latter extends very far into the north and the northeast" (Eliade, ibid., pp. 500-1). Mircae Eliade found Buddhism to be the most influential one, "we must conceive of Asiatic Shamanism as an archaic technique of ecstasy whose original underlying ideology - belief in a celestial Supreme Being with whom it was possible to have direct relations by ascending into the Sky - was constantly being transformed by a long series of exotic contributions culminating in the invasion of Buddhism" (Eliade, ibid., p. 507).

There is a general inconsistency in the views of scholars on the origin of Shamanism. They do not agree whether south or north was the birth place of Shamanism and whether Shamanism created Buddhism or vice versa (for a detailed summary of various views on this matter see Sadettin Buluç, "Şaman, Şamanizm", İslam Ansiklopedisi, XII (Istanbul 1949) pp. 320-23). A.F. Anisimov's hypothesis explains shamanism as a

primitive religious system which followed totemism, he advances that the common feature between the religions of Asia "is in fact a development by common stages, similar in its historical universality to such a phenomena of primitive society as exogamy and totemism" and giving as an example the common belief in the World Tree he adds that "and this, in turn, means that the sources of the shamanistic tree 'turu' must be sought not in the holy tree of Buddha of Indian mythology, but, on the contrary, the Indian concepts of the so-called bothitaru are to be viewed as having their genesis in primitive concepts of the type of the Evenk turu", citing L. Ya Shternberg's views, "Shternberg demonstrated on the basis of sound materials that the concepts of the world tree uncovered by him among various peoples are the result of the gradual development of society: the images of Indo-European mythology belong to more developed early (stages of a) class society, while the Siberian belongs to preclass societies (with a primitive clan structure and (one of) the various stages of its disintegration)" (A.F. Anisimov. "Cosmological Concepts of the Peoples of the North", Studies in Siberian Shamanism, ed. by H.N. Michael (Toronto, 1963) p. 174). A.F. Anisimov places shamanism over totemism in the gradual universal develop-

ment of the community's religious life, "with the establishment of the institution of Shamanism, the ancient totemic rite was transformed into a Shamanistic performance and the figure of tribal totemic deities became the chief Spirit-helpers of the Shaman" (A.F. Anisimov, "The Shaman's Tent of the Evenks and the Origin of the Shamanistic Rite", ibid., p. 110).

- (236) Uno Holmberg, The Mythology of All Races. Vol. IV: Fino Ugric, Siberian, ed. by C.J.A. Mac Culloch (New York 1964) p. 333.
- (237) Eliade, op. cit., p. 259.
- (238) Ibid., p. 264.
- (239) Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 335-40.
- (240) Loc. cit. Cf. the iron ring of the post with the sun circle of the Assyrian winged-disk placed over the tree of life.
- (241) Ibid., p. 400.
- (242) Ibid., p. 335.
- (243) Eliade, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
- (244) Bahaettin Ögel, Türk Mitolojisi, Kaynakları ve Açıklamaları ile Destanlar, I, (Ankara 1971) pp. 598-9; idem, Bin Temel Eser, Türk Mitolojisi, II, (Istanbul, 1971) pp. 146-7, 160-64.
- (245) Eliade, loc. cit.
- (246) Ibid., pp. 271-73.

- (247) Holmberg, op. cit., p. 345.
- (248) Loc. cit.
- (249) Ibid., pp. 349-55.
- (250) Loc. cit.
- (251) Ibid., p. 356.
- (252) Loc. cit.
- (253) Ibid., p. 357.
- (254) Ibid., p. 356-8.
- (255) Loc. cit.
- (256) Ibid., pp. 439-40.
- (257) Ibid., pp. 446-47
- (258) Loc. cit.
- (259) Ibid., pp. 500-1.
- (260) V.M. Ionov, "L'Aigle les Croyances des Yakoutes. Le Culte de l'Aigle Chez les Yakoutes", Sbornik, XVI, MAE (1913); as cited by Abdülkadir İnan, Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm, (Ankara, 1972) p. 118.
- (261) Ibid., p. 46.
- (262) A.F. Anisimov, "Cosmological Concepts", pp. 189-91.
- (263) Ye D. Prokofyeva, "The Costume of an Enets Shaman", Studies in Siberian, pp. 128-33.
- (264) Loc. cit.
- (265) Eliade, op. cit., p. 204 no: 57.
- (266) Anisimov, op. cit., p. 206.

- (267) V.N. Chernetsov, "Concepts of the Soul Among the Ob Ugrians", Studies in Siberian, p. 42.
- (268) A.F. Anisimov, "The Shaman's Tent", p. 93.
- (269) Eliade, op. cit., p. 153.
- (270) Prokofyeva, loc. cit.
- (271) Eliade, op. cit., p. xiv.
- (272) Holmberg, op. cit., p. 301.
- (273) Cited by Mircae Eliade, op. cit., p. 501.
- (274) See note: 235.
- (275) For a summary of their views see A.Z.V. Togan, Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş, I (Istanbul 1946) p. 11. The Central Asian origin of the Sumerians is significant in this matter, see note:15
- (276) See note: 235.
- (277) See note: 132.
- (278) See note: 235. For the similarities between the first nomadic Turkish culture and the Indo-Germans look: Koppers, op. cit., pp. 439-79.
- (279) Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 333-40.
- (280) Ögel, Türk Mitolojisi, pp. 98, 101.
- (281) The areas north of the Black Sea up to the river Don as well as the lands north of the Caucasus were inhabited from the eight to third centuries B.C. by different so-called Scythian tribes. The views advanced on their origins and race are controversial. M.I.

Rostovtzeff accepts the Scythian kingdom as a formation almost completely Iranian and a northern counterpart of the kingdom of Darius and Xerxes (M.I. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia (Oxford 1922) p. 9). According to him the Scythian animal style certainly came either from the North or from the North-East but not from Siberia; it must be sought somewhere in Central Asia (Idem, The Animal Style in Southern Russia and China, (reissued in New York, 1973) pp. 66-8).

E.H. Minns states that the Mongols were the closest possible analogues of the Scyths. Hunnish or Turkish comes in the broader sense to the same things as Mongolian because of the indistinguishable mixture of the Mongols, Hsiung-nu or Huns and the Turks in the east. In western Asia, the two Sections, the eastern Mongols and the western Finno-Ugrians are also indistinguishable from each other. Scythians and later Sarmatians probably consisted of an Iranian speaking mixed multitude dominated by a clan of 'Turks' whose language died out but supplied many loan-words (E.H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, I (New York 1965) pp. 48, 100). According to T.T. Rice it is impossible to determine the exact racial group to which the Scythians belonged. Most scholars agree that they were people of the Indo-European group, possibly of Iranian stock

or Ugro-Altaians. The language spoken by the Nomads was basically an Iranian tongue but it may have been more closely allied to Avestic than to ancient Persian (T.T. Rice, The Scythians (London 1957) p. 39). The Scythians respected a Great Goddess Tabiti Vesta, the Goddess of Fire and perhaps also of beasts. They also worshipped Papeus-Jupiter, the god of air, Apia-Fellus, goddess of the earth, Oetosyrus-Apollo, god of the sun and Artim paasa, the celestial Venus, goddess of the moon (Rice, ibid., pp. 85-6). Moreover, the Scyths worshipped the life giving forces of nature which they spiritualized, and the personification of these forces was similar to that made by the religions of Hither Asia, espically Iran (S.J. Rudenko, Frozen Tombs of Siberia (London 1970) p. 290). Assyrian art influenced the art of the Eastern Europe and Central Asia via Luristan by the way of Persia and combined with this the Ancient Chinese art with which nomadic peoples were familiar in the east. The art of the steppes was confined to the decoration of arms, horse trappings and riding tackle. There were mostly, bits, bridles, pieces of harness and also there were ornamented clasps and belt buckles (Brion, op. cit., p. 20). Marcel Brion states that "nomadic art is an essentially dramatic art, well suited to warriors and

hunters; the animal was caught and transfixed in tragic moments, and realism carried to its maximum dynamic effect" (Brion, loc. cit.). In this art, war and battle were the main themes expressed in the combats of animals as a conflict between two nomadic tribes or between the nomadic peoples symbolized by the birds of prey or wild beasts and sedentary peoples symbolized by deer and horses (Brion, loc. cit.). According to Gregory Borovka, "it is quite possible that the Scythian culture is an off-shoot of the Siberian - in the widest sense of that word" (Gregory Borovka, Scythian Art, trans. by V.G. Childe (New York 1967) p. 76). The strong realism of the Scythian animal style has perhaps an eastern Siberian origin and contrary to this the conventionalized expression probably originated in ancient Iran and Asia Minor. There was bilateral exchange between the art of the first Altaic period and Scythian art in the west. In general, the steppe art appears to be the possible result of exchanges and contacts between the nomadic world of Central Asia and a series of internal and, above all, external cultures. The stylized heads of birds of prey (the eagle) were widespread ornamental devices of the art of the Scytho-Sakian tribes. Their style could be identified with the Urartian samples, but

to this day they have not been recognized to be exactly either Urartian or Cimmerian. Representations of the eagle represent a problem because of their diffusion as symbols in all the territories of Central Asia and Luristan (on the border between Persia proper and Mesopotamia). (Mario Bussagli, "Steppe Cultures", Encyclopaedia of World Art, XIII (New York-Toronto-London, 1967) pp. 375, 377, 382, 389, 397). Bedrich Hrozný thinks that the heraldic eagle of the Zagros mountains hovering on the Susan pottery from the art of the Obeid period (3500 B.C.) of Elam (on the border between Persia and Mesopotamia) was taken over by the Eurasian art of subsequent periods (Hrozný, op. cit., p. 27). Rudolf Wittkower agrees with him while stating that the solar conception of the eagle migrated from Iran through Scythia to the Mongolian countries of the north and India was the second centre which - probably at a later date - strongly influenced the northern regions (Rudolf Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent, A Study in the Migration of Symbols", Journal of the Warburg Institute, 214 (London 1939) p. 302).

- (282) S.J. Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle the Gryphon, the Winged Lion and the Wolf in the Art of the Northern Nomads", Artibus Asiae, XXI, II (London, 1961) p. 103.
- (283) Rudenko, Frozen Tombs of, p. 307.

- (284) Anne Roes, "Achaemenid Influence Upon Egyptian and Nomad Art", Antibus Asiae, XV (1952) pp. 25-6.
- (285) Rudenko, Frozen Tombs of, pp. 231-4, 301, 307.
- (286) Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle", loc. cit.
- (287) Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style, p. 68.
- (288) Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle", loc. cit.
- (289) Rudenko, The Frozen Tombs, p. 266.
- (290) Ibid., pp. 266, 288.
- (291) Henri Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan Griffin", The Annual of the British School at Athens, XXXVII (London, 1936-37) p. 108.
- (292) Rudenko, The Frozen Tombs, p. 261; Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style in, p. 52.
- (293) Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan", fig. 1.
- (294) See note: 285 and the related passage in the text.
- (295) Rudenko, The Frozen Tombs, p. 288.
- (296) Bussagli, op. cit., pp. 395, 398.
- (297) J.G. Andersson, Hunting Magic in the Animal Style, (Stockholm 1932) p. 303.
- (298) Borovka, op. cit., pp. 109-10; Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style, pp. 85-7; Bussagli, op. cit., p. 400.
- (299) Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style, p. 91, plate XXVIII, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7.
- (300) R.M. Dawkins, "Excavations at Sparta (Laconia), 1907", The Annual of the British School at Athens, XIII

(London 1906-7) p. 105.

(301) Inan, op. cit., p. 105.

(302) Buluç, op. cit., pp. 323-4; Eliade, op. cit., pp. 505-9.

(303) Eliade, ibid, pp. 10, 378.

(304) See note: 176 and the related passage in the text.

(305) Eliade, op. cit., p. 89; Anisimov, "The Shaman's Tent
.....", pp. 96, 118; Prokofyeva, op. cit., pp. 129-52.

(306) Eliade, op. cit., pp. 478-82; more examples could be
derived from all over the world, the Bororos of Brazil,
Bella Coola Indians of Columbia, the Bohemians and the
Malays fancy that the human soul has the shape of a
bird and passes in that shape out of the body (J.G.
Frazer, The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Reli-
gion, III, 2 (London-New York, 1955) p. 34).

(307) Loc. cit.

(308) Ibid., pp. 101, 105-6, 178-9; Lommel, op. cit., p. 49.
In North America many tribes venerate eagle deities;
the eagle plays a prominent role as a totemic animal,
is associated with Sky- and Sun-gods and appears de-
picted on pottery, textiles, shields, etc. (Wittkower,
op. cit., p. 304).

(309) Frazer, loc. cit.

(310) H.B. Alexander, The Mythology of All Races, Vol. XI:
Latin American, ed. by L.H. Gray (New York 1948) p.
115.

- (311) Ögel, Bin Temel Eser, pp. 139-43.
- (312) Turan: is thought of in Zend Avesta and Shahname as the opposite land of Persia in which lived Ahriman and bad spirits, in opposition to them Hormuz (Ormazd) and angels live in Persia. The conflicts between Efrasiyab (the king of the Turkish people of Turan) and Persia are narrated in Shahname ("Turan" Meydan Larousse, XII (Istanbul 1973) we have used the name Turanians to designate the Turko-Mongol people who lived in the north and north-east Persia contemporary with the old Iranians.
- (313) Ögel, Bin Temel Eser, p. 147.
- (314) See note: 261 and the related passage in the text.
- (315) Rudenko, Frozen Tombs ..., p. 115, fig. 55, plts 70 A.E.
- (316) Ibid., p. 301.
- (317) Rice, op. cit., pp. 141, 174.
- (318) We will give more information on this subject.
- (319) Carl Schuster, "Some Comparative Considerations About Western Asiatic Carpet Designs" Artibus Asiae, 9 (1946) p. 89. Moreover, as stated by R. Pinner, in China two headed birds were drawn on bronzes of the late Shang/early Chou dynasties and on the late Chou pictorial bronzes of the fifth century B.C. Then during the reign of the Han dynasty, in which the double-headed eagles replaced the 'T's on the 'TLV'

mirros, 'feng huang' was pictured as a composite two-headed bird on one body and in early Chinese texts it was described as symbolizing the moment of perfect balance between the two principles which govern the sun. The phoenix of the west (Herodotus III, 73) had red and gold plumage, as did the toyon-kötör of the Siberian Turkish tribes. They were also the colors of the feng huang, the Emperor of the birds. According to R. Pinner, the evolution of the brightly colored western phoenix and eastern feng huang from the black bird, king and enemy of serpents, seems to have gained ascendancy by the late second and early first millennium B.C. During the time of the Shang and early Chou dynasties some of the eagle's functions as sky god and thunder-bird were taken over by the dragon. Sometimes the feng huang was described as male, sometimes as female and sometimes as hermaphroditic and, in its role of phoenix, it was killed by the dragon to be reborn. It was also the red fire-bird associated with the fire which melted gold and base metal (Pinner, op. cit., pp. 229, 232-34).

- (320) Kor'an (The Meaning of), trans. by Marmaduke Pickthall (London 1952) Sura XXIV, 35; cf. the tree in the passage with the tree of light of the Sumero-Akkadians note:132, but this time it is neither Eastern nor

Western but holds a central position at the place which the sun reached at midday (Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 27-8).

(321) Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

(322) Kor'an, surah LIII, 13-18.

(323) Wensinck, op. cit., p. 31.

(324) See note: 311 and the related passage in the text.

(325) Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 28, 31.

(326) Ibid., p. 33.

(327) Kor'an, surah XXXVII, 60.

(328) Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

(329) Ibid., p. 36. It is very interesting to note a similar function attributed to the Siberian Shaman's eagle whose wings cover the sun and the moon and when shaken informs the coming of the spring. See notes: 244, 261 and the related passage in the text.

(330) Loc. cit. In ancient Iran the cock was an attribute of Sraosha, the ancient god of justice, at times depicted with several heads, each of which faced both ways, and with a girdle flanked by two cock's heads (Pinner, op. cit., p. 237).

(331) Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 37-8. According to Hsüan-Tsung Buddha was incarnated in a peacock and this from 'brought the healing water' of the rock (Pinner, op. cit., p. 235).

- (332) Damiri, Hayat al-Hayawan (Kairo 1274) II as cited by Wensinck, loc. cit.
- (333) Ibid., pp. 39-40.
- (334) Ibid., p. 14; Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 246; Holy Bible (Saint Joseph Edition), Ezechiel X, (New York 1963).
- (335) Wensinck, op. cit., p. 40.
- (336) Ibid., p. 42.
- (337) Jairazbhoy, op. cit., pp. 205-6, 261.
- (338) Ibid., pp. 218-19; see note: 203 for an episode from Shahnama dealing with the ascension of Kaikaus with great probability following the original Sumerian legends such as the deliverance of Gilgamos and flight of Etana, see notes: 25, 28 and the related passages in the text.
- (339) "Anka", Meydan Larousse, I (Istanbul 1969); Anahit abducted by the Sky-eagle is the prototype of this legend.
- (340) C.H. Pellat, "Anka", Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, (Leiden-London, 1960) p. 509; Büchner, op. cit., p. 428.
- (341) Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 206; Pinner, op.cit., p.228.
- (342) See note: 152 and the related passage in the text.
- (343) Herodotus III, 73.
- (344) Wensinck, op. cit., p. 40.
- (345) Büchner, op. cit., p. 426.

- (346) Pinner, op. cit., pp. 208, 223; moreover, the eagle Anzu nests on the Carnelian mountain beside the god of wisdom and hero Lugulbanda derives superhuman powers from Anzu and in the Gilgamesh epic of the third millennium B.C. Anzu is stated to be on the crown of the Huluppa tree under whose roots are serpents, Pinner, loc. cit.
- (347) Wensinck, op. cit., p.43.
- (348) Ibid., p. 47; for the reference of this citation and for our previous extracts from Arabic literature consult the same article.
- (349) Scerrato, op. cit., p. 725.
- (350) Lechler, op. cit., p. 395.
- (351) Scerrato, op. cit., p. 728.
- (352) Lechler, op. cit., p. 391.
- (353) Jairazbhoy, op. cit., pp. 235-36; Phyllis Ackerman, "Textiles of the Islamic Period", A Survey of Persian Art, V, ed. by A.U. Pope (Oxford 1938-39) p. 2014.
- (354) In the weak years of the Caliphate in the middle of the Tenth century Buwayhids claimed descent from the ancient Sasanid kings, probably to bolster dynastic prestige. They came from the mountainous region on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and where Shi'ah Persians. They captured Baghdad and printed on the coins the old Persian title 'Shahanshah' (P.H. Hitti,

History of the Arabs, (New York 1967) pp. 470-71;
Barthold, op. cit., p.48.

- (355) Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 237.
- (356) Ackerman, "Textiles of the Islamic Period", p. 2014.
- (357) Jairazbhoy, loc. cit.
- (358) Loc. cit.
- (359) The Artukits were a Turkoman dynasty which came from the north-east and reigned in southeastern Anatolia, in Hisn Kaifa, Amid and Mardin, from the end of the eleventh century to the fifteenth century ("Artuklular", Ana Britannica II, (Istanbul 1987)
- (360) Gaston Migeon, Manuel D'Art Musulman, I (Paris 1927) p. 372.
- (361) Lechler, op. cit., p. 210.
- (362) Pinner, op. cit., p. 210.
- (363) For another textile of thirteenth century on which the double-headed Sky-eagles displayed see Pope, op. cit., plt 992B.
- (364) Jackson, op. cit., pp. 111, 258; Huart, op. cit. p. 192.
- (365) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings," p. 20; In Siberian Shamanism the concrete name of the 'Sky' is lacking, we find some of its most characteristic attributes - 'high', 'lofty', 'luminous', and so on. Thus, among the Ostyak of the Irtysh the name of the celestial

god is derived from Sanke, the primitive meaning of which is 'luminous, shining, light' (Eliade, op.cit., p. 9). It is worthy to note the close resemblance between the light concepts of the south and of the north evidencing a common impulse at work shaping the religious symbolism.

- (366) For more examples of these instruments with the tri-fold symbolism applied see Pope, op. cit., plts. 1299 A,B,C, 1312 A,C; for an incense burner in the complete shape of the fire bird plt 1298 B and for a double-headed eagle with the dragon's heads terminating the wing tips encrusted on a Persian incense burner from the thirteenth century plt. 1338c.
- (367) See notes: 181-2 and the related passages in the text.
- (368) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 24; for the primitive Siberian peoples the sun and the moon were not more than mirrors emphasizing the light and heat of the Sky-god (Ögel, Bin Temel Eser, p. 171.
- (369) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 37; *idem*, "Ancient Symbols" p. 15.
- (370) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", pp. 24, 28; on the other hand, in Central Asian and Siberian mythology the eagle was thought of as the pole star giving way to the sky and belonged to the Sky-god. Pole star was on the fifth layer of the sky, the moon on the

sixth and the sun on the seventh (Ögel, Bin Temel Eser , p. 198). This cosmic concept does not accord with the lay-out of the Artukid mirror's symbolism.

(371) Wensinck, op. cit., p. 44.

(372) See note: 311 and the related passage in the text.

(373) G.F. Moore, History of Religions, Vol II: Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism (New York 1919) p. 419.

(374) A.U. Pope, "Ceramic Arts in Islamic Times", A Survey of , p. 1523; for further samples to the Persian wares look ibid., plts 614B, 612 and for the Sky-eagle discovered in Hungary, from the ninth-tenth centuries, rendered in the same pattern as these Persian types with the tree's branch (rumi-like) on the head designed as a crest and peculiarly in the beak, see Gyula Laszlo, The Art of the Migration Period (Florida 1974) plt. 164.

(375) Mc Graw-Hill Dictionary of Art, IV (London, 1969).

(376) The firmly stylized double-headed eagle (the lotus type palmette) found a widespread use on a lot of daily instruments or monuments on which the cosmic symbolism was adopted. As an example, for the Asians a human being was a microcosm, and the top (or 'dome') of his head was likened to the dome of the sky; or more strictly to the arch of Heaven above the Sky (gumbad el azam). Hence, the helmet which covered

this was decorated with appropriate celestial symbolism: its neckguard of chain mail was often decorated - by links of another coloured metal - with a row of cloud-collar points to represent the Sky-door below Heaven, while its central spike represented the tip of the World-Axis, like the spike protruding from a mosque dome (Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 26). For a Persian helmet from the fourteenth century displaying this symbolism see Islamic Arms and Armours, ed. by Robert Elgood (London 1979) pl. 240. For an early application of the Sky-door symbolism, as a lotus flower with the classical perforation, on the crowns of the Persian stucco sculptures from the eleventh and twelfth centuries see R.M. Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures" The Art Bulletin, XIII (1931) fig. 7; this sample is particularly important for it shows that before the lotus type palmette which was created by a stylized double-headed eagle the lotus flower was the Sun-symbol and associated with the idea of the Sky-gate. Then the doubled-headed eagle fused with this symbol, probably under the impact of the Central Asian abstract arts.

The old Asian ideas of the universe influenced the architecture of mosques in many ways. Some Seljuk buildings have a hole or oculus in the domed roof,

often directly above a well or fountain. The former could definitely be considered as the Sky-Door and the other, its lower counterpart, as a gate into the underworld below (Cammann, loc. cit.) and also the water in the pool below the dome of some buildings could symbolize the old Near Eastern idea of the ocean on which stands the four continents. The mosques themselves did not preserve the open oculus; instead at the center of the ceiling in Ottoman mosques, conventionalized symbols of the Sky-door (the double-headed eagles - lotus type palmettes) are rendered around the central medallions. For the dome of the Sokullu Mehmet Paşa mosque (1571-72) in Istanbul see S.P. Sheherr Thoss, Design and Colour in Islamic Architecture (Washington 1968) plt. 133. On the tile-lined domes of the Persian mosques at the center of the elaborate medallions the Sky-door symbols are depicted indicating the passageway to the realm of God. For the symbols on the dome of Isfahan Masjid-i Shaykh Lutfullah (1601-18) see ibid., plt. 98. On the Islamic tombs the three levelled universe is symbolized by the three floors of the building. The main room represented our world, below this was the symbolic underworld in which the deceased was placed to await the day of judgement, beyond the ceiling is unseen paradise to which by

the way given by the Sky-door the deceased would reach. In the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries and later on the Mongols placed a cloud collar device with four or eight projections atop the dome shaped roof of their tents. The Mongols took over this device from the Khitans who were driven westward into Central Asia and this custom is also recorded in the late Persian miniatures of Timurid and Safavid times after the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century (Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", pp. 26, 39). For an eighteenth century cloud collar on a Mongol tent see ibid., fig. 18. For a dome alem from the Ottoman period, symbolizing the tip of the cosmic axis and shaped in the stylized double-headed eagle form see Tulips, Arabergues, Turbans, ed. by Yanni Petsopoulos (New York 1982) fig. 16e. This association of the double-headed eagle with the crescent on the top of the spike suggests the winged disk of Assyria placed over the Sacred tree. The crescent shaped alem of most mosques could definitely be reminiscent of the disk-circle of the winged-disk placed by the Mitannians over the 'pillar of heaven' and reinterpreted over the sacred tree by the Assyrians and borrowed by the Achaemid kingdom. It is also present on the body of the Seljukid double-headed eagle (text figures 24, 25, 29, 34)

usually, as a crescent shaped device (figure 120f) between the tail and body. The stylized representations of the double-headed sky-eagle took a prominent place in Asian rug designs, because, people thought it a powerful talisman. Especially it decorated the borders of rugs adding protection and furnishing more support for the 'magic barrier' to help it guard the center (paradise). We know the ancient importance attributed to the doors on which were affixed sacred symbols as a powerful means of protection (see notes: 69, 87-89 related passages in the text). The double-headed eagle was extensively used on the rug borders, and on or around the 'niche' on prayer rugs both of which were considered as symbolic doors. On many of the Anatolian, Caucasian and Transylvanian rugs we find this motif (Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", pp. 16, 17). For the stylized double-headed eagle on a Turkoman rug see Pinner, op. cit., fig. 501 and A.B. Thacher, Turkoman Rugs (New York 1940) plt. 32 chodor rug. At the beginning of the fourteenth century single or double-headed eagles also appeared on Anatolian Seljukid carpets (Şerare Yetkin, Historical Turkish Carpets, trans. by M. Quigley (Istanbul 1981) pp. 27-8.

For the cosmic plan applied on the tile and stone works of the Anatolian Seljuks see Selçuk Mülayim, Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde Geometrik Süslemeler, Selçuklu Çağı, (Ankara 1982) fig. 144 tile decoration from Konya Sahip Ata Hanikahı tomb, fig. 197 stone decoration on the portal of Çifte Mimareli Medrese and for the Sky-door symbolism on a sarcophagus see ibid., fig. 204 Alim Çelebi Lahdi in Konya Mevlana Museum; on this sarcophagus four pointed stars symbolize the upper sky and lotus type palmettes encircle this upper decoration as the symbols of the Sky-door. Moreover, for the Sky-door symbolism applied on the late Persian emperor thrones from the seventeenth-nineteenth century see Pope, op. cit., plts. 1478B, 1479C.

(377) İnan, op. cit. pp. 2, 45.

(378) For the eagle figurines and the sacred tree see J. Werner, Beitrage Zur Archaologie des Attilareiches (München, 1956) plts. XXIX, 1, 6, 9, 12, LXVI, 3.

(379) İnan, op. cit., p. 4; Togan, op. cit., p. 48.

(380) Lumir Jisl, "Kül-Tegin Anıtında 1958'da Yapılan Arkeoloji Araştırmalarının Sonuçları", T.T.K. Belleten, (Ankara 1963) p. 399.

(381) A.R.C. Malcom, Panthian Art (London 1977) plt. 8d.

(382) Jisl, op. cit., p. 395; Oktay Aslanapa, "Türklerde Arma Sanatı", Türk Kültürü Dergisi, XVI (Ankara, 1964)

p. 38.

(383) Jisl, op. cit., p. 398.

(384) See note: 376.

(385) For the Sky-god concept of the Göktürks see İnan, op. cit., pp. 26-27. In the Orkhon inscriptions it is said that Kül-Tigin's spirit flew to the upper-sky as a bird, "ötrü on... küçlüğ (güçlü), tükel (kusursuz) bilge.... tengri tengrisi Burkhan (Buddha), kazlar begine oğşatı (gibi), kök kalığ-ta (kalığa) uçup bardı (vardı)", (Emel Esin, "Evren, Selçuklu Sanatı Evren Tasvirinin Türk ikonografisinde Meşeleri", Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi, I (Ankara 1970) p. 166, note: 44).

(386) The Ghaznavid state was found by the Turkish sultan Sabuktigin (977-98) and the Ghaznavid sultans reigned in Ghazni until the first half of the twelfth century. They extended the empire to Persia and north-west India on the east. Sabuktigin's son Mahmut (998-1030) made Ghazni a cultural center and endowed it with a madrasa equipped with a large library which attracted men of intellect and scientist al-Biruni was under his protection at Ghazni (Alessio Bombaci, "Ghaznevid Art", Encyclopaedia of World Art, VI (London 1966) pp. 300-2).

(387) Loc. cit.

(388) Loc. cit.

(389) Ibid., p. 308.

(390) Alexander Romances are dealt with by Firdausi's Shah-nama (completed in 1010) and by the other Persian writers such as Nizami (1145-1207) and Mirkhond who relied on Arabic summaries. The traditional view is that when in his Eastern marches Alexander thought he had come to the end of the world, and felt that there was nothing more on earth left to conquer, he struck upon the plan of achieving mastery over the sea and air, and in pursuance of this end, on the one hand he descended by means of a diving bell to the ocean floor, and on the other flew in the air in a carriage drawn by eagles until he was intercepted by a bird with a human face who bade him return to earth (Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 226). According to R.A. Jairazbhoy, "the latter is obviously to be identified with a harpy, for the harpies that occur in Egyptian mummy cases served as transporters of the soul to heaven" (loc. cit.). Compare the harpy with the cherubium of the bible, note: 334 and the related passage in the text.

(391) Bombaci, loc. cit.

(392) Loc. cit.

(393) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 28.

(394) Cited by Bombaci, op. cit., p. 310.

(395) Shi'a groups of Muslim sects recognize Ali as the legitimate caliph after the death of the Prophet. The Shi'a faith has four articles; belief in God the one, belief in revelation of the uncreated Kor'an, belief in the imam chosen by God as the bearer of a part of the divine being as the leader to salvation. To the Shi'ahs the death of an imam is rendered void by the idea of 'radja', belief in concealment and parousia. The imam become Mahdi. According to R. Strothmann, Gnostic, Neo-Platonic, Manichean and old Iranian ideas have intermingled in Shi'a motives (R. Strothmann, "Shi'a", Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV (Leyden-London, 1934) pp. 350-51, 353). The Shi'ahs think that the last imam Muhammed Mehdi bin Hasan el-Askeri has withdrawn and is now the 'Hidden One' a bar to the effective exercise of his authority. The Shi'ahs claimed that the celestial light substance which was lodged in Muhammed was likewise received into the souls of the imams in succession (W.M. Patton, "Shi'ahs", Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, XI (New York, 1920) p. 457). Some sects who kept faith in the Shi'a doctrine thought that Ali, in a definite stage, was God and that God disguised himself in Ali and appeared on the earth. This belief found ground, particularly, in Persia and Anatolia because of the

late antique tradition whose intellectual dissemination was felt even in the Islamic period under the protection of various legal or illegal sects (for more information about the Godhead of Ali see I.Z. Eyuboğlu, Alevilik-Sünnilik, İslam Düşüncesi (Istanbul, 1979) pp. 57-64, 67). In all Shi'a institutions there is the trinity of Allah (God) - Mohammed - Ali called 'teslis' in Arabic and Shi'ahs respect the number three and its connotations. This belief in teslis was, particularly, popular among the Turks and Anatolian Bekhtashis (ibid, pp. 64-8). This belief in trinity was an old Persian religious theme. We have indicated the Zoroastrian dualism and exemplified that Ahura Mazda as the sole creator was superior to Ormazd (Spenta Mainyu, the Holy Spirit) and on the opposite side of Ahriman (Anra Mainyu, the Destroying Spirit) and he, as the light, would gain the world kingdom in the final time. Thus, essentially a tripartite arrangement in the pantheon was accomplished. This Zoroastrian tradition is continued by the teachings of Mani (see notes: 160, 189) and Uigur Turks in Central Asia were ardent Manicheans in whose art we find the double-headed eagle, the symbol of the Persian trinity in the Achaemenid times, represented in the sacred buildings.

- (396) Togan, op. cit., pp. 73, 75, 202.
- (397) Köprülü, op. cit., p. 173.
- (398) M.F. Köprülü, "Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri", Türk Yurdu.
II (in Ottoman script) (Istanbul, 1926) pp. 128, 130.
- (399) Eyuboğlu, op. cit., pp. 34, 37, 44, 45.
- (400) Phyllis Ackerman, "Some Problems of", p. 883,
note: 2.
- (401) For the Samarra and Cairo birds see Katherina Otto-
Dorn, Kunst des Islam (Baden-Baden 1964), figs. 42,43.
- (402) Friedrich Sarre, "Anadoluda Seyahat", trans. by A.
Sayhan, Anıt Dergisi, XIV (Konya 1950) p. 20. In
Musul in Iraque in the marble mural decoration of
Karasaray (1255), the single-headed sky-eagles are
depicted with spread wings between the niche arches
continuing the Ghaznavid style outlined by Persian
traditions; for the Karasaray eagles see Friedrich
Sarre, Konya Köşkü, trans. by Ş. Uzluk (Ankara 1967)
plt 8.
- (403) Ögel, Bin Temel Eser, p. 156.
- (404) Ibid., p. 149.
- (405) Pellat, loc. cit., for the Hidden Imam Mehdi see note:
395.
- (406) J. Schacht, "Ahmad", Encyclopaedia of Islam, I
(Leiden-London, 1960) p. 267.
- (407) S.L. Poole, Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans (Chicago,

- 1967) p. 1; M.F. Köprülü, "Ortazaman Türk Devletlerinde Hukuki Sembollerdeki Motifler", Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası, II (Istanbul 1939) p. 36, note: 2.
- (408) For the Arabic inscription and figure see S.L. Poole, The Coins of the Turkuman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee in the British Muséum, III (London 1877) p. 139, plt. vii, 351.
- (409) For the coins, see, ibid., plate XI, 633, p. 225; Poole, Coins of the Urtuki, p. 22, no. 24.
- (410) Poole, ibid, pp. 21-2.
- (411) Oktay Aslanapa, Türk Sanatı, (Istanbul 1984) p. 192.
- (412) For the plate see Gönül Öney, "Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde Avcı Kuşlar, Tek ve Çift Başlı Kartal", Malazgirt Armağanı (Ankara 1972) plt. 13.
- (413) "Malgré tout, je suis tenté de croire que l'oiseau double de Mahmud (1200-1222) est en rapport avec son titre Sultani, ou du moins avec la prise d'Amid, soit que les deux têtes représentent les deux villes de Kaifa et d'Amid, soit qu'elles expriment la vieille idée orientale de la dualité du pouvoir souverain, soit qu'elles marquent une alliance politique ou matrimoniale. Toutes ces hypothèses s'accordent avec l'existence d'un oiseau double sur les monnaies de Maudud (1222-31), qui hérita des Etats et des titres son pere. Voici en revanche un cas plus épineux"

(Joseph Strzygowski and Max van Berchem, Amida (Heidelberg 1910) pp. 95-6.

- (414) "Admettons que l'aigle bicéphale répondre aux armes de l'Ortokide sous le règne duquel comme l'indique l'inscription, fut bati l'ouvrage. Il resterait a trouver la signification des autres figures et le champ des hypothèses est très vaste". "Je ne sais, pour ma part, si l'on est autorisé a attribuer des armoiries aux villes a cette époque et dans cette region", Albert Gabriel, Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale, I (Paris 1940) p. 120, note: 1.
- (415) Köprülü, "Ortazaman Türk", p. 35.
- (416) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 31; for the plan of old Baghdad see Oleg Grabar, İslam Sanatının Oluşumu, trans. by Nuran Yavuz (Istanbul 1988) plt. 10.
- (417) For the plan of the Diyarbakır wall see Strzygowski and Berchem, op. cit., fig. 69.
- (418) L.A. Mayer, Saracenic Heraldry (Oxford, 1933) pp. 72, 169, 112, 95, plates XV, XIV, XVII.
- (419) Ibid., p. 9.
- (420) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 41, note: 115.
- (421) Mayer, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
- (422) T.T. Rice, The Seljuks in Asia Minor, (London 1961), p. 269.

- (423) For the plate see Pope, op. cit., plt. 1497.
- (424) A.J. Arberry, Mystical Poems of Rumi (Chicago 1968), p. 160 no: 194 line: 4.
- (425) Ferideddin-i Attar, Mantık At-Tayr, trans. by A. Gölpınarlı (Istanbul 1944).
- (426) Ibid., p. ix.
- (427) Şerare Yetkin, "Anadolu Selçuklu Devrinden Bir Madeni Eser", Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı VI (Istanbul 1976) p. 211.
- (428) The Dragon 'luu' of Central Asian Turks was a symbol of fecundity, water and rain clouds. 'Luu' was thought of as a composite animal made by the fusion of a snake or crocodile with various animals. Sometimes, the tree is associated with 'luu' and we see such a composition in Buddhist style at Bezeklik made up by the Uigurs. In Chinese and Uigur Turkish cosmology 'kök luu' symbolized the east, the spring, and a shade (kök) between blue and green. In Kutadgu-bilig the Kök-luu of Uigurs is called 'Evren' (Esin, Evren, "Selçuklu Sanatı ...", pp. 161-3, 167, see plt. 5 for the Bezeklik composition).
- (429) Yetkin, op. cit., p. 208.
- (430) For such an explanation see ibid., p. 210.
- (431) Beyhan Karamağralı, Ahlat Mezartaşları (Ankara 1972) pp.6, 14; idem, "Sivas ve Tokattaki Figürlü Mezar Taşlarının Mahiyeti Hakkında", Selçuklu Araştırmaları

Dergisi, II (Ankara 1971), pp. 94-5.

- (432) Semavi Eyice, "Kırşehir'de H 709 (=1310) Tarihli Tasvirli Bir Türk Mezar Taşı", Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin (Ankara 1966) p. 215.
- (433) Karamağralı "Sivas ve Tokattaki", loc. cit.; Gönül Öney, "Anadolu da Selçuklu Geleneğinde Kuşlu, Çift Başlı, Kartallı, Şahinli ve Arslanlı Mezar Taşları", Vakıflar Dergisi, VII (Ankara 1969) p. 290.
- (434) Karamağralı, "Sivas ve Tokattaki", pp. 81, 92-3.
- (435) Loc. cit.
- (436) Şerare Yetkin, "Hacı Bektaş Türbesi Müzesinde Bulunan Figürlü Teber", Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, XI (İstanbul 1982) p. 181.
- (437) Beyhan Karamağralı, Muhammed Siyah Kalem'e Atfedilen Minyatürler, (Ankara 1984) p. 70.
- (438) Burhan Oğuz, Türkiye Halkının Kültür Kökenleri, II (İstanbul, 1980) p. 874; in the Ottoman times the double-headed natural eagles rarely appeared in art. Two of these rare samples are known to us. In the Bahaeddin Ağa Kiosk in Milas built in the nineteenth century, the double-headed eagle is painted on the wall of a room, and on the marble outside the fountain of the Koçarlı Cihanoğlu mosque in Aydın dated to 1834-35. On the latter monument two crested double-headed eagles with a crown shaped appendage (palmette?)

between the heads are carved above a two domed palace or kiosk building carved in low relief and the composition is symmetrically repeated on the other face of the fountain (Rüçhan Arık, Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı (Ankara 1976) pp. 89, 92, 107-9, plts. 89, 90).

(439) See note: 428.

(440) See note: 366.

(441) Gönül Öney, "Niğde Hüdavent Hatun Türbesi Figürlü Kabartmaları", T.T.K. Belleten, XXXI (Ankara 1967) pp. 148-9, 153.

(442) Gönül Öney, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Hayat Ağacı Motifi", T.T.K. Belleten XXXIII, 130 (Ankara 1969), pp.34-7. For the primitive Siberian Shaman trees see ibid., plts 38-40; our text fig. 85c; Ögel, Türk Mitolojisi, figs. 17, 19, 20.

(443) To compare the interpretations of various cultures on the sacred tree see Lechler, op. cit., figs. 5, 15, 35, 51-3, 60, 64, 79, 98, 141.

(444) Ögel, Türk Mitolojisi, pp. 92-3.

(445) It is more constructive to seek the ideological background of these compositions of the Anatolian Seljuks in the concepts of the Asian Cosmic symbolism in general and while evaluating their artistic values we must take into account that they are components of an

architectural unity formed in Anatolia and participate in general disposition of the whole. While studying any art object or motif a segregation must be made, in the first place, between the mythological (i.e. ideological) background and artistic (i.e., aesthetic) determinants. However, in the first stage, if we extremely withdraw ourselves from the latter's stable, definite existence highly influenced by the regional data, we could find ourselves lost in the obscure density of the interpretations of distinct cultural formations based their fundamental judgements on nature from almost the same intellectual standpoints. In the second stage, if we keep ourselves away from the rich intellectual accumulation of the centuries prior to our subject era we, most probably, could miss some explanatory information which would be useful to approach the totality of the composition, particularly, if it stands on Anatolian ground and is made up by the Turkomans who came from Central Asia and Persia. If we aim for objective results in our studies, we must aim for a sensible harmony between these two components (that is the fact that the aesthetic side transcends these two components and comprises them; for this reason, the second stage must be thought of as the spiritual side beside the intellectual one, in

some respects influenced by the ideas but standing for itself in an era and in a region) which were present in the mind of man and constructed at any monument in any period. For these reasons in the beginning of a study hitherto undone if a scholar could not reach such an illuminative conclusion, but could only separately interpret or uncover the components participating in the whole, he must never terminate his sentences but demonstrate possible solutions with open words. On our side we also do not accept the study on the double-headed eagle-tree of the Seljuks as complete. It needs further study to evaluate the participation of the subject compositions in the complete architectural works, particularly, in the intricately embellished façades of the Seljukid buildings.

(446) Lecher, op. cit., p. 369.

(447) For the eagle and tree composition on the portal of Sivas Gökmedrese and the Patnos eagle see Öney, "Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde", plts. 33, 29; for the Döner Kümbet in Kayseri see Albert Gabriel, Monuments Turcs D'Anatolie, I (Paris 1934) pl. XX 1, 2.

(448) See note: 149 and the related passage in the text. For the fish on the Syro-Hittite and Assyrian seals see Lechler, op. cit., figs. 67, 70, 71.

(449) For the double-headed eagle see Oktay Aslanapa, "Doğu

Anadoluda Karakoyunlu Kümbetleri", Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi, I, (Ankara 1957) figs. 7, 8.

(450) See note: 69, 87-89.

(451) For the two eagles with the cock's combs and rosettes above them symbolizing the metaphysical sun, flanking two toothed arches and between them the sacred tree, carved on another stone fragment found in Diyarbakır and dated to the thirteenth century see Gönül Öney, "Artuklu Devrinden Bir Hayat Ağacı Kabartması Hakkında" Vakıflar Dergisi, VII (Istanbul 1968) pp. 117-20, figs. 1a, b.

(452) Öney, "Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde", pp. 141, 167.

(453) J.H. Kramers, "Sultan", Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, (Leyden-London, 1934) pp. 543-45.

(454) For the referance see Strzygowski and Berchem, op. cit., p. 98.

(455) We know that Sunnite as well as Shi'a Muslim writers interpreted nature as a curtain separating men from God (S.H. Nasr, İslam Kozmoloji Öğretilerine Giriş (Istanbul, 1985) p. 24). Rumis, lotus type palmettes and lions represented in front of the symbolic Sky-door most probably also stand for this concept of nature in Islamic thought.

(456) Cammann, "Symbolic Meanings", p. 29, note: 48.

(457) Hitti, op. cit., p. 441.

- (458) Esin, Türk Kozmolojisi, p. 39; furthermore, in the old Turkish-Chinese calendar in which the months were called by animal names, the eagle is not present (Osman Turan, Oniki Hayvanlı Türk Takvimi, (Istanbul 1941), p.25).
- (459) As quoted by Gönül Öney, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Ejder Figürleri", T.T.K. Belleten, XXXIII (Ankara 1969) p. 184, note: 42.
- (460) Cammann, "Ancient Symbols", pp. 20-2, note: 61, for the Persian royal umbrellas topped by the golden bird (: Simurgh or the eagle) look ibid., figs. 10,11.
- (461) For such possible explanations see Strzygowski and Berchem, op. cit., pp. 78-100; Albert Gabriel, Monuments Turcs, II, p. 183; Oktay Aslanapa and Ernst Diez, Türk Sanatı (Istanbul 1955) p. 202; L.A. Mayer states that to this day the identification of the name of some animals (as armes parlantes), particularly, of birds, with the name of Islamic sovereigns is not yet clearly supported by written documents and our knowledge on this matter is not adequate to accept these animals as their emblems, Mayer, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
- (462) Pinner, op. cit., p. 227; Ögel, Türk Mitolojisi, pp. 108-9.
- (463) Clement Huart, "Huma", Encyclopaedia of Islam, III,

(Leiden-London, 1971) p. 572; Humayun was not unknown as a title for the Anatolian Seljuks and was found inscribed on the mausoleum (1195) of Shahanshah, father of Ahmad Shah, who was the founder of the Divriği mosque (Strzygowski and Berchem, op. cit., p. 38).

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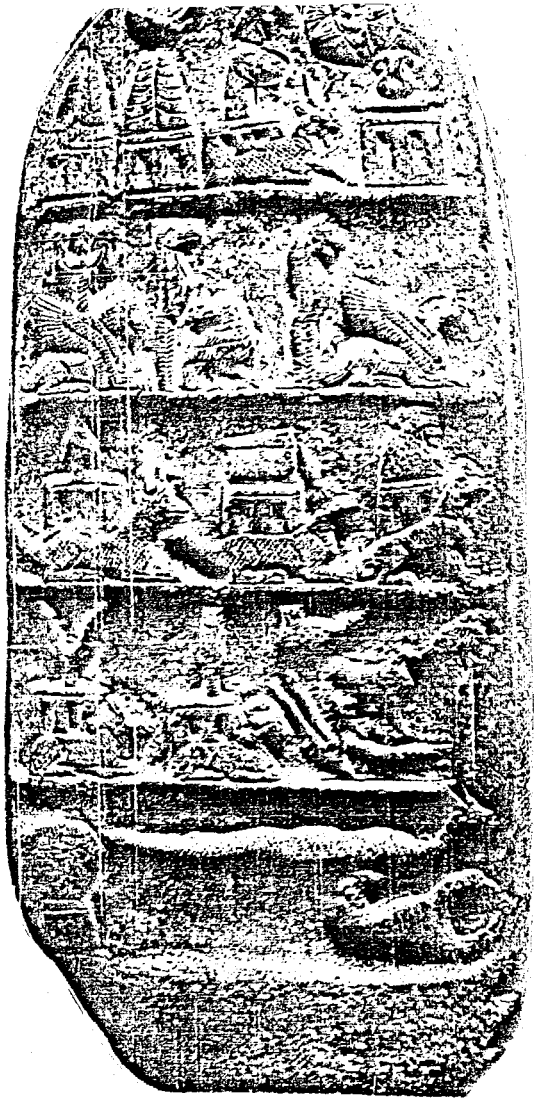
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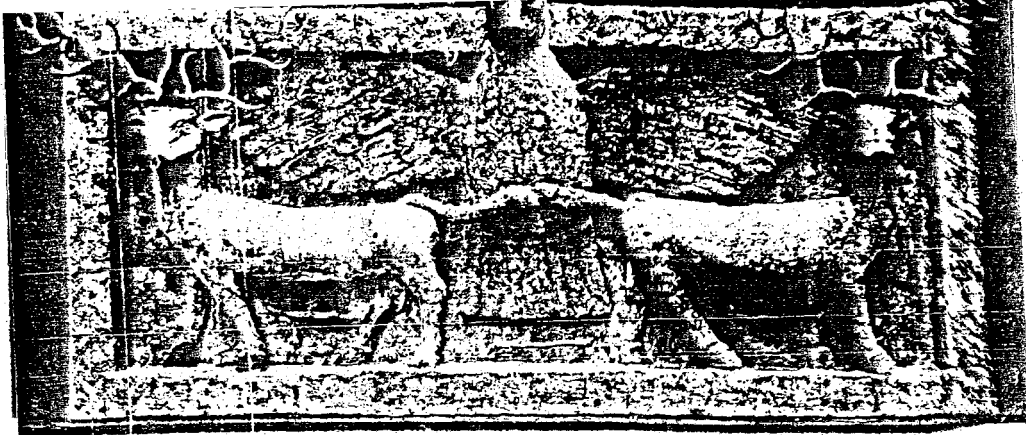


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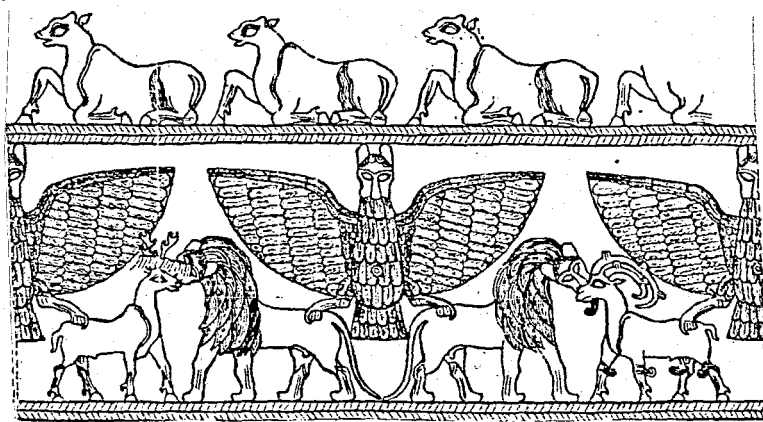


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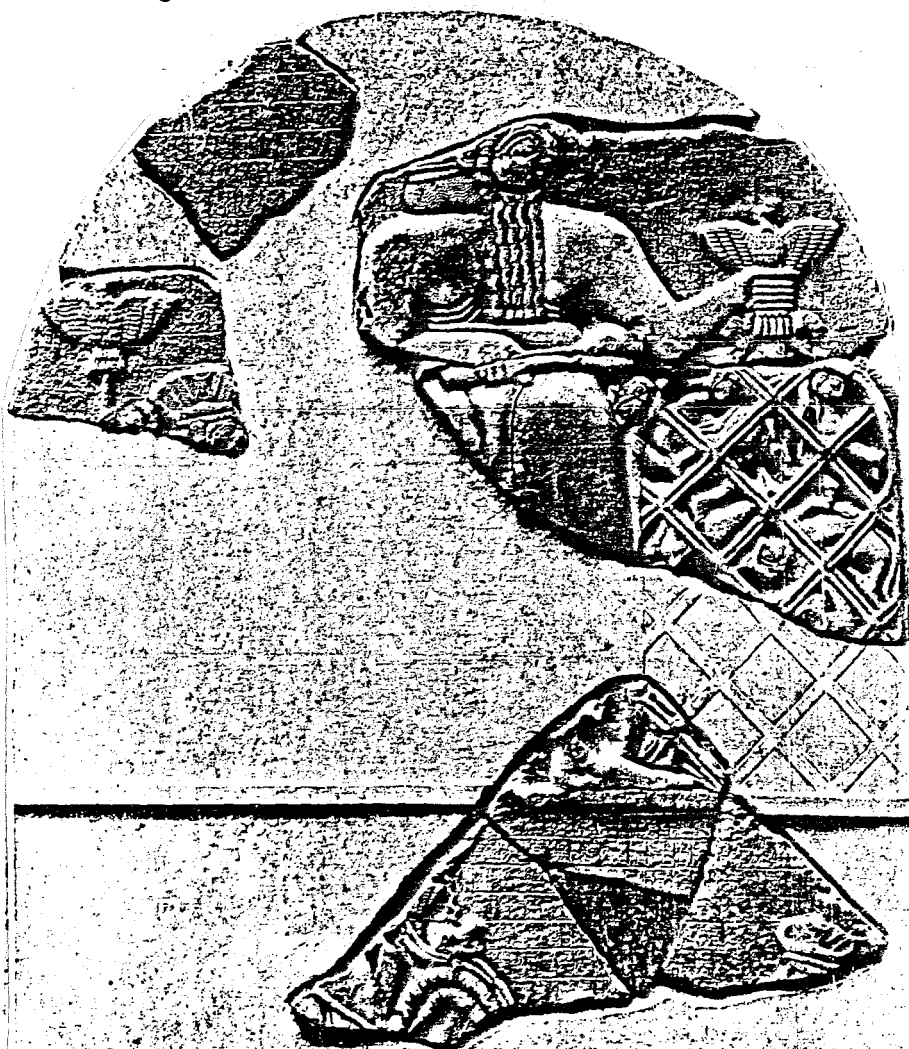




5



6



7



3



9



10a



b



c



11a



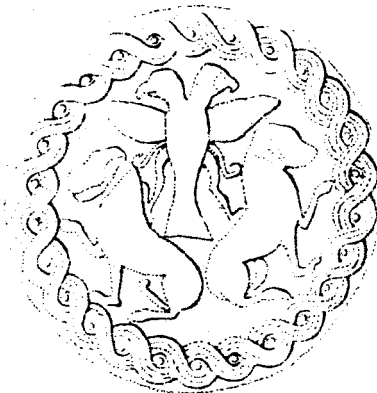
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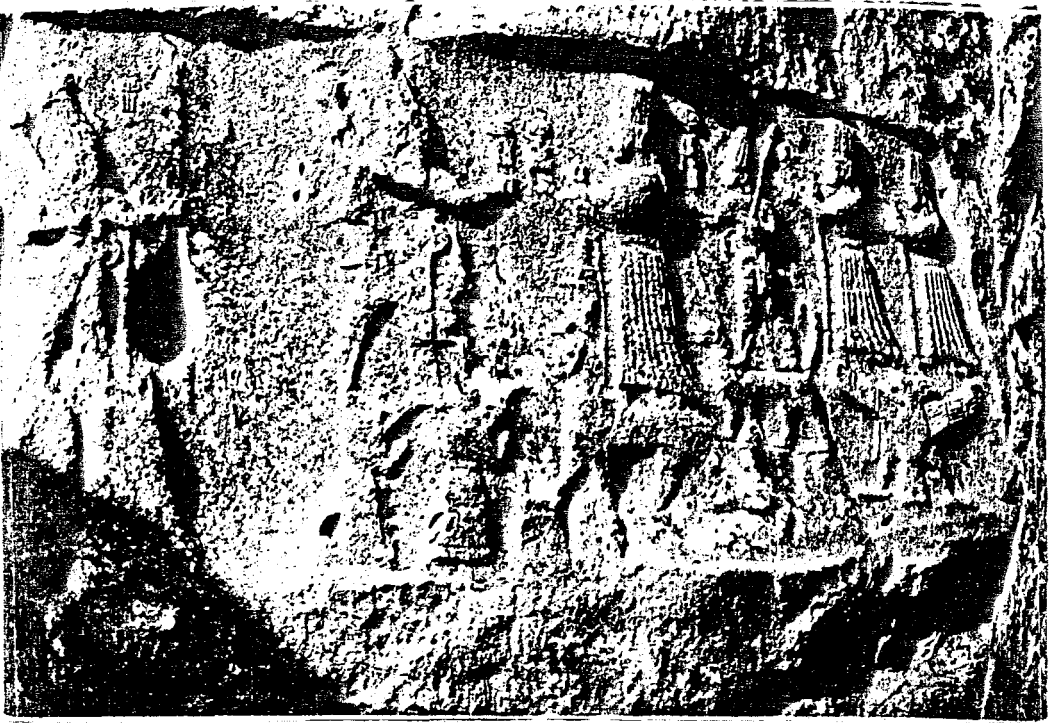
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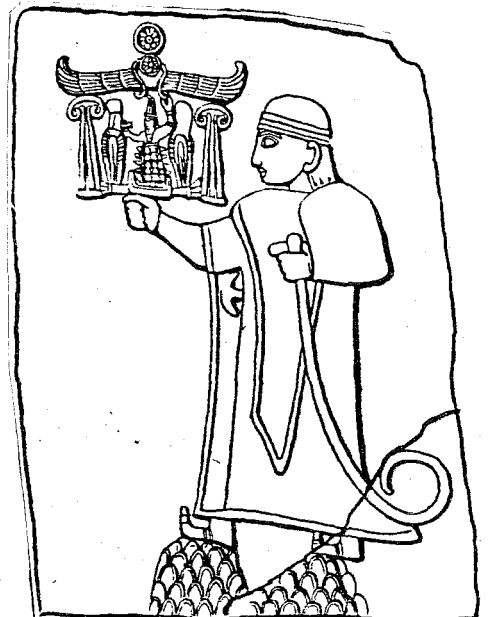
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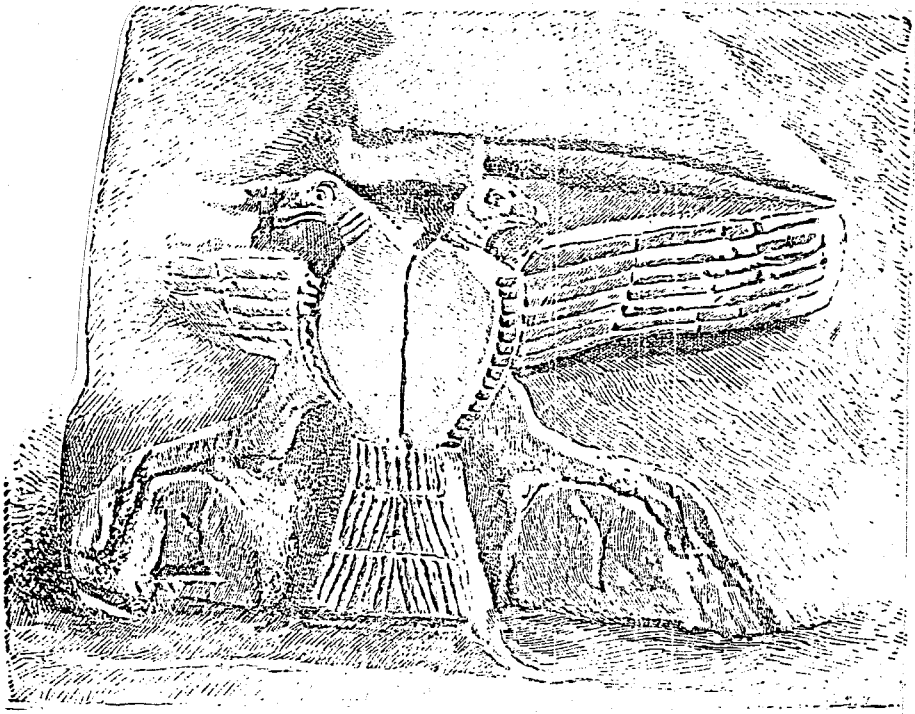
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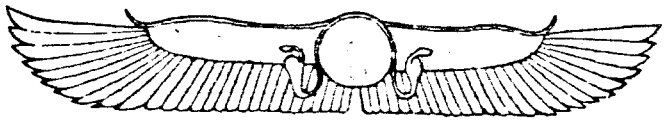
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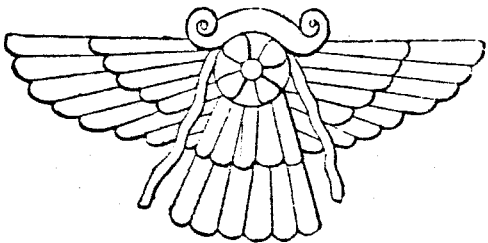
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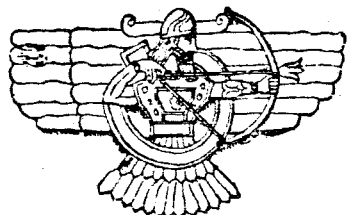
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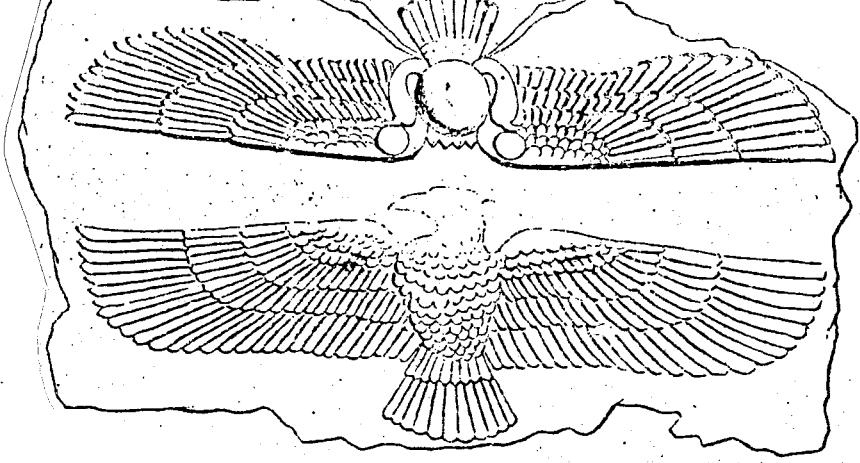
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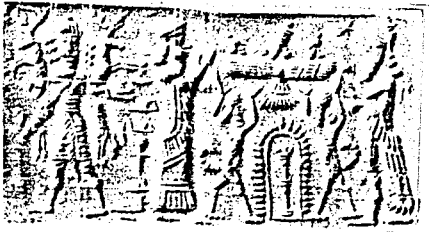
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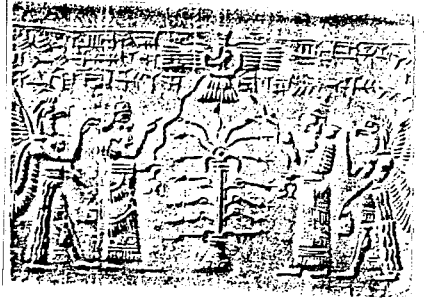
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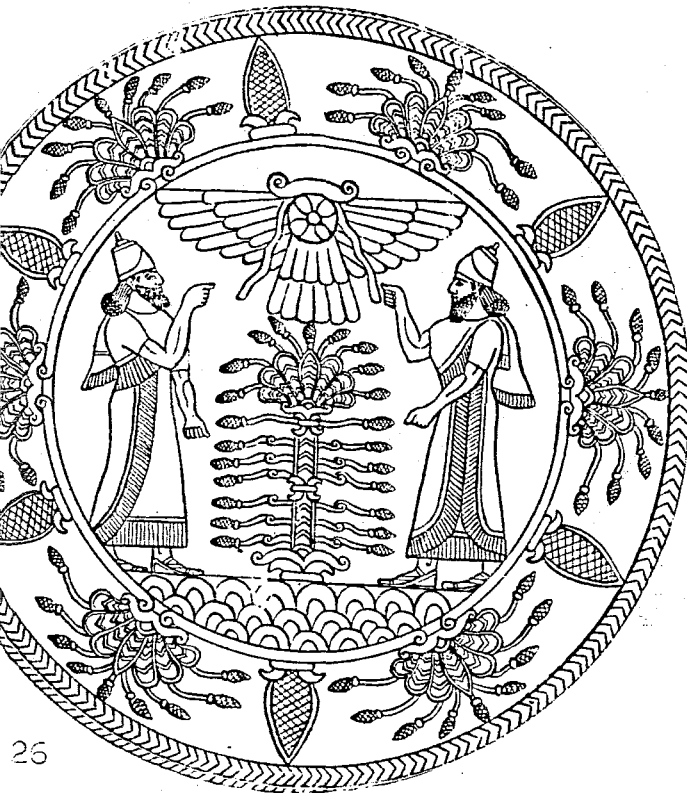
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24



25



26



27



28



29



30

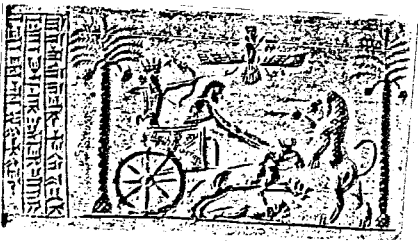
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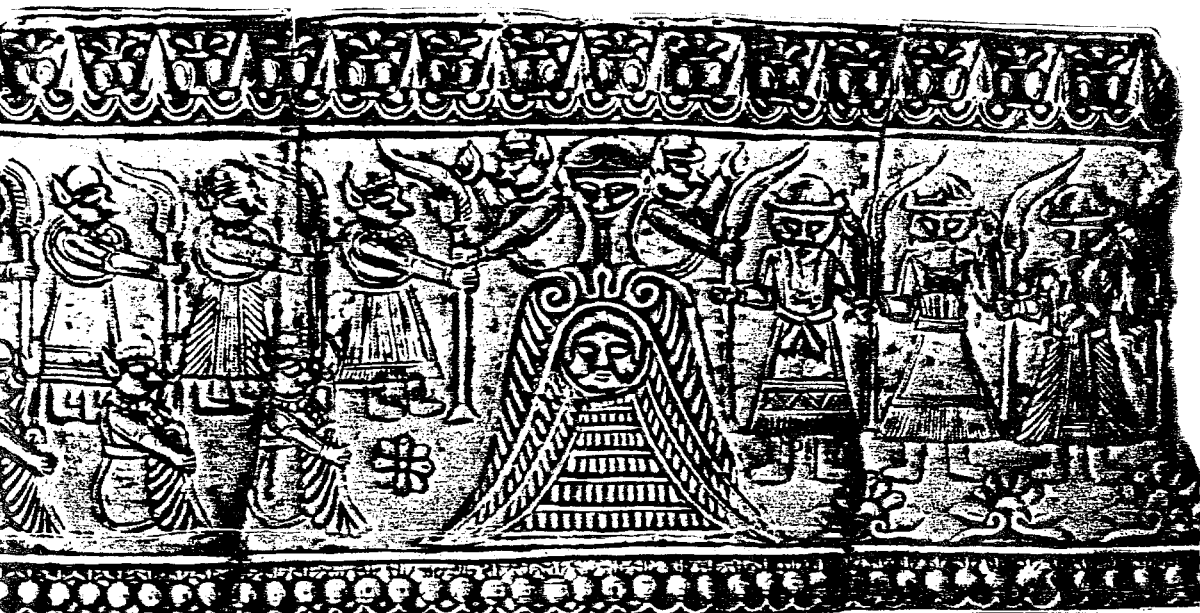
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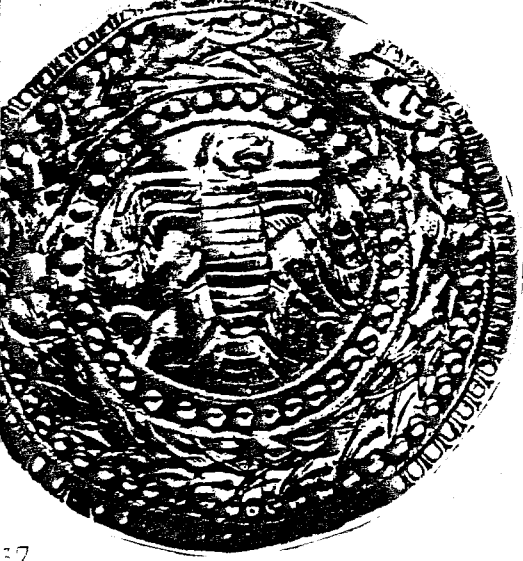


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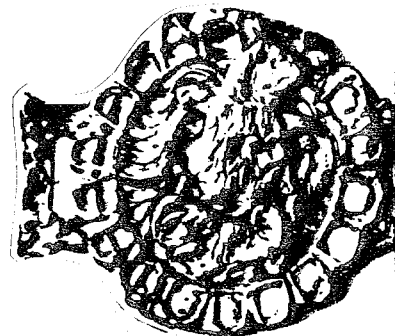
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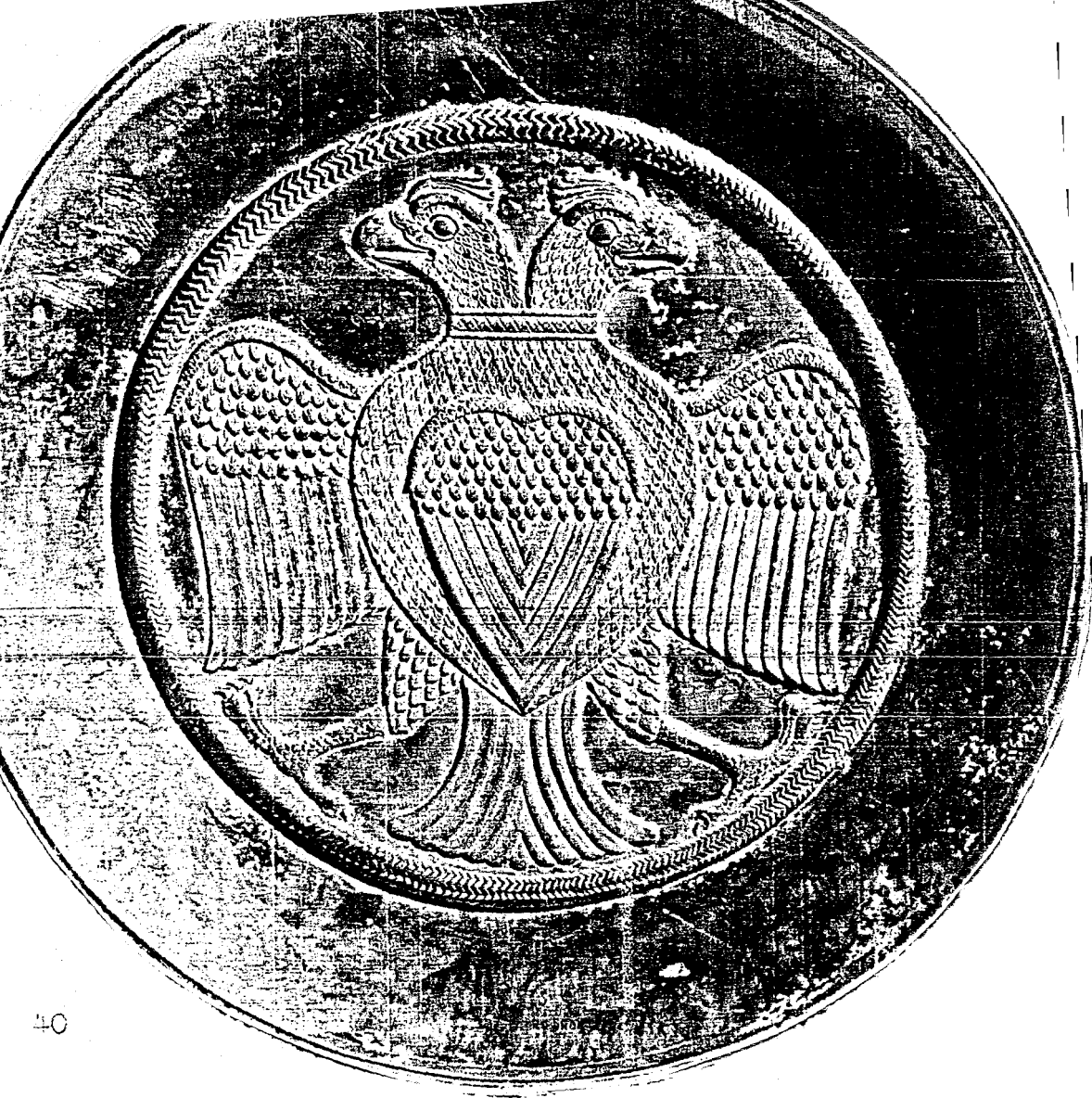
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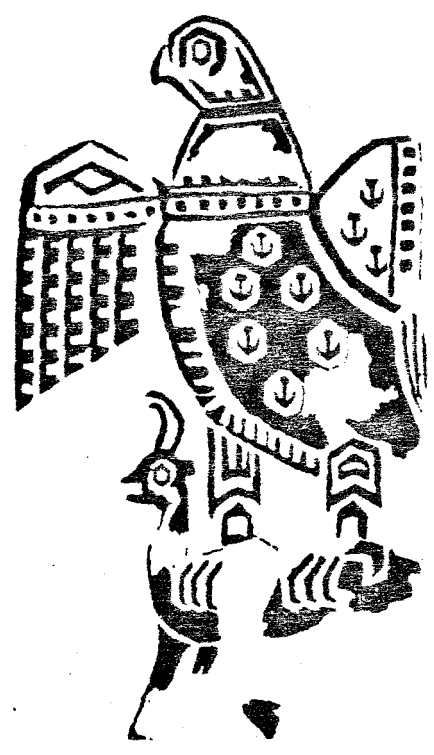
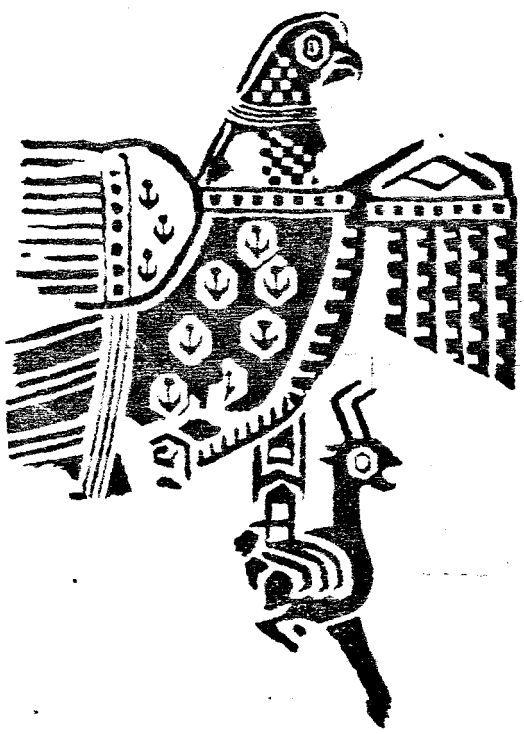
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39b



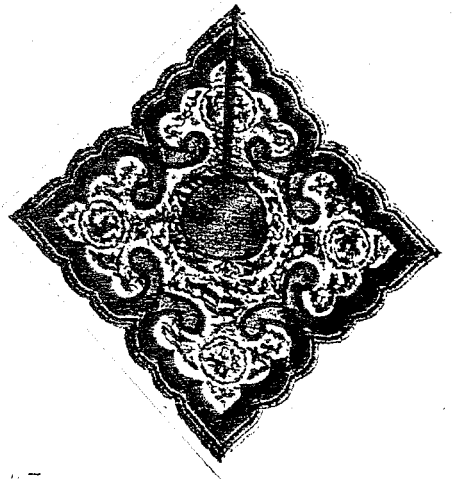
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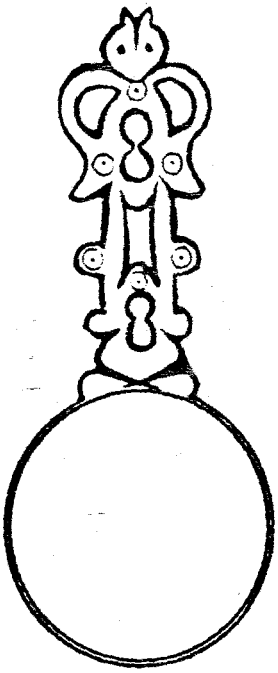
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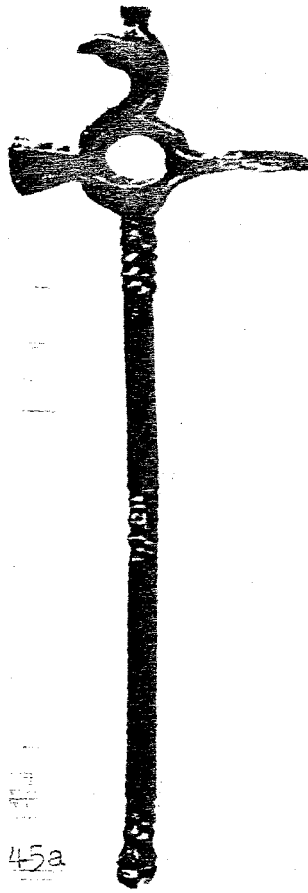
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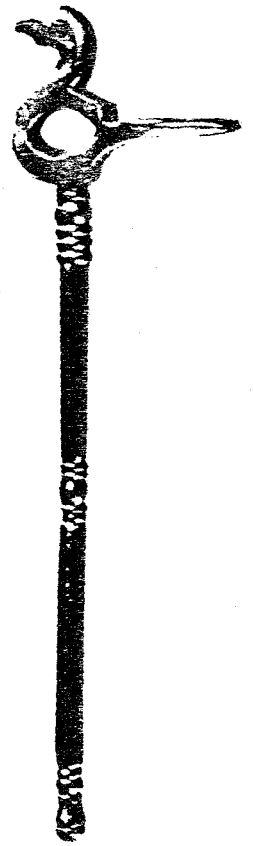
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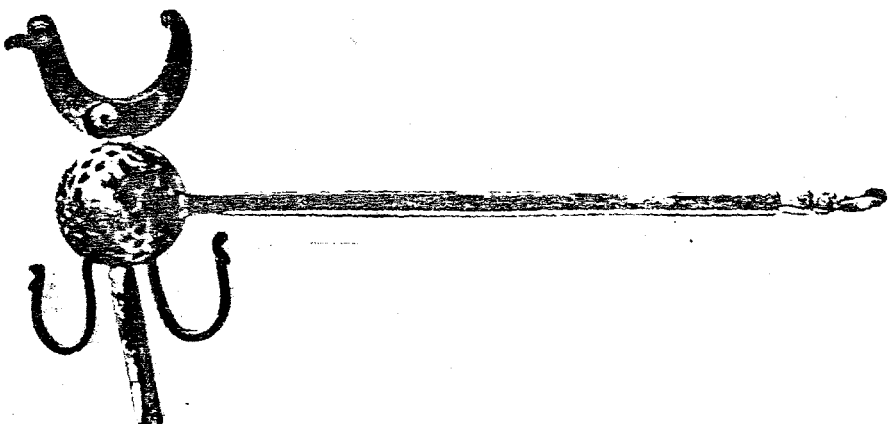
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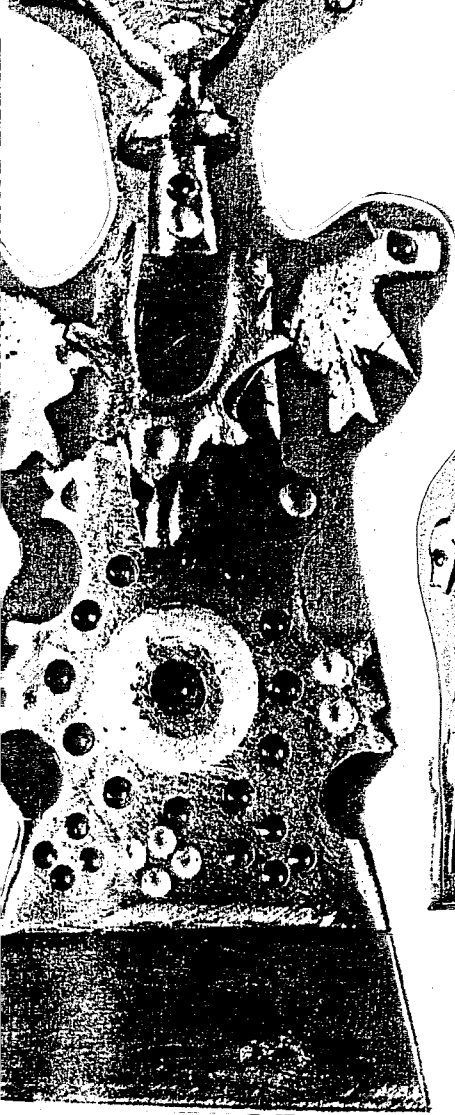
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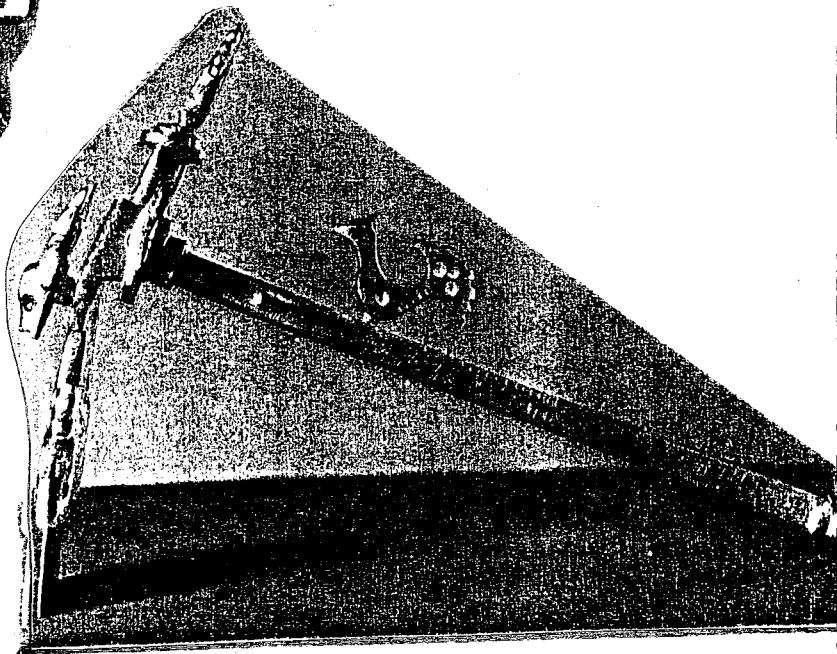
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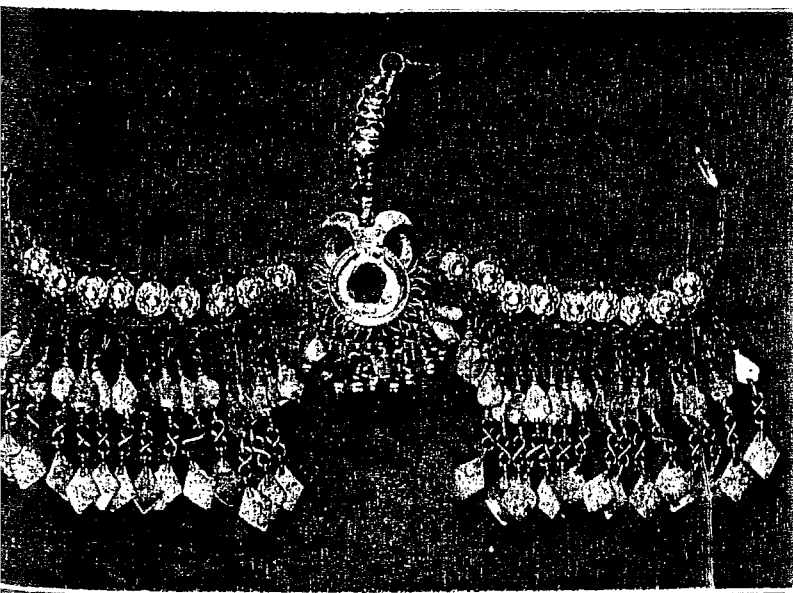
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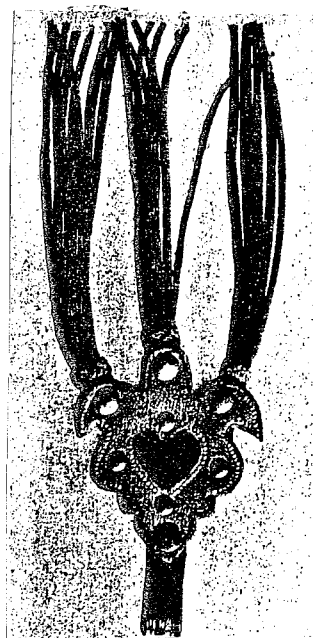
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48



49



50



51



52



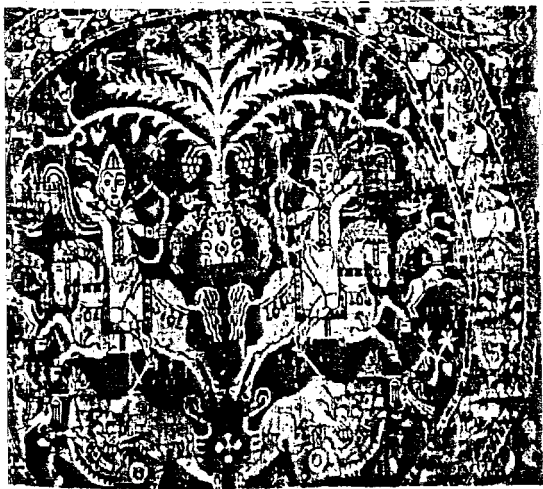
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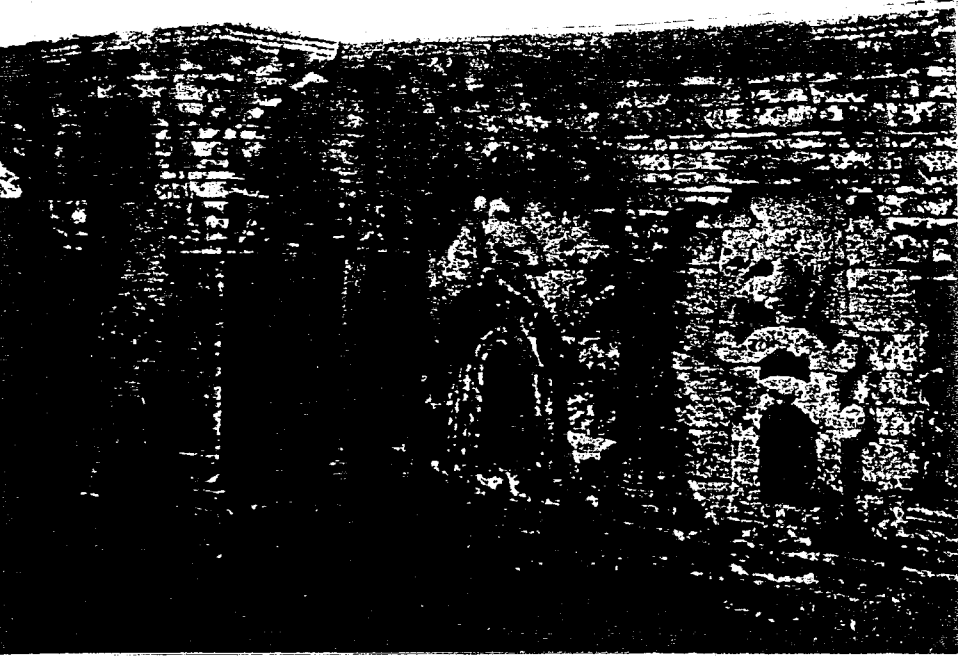
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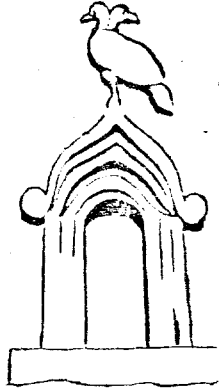
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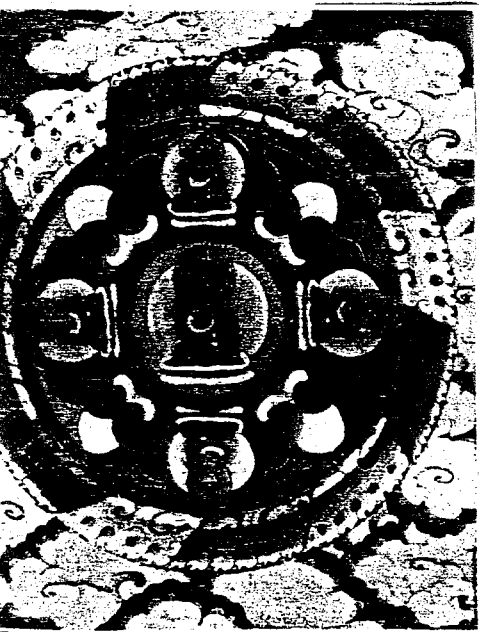
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58a



58b



59



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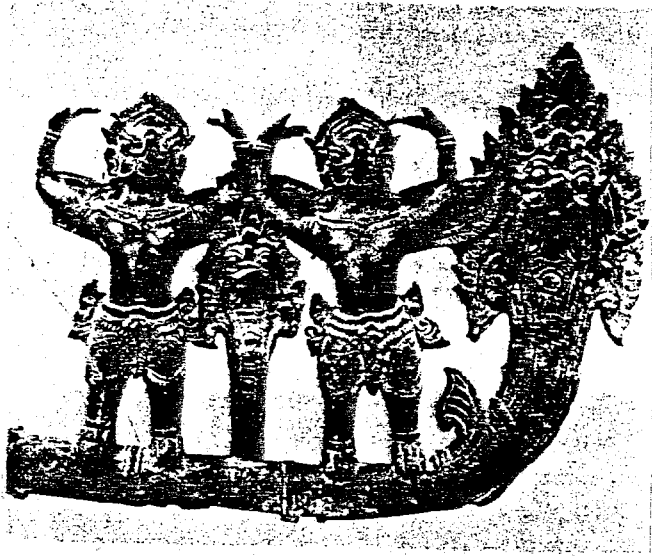
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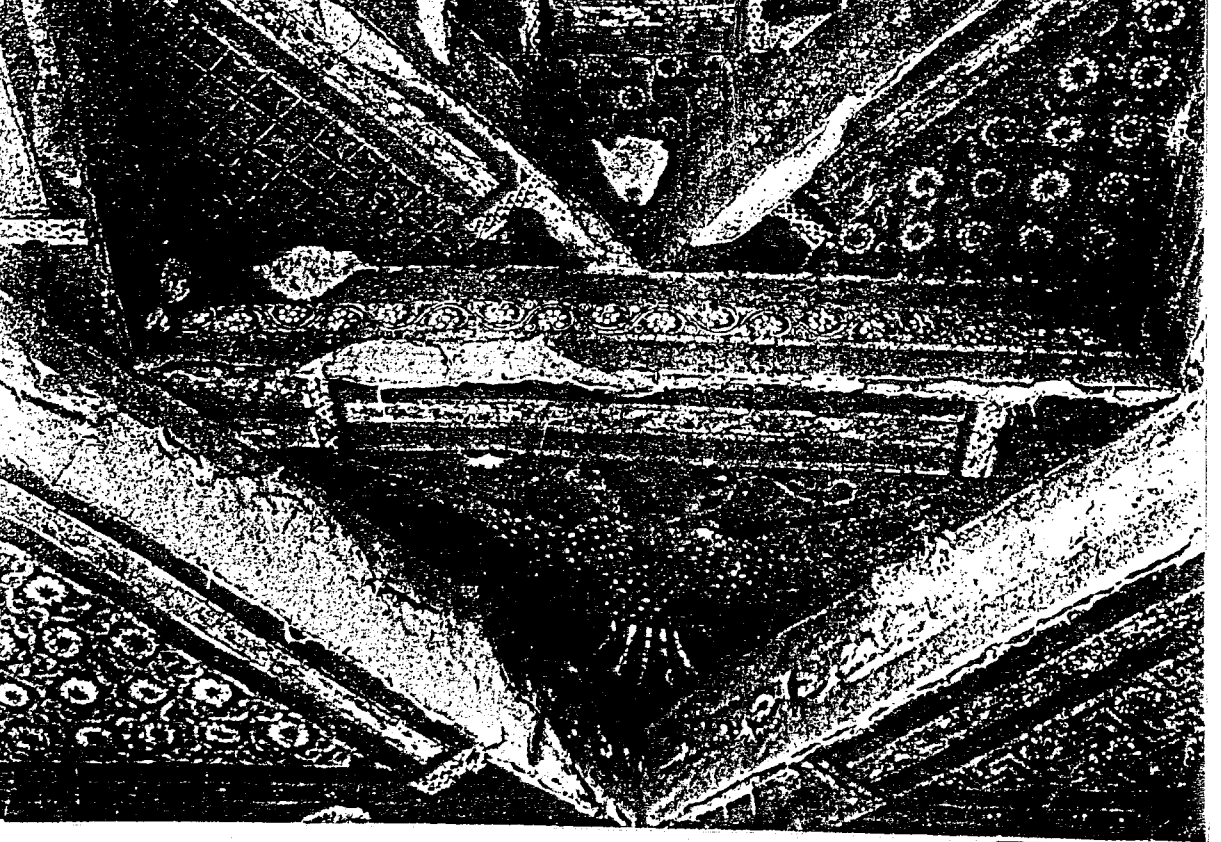
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65



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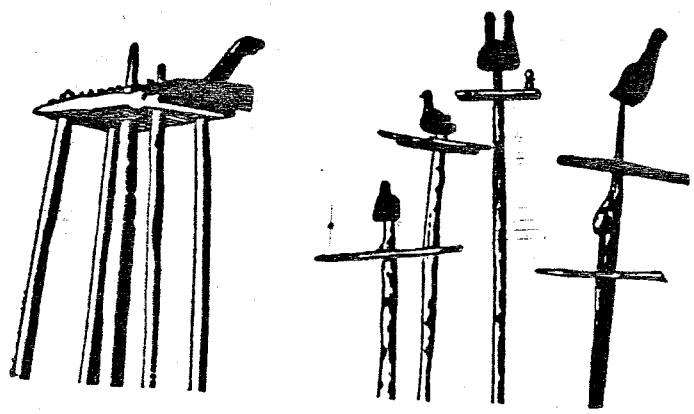


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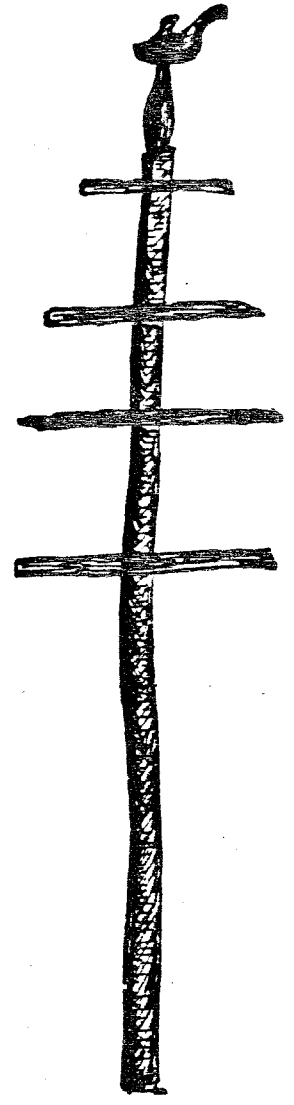
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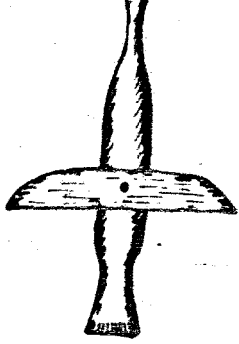
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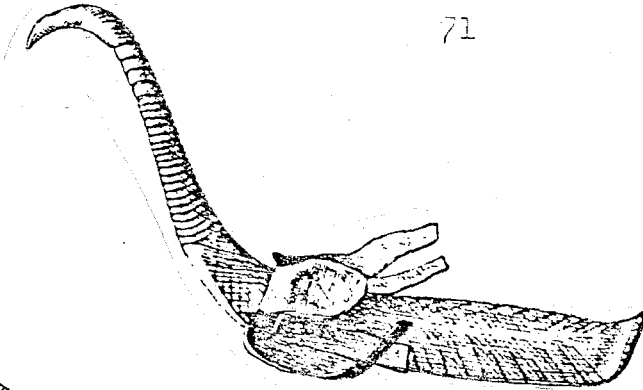
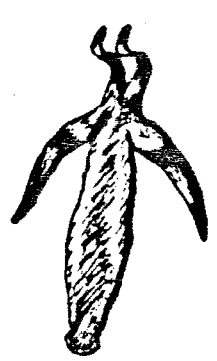
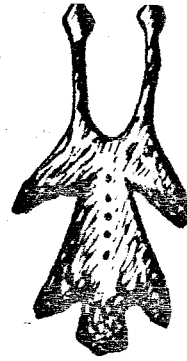
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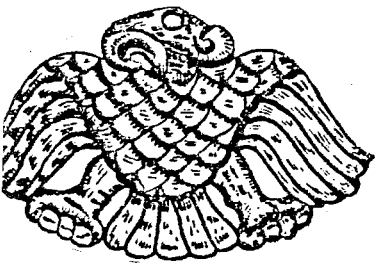
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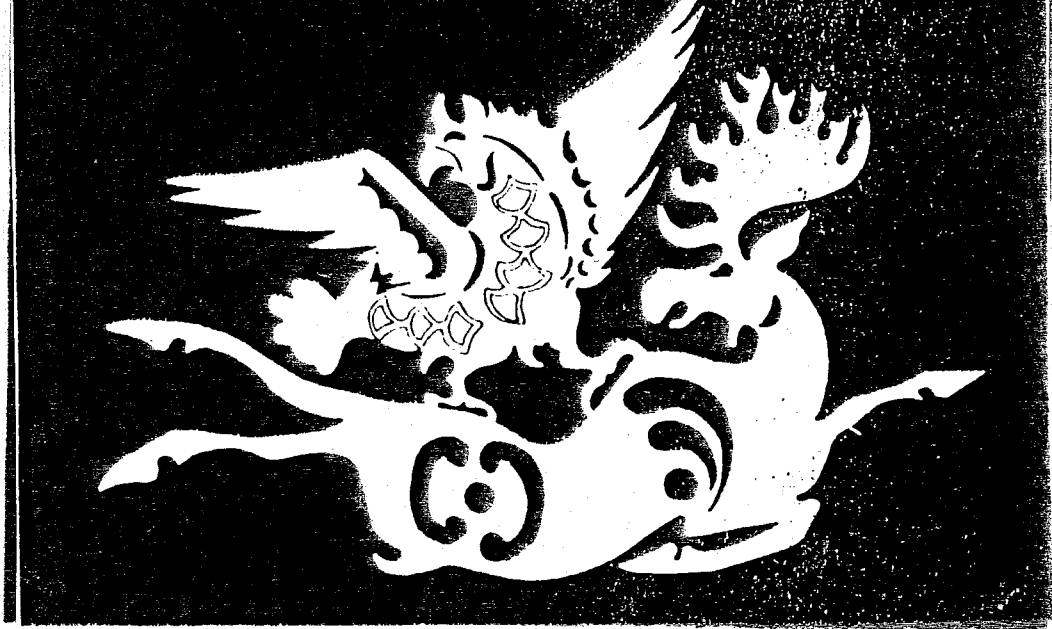
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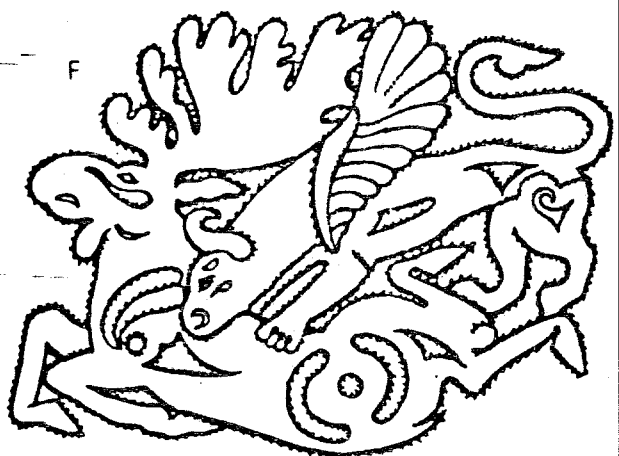
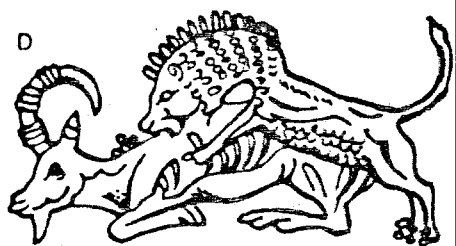
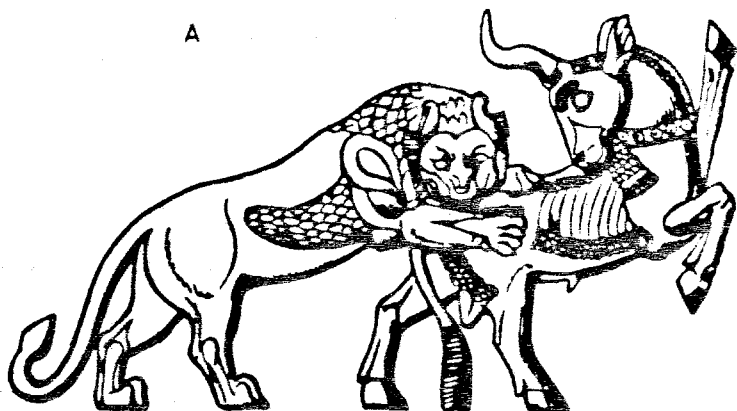
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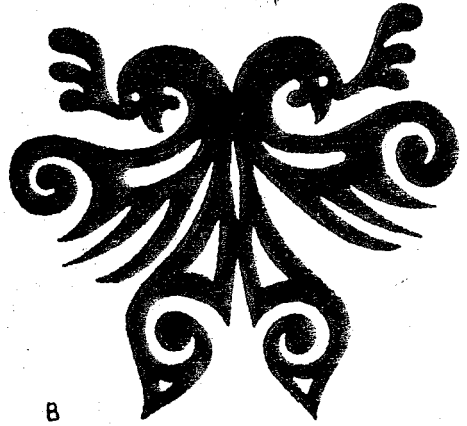


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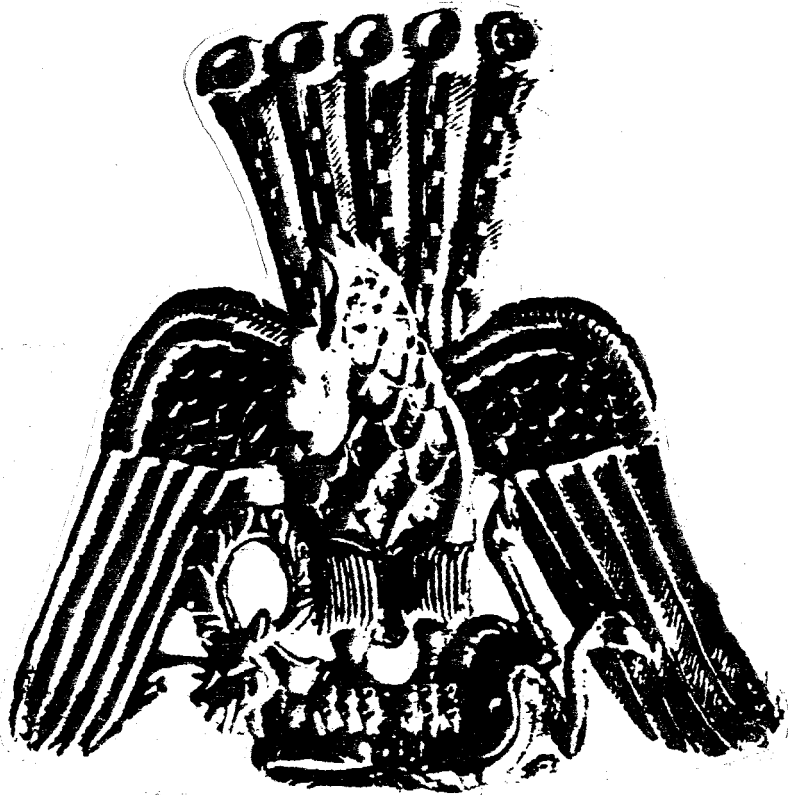
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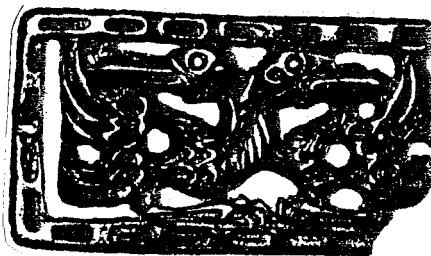
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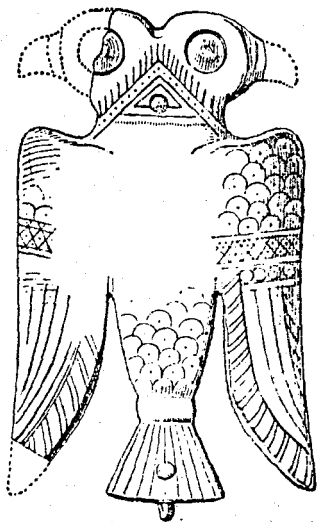
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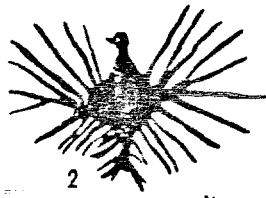
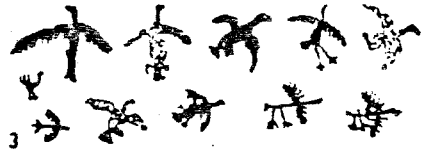
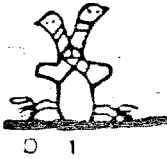
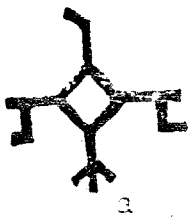
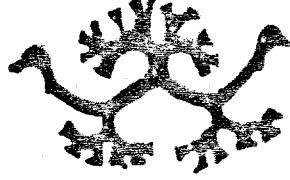
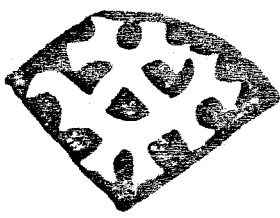
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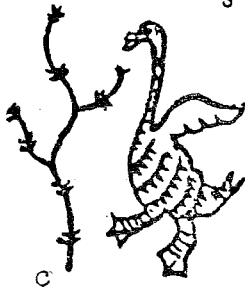
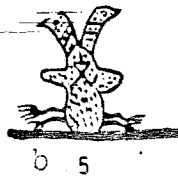
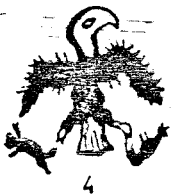
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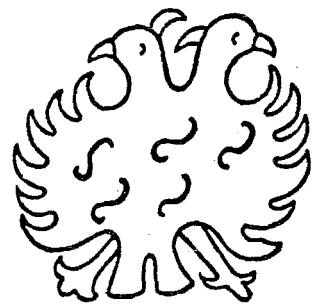


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38





39a



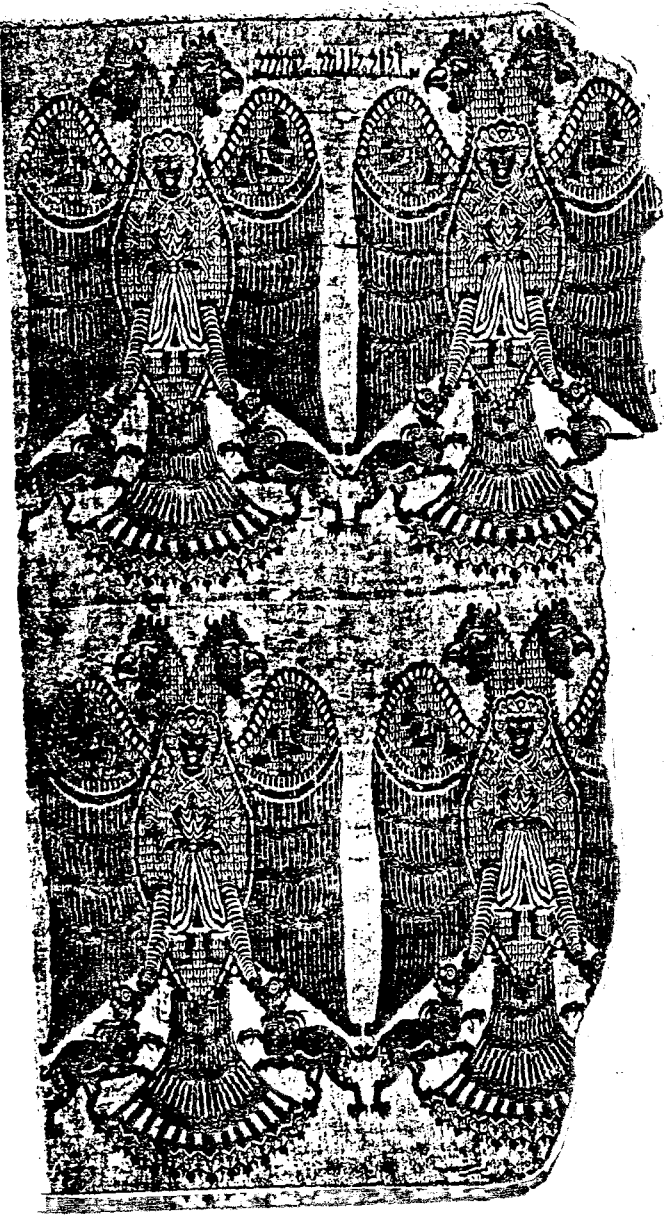
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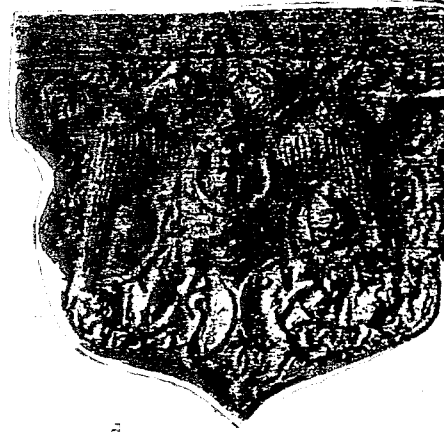
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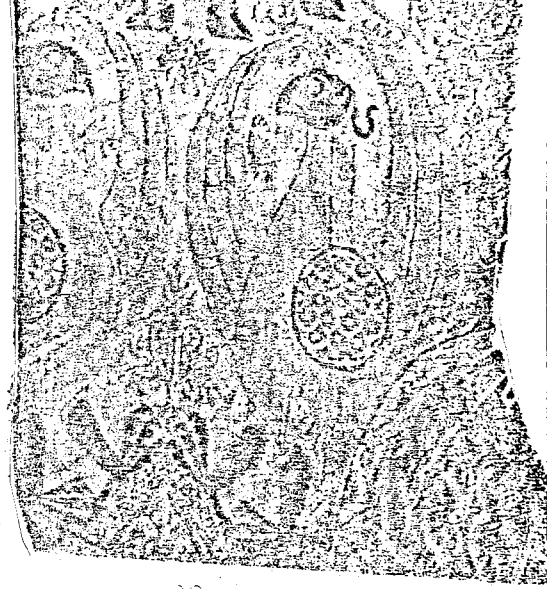
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a



1



2a

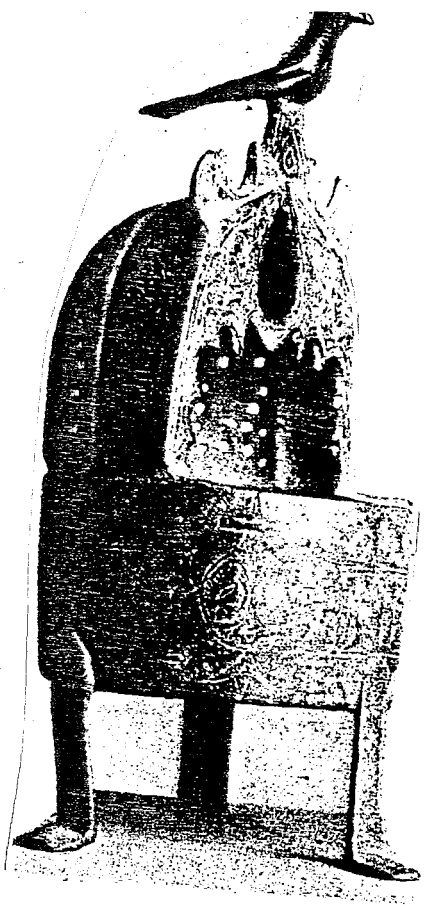


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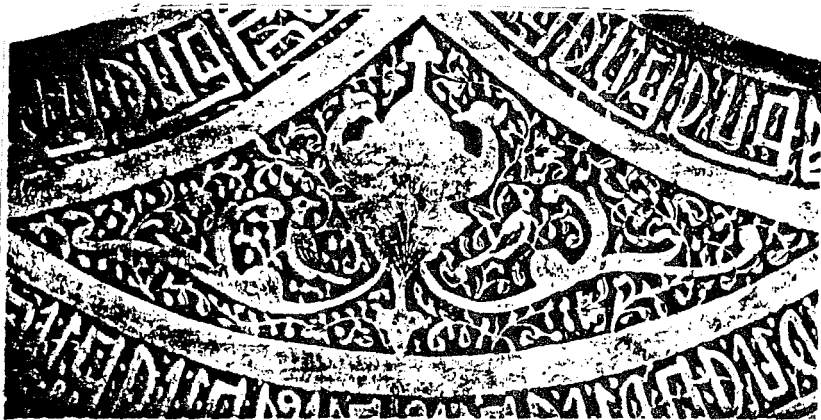




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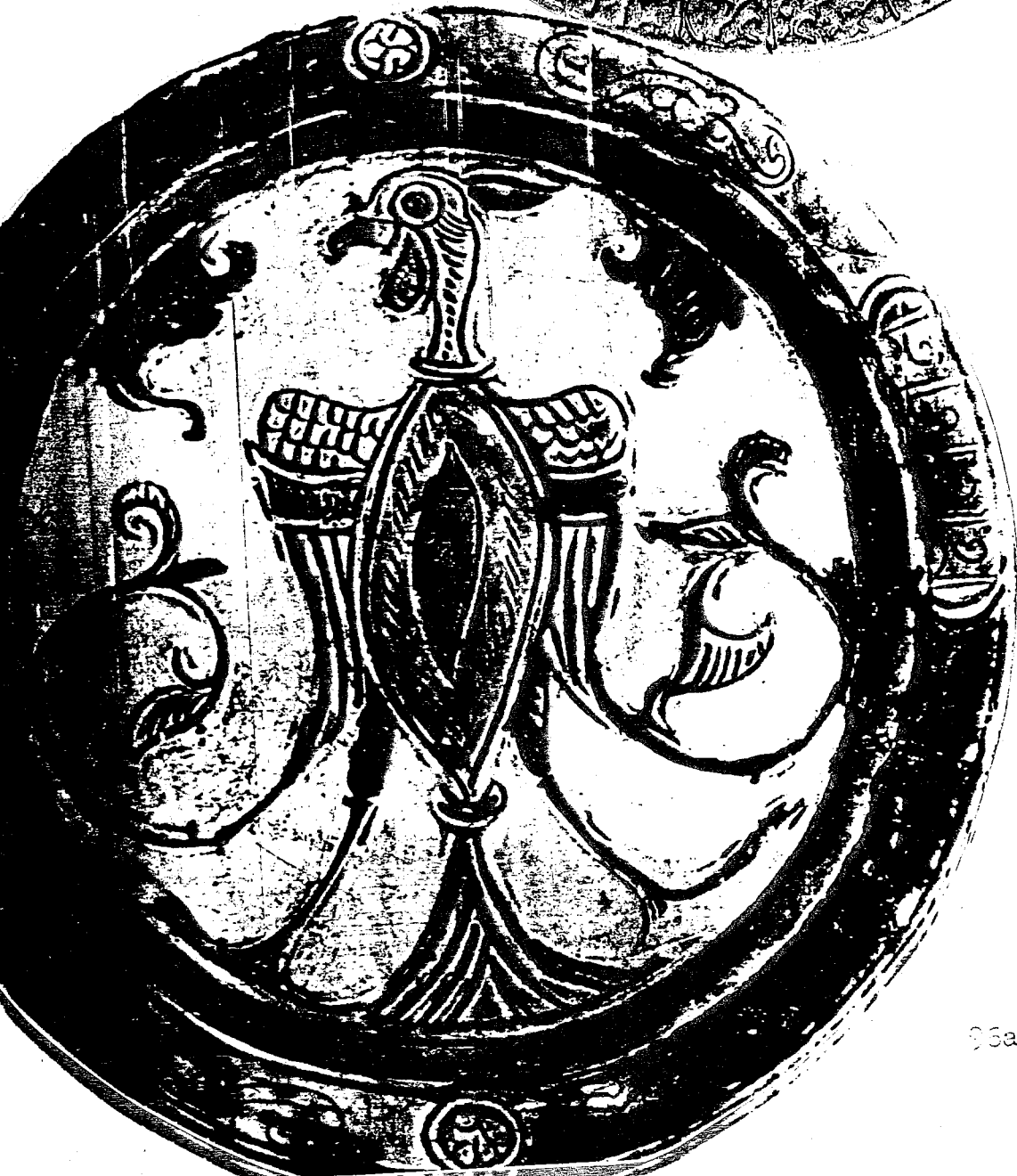
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94



95

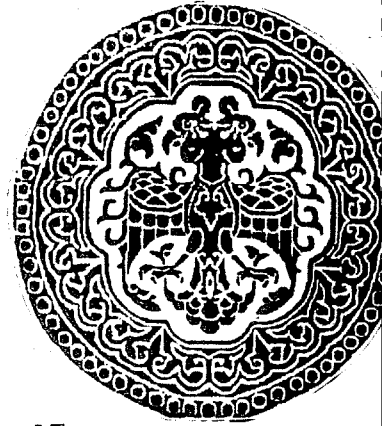


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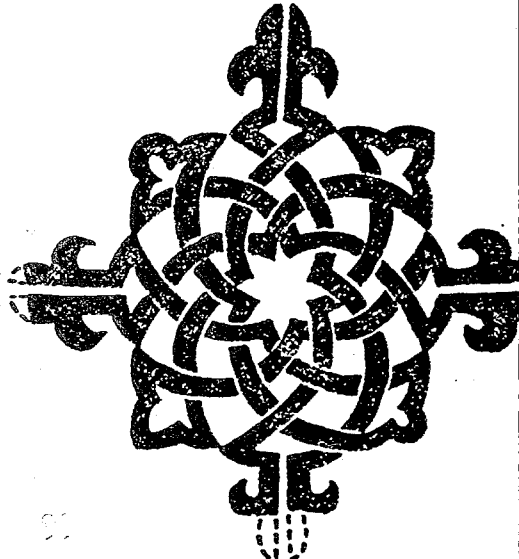
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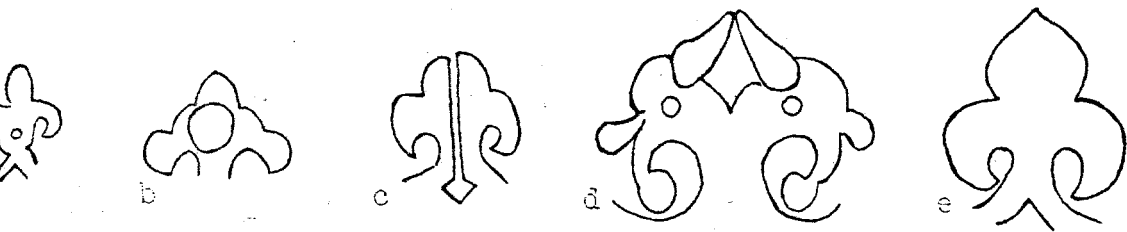
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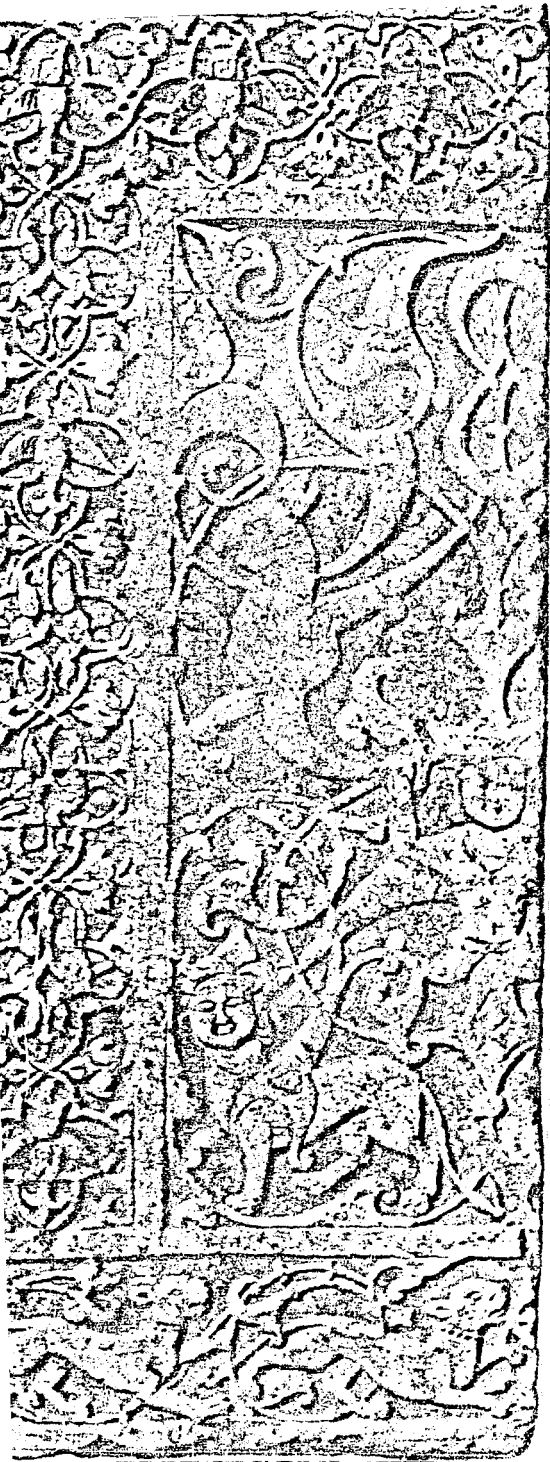
98



100



101



102



103



104a

619

Mint obliterated, year 586?

On breast of eagle, الامام احمد

Obv. Margin ضرب ست (?) وثمانين وخمسة

Rev. as on (615): but letters much ornamented.

Pl. XI. 28

b



105

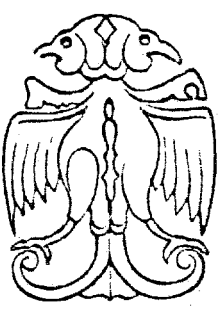


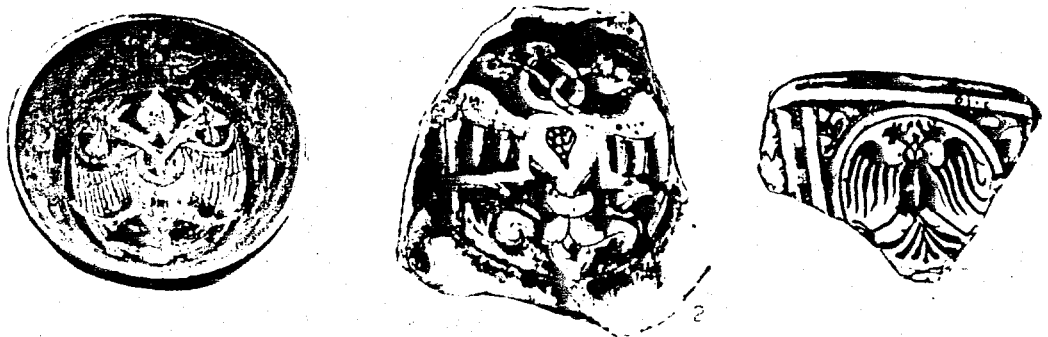
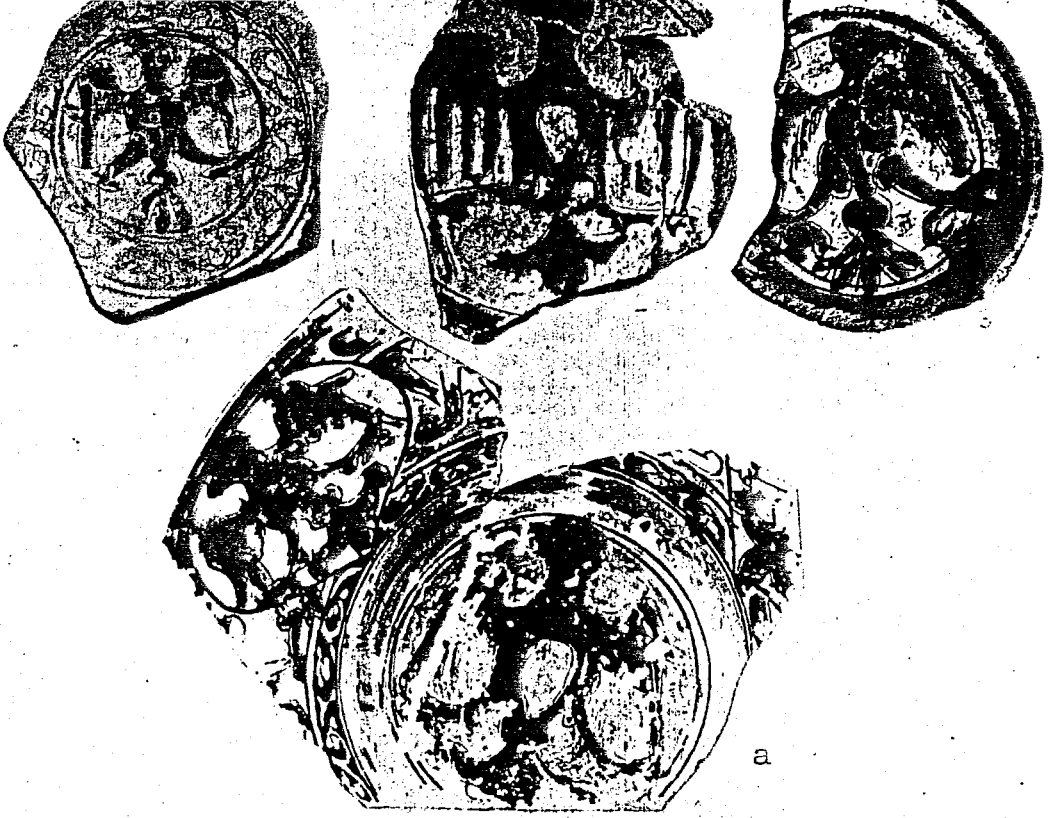
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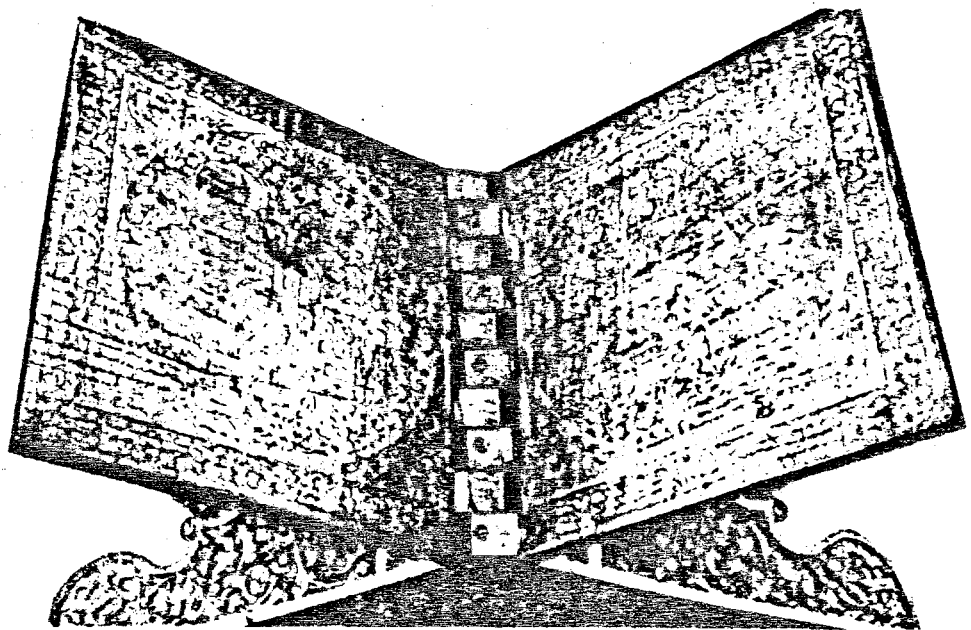
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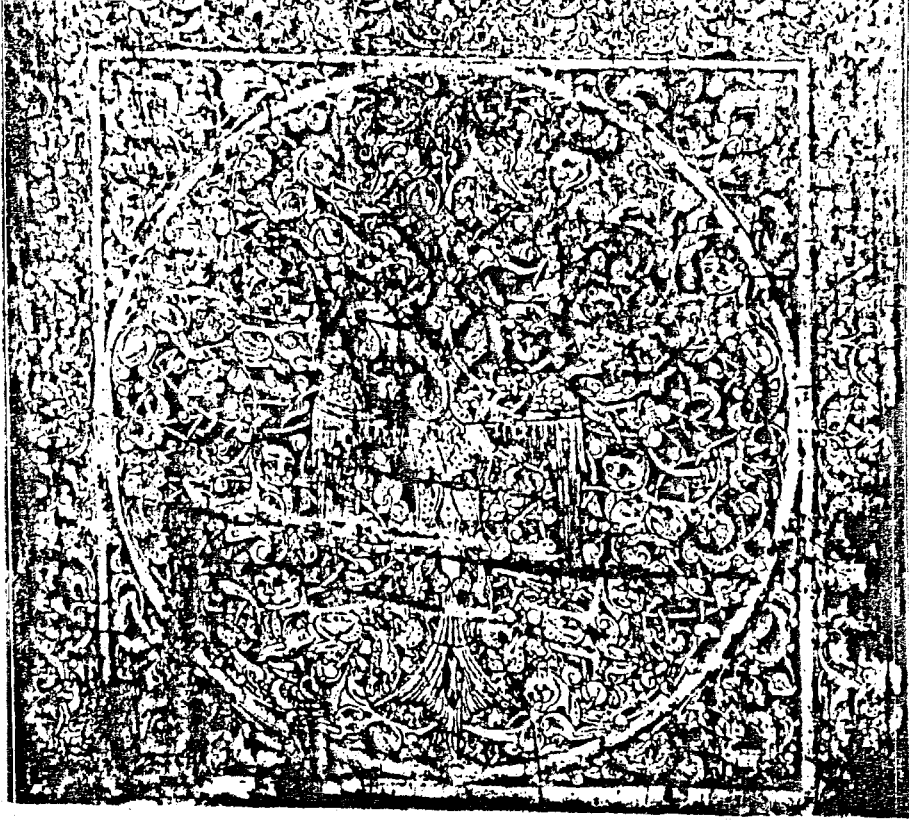




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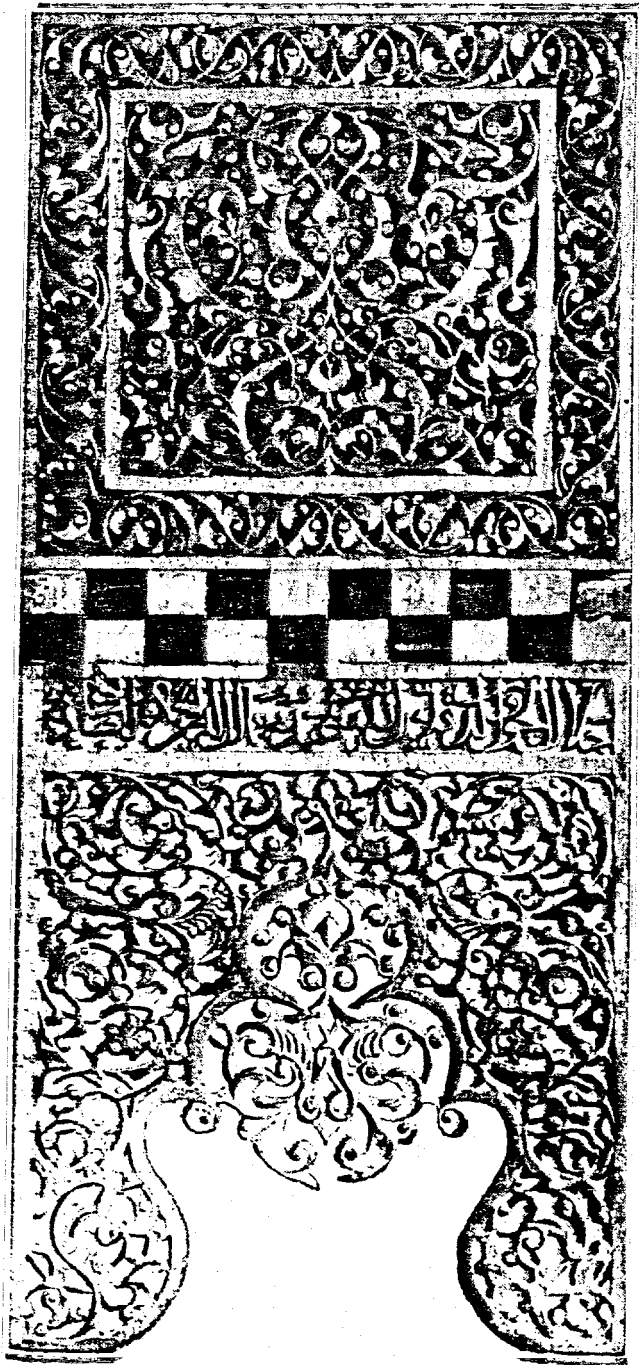
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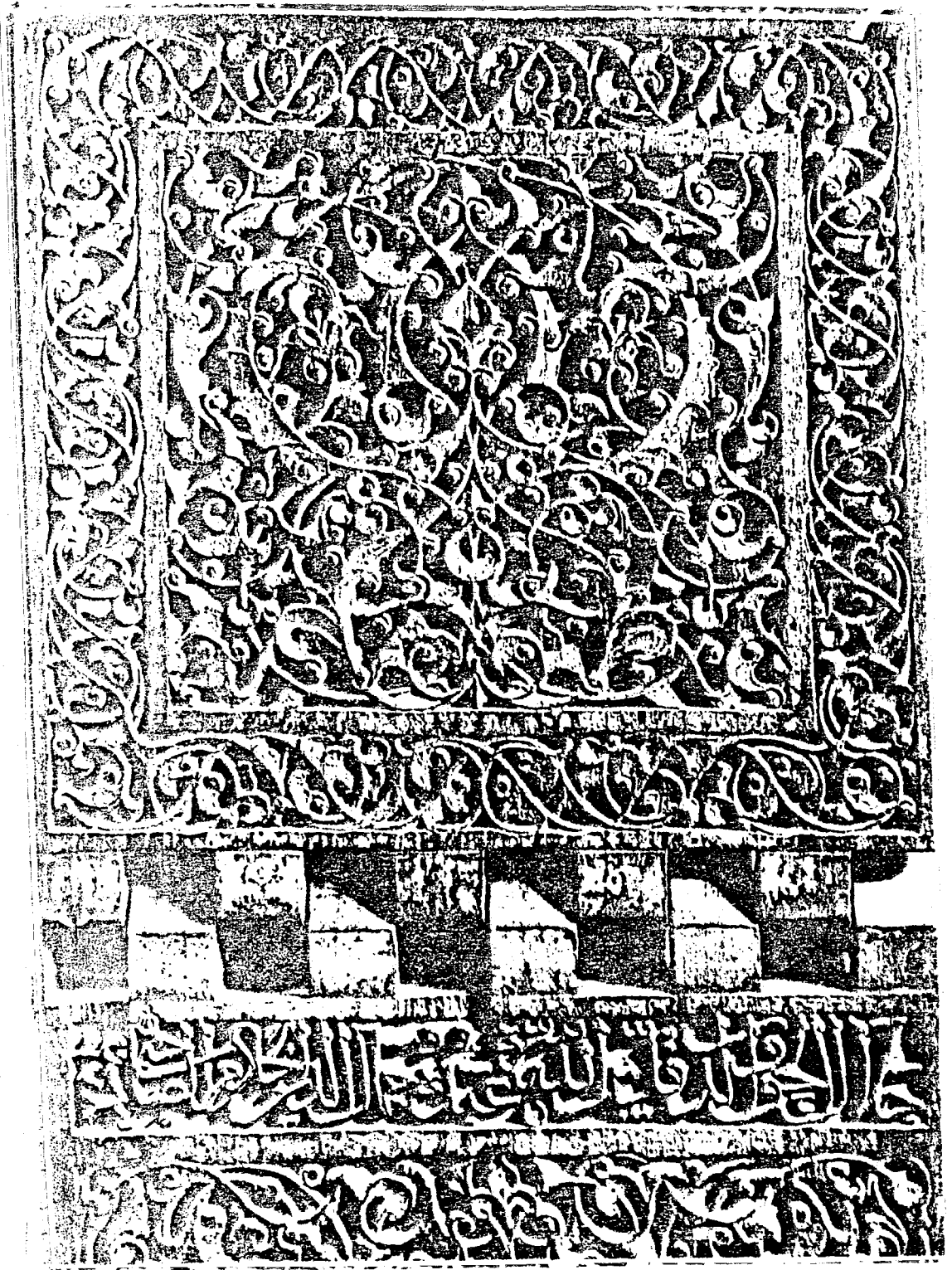


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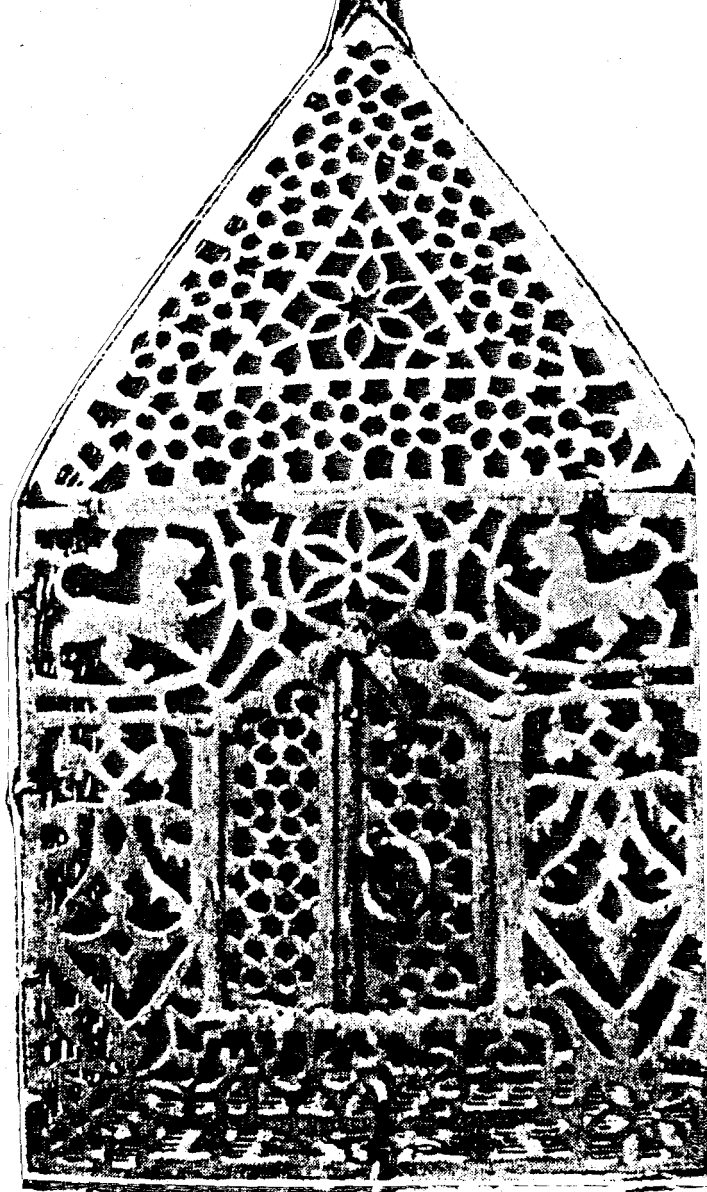
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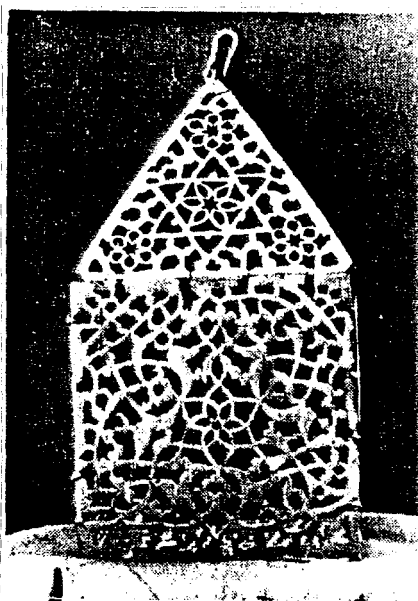




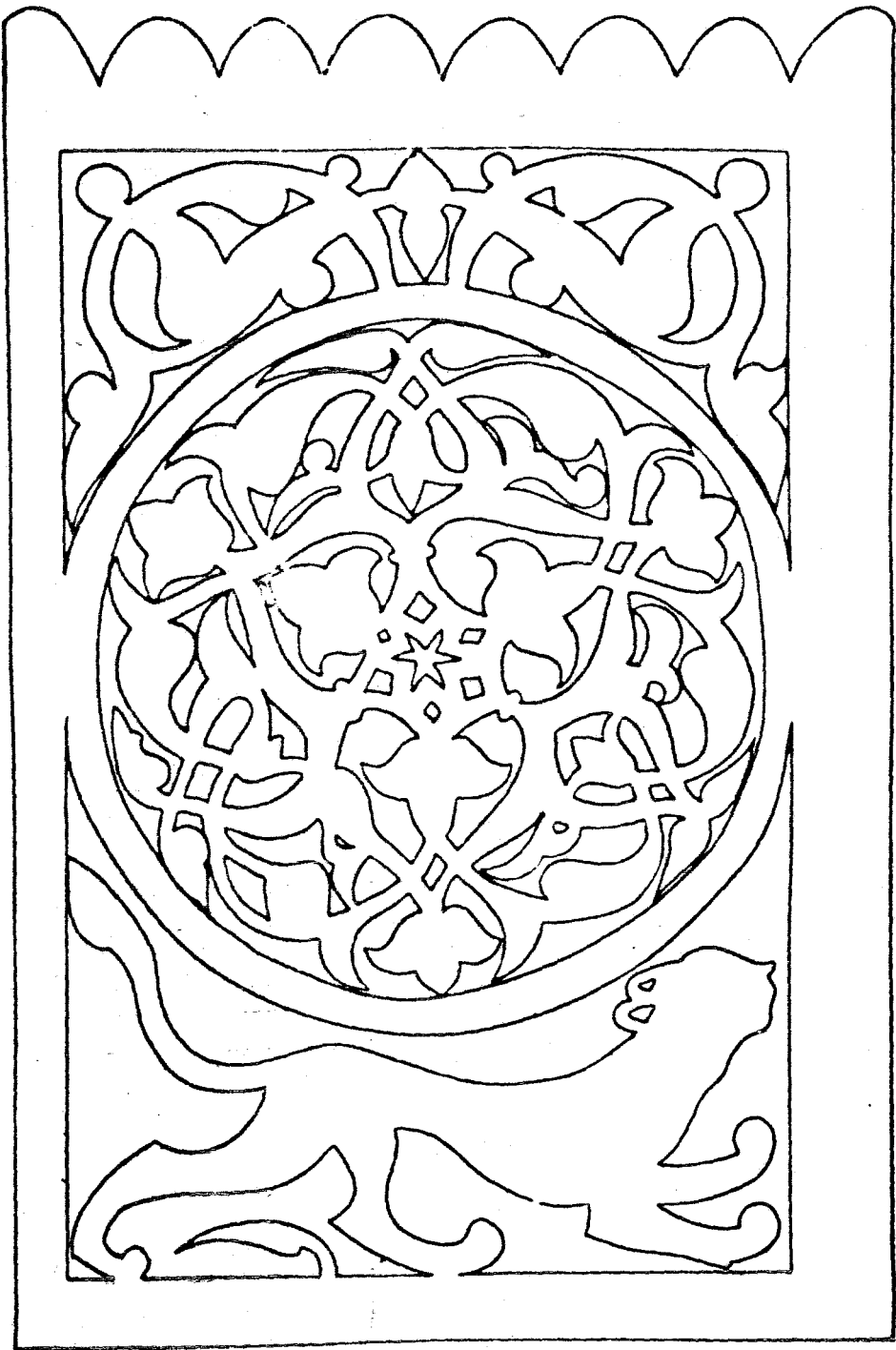
108f



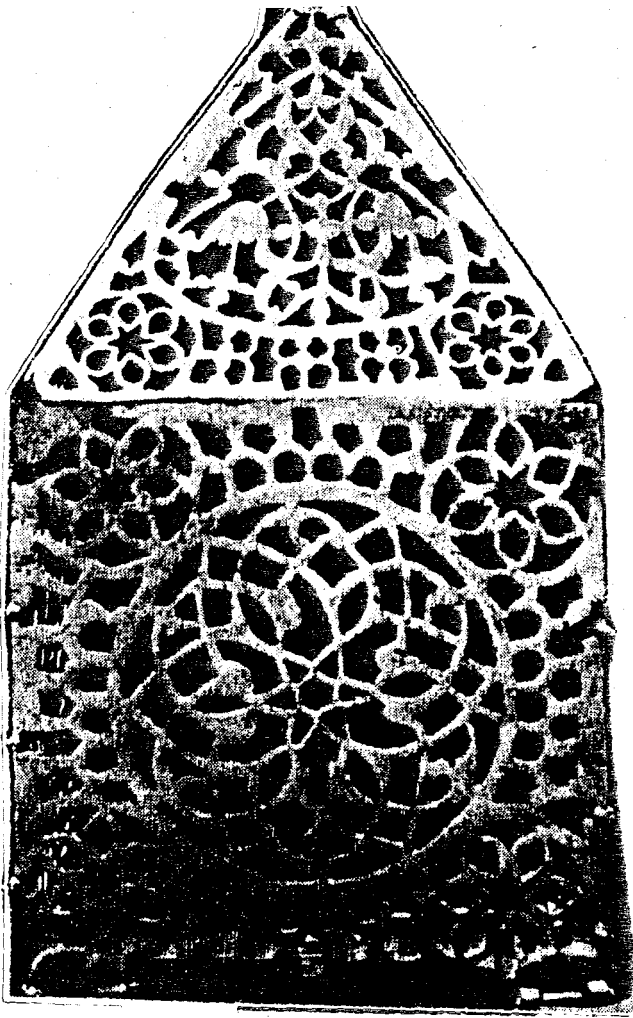
109a



b



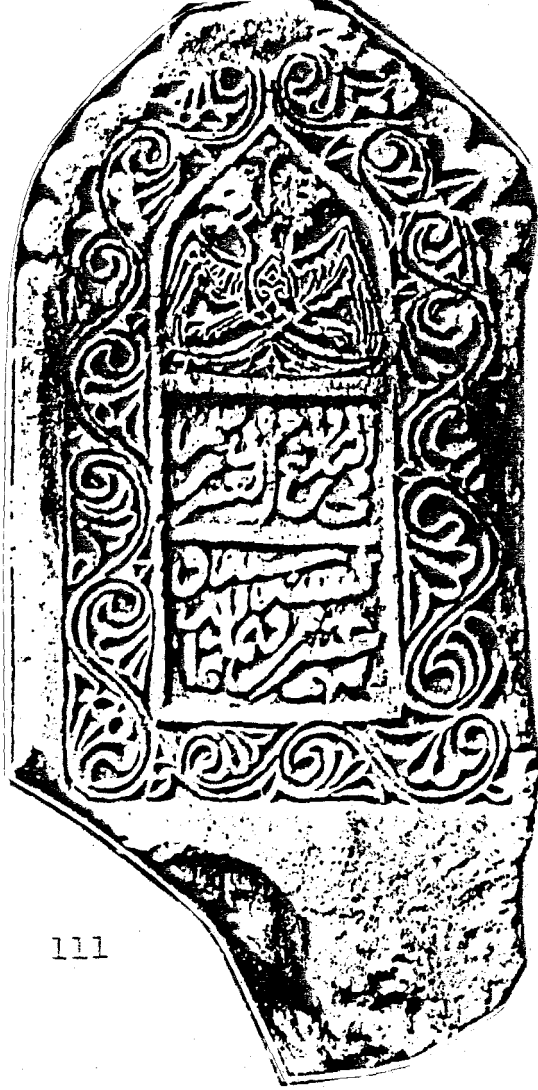
110b



109c



110a



111



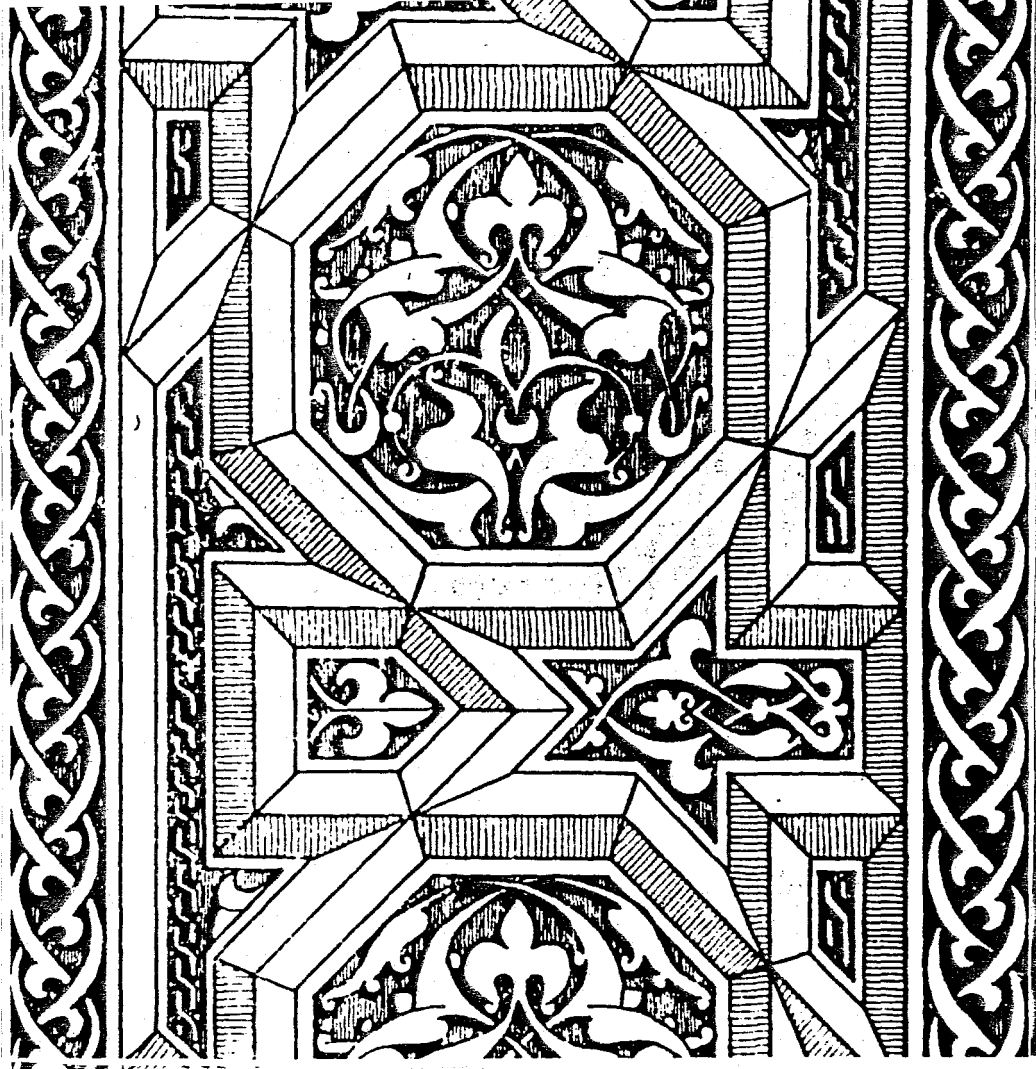
112a



112b



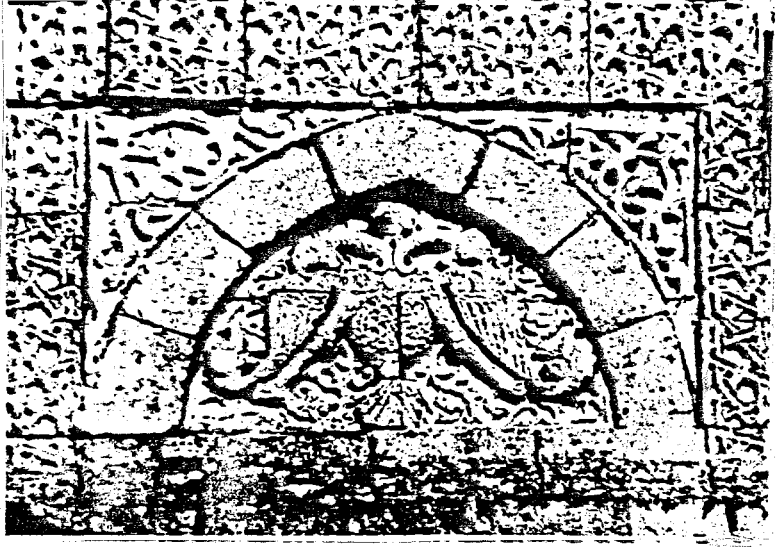




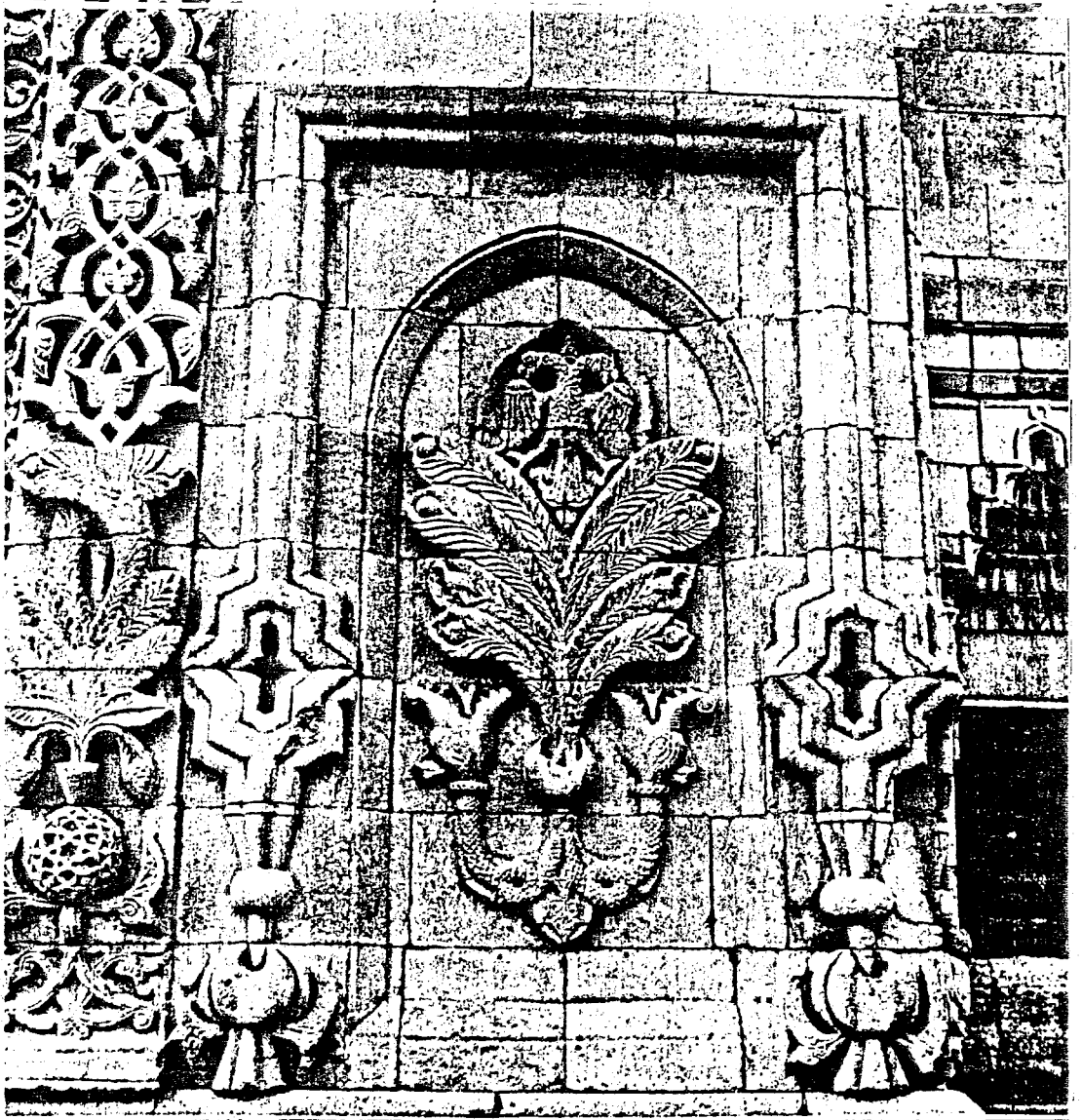
115



116a



116b



117a



117b



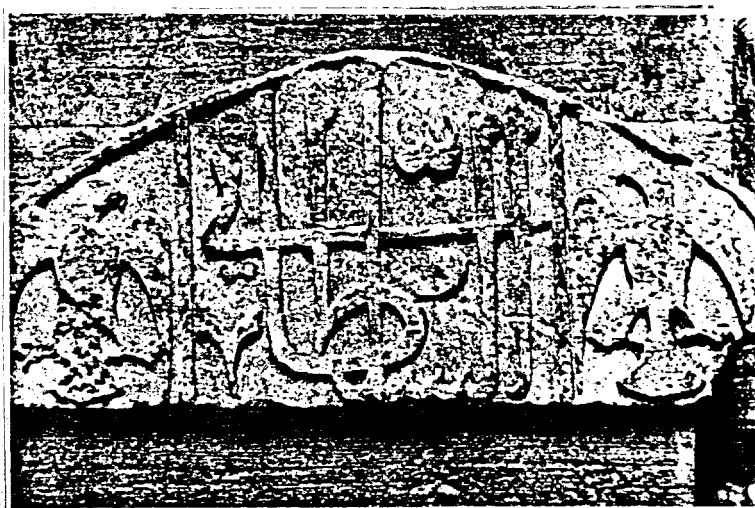
118a

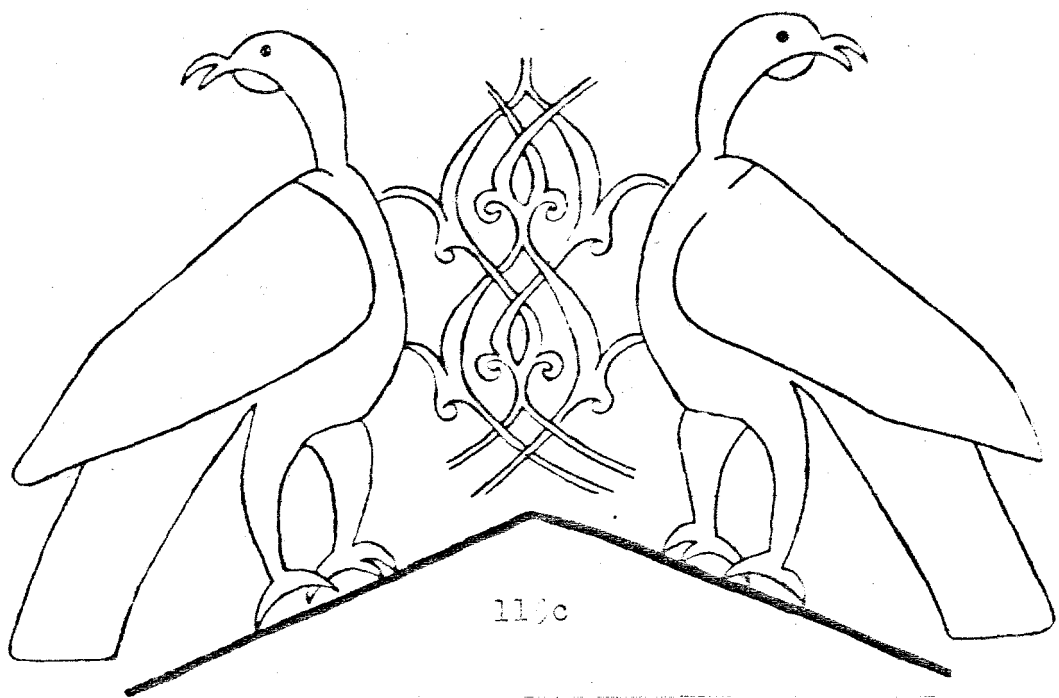


118b

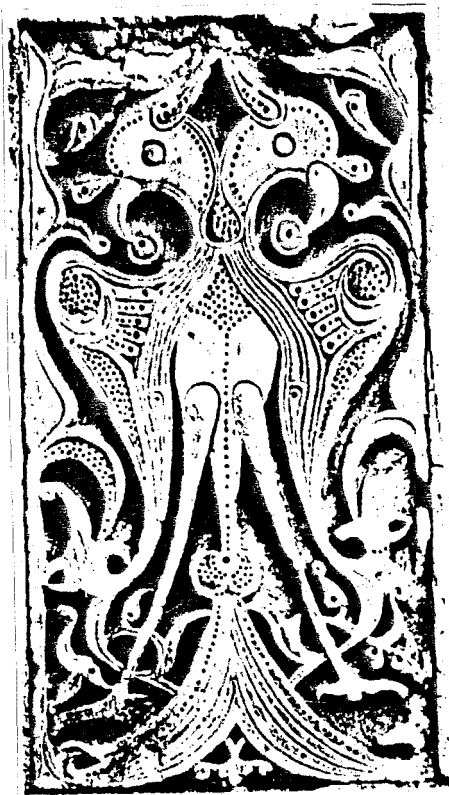


119a

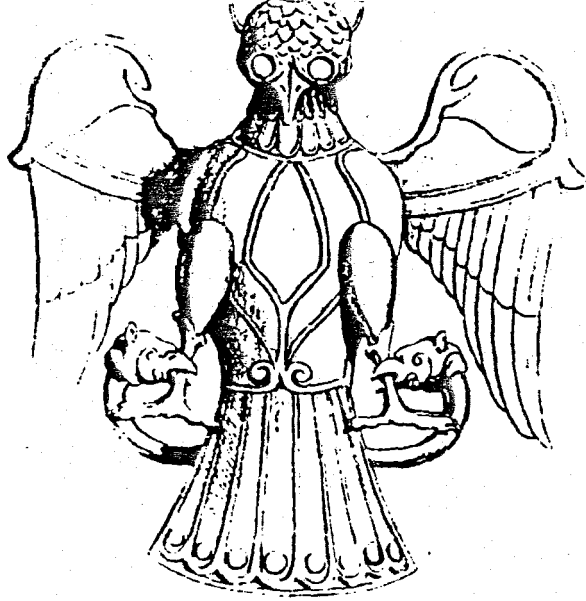




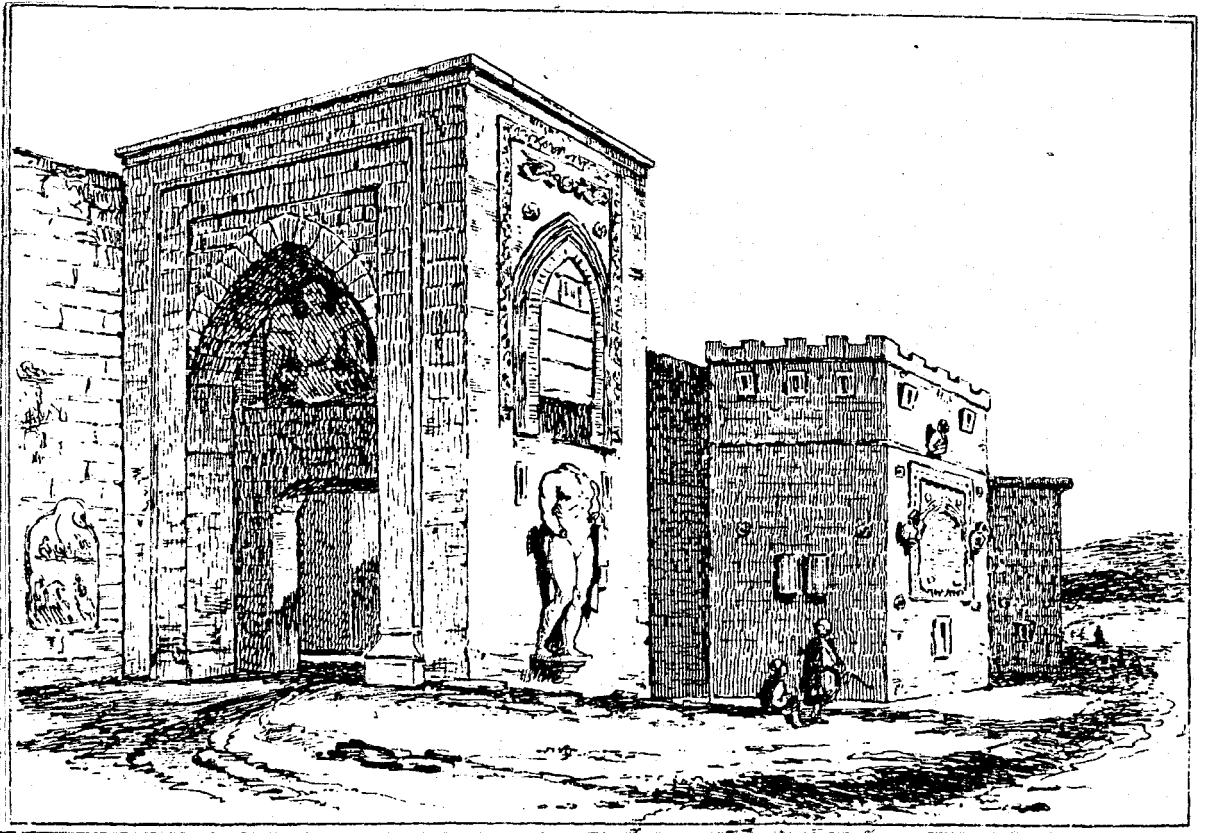
117c



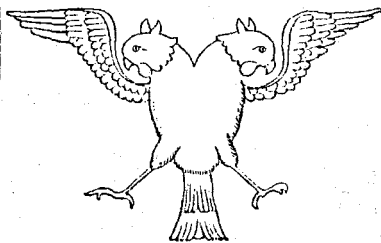
120a



1206



c



d



120e



67



h