

DOI: 10.7596/taksad.v7i3.1676

Citation: Şahin, M., Demirdağ, M., & Aydemir, S. (2018). A Sociological Assessment on the Examples of Veiling as an Indicator of Gender at the Ancient Anatolian Societies. *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, 7(3), 402-420. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v7i3.1676>

A Sociological Assessment on the Examples of Veiling as an Indicator of Gender at the Ancient Anatolian Societies

Mehmet Cem Şahin¹, Muhammet Fatih Demirdağ², Salih Aydemir³

Abstract

Gender is, as distinct from sexuality, identified by society and culture that individual was born in. Just as people congenitally have some roles depending on their biological differences, they also have some other roles given by society and behaviour patterns expected to exhibit. It has diversely appeared in all periods of time and societies that to express of such roles, statuses and behaviour patterns. Throughout history, one of the most significant demonstrations of woman's gender was to be veiling. Veiling is a socio-cultural practice that can be traced back to the earliest times in human history. In ancient societies, people, especially women, have differentiated each other through various forms of covering, which symbolize the status and roles they are placed in society. In the historical process, due to various social, economic, religious, cultural and political transformations experienced, the differentiation that took place in the social status of women led to some changes in the practices of covering. In archaeological finds belonging to ancient Anatolian societies, such as in the tombstones, women are sometimes depicted as a noble wife, sometimes a temple official, sometimes as a servant. In fact, some Anatolian societies have portrayed their master goddesses in an implicit way, including their heads. It is known that the depictions of the mother goddess cult (Magna Mater, Kybele, Artemis, Hera and Mary cults) are depicted as garnished in Old Anatolian societies in the later stages due to the interaction of eastern and western civilizations. It is known that the depictions of Mother goddess cult without clothes are depicted as garmented in Old Anatolian societies due to the interaction of eastern and western civilizations in later stages. In this article, some sociological determinations and evaluations are made about the practice of veiling in the light of some archaeological findings related with ancient Anatolian civilizations.

Keywords: Gender, Old anatolian civilizations, Woman, Veiling.

¹ Associated Prof. Dr., Ankara University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Sociology of Religion, Turkey. E-mail: mcemsahin@gmail.com, m.cem.sahin@ankara.edu.tr

² Research Assistant, Hakkari University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Sociology of Religion, Turkey. E-mail: demirdagfatih06@gmail.com

³ Assistant Prof. Dr., Hacı Bayram Veli University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Sociology of Religion, Turkey. E-mail: saydemirs@gmail.com

Introduction

Although gender is an actual fact, there was no notion corresponding to this concept in the literature until 1970s. According to Ann Oakley, who introduced the term to sociology, while the term 'sex' elucidates the biological discrimination between male and female, the term 'gender', on the other hand, makes a reference to unequal division between male and female in societal terms in line with such discrimination (Marshall, 1998: 98).

This process cannot simply be called "socialization", which refers to the fact that the human beings who are born to the world as boys or girls are becoming men and women as a consequence of many things they experienced in the world. On the contrary, this process involves complex relationships in which the person is involved in various forms, and on the one hand it refers to a gender regime at the personal level. This concept also includes the notion that sex features a dimension of subjectivity beyond social characteristics, which is related to social structures and relationships (Sancar et al. 2006: 4)

Unlike biological sex, gender is a concept used to describe the definition of man and woman in social and cultural terms, and the means that the societies distinguish these two genders from each other, and the social roles that societies assign to these two genders. The significance of this notion for the scholars working on feminism has increased after it has been considered as a concept to be used for understanding the power relations between women and men, and to make inequalities questionable (Ecevit, 2011: 4).

While people live their respective roles assigned to them by their statuses based on the norms of gender differences, various practices, epitomes and symbols have emerged that indicate their differences in different societies and during different periods. Such practices, epitomes and symbols appear in the form of veiling used as an indicator of different classes and statuses from all tiers of the society, from the highest to the lowest tier, used during almost all periods.

The concept of covering refers to a socio-cultural phenomenon / practice that involve various meanings. The term veiling is used to designate covering the entire human body in some cases, and covering only the areas which are considered to be intimate in the human body in some cases. There are many examples associated with the forms of veiling that appear during different areas throughout the history with various iconographies within the boundaries of a wide range of cultural geographies. It can be stated that the meaning and function of the act of veiling has been shaped during various periods of history and in different cultures, sometimes based on religious, moral necessity, sometimes ethnological, sociological, anthropological or geographical reasons. Different forms of veiling can sometimes be considered to function as a symbol of social status especially between the women, or sometimes as a form of measure adopted against the situations arising from either geographical conditions or climatic conditions. It is also a known fact that veiling is often used for aesthetic purposes, especially as a decorative or accessory object among women. In this context, it can be stated that the practice of veiling is a socio-cultural phenomenon, which has the function of "differentiation" from anthropological and sociological aspects.

In Turkish, veiling is generally used as a synonym for the veil as used in Arabic (Devellioğlu, 1992: 1310). In Arabic, the term veil is derived from the word "setr", "to cover, to veil", coming from the word stem of "str", which means to cover, to conceal. For example, the word "satara" in Arabic is the infinitive form of the verb "cover up" (Manzûr, 2003: 490). This concept has been translated into Western languages rather as "cape or large shawl".

Mernissi has made an observation that veiling has three different functions and sizes. Accordingly, the visual function of veiling refers to "concealing and hiding oneself from looks", the spatial function refers to highlight discrimination of sex while the moral function refers to the domain which is prohibited, sacred, and private (Göle, 2001: 127-128).

Veiling used to fulfill significant functions within the culture of daily living also in the pre-modern societies, because those who exhibited the behavior of veiling in distinct forms and contents have also fulfilled the requirements of their own social statuses and their roles in relation to the status depending on the type of the actions they have undertaken. As a matter of fact, the conception of veiling further accommodated many different factors within their structure. Desmond Morris, a philosopher who penned works on various aspects of man, has given the title of "Nude Monkey" to one of his work, referring to mankind. Mankind is the only living thing amongst mammals in the world that is born to the world in a naked state, but then gets dressed. Therefore, the history of the dressing is as ancient as the history of the mankind. Adam and Eve, the very first couple who tasted the fruit of the forbidden tree suddenly become naked (Bakara, 35 and A'raf Section of Holy Quran, verses 19-22). They recognized their nakedness as soon as they fall into the trickery of the devil and, at the same time, they felt the sense of pudicity and embarrassment. It is at that moment that the feeling of pudicity has been induced into the relationships between human beings. The situation within the private sphere and social / public sphere has changed ever since. The humanity has invented the dress as soon as the first couple appeared. Dressing has eliminated the sense of embarrassment, and introduced the human beings into the collective life (Ataseven et al., 1991: 30-31).

In the light of the information provided by a wide variety of historical materials such as written texts, tablets, religious inscriptions, ceramics, scenes from the relief paintings and archaeological finds, it is evident that the practice of veiling dates back to the very ancient times. In this context, cult, symbol and iconography often emerges as the concepts referred to frequently in the sense of comprehending of the practice of veiling in ancient societies.

Some Considerations Concerning the Practice of Veiling in the Ancient Cultures

When we look into the laws that regulate the societal life in the major centers of the civilizations located in ancient Mesopotamia, Anatolia or Asia Minor (Near East), it is comprehended that there are some legal arrangements concerning the practice of veiling as stipulated in the provisions that contain different aspects of everyday life, such as the social statutes, rights and responsibilities of women and men, the freemen and the thralls alike. The most explicit examples for such regulations can be achieved from the Sumerian, Assyrian and Babylonian laws. The first inscribed legal provision document known in this context is the Middle Assyrian laws. Articles 40 and 41 of the Middle Assyrian codex contain legal arrangements concerning the practice of veiling:

***“Article 40:** Be it a married women, widowed women or Assyrian women, they will not unveil their heads when going out. The daughters of the men should be veiled either with a shawl or a dress or a gulinu. Their heads should not be unveiled... They will not cover themselves (when in the house), but only when they go out unaccompanied. The thralls going out with their masters should be veiled. The concubines (gadistu) who marry should veil themselves when going out.*

The concubines who are unmarried should have their heads open, and should not veil themselves when going out. The prostitute is not veiled, her head is open. If anyone encounters a veiled prostitute, he should arrest her, should find witnesses, should bring her to the court of palace, should not seize her ornaments, but one who captures her should remove her dress. Then she shall receive fifty beatings, and tar shall be poured from her head.

If a man encounters a veiled prostitute, but lets her go (not captures) and fails to bring her to the court of palace, then such man shall be punished with fifty beatings. Those who report him shall take his dress, pierce his ears, and insert ropes to such holes and tie the ropes to his back. Those men shall act as the forerunner of the king for one month. The female thralls shall not veil themselves; anyone who sees any veiled thrall shall capture her and bring her to the court of palace, cut her ears and who captures her will take her dress.

If a man encounters a veiled thrall, but lets her go (and) if she cannot be detained and brought to the court of palace, then such man shall be punished with fifty beatings after allegations proved, then his ears shall be pierced and ropes shall be inserted to such holes and the ropes shall be tied to his neck. The man who reported him shall take his dress and shall act as the forerunner of the king for one month.

Article 41: *If a man wishes to have his female thrall veiled, then he shall summon five or six of his friends and veil the thrall as witnessed by such men, he shall proclaim that "she is my spouse" and she will become his wife. The female thrall not veiled in front of men is a thrall if her husband does not proclaim that "She is my spouse". If the man dies, if the veiled wife has no children, then the children of the thrall are his seeds and shall receive their share" (Tosun-Yalvaç, 1975: 218-259).*

It is worth noting that the legal text quoted above is a text where the gender discrimination and the social status (married, widowed, single, slave, concubine, prostitute, etc.) that emerged as an extension of the same is identified both elaborately and with quite harsh sanctions.

The act of veiling has adopted a cult form at the ancient civilizations established in the Mesopotamian region, such as the Sumerians. According to the Sumerian belief, the reason for the creation of the human beings is to serve the gods and be present offerings, such as sacrifices, as is the case at the Semites (Küçükbezi, 2011: 90).

Another religious-cultural ambiance in which the social status of the women is assessed in conjunction with the veiling practice is the Indian religious-cultural ambiance. Hinduizm is generally analyzed in three main sections: the classical period, the middle ages period and modern period. Classical Period; In India under the influence of Hinduism and the "caste system", it is observed that harsh and repressive practices that embrace the entire social life are also reflected in the practice of veiling (Ünal, 2004: 17). In this context, it is a known fact that every caste has their peculiar forms and codes for dressing and veiling practices. Furthermore, based on religious and moral justifications, the women in the Indian culture were not allowed to be involved in public life and to recognize others. This is generally associated with the low social status of the women in the Indian society. In the Indian culture, the woman serves her husband as if she is serving the god and is allowed to go out only if she is veiled (Şenel, 2006: 530). It should also be noted that, although there are several sources which suggest that a strict and repressive form of veiling practice was applied in the ancient Indian society, more recent studies further indicate that there is no explicit information that is directly associated with the veiling practices in the Indian culture (Mutahhari, 2004: 9-10).

In the Arabian Peninsula, on the other hand, it is a known fact that the veil was used by the women of the elite families in Mecca before Islam. It is stated that the veil was a symbol of status which indicate the distinction between slaves and free upper class women at that time (Aksoy, 2005: 37).

Furthermore, in pre-Islamic Arabian society, some women would let their headscarves flow at the backs, showing the beautiful and attractive parts of their bodies and their hair braids. They wore jewelry like anklets on their ankles, and they stomp their feet in order get attention when they walked in the street (Bardakoğlu, 2005: 18).

In the Persian society, on the other hand, it can be said that the tradition of veiling was implemented in a rather harsh and oppressive manner. For instance, in the Persian culture, the women in their menstruation period were confined in a separate room based on the Zoroastrian customs and traditions, and their contact with other people was restricted during this period. The presence such and similar other strict practices has been recognized as the primary cause of the emergence of the veiling custom in the Persians (Mutahhari, 2004: 9-10). It is understood that, in the Persian culture, veiling has become functional as a buffer mechanism in the society under the influence of certain constraints that impede participation of the women

into the public life during the daily life practices. However, existence of women who are unveiled is also known during the era of the Persian Empire.

The Jewish tradition and the Christianity also embrace the belief where the women cover their bodies other than their hands, faces and feet.

In verse 47 of the Torah addressing the Jesus, the daughter of Babylon and the daughter of Chaldea were addressed as follows;

“Descend and sit on the dust, virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground without a throne, daughter of the Chaldeans, for no longer shall they call you tender and delicate. Take millstones and grind flour, bare your covered parts, uncover the paths, bare [your] leg, cross rivers. Your nakedness shall be uncovered; yea your shame shall be seen; I will take revenge and I will not entreat any man” (Holy Scripture, 2006: 704).

In the Christian culture, it is understood that women veiled their heads based on the remains from the Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine periods. It is just the form of veiling that change (Ünal, 2004: 63). It is contemplated that the fact that the women cover up their heads using scarfs and cover their faces with veil has become an element of fashion particularly based on the remains from the Hellenistic period between the period of 4th Century B.C. to 1st Century B.C. In the Christian tradition, the strict practice of veiling by the nuns has been maintained at all times, wherein the entire body (including the hands and faces for most of the time) has been covered.

This tradition also existed during the Roman period following the ancient Greek culture. This form of veiling was practiced in two forms; in the first form, the narrow fabric comprised of laminated folds, and sometimes an eyelet was reserved at the center, but, rarely, a brooch was attached there. Sometimes, the veil turned over the himation⁴ running downwards around the head. Its original form is encountered in 4th Century B.C. This novel and decorated headgear was then used by the girls, the women and at Eros figures later in the 3rd Century B.C. The second form, on the other hand, is broader and softer than the first form. It grabs the head more tightly. The difference between these two forms most probably arises from the material used. The first type was made of linen in order to achieve a tight appearance. At the first look, the scarf appears as wrinkled. The second type, on the other hand, is not wrinkled. Most probably, the fabric used was wool. The second type which resembles a roof is also suitable for being covered by the himation. The women used to offer scarfs and dresses made of linen and wool to the goddesses. Whether the scarf has an iconic meaning, or is it sense of fashion at that time has always been an object of interest. It is likely that both cases are true, and that these are only exceptions. Such evidence indicates that the scarf is especially used with cult intentions (Thompson, 1963: 51-52).

In Christianity, the edicts concerning the veiling are not present in Gospels of Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke. However, the veiling of the head is mentioned in chapter 11 of the First Letter sent by Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians (The Holy Bible, Volume II (the New Testament), pp. 177-178);

“1. Be imitators of me, just as I also am of Christ. 2. Now I praise you because you remember me in everything and hold firmly to the traditions, just as I delivered them to you. 3. But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man, and the man is the head of a woman, and God is the head of Christ. 4. Every man who has something on his head while praying or prophesying disgraces his head. 5. But every woman who has her head uncovered while praying or prophesying disgraces her head, for she is one and the same as the woman whose head is shaved. 6. For if a woman does not cover her head, let her also have her hair cut off; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to have her

⁴ A rectangle shaped cloak made of wool or linen worn by women and men at the Ancient Greek society.

hair cut off or her head shaved, let her cover her head. 7. For a man ought not to have his head covered, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. 8. For man does not originate from woman, but woman from man; 9. for indeed man was not created for the woman's sake, but woman for the man's sake. 10. Therefore the woman ought to have a symbol of authority on her head, because of the angels. 11. However, in the Lord, neither is woman independent of man, nor is man independent of woman. 12. For as the woman originates from the man, so also the man has his birth through the woman; and all things originate from God. 13. Judge for yourselves: is it proper for a woman to pray to God with her head uncovered? 14. Does not even nature itself teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a dishonor to him, 15. but if a woman has long hair, it is a glory to her? For her hair is given to her for a covering. 16. But if one is inclined to be contentious, we have no other practice, nor have the churches of God.

The Veiling Practice at the Ancient Anatolian Civilizations

In Anatolia, some examples of women from higher status depicted as veiled as an indicator of both social and religious status have been encountered in the Hittite and Phrygian artifacts. If we are to depict the woman's garment based on the archaeological finds, garment of a Hittite woman consists of two-piece long dress and overcoat. The hood of the overcoat covers the head. At around 2000 B.C., the cylindrical polos (a cylindrical headgear used during the ancient times) that resemble the city walls used in the headgear of the Hittite women replaced the pointed bonnets used before. The forehead and the straight hair of the Hittite women were concealed by the headgear worn by the women. A thick braid that descends down to the waist covering the nape of the neck is apparent underneath the headgear (Picture 1). In general, these depictions of women are described as the Mother goddess "Cybele". We see that the Cybele statue depicted with the children, unearthed from Bayındır Tumulus in Antalya, is also depicted as veiled (Picture 2). The goddess always wears polos combined with a veil or mantle. Polos is not exactly cylindrical in shape. The top portion is wider than the bottom portion and the top portion has edges. Aforementioned top portion then assumes a rather circular form (Bernt-Ersöz, 2006: 51). Majority of the hair is covered with the veil. However, the straight hair extending down to her cheeks are visible. Furthermore, the goddess is depicted with two distinct iconographic types, the Middle and Eastern Phrygia type and the Western Phrygia type. Such distinction relates to how the veil/mantle employed in conjunction with the polos worn by the goddess is used (Bernt-Ersöz, 2006: 53).



Picture 1. Late Hittite Anatolian Phrygian Influence

(<https://ahmetustanindefteri.blogspot.com/search/label/Kibele>), (Erişim Tarihi 28.05.2015).



Picture 2. Cybele, late 8–7th Century B.C. (Işık, 1999: figure 58)

In the written documents, the Hittite women's clothes are explained as separate from the men. In said sources, the primary pieces of the Hittite women's garment are listed as "a hitched up dress, an embroidered tunic, a (overcoat) mantle, a headgear, an underwear, one set of tunic with belt, one set of silver breast ornament". The inscriptions mention of a garment called Tugseknu. This dress accessory carried on the back and also used for covering the head is generally interpreted as a "transparent mantle". Lupanni, on the other hand, is a headgear used by both men and women, and is mentioned especially amongst the ceremonial outfits of the king (Darga, 1976: 85-88). As an example for a ceremonial outfit, it is seen that Puduhepa⁵ is depicted as wearing some sort of priestess outfit that extends down to the ankles at the Fraktin monument⁶ of the Hittites (Picture 3).

⁵ Named after Hapat, the mother goddess deity of the Hittite Pantheon, Puduhepa is the wife of Hattushili the Third, one of the most significant rulers of the Empire Era of the Hittites (Darga, 2011: 155). Also a priestess to Hurri, Puduhepa left deep impressions in the Hittite pantheon. A series of breakthroughs defined as "reforms" by Bryce were undertaken by Puduhepa in endeavors to bring order to the overcrowded Hittite pantheon. The primary method employed by Puduhepa in her efforts to reform the pantheon was to match the gods/goddesses in the Hittite pantheon with their counterparts in the Hurri pantheon. In this way, Arinna, the mother goddess of the Hittite culture, was transformed to Hapat, and the Sky God was transformed to Teshup, and the Hittite pantheon started to be absorbed by the Hurri pantheon in time by way of pairing (Bryce, 2003: 152-153).

⁶ The figures depicted on the Fraktin rock monument located north-east of Kayseri were processed as if the figures are cut from the rocks. Scene I depicts Hattushili and the God Teshup with an altar at the center, and scene II depicts Puduhepa holding a cantharus libating wine in the name of the Goddess Hapat standing in front of her (Çelebi 1988: 24).



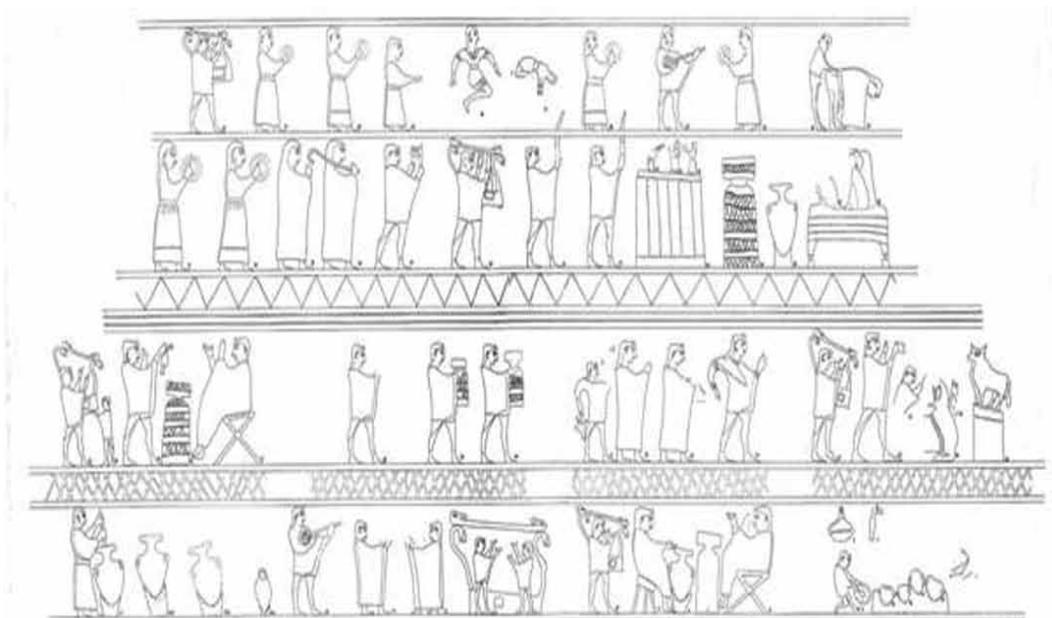
Picture 3. Fraktin Monument (Murat, 2012: Picture 1, 146)

Another artifact associated with this topic is the famous vase dated to 1600 B.C. and unearthed from the cult center of the Hittite state called Hanhana (Inandık Village located 22 km south of Çankırı) (Özgüç, 1988: 24). As can be seen from the reliefs, it is seen that a religious ceremony, the phases of the "sacred marriage"⁷ ritual is depicted on the vase as various phases from the beginning to the end of the ritual. This parade comprising of the figures of the gods, goddesses, priests-priestesses, and attenders to the ceremony offering drinks, playing instruments, and serving pottery and drinks represents a ritual of holy matrimony (Picture 4). It can be seen that the temple where the matrimony ceremony is held is depicted symbolically with the sacrificial bull, the people bringing gifts, libation-drinking scenes in front of the altar, various cult musicians, dancers-acrobats and two veiled women (Özgüç, 1988: 38). The depictions of all scenes on this vase are provided hereunder (Picture 5).

⁷ Means marriage of the gods in the archeological terminology. The Sacred Marriage/*Hieros gamos* usually occurs between the god and goddess represented by the statues, between the priest-king who assumes the role of god and the goddess and between the priestess who assumes the role of goddess and the god. In other words, this ceremony is generally depicted as the matrimony of Zeus and Hera in the Greek Mythology. Zeus and Hera made love before they are married, but then their wedding was celebrated with festivities. The sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) of the greatest deities of the pantheon is a theme frequently iterated both in the legends and the cult. The onset of this matrimony dates back to the Sumerian Mesopotamia. The first traces of the migrations can be seen in 4 Thousand B.C. when the first higher civilizations starts to shape. Although the Goddess preserved its glory but acted as subordinate to the Gods during this era, it is possible to observe the increasing importance of the male. Endeavors are made to associate this change with Goddess Inanna and her beloved son Dumuzi or Tammuz. (Tekçam, 2007: 93; Erhat, 2007: 136; Uhlig, 2007: 83).



Picture 4. İmandık Vase, Sacred Ceremony Parade (Macqueen, 2001: 116)



Picture 5. İmandık Vase, Sacred Ceremony Parade (Özgüç, 1988: Res. 64)

At another artifact unearthed at Ankara Bitik Höyük in the form of fragmented pieces, the vase has been subdivided into five portions with six relief strips, the second from the top in the form of triplets (Özgüç, 1958: 2). The first scene depicted here is the oldest depiction of the sacred matrimony in the history of the world. The groom removes the bridal veil in order to see the bride's face and offers her a cup of drink. The sacred feast depicted on the vase most probably belongs to a noble couple, for instance a prince and a princess. However, in the Hittite religion, the sacred matrimony essentially symbolizes the marriage

between the male Storm God and the mother goddess. According to Ekrem Akurgal, this scene depicts the marriage of the prime male deity of the Hittites and the mother goddess of the Hatti-Hurri. With this marriage, Hatti-Hurri nations have been come under the rule of Hittites. The mother goddess, who was the prime deity before the Hittites, is married, thus abandoning her ruling position to her husband. Here, the female figure wears an abaya, covering all her body. As expressed by Tahsin Özgüç; “The long overcoat in one piece which even covers the ears, only leaving the face and feet of the woman has cream underlining (Picture 6). The tips of both garments are pointy and slightly facing upwards, while her footwear has the same color with the ground, that is red. Extending his right arm forward, the man is removing the headscarf of the woman sitting in front of him with his hand, where the wrist is identified with a notch, and hands her the dish in his left hand” (Özgüç, 1958: 6).

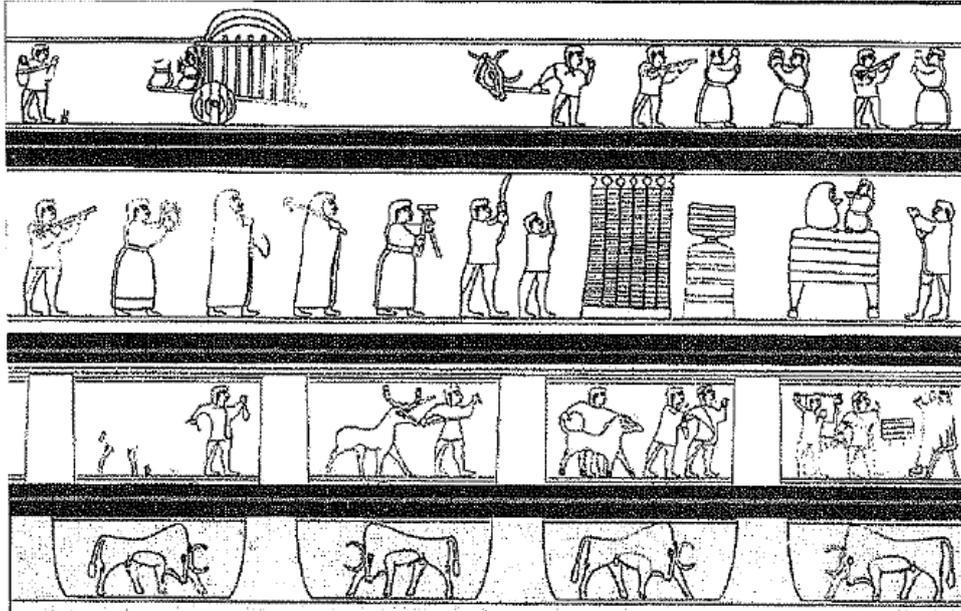
This artifact represents a significant piece in terms of gender, the status of women and the veiling practice, as the Mother Goddess Hatti Huri is abandoning her social status with this matrimony. While abandoning her social status, she is showing her allegiance to her husband up to the degree of transferring the sovereignty of her nation, and the abaya appears as the garment worn by the goddess.



Picture 6. Bitik Vase, The Scene depicting removal of the bridal veil (Akurgal, 2004: Lev 32, 510)

Another artifact is the embossed Hüseyin Dede cult vase from Early Hittite Age, discovered within the borders of Çorum province. Restored in 2002 and currently on display in Çorum museum, this artifact greatly resembles İnandık vase (Yıldırım, 2008: 58). The scene depicted on this vase emphasizes the music and dancing activities that involve the male and female rather than the sacred matrimony (Yıldırım, 2005: 761 et al.). On this artifact, a figure holding lituus⁸ on one hand and standing in front of the musicians wears a long dress and her head is veiled; she is depicted from the profile and holds her hands as if she is praying. In front of this figure stands another figure again with her head veiled, wearing a dress which extends from her waist down to her feet, holding a lituus, a curled cane, on her right shoulder (Picture 7). These figures were argued to be the gods, but then ruled to be priests (Yıldırım, 2008: 64).

⁸ Kalmus or curled cane.



Picture 7. Hüseyin Dede Vase (Yıldırım, 2008; 58)

Similar to the Hittites, the Phrygians also attached special importance to their clothing. The Phrygian women depicted on the Til-Barsip frescoes wear long dresses decorated with horizontal bands and short tunics bell-shaped tassels. We see the Phrygian women on the wall paintings of Gordion, which was rebuilt after its destruction by Cimmerians. The Phrygian women's heads are veiled in these pictures, which are made under the influence of Greek culture, and their hair falls on their foreheads with brown curls. The women wear necklaces around their necks, bracelets on their wrists, and highly decorated earrings on their ears. The women used very ornate hooked needles (fibula) in order to secure their clothes (Uçankuş, 2002: 16). The Phrygian men's clothes, on the other hand, are more evident from the pictures on the plates found in Gordion and Pazarlı. The soldiers depicted on these pictures wear a headgear (Serpuş) known to be used by the Phrygians, and hold long spears in their hands. The Phrygian infantry wore short tunics up to their knees, short shirts with decorated trimmings, and tight trousers down to their knees underneath such tunics (Sevin, 2003: 256).

The Phrygians generally used the depictions of the Mother Goddess Cybele⁹. In such depictions, the dress worn is generally a long loose robe, but a long mantle attached on the headgear and flowing downwards behind the headgear was an essential complementary accessory used with the clothing. Use of such mantle in conjunction with the loose robe incorporates significant complementary details that point out to characteristic features peculiar to the Phrygian culture. The mantle dangling over the polos extends from the back down to the ankle, and then its tips are lifted and put into the belt in such a manner that forms a "crescent" shape, thus presenting the frontal half of the skirt with horizontal and drooping lines, and the other half with straight and vertical pleats. At some occasions, a long dress and a decorated headgear were worn; and a veil dangled downwards from the rear side of the headgear (Birecikli, 2010: 220). In other words, we can say that the mother goddess Cybele is depicted stylistically with various mantles covering her head. The pictures below illustrate an example of this fact at an artifact from 7th Century B.C., which is on exhibition at Louvre Museum, Paris (Picture 8).

⁹ The best indication that demonstrates the fact that the Phrygians are a nation that preserved the traditions of Anatolia is their religion based on the Mother Goddess belief. It is probable that they have adopted the Mother Goddess cult, also known as Kubaba, from Tabal, the most important center in Anatolia, with the name "Ma", which means mother (Çaypınar, 1991: 52-53).



Picture 8. Depiction of Cybele/Kubaba from Kargamiş (Belli, 2001: 33)

Following Cybele figures of the Hittites and the Phrygian, similar stylistic typologies are also seen during the Hellenistic period. Especially during the Greek and Roman periods, in addition to Cybele, Mother Goddess qualities are further vested to other goddesses, such as Artemis. In this context, during the Byzantine era, it is possible to mention that the notion and belief of Mother Goddess sanctified in Anatolia since the Neolithic Age also manifests itself in the belief of Mary (Theodokos Mary), the mother who gave birth to the god, in the Christian religion. Moreover, it is understood that the circular aureole depicted around the head of the Mary, Jesus, and the saints is nothing more than an extension of the aureole depicted around the heads of Hittite Mother Goddess figures discovered in Alacahöyük and Boğazköy, that is to say, Arinna, the sun goddess. We can also mention that the scene depicting Moth Mary holding Jesus in her harms with great compassion is a great resemblance of the scene where Cybele is depicted with the children (Picture 9). In this manner, the Mother Mary had conveyed the last epitome of the notion and belief of Mother Goddess sanctified in Anatolia uninterruptedly for nine thousand years to the modern age (Belli, 2001: 41).



Picture 9. Mary and Jesus, Late 11th Century A.D. (Belli, 2001)

Other Findings on Veiling, and Certain Considerations

Tanagra¹⁰, Aigai¹¹, Pitane¹² and Kermeyan¹³ regions represent the sites where the finds related to veiling practice are discovered abundantly. In the 4th Century B.C., the figurines wearing Tanagra type garments become widespread very rapidly first in Boiotia, and then in Alexandria and South Italy and then in Asia Minor. The precursor figures of Tanagra type have delicate, balanced and classical shape. The best specimens for these figurines are unearthed in the Chatby cemetery in Alexandria. The figurines dressed in Asian style, on the other hand, are from the Tanagra line. In these specimens, the whole body is covered, and the folds of the dress are depicted in compliance with the posture of the figure. In addition, the clothing is better off at the Asian type figurines in terms of meaning and weight (Thompson, 1963: 22-26).

Starting from the 4th Century B.C., covering the hair with mantles or wearing veils became a prevalent form of veiling (Thompson, 1963: 50). In general, Tanagra figurines are female figurines with veiled faces, wearing hats in sitting or standing position, holding fans or mirrors in their hands and wearing dresses that tightly embrace their bodies (Tekçam, 2007: 217). Their intended purpose can be specified as an offering in the context of belief, but they were also used as decorative objects and as toys (Picture 10).

¹⁰ Tanagra is a city in Boiotia region of Greece.

¹¹ The region contemplated to be founded on Gün Mountain located 2 km south of Köselier Village of Central District of Manisa Province (Tül, 1995; 5).

¹² The Ancient Pitane city was founded on Çandarlı peninsula (Cook, 1959-1960: 31). Located in the provincial borders of İzmir province, Dikili District, Çandarlı is on the shores of Aegean Sea, 11 km south of İzmir-Bergama road. The settlement is 90 km to İzmir and 34 km to Bergama.

¹³ It is a village located 40 km to Tekirdağ province and 22 km to Malkara district.



Picture 10. Various Tanagra Figurines (<http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/object-stories/archaeology-of-daily-life/tanagras/terracotta-bride-dancer/>); (<http://belly-dance.org/tanagra.php>), (Erişim Tarihi 28.05.2015).

The figurines discovered in Aigai region, on the other hand, depict the figures with buns; at some specimens, on the other hand, the hair is visible on the forehead (Picture 11).



Picture 11. Veiled heads from Aigai (Manisa Müzesi Envanter, No: 9199/9204 / 2007 A; Louvre Müzesi Env. No./ Kat. No: MYRINA 477 / MYR 685)

Based on the artifacts unearthed, it is possible to indicate that all figurines from Pitane are wearing dresses with only hands, faces and feet exposed. At these figurines, the body lines are indistinguishable except for the breasts (in order to highlight the sex of the figurines). Some specimens wear headscarves, wherein the headscarf droops from the sides, falling onto the shoulders (Picture 12). Furthermore, a straight band is also visible underneath the headscarf at these specimens, and covered depictions were also encountered at some mask¹⁴ finds.¹⁵

¹⁴ The masks are objects worn on faces at the times of festivities and entertainment in ancient Greece and Rome depicting the face of humans, animals or mythological creatures. The first examples of these masks, like the Eastern Mediterranean masks, are considered to be manufactured in eastern Greece. These masks depict large ears, a headscarf that extend behind the ears and droop from both sides of the neck, and a hairband underneath such headscarf, manifesting itself at the front side of the forehead. Their intended purpose was considered to be for hanging at the holy sites as a gift of offering, while some scientists suggested that such masks represents the goddess. For instance, according to archeologist Liepmann, these masks represented the goddesses and the type of mask remained the same although the worshipped goddess varies based on the locality (Liepmann, 1975: 18).

¹⁵The sakkos here might be an archaic bone specimen. It is a simple headgear made of hair in the form of bonnet used for covering the hair in Ancient Greece (Tekçam, 2007: 193).



Picture 12. Pitane Veiled Female Figurines (Cook, 1959)

Another example to this type of finds is the artifacts covered with himation and discovered in Malkara. Thompson dated this figurine that presented characteristics of an Arsinoe II¹⁶ type face to early 2nd Century B.C. (Thompson, 1963: 171-174). Another specimen is the find depicting a round faced figure with closed eyes where both head and the mouth are fully covered with Himation, and where the hair is separated into two pieces and tied up from back (Picture 13). The fact that the figurines made in this form during the period elapsing between 4th Century B.C. and 1st Century B.C. covered their mouth with the mantle was probably an important characteristic (Thompson, 1963: 103).



Picture 13. Covered female heads from Malkara (Thompson, 1963)

¹⁶ Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemaios Soter the First and Berenike the First, King of Thrace at age 17.

Conclusion

A wide variety of tribes, nations or civilizations that have appeared on the stage of history have positioned women in different social statutes in the context of their specific historical, social, economic, geographical, cultural, religious and political conditions. The gender disparity has always been at a social position which is against the favor of the women, sustaining her life based on the options offered and the borders drawn by the authority. Therefore, when we approach the issue in terms of processes for empowering women within the social life and involving them to the public life, we understand that this is possible only through certain rituals and practices that the women should fulfill in the society. The practice of veiling turns into a functional mechanism in anthropologic and sociologic terms right at this point. Veiling has been implemented as an indication of the social status for the women (such as obligation to veil self if you are a goddess, queen or princes, or a married free woman) in many civilizations. When we look into this issue in the context of developing attitudes that conform to the both written and unwritten social norms and religious moral verdicts, it is possible to say that the covered women have relatively higher status and earned esteem in the society throughout the historical process and at ancient Anatolian civilizations. For instance, as indicated in the relevant articles of the Assyrian laws, being covered allowed a certain degree of freedom to women, and ensured a higher status within the social stratification pyramid. It is a known fact that the specimens from the mother goddess cult (Magna Mater, Cybele, Artemis, Hera and Mary cults) that were depicted as nude (undressed) started to be depicted as dressed (covered) in the further stages of the history due to interaction between the eastern and western civilizations. In conclusion, it is possible to say that the practice of veiling implemented in the ancient Anatolian societies has transformed into a cultural code as indicated by the archeological finds discovered in Anatolia, especially with the Mother Goddess (Cybele) iconography.

References

- Aksoy, M. (2005). *Başörtüsü-Türban*, İstanbul: Kitap Yay.
- Akurgal, E. (2004). *Anadolu Uygarlıkları*. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları.
- Ataseven, A., vd. (1991). *İslam'da Kılık Kıyafet ve Örtünme*. İstanbul: İsav Yay.
- Bardakoğlu, A. (2005). "Cahiliye Döneminde Kadın", *Tartışmalı İlmî Toplantılar Dizisi 22, Sosyal Hayatta Kadın*. İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, ss. 14-20.
- Belli, O. (2001). *Anadolu Tanrıçaları*. İstanbul: Promete Yay.
- Bernt-Ersöz, S. (2006). *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines Structure, Function and Cult Practise*, Brill, Leiden.
- Birecikli, F. (2010). "Ana Hatlarıyla Friglerde Din", *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, C. 4, S. 7, ss.215-232.
- Bryce, T. (2003). *Hitit Dünyasında Yaşam ve Toplum*. (Çev: Müfit Günay). Ankara: Dost Kitabevi.
- Cook, J. M. (1959). *Greek Arcaeology in Western Asia Minor*. ArepLond.

- Çaypınar, Z. G. (1991). *Frigler'in Kökeni ve Tarihi*. (Yayınlanmamış YL Tezi), Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Eskiçağ Tarihi Bilim Dalı.
- Çelebi, B. (1988). *Hitit Tasvir Sanatında Altarlar*. (Yayınlanmamış Lisans Tezi). Ankara.
- Darga, M. (1976). *Eski Anadolu'da Kadın*. İstanbul: İÜEF Yay.
- Darga, M. (2011). *Anadolu'da Kadın: On Bin Yıldır Eş, Anne, Tüccar, Kraliçe*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yay.
- Devellioğlu, F. (1992). *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*. Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi.
- Diamond, M. (2002). Sex and Gender are Different: Sexual Identity and Gender Identity are Different, *Clinical Child Psychology & Psychiatry – Special Issue In Press*
- Ecevit, Yıldız vd. (ed.) (2011). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Sosyolojisi*, Anadolu Üniv. Yay. Eskişehir
- Erhat, A. (2007). *Mitoloji Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Göle, N. (2001). *Modern Mahrem*. İstanbul: Metis Yay.
- İbn Manzur (2003). Ebu'l-Fadl Cemaluddîn Muhammed, *Lisânü'l-Arab*, Dâru'l-Hadîs. Kahire.
- Işık, F. (1999). Doğa Ana Kubaba: Tanrıçaların Ege'de Buluşması. İstanbul: Suna ve İnan Kırac Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü
- Kitab-ı Mukaddes* (2006). İstanbul: Kitabı Mukaddes Şirketi.
- Kitab-ı Mukaddes* (1993). (*Tevrat-ı Şerif Yahut Eski Ahit Kitabı*). İstanbul: Yalçın Ofset.
- Kur'an-ı Kerim Meali* (2012). Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları.
- Küçükbezcı, H. G. (2011). "Assur Ticaret Kolonileri Çağında Orta Anadolu'da Dinsel Yapı". *Tarihin Peşinde*. Sayı: 5. ss.1-113.
- Küçük A. & Tümer, Günay (2014) *Dinler Tarihi*, Berikan Yayınları, Ankara.
- Liepmann, U. (1975). *Griechische Terrakotten, Bronzen, Skulpturen*, Bild kataloge des Kestner-Museums. Hannover XII. Hannover.
- Macqueen, J. G. (2009). *Hititler ve Hitit Çağında Anadolu*. (Çev: E. Davutoğlu). Ankara: Arkadaş Yay.
- Murat, L. (2012). "Hititlerde Su Kültü", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Sayı 51. ss. 125-157.
- Mutahhari, M. (2004). *Hicâb (Örtünmenin Felsefesi)*. (Çev: Mücteba Mir). İstanbul: Ağaç Kitabevi Yay.
- Özgüç, T. (1958). "Bitik Vazosu". *Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*. C. XVI. Sayı: 1-2, ss. 1-18.
- Özgüç, T. (1988). *İnandıktepe; Eski Hitit Çağında Önemli bir Kült Merkezi*. Ankara: T.T.K. Basımevi.
- Sevin, V. (2003). "Frigler", *Eski Anadolu ve Trakya (Başlangıcından Pers Egemenliğinin Sonuna Kadar)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. C. 1, ss. 234-281.
- Şenel, A. (2006). *Kemirgenlerden Sürüngenlere İnsanlık Tarihi*. Ankara: İmge Yay.
- Tekçam, T. (2007). *Arkeoloji Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları.

Thompson, B. (1963). *Troy. The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*. Supplementary Monograph III. New Jersey: Princeton University.

Thompson, B. T. (1963). *The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period: Supplementary Monograph III*, Princeton University. New Jersey.

Tosun, M. & Yalvaç, K. (1975). *Sümer, Babil, Asur Kanunları ve Ammi-Aduga Fermanı*. Ankara: Tarih Kurumu Yay.

Tül, Ş. (1995). *Aigai, Aiolis'te Bir Dağ Kenti*. İzmir: Ege Yay.

Uçankuş, H. T. (2002). *Ana Tanrıça Kybele'nin ve Kral Midas'ın Ülkesi Phrygia*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yay.

Uhlig, H. (2007). *Avrupa'nın Anası Anadolu*. (Çev: Yasemin Bayer). İstanbul: Telos Yay.

Ünal, A. (2004). *Türkiye'de Örtünme Anlayışı Üzerine Bir Araştırma (Dinler Tarihi Açısından Bir Yaklaşım)*. (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi). Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.

Yıldırım, T. (2005). "Hüseyin Dede Tepesinde Bulunan Yeni Bir Kült Vazosu." *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri*. Ankara. s.761-779.

Yıldırım, T. (2008). "Hüseyin Dede Vazosu", *Aktüel Arkeoloji*. Sayı: 7. İstanbul.