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ARCHEOLOGICAL TRAVELER: “THE WOLFE EXPEDITION”

Professor John Robert Sitlington Sterrett (1851–1914), a classical scholar and archeologist was born in 1851. He was a PhD student in American School of Classical Archeology in Athens in 1882–1883 and researched inscriptions from Assos and Tralleis. He was also an assistant of professor Pacard and he helped him in driving school. Later Sterrett became a professor at Cornell University from 1901. Mostly he is famous because of his two expeditions to Turkey, first in 1884 and second in 1885 called “The Wolfe Expedition.” These journeys were made in summer time by the auspices of the School of Athens. “The Wolfe Expedition” was created by Sitlington Sterrett with a great help from Miss Catharine Lorillard Wolfe (1828–1887),¹ who gave funds for this expeditions. As a token of gratitude expedition was named in her honor. Professor Sterrett was also interested in ancient geography. “The *Geography of Strabo*” was based in a part upon his unfinished version (1916).

In XIX century many travelers, collectors and finally archeologists made some expeditions to different part of ancient world. At the end of XIX century we may observe growing interest in Asia Minor. At this time were made many scientists expeditions which had the purpose of recognition its riches. There were made Austrian expedition organized and sponsored by earl Karol Lancoroński (1848–1933).² Also after Sterrett’s journey the British and Americans organized many expeditions which ended with the excavations.

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¹ American philanthropist and mainly art collector. Her parents were also philanthropists and after their deaths she continued their activities. Her gifts are present in Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

² Polish earl who’s research interests include the art of history, conservation of monuments and also Mediterranean archeology. See: Janusz A. Ostrowski, “Śladami hrabiego Karola Lanc-

This year marks the 100th anniversary of John Robert Sitlington Sterrett death and well seen would be recall his character and achievements as he took one of the first trials of recognition Turkey's heritage.

He decided to explore those regions of country which were blanks or virtual blanks on the old maps. Once he said that Asia Minor is like a *tabula rasa* not only for archeologist but also for many scientific disciplines. Professor showed us that he wished to be, after William Mitchell Ramsay (1851–1939),³ an archeologist who will by systematic researches throw light on an ancient geography, an ancient history and legislation. In his plans it was obvious that every village should be searched for inscriptions and other remains of antiquity. He possessed information about ruins and inscriptions from Turkish villagers—often they were false or at least full of mistakes. Sterrett gave himself a role—to gather up the scattered facts of history. His aim was clear—to get research of five province: Cappadocia, Lycia, Phrygia, Cilicia and Pamphylia. He decided to visit every village, district by district to collect every Greek, Latin or Hittite inscription that is above the ground. I have to notice that he was interested in things which were above, he never planned any excavations at that time. Professor noticed that the work done hitherto by American archeologists never was completed, there were always things which needed to be finished.

In Sterrett's memories and two developments titled *Leaflets from the Notebook Archeological Traveler in Asia Minor* (1889) and second *A plea for research in Asia Minor and Syria* (1911) we can track how he prepared himself for such big journeys. Sterrett's expeditions were prepared in a very good way. He described everything in the smallest details. He had a good plan and during expeditions he was very close to it. Every point where the road changed its general direction was noted down the time of day and the new direction. Every time when half of an hour passed countryside was noted and all surrounding landscapes were described. In his opinion it was the best way of work to make a regular scientific survey of the whole country. Some of his works were illustrated by photography made by John Henry Haynes (1849–1910)⁴ who was the first American consul in Baghdad.

koronńskiego po Pamfilii i Pizydii,” *Alma Mater* 2008 No. 99: 148-155; Idem, “Karola Lanc-koronńskiego uwagi o muzeach Kanadyjskich i Amerykańskich,” *Folia Historiae Artium*. Seria Nowa 4 (1998): 85-90.

³ Scottish archeologist, he led many important excavations mainly in the area of Middle East. He was known for his expertise in the historic geography and topography of Asia Minor and of its political, social, cultural, and religious history (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895, 1897; *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 1890; *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893; *Impressions of Turkey*, 1897; *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*, 1898; *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, 1906 and many others).

⁴ American photographer, documenting his participation in late-19th century archeological excavations in Anatolia and Iraq, he traveled throughout the Middle East, primarily in Turkey and Syria. Between 1888–1892 he served as U.S. consul in Baghdad.

In Sterrett diary we can find many Turkish positions written by him rather by using phonetic notation as he didn't know Turkish—that is way some of them are difficult or impossible to find. Also some villages during years changed its names what again complicates the situation. On a map attached to the article are pointed places which were found during research and work on "The Wolfe Expedition."

The aim of "The Wolfe Expedition" was to collect mainly Greek inscriptions as it was the principal subject of Sterrett's researches. All copies of inscriptions made by him during his expeditions were published in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

During the expedition professor Sterrett decided to intend the area located to the south and west from Konya. He wanted to explore this region as area between Taurus and Seleucia had been penetrated few years before his expedition. So day by day, as it is written in his notes he described places which had any ancient ruins. The journey started from Lamas (Adanda), ancient Lamos,⁵ then expedition took course to Mara, where they travelled by known trade route. In Mara they visited ruins of small ancient city and found an Aramean inscription. After that they drove to Mut, quite big Turkish town and not so far from that they discovered an inscription and made a copy of it. Later the expedition took course to Karaman (ancient Laranda) and during way visited Lale where houses were carved the in rock. While travelers were going to Karaman they were "hunting for ruins." Many of them as Sterrett wrote became stalls for sheep or at least were annexed as part of houses. On way to Karaman expedition passed a place called Serai where they again saw houses carved in tuff. Sterrett was surprised that nevertheless houses didn't have door were warm and comfortable.

On 1st June "The Wolfe Expedition" reached Ambar Arasü. There was a marble tomb which were explored by Charles William Wilson (1836–1905)⁶ and William Mitchell Ramsay in 1882. Sterrett mentioned in his notes that he wished to research it once more to get more information, but local priest asked him for papers (perhaps concession for excavations) but unfortunately Sterrett didn't have any. After that he limited his researches just to make some copies of Greek inscriptions. By two days Sterrett's expedition got to Karaman. From this town they went to the north west direction to get to Kassaba, where were localized the ruins of ancient mausoleum. The next point was to visit Lostra (Sterrett called it Derbe), place mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus. Professor made there some copies of Greek inscriptions. What interested Sterrett in them were many Isaurian and Lycaonian names of the natives. Expedition during way passed many positions where were probably tracks of ancient villages or at least settlements. Sterrett wrote that most of them should be assigned to Christian times. In his notes appear interesting remarks—he observed Christ monogram noticed

⁵ George Ewart Bean & Terence Bruce Mitford, "Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies* 12 (1962): 207-211; *idem*, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964-1968* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1970), 172-175.

⁶ British military officer and geographer. "Major-General Sir Charles William Wilson, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., F. R. S., etc.," *The Geographical Journal* 26 (December, 1905), No. 6: 682-684.

really often on stones found in Saraidjik, Almassen and Armussen. After expedition came to Tamashalük—Astra measurement of ruins Zeus temple were done. In Küz Ören survived ruins of large ancient village and also some destroyed tombs. Members of journey took copies of Greek inscriptions located on some steles. Before visiting Zengibar Kalesi they stayed in Ulu Pınar (Ulu Pınar) where an inscription on the wall of house was found. Now “The Wolfe Expedition” grab a course to Zengibar Kalesi (Palace Isaura⁷), a very important place on ancient maps. Sterrett noted down place had been found and identified by William John Hamilton (1731–1803)⁸. They spend there a lot of time as it was the area full of ruins, so they made many copies of arches, gateway, walls of city and the stoas. After exciting days in Palace Isaura Sterrett’s expedition reached Orta Kara Viran where they thank to villagers got information about ruins in the cemetery and ancient stones used to build mosque. He found them and copied inscriptions which were carved on them.

Lystra, nowadays called Gökyurt (Kilistra Köyü) place which is mentioned five times in the New Testament. A village was visited a few times by Apostle Paul, along with Barnabas. This place was also researched by “The Wolfe Expedition” and some of Greek inscriptions were copied. The expedition took course on the south and visited Kovak, a place where in the Roman cemetery on double column some inscriptions were found. Sterrett group continue their march to the south looking for Isaura Nova. He wrote that old Isaura was found by William John Hamilton 50 years before him and till he didn’t reach those land’s though that old and new Isaura were the same city under two different names. Later this fact was checked by Austrian Imperial Academy of Science.

The expedition also reached places connected with the Hittite civilization, Sterrett visited Fassılar where a rock with Hittite inscription was found. Professor described it with details and monument was also measured. Moreover professor in *A plea for research in Asia Minor and Syria* mentioned about the Hittites sites by saying that they are all over the Asia Minor and they must be excavated in the future. Their names are Ivriz and Eflatun Pınar. This Hittite antique was as well described by Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911)⁹ during different expedition more or less at the same time, to Pamphylia and Pisidia made by Karol Lanckoroński in 1884.¹⁰ The aim of

⁷ William John Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* (London: John Murray, 1842); Julius Jüthner [et al.], *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Expedition nach Kleinasien [...]* (Prag: Verlag der Gesellschaft, 1903); Heinrich Swoboda [et al.], *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Prag: R.M. Rohrer, 1935); David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950); Frederick E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971).

⁸ Scottish diplomat, antiquarian, archeologist and also volcanologist. Brian Fothergill, *Sir William Hamilton, envoy extraordinary* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969).

⁹ Jagiellonian University professor, art historian and museum expert restorer.

¹⁰ *Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* [Towns of Pamphylia and Pisidia]. Unter Mitwirkung von G. Niemann und E. Petersen, herausgegeben von Karl Graf Lanckoroński, T. I, *Pamphylien*, T. II, *Pisidien* (Wien: F. Tempsky, 1890–1892). During at that time started to work at

this journey was to research Hellenic and Roman ruins in the south part of Asia Minor and to recognize topography of this area. As a result of this great prepared venture was publication *Towns of Pamphylia and Pisidia* (Śliwa 2013, 433). Marian Sokołowski was a Polish art historian. In 1884 he was a member of Karol Lanckoroński's expedition. Sokołowski described Hittite inscription which he had found near Beyşehir Lake: "The monument, or rather its remains has rectangular form rather wider than higher. Clean, quite shallow water of pond are visible at the bottom. High is about 7 meters [...] It is directed to the north, created by 14 blocks in a color of bright brown, unequal size, but well-hewn and fitted. Each block is decorated with bas-relief. On the main block, much bigger than the rest is well seen motive of winged sun disc. Two stone blocks form a kind of entablature two huge pillars, vertical and monolithic giants with the idea of male with narrow decks, who seem to draw straight arms to sustain the burden. [...] Bas-reliefs of the monument are very convex, but destroyed, which sometimes causes difficulties in distinguishing details" (after Kubala 1998, 95–97). He copied it and later it was published. He was also interested in another Hittite monument which were blocks of stones covered by reliefs in Eflaun Pınar. Monument was known since 1835 because of William Hamilton, but Sokołowski in correspondence with Georges Perrot (1832–1914)¹¹ described it with every detail. He had also measured antique and made some drawings which later helped a lot in researching this Hittite monument. Sterrett had also described this monument and admitted about necessary excavations in this place.

Near Fassılar is situated a village called Tchaush and Starrett had an occasion there to buy a round seal. In his opinion it was undoubted antiquity—it shows "figure of man with an ox's head and shoes with turned-up toes. Around about this figure are various symbols unknown to me." Sterrett suggested that the description on the stele from Fassılar and the seal were connected and are for sure made of Hittite or Cappadocian art. In his opinion Fassılar is one of the prehistoric cities in this area, which later was occupied by Greeks as here were also found some Greek inscriptions. From Fassılar Sterrett's group drove south to place called Derekieui (Dereköy). Some Greek inscriptions were discovered on houses but also there were localized ruins of a church. Probably it was destroyed by those who were digging and looking for a treasure. Close to Derekieui village, on the top named Kestel Dagħ Sterrett found a walled town or rather a fortress, in his opinion belonging to the Greco-Roman period. There were still seen walls standing only on intervals and track of cyclopean

release Polish version: *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydyi*, t. I, *Pamfilia*, trans. M. Sokołowski (Kraków: Gebethner i Spółka, 1890), t. II, *Pizydyia*, trans. L. Ćwikliński and P. Bieńkowski (Kraków: Gebethner i Spółka, 1896), and French version: *Les villes de Pamphylie et Pisidie*, trans. M. Colardeau, vol. I-II (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1890-1893). In 1970 German version was reprinted, and in 2005 in Istanbul book had been translated into Turkish.

¹¹ French art historian, archeologist who conducted a lot of excavations in the different part of ancient world.

work. After coping Greek inscriptions “The Wolfe Expedition” went the north to Seidi Sehir (Seydişehir) the way stayed in Kara Bulak (Karabulak) where in the cemetery copied some Greek inscriptions. Before expedition reached Seidi Sehir (Seydişehir) stayed in Aktchelar (Akçalar) a settlement with an ancient sarcophagus with some inscriptions on it. About three hours to the north east from Seidi Sehir (Seydişehir) lays a village named Kovak. There the expedition found inscription on double column. From this place journey headed to Yunuslarköyü, an ancient town where mainly Christian remains survived, but as Sterrett noticed some stones have pagan inscriptions. Going south “The Wolfe Expedition” encountered Baidir (Bayındır Köyü) where a local mosque was built mainly of ancient stones. Going to the south Sterrett interested in a place called Armutlu Köyü, where perhaps an ancient theater was localized. From this small village expedition went to Salir—place known because of the ruins and sarcophagus covered by Greek inscriptions. From Salir expedition went to Enevre, a place where was found a theater based on mountains. In Sterrett’s opinion Enevre is a place mentioned by Strabo, as he discovered inscriptions which proved he was right. Site was also destroyed by villagers who took stones to build their houses, but in the ancient times this place had to be magnificent. In Bakhtiarthe expedition documented an inscription made on a Phrygian door. This place was the site of an ancient village and what is important those Phrygian door was prove the southern limit of Phrygian civilization. In Südjüllu were also Greek inscriptions as well found in cemetery, on fountains and on house’s wall. In Missirli (Mısırlı) the inscription was discovered on a large stone, which was used by villagers to crush food on it. Such thing is called *bulghur* in Turkish and it is rather common that such antique stones are used for this kind of activities. The inscriptions from Gundani were localized in the cemetery and are published in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1883. “The Wolfe Expedition” noticed in Saghira lot of inscriptions—many of them covered the columns, walls and house walls. Some of them were verified by W.M. Ramsay in 1886. In a place known as Üyükülüthe expedition discovered Latin and Greek description. Also in this area, near Eyuplar (Aıplar) is localized Tchailak—in the past an ancient town from where in Sterrett opinion big stones were brought and carried to Kur Sai and Eyuplar. Going south “The Wolfe Expedition” met an ancient village, placed in the mountain slope, called Tokhmadjik (perhaps today’s Tokmacık). Directed by way to Eghedir (Eğirdir) Sterrett’s group stayed in Yakka (Yaka), where ancient stone with Latin inscription was used to construct a fountain. Still taking the south curse the expedition visited Baghlu (perhaps today’s Bağılı) where documented also ancient stone with Greek inscription built-in fountain. Road went still the south to the Turkish village called Aivalü (Ayvalıpınar) and later Sterrett took road leading to Kara Baulo¹² (Adana). This is an interesting place not

¹² Niccolò Maggiore, *Adana città dell’Asia Minore* (Palermo: Poligrafia Empedocle, 1842); Richard Barnett, “Mopsus,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 83 (1953): 140–43

only for archeologists but also for architects, called in ancient times *the Delphi of Asia Minor*. The expedition stayed here for few days, as this space needed longer considerations. Sterrett found there ruined temples and in his opinion all of them were connected with the cult of the emperors. He also discovered that in those temples reigned worship of Aphrodite and Zeus Serapis. “The Wolfe Expedition” came back to Eghedir and from here passed Kodia Assor, a castle situated on a mountain, which perhaps was a Christian monastery what in Sterrett opinion proved a cross found over a doorway. Near Tchandır was localized a position Yazülü, where on the rock was seen and documented a Greek inscription. After that the direction to Bucak was taken – under this name hides ancient Cremna¹³, one of the ancient Pisidia’s town, which were identified in 1874 (Ostrowski 2008, 153–154). Sterrett was bewitched by the ruins of Cremna and a lot of copies had to be done. Inscriptions were everywhere – on sarcophagus, city walls, on columns, etc. From Cremna the expedition came to Isparta and after rest took course to Tchümür, where three Greek inscriptions were copied. Also from Isparta Sterrett went to the north west and reached Deregümü. There documented inscriptions and looked for the road which was executed under the Constantine the Great. From Deregümü his group went to the south where in a village Ilaus they found the minaret built by using ancient stones with Greek inscription. Then expedition came back to Isparta and after rest headed to a village named Islamkieui (Islamköy) from where went to Baiyat (Bayat) which Sterrett called *Seleucia Sidera* and where two Greek inscriptions were copied. As professor noted close to Baiyat is located an ancient city with acropolis. This space was described by G. Hirschfeld and in *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie* he named ruins *Seleucia Sidera*. The expedition came back to Islamkieui where one Greek inscription was found and from this place Sterrett’s group directed to Barla and later to Aghars. Then they took course to the west and visited Günen (perhaps today’s Gönen). Here they documented a lot of inscriptions located on fountains, walls and some on columns in the cemetery and some on sarcophagus. Another settlement where many inscriptions were discovered was Kütchük Kabadja (Küçükkabaca) localized north from Gönen. There were Greek inscriptions in places easy to foreseen—built-in fountains, walls, columns etc. Close to Kütchük Kabadja is village Ulu Borlu (Uluborlu) where a stone with inscription was found in the pavement in front of the government building. In this area expedition also saw a Greek inscription in the wall of Greek church, of the castle and at the fountain. From Ulu Borlu Sterrett went to the north east to Senir Ghent (Senirkent), here four inscriptions were copied and soon the expedition headed to Yaztü Veran (perhaps today’s Yassören) not so far from Senir Ghent. Professor noted

¹³ Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, 1834; Gustav Hirschfeld, “Bericht über eine Reise in Südwestlichen Kleinasien,” *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, 1878; Karol Lanckoroński [et al.], *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidies*, 1892 (repr. ca. 1965); W. Rüge, H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 1908; M. H. Balance, *The Forum and Basilica at Cremna*, 1958; J. Inan, “Crème Excavation Report,” *Turkish Archeological Journey*, 1970

that he discovered inscriptions “which besides its great historical importance, locates the city Tymandos.” In this space they copied both Greeks and Latin inscriptions. After visiting Yaztū Veran “The Wolfe Expedition” got Pissa where they copied two Greek inscriptions. Later it took direction to the east to Böyük Kabadja (Büyük-kabaca), here they discovered Latin and Greek inscriptions, mainly in the area of the cemetery. Aldijbar is a place lying close to Karib (Garıp) and there Sterrett found several rock-cut tombs and few steles with Greek inscriptions. Expedition came back to Senir Ghent and then directed to the west, passing Uluborlu and got to Ilei (perhaps today’s İleydağı) where they copied two Greek inscriptions and after three hours march Sterrett was in Ketchi Borlu (Keçiborlu), a place with Greek inscriptions found in the cemetery. Soon they went the south to a place named Senir, here on a wall was hidden an inscription. Going west beside Burdur Gölüthe expedition got tollias (Ilyas Köyü), where in the area around the village, mainly in the cemetery a lot of Greek inscriptions were discovered. About six hours from Karakent lies Kütchük Kirli (Küçükırlı). There Sterrett documented a Greek inscription and also there on 30th September professor realized his journey is going to end. The expedition took a train the Ottoman Railway and got direction to Sarakieui (Saraköy).

The aim of the expedition was very difficult but day by day, month by month professor Sterrett got it. In his notes we find how he documented a lot of inscriptions. In his work he was very accurate and with a big sacrifice he achieved his desired goal.

Thanks to the Sterrett’s notes we also know what kind of equipment was needed during his expeditions “scientific instruments, sextants, artificial horizons, chronometers, theodolites, plane-tablets, trocheameters, barometers, field glasses, prismatic and pocket compasses, rifles, revolvers, photographic outfits and supplies for each member of the expeditions tents, camps equipment, to enable each man to work independently and separately and along separate routes, riding-horses, pack ,a line of narrow-gauge railway track and cars to be drawn by mules, implements of various kinds, tents, moveable cottages, culinary equipment...”

Often we can feel Sterrett’s sadness and pity that so many antiquities and stones with inscriptions were crushed. Many believed that stones which bear inscriptions have hidden money or treasures either inside the stone themselves or else, that the inscriptions on the stones tell exactly where money or treasure was hidden. That is why so many of great monuments were destroyed. A significant amount were destroyed, broken into pieces to get the treasure which of course was not found. A great deal of stones were reused by people to build their houses. The Turks and even Christians often used stones, particularly to construct barracks, fountains, churches and mosques. Sterrett’s give an example how a lion from Cheroneia was destroyed while after the war between Greece and Turkey it was found by Greek general who looked for a treasure hidden in it. Professor Schurman wrote to Sterrett “material is rapidly disappearing...” what the best shows the fate of monuments not only in Turkey but all over the world (Sterrett 1911, 140).

After coming back from his expedition he sent many information to other Universities and archeologist from, we can say all over the world. He wanted to continue his work, he wished to make it bigger and needed help from others archeologist and financial support. From his calculations we know that such expedition cost at least 5 000 000 dollars. He got even some testimonials from such famous scientists like William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853–1942)¹⁴, Gaston Maspero (1846–1916)¹⁵, Georges Perrot (1832–1914), Robert Koldewey (1855–1925)¹⁶, David George Hogarth (1862–1927)¹⁷ and many others. His request came even to Poland, where Polish professor Piotr Bieńkowski (1865–1925)¹⁸ gave further this extraordinary offer to polish research centers and universities. There is still preserved a letter wrote by professor Bieńkowski to Polish scientific circle, where he admitted “there is no doubt that a comprehensive and exhaustive study of Asia Minor and Syria is one of the most urgent tasks for today’s science” (Bieńkowski 1912, 54).

Professor Sterrett’s descriptions about daily life in Turkey in the 19th and beginning of 20th century. After studying his memories, nowadays we can find many interesting facts which even now can help us in studies not only archeology but also geography, ethnography. In his notes there are many information about habitants of Turks, about their agriculture and culture. Maybe in the future his masterpiece will be continued.

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¹⁴ British archeologist and Egyptologist.

¹⁵ French Egyptologist, he had created term *Sea People*.

¹⁶ German architect, interested in archeology, famous for his in-depth excavation of the ancient city of Babylon.

¹⁷ English archeologist and diplomat who was associated with the excavation of several important archeological sites.

¹⁸ Polish archeologist, Jagiellonian University professor, in 1897 he had been appointed to chair of classical archeology at Jagiellonian University, which was created especially for him (Akta osobowe w Archiwum UJ, syg. S II 619; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. 2: 1936: 73-74; A. Śródka, *Uczni polscy XIX-XX stulecia*, tom I: A-G, Warszawa 1994: 135-136; L. Piotrowicz, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne* 1925: 2-5; E. Bulanda, *EOS* t. 28, 1925:245-255; R. Gostkowski, *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki PAU*, t. 4, 1930: I-III; M. Ruxerówna, *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 3 (1925-1927): 63-66).

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