THE RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY OF CAPPADOCIAN GLYPHIC IN THE ASSYRIAN
COLONY PERIOD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE HITTITE NEW KINGDOM

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BY

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To my mother Kathryn Julia Johnson (1913 - 1984)

and Ginger C. White (1973 - 1993)

with love, honor, and respect
The consistent use of definite groupings, attitudes and attributes is the very language of all religious art, which would be incomprehensible without it.

Henri Frankfort

*Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the present study is to analyze the themes and motifs on native Anatolian seal impressions representative of the Cappadocian glyptic of the Assyrian Colony period. The analysis will be made from many points of view and on many levels. The local glyptic will be studied in the context of other glyptic styles, such as Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, Middle Assyrian, and Mitannian. Precise identification of objects utilized on the local Anatolian glyptic will be attempted, using textual evidence and giving archeological parallels for pottery types, etc. The general character of the deities represented on the local glyptic will be formulated and comparisons will be made with later written evidence. The composition of the local glyptic is analyzed with regard to the scenes of Presentation, Adoration, etc. An attempt will be made to relate these themes to the worship of Wurusemu, Telipinu, ºLAMA.LÍL, Hatepinu, Sulinkatti, Pirwa, ºGAL.ZU, ºZA.BA ---------, and other gods described in the written texts and shown on the art of the Old Hittite and later periods, especially those to whom performances are given by the "Kanish singers."

1 Wurusemu, Telipinu, Hatepinu, Sulinkatte, ºGAL.ZU, and ºZA.BA --------- are attested in Old Hittite texts. ºLAMA.LÍL is not mentioned. The deity's Hattic or Hittite name underlying the Sumerogram is not definitely known. (A possibility is Habandali found in Old Hittite texts--see Emmanuel Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, Librairie Orientale et Américaine [Paris: Maisonneuve, 1947], 22). For deities in Old Hittite ritual texts see Erich Neu, Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten, Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten, vol. 26. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 337-352. Pirwa is attested in theophorous names in the Colony period--see Emmanuel Laroche, Les noms des Hittites, Etudes Linguistiques, vol. 4 (Paris, Klincksieck, 1966), 288.
The popularity of the deities in the different periods will be studied by counting the number of occurrences, for example in Kültepe level II compared to level Ib. The occurrences of certain deities will be compared with possible historical and religious reconstructions; and the sub-groups of local Anatolian glyptic will be analyzed in order to ascertain whether the divisions help in our understanding of the heterogeneous Anatolian population (Hattian, Indo-European, etc.). The use and modification of deities and themes will be traced from the beginning of the Assyrian Colony period through the Neo-Hittite period.

**Definition of Term Cappadocia**

The term Cappadocia is traced to the Persian name of the satrapy Katpatuka; During the Roman period, Cappadocia referred to a geographical region south of the Black Sea and the Pontic mountains along the southern section of the Cappadox or Delice, a tributary of the Kizil Irmak. Today the term Cappadocia is defined as the area in the valley of the upper Kizil Irmak whose capital is Kayseri or ancient Caesarea Mazaca, and is used by some scholars to refer to the central plateau of Anatolia. As such, it is bounded on the south by the Taurus mountains, on the east by the Anti-Taurus, and on the West more or less by the

---

2 See below in chapter 10 for correlations of stylistic groups with possible usage or connections with ethnic groups.


Kızıl İrmak River. Thus Cappadocia comprises the basin of the Kızıl İrmak and the plain north of the Taurus mountains and includes the region around Tuzgölü or Salt Lake. This geographical area includes sites such as Alaca Höyük, Boğazköy, Alişar, Nerik, Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Niğde, and Fraktin.

Brief Summary of the Relative Chronology of Kültepe

Textual evidence

Level II

Level II contains the first evidence of Assyrian occupation. The textual evidence for establishing the chronology of level II has been gathered by Louis Orlin.⁶

On the basis of eponym-names (limuš) collected from the tablets of level II, it may be concluded that Level II lasted at least sixty-two years, but probably no more than eighty. This agrees well with the fact that no more than three generations of traders are attested at Kanis.

The materials from which the relative chronology of Level II may be determined are as follows:

(a) A seal impression on a Cappadocian tablet mentioning a son of the Old Assyrian King, Ikunum, who is almost certainly Sargon I, though K. Balkan reads the name as AN.LUGAL.(X), or "Ilum-šar-x".

(b) A direct reference to Puzur-Assur (II) called mera’ ruba’im, or "son of the prince," in OIP, 27 58:24. The father is clearly Sarru-ken I.

(c) the so-called "Irisum Inscription," found at Kültepe in 1948, and recording some building activities of Irisum in the Temple of Assur in Assur.

It seems reasonable to assert that the end of Level II inhabitation occurred no later than the end of Puzur-Assur II's reign, but we may feel free to move up its last days into the reign of Sargon I. As for the beginning of the Level, it seems reasonable to agree with Balkan that the first Assyrian inhabitants may have arrived in Anatolia during the last years of the reign of Irisum I.

Level Ib

A tablet reported to have been found in Karum Ib mentions the name of Kaniš Kings Inar and Warsama as well as the name of the Anatolian conqueror, Anitta. A dagger bearing

---

⁶Louis Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, 209-209.
Anitta's name as "prince" was found in the corresponding level on the city-mound.⁷

From a study of the *limu*-names recovered from Ib tablets at Kanis, and from tablets at Alishar Hüyük and Bogazköy-Hattusa, it is possible to date Level Ib to the period of Šamiš-Adad I of Assyrian... and his successor, Išme-Dagan.⁸

Archeological Evidence

Excavated material from Kültepe, both pottery and metal can be compared with excavated material from Syrian sites such as Amuq, Hama, Ugarit, Alalakh and Byblos and, together with certain glyptic styles, used for dating purposes.

*Level II*

Kültepe Level II shows parallels with Amuq L, Ugarit Moyen 2, and Qatna tomb 1.

North Syrian painted ware known from Amuq L, etc. has parallels in pottery found in Kültepe Karum II; some is of Cilician manufacture and Cilician MB II type, while some is a local imitation.⁹ Syrian painted ware is not found in Kültepe (Kaniš) after Level II.¹⁰

---


Pedestalled bowls appear at Kültepe level II.\textsuperscript{11}

In Kültepe Karum II a group of pottery occurs which has north Syrian shapes, but was manufactured in native techniques. These include trefoil-mouthed pitchers with a pointed base in burnished and plain domestic pottery (these can be compared with red lustrous and plain juglets from Ras Shamra Ugarit Moyen 2.)\textsuperscript{12} The Ras Shamra red lustrous example very closely resembles in form the trefoil mouth pitcher kt e/k 74 illustrated by Emre.\textsuperscript{13} Variants at Kültepe include a pitcher with a quatrefoil rim;\textsuperscript{14} a pitcher with a ring base and a spout which pours over the handle. The latter is stated by Özgüç to correspond to pitchers in a different technique from Ras Shamra.\textsuperscript{15}

Tripod footed jars which Özgüç says were brought by the Assyrian merchants have been compared to vessels from Tell-Jidle.\textsuperscript{16} An example of a teapot with a fixed lid, now in the Kayseri Museum (attributed to level II), is said to be an imitation of the type found at Til-


\textsuperscript{13}Emre, "The Pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period," fig. 10, kt e/k 74.


\textsuperscript{15}ÖZgüç, \textit{Ausgrabungen in Kültepe, 1948}, 174; see Fischer, \textit{Die Hethitische Keramik von Bogazköy}, fig. 7, no. 4, p. 49--a pitcher from level IB with parallels cited from Troy.

Barsib.17 A two-handled jar painted in a checkerboard design is also mentioned by Emre as being an imitation of north Syrian pottery. A large pitcher type with a ring neck and base present in level II continues into Level Ib with a "signe royal" impressed on it. This pitcher has a kidney-shaped handle on the shoulder.18

Represented from the pottery of tomb LVII of Ugarit Moyen 2 in Ras Shamra is a large jug with a beak spout very similar to those of Kültepe level II.19

Metal objects found in Karum II are of only minimal aid in assigning relative chronologies. A duck-bill axehead was found in a cist-grave which can be compared to that type of axehead found, for example, at the Temple of Obelisks at Byblos.20 A spearhead parallels a type found in tomb 1 at Qatna.21

Alisar levels 11 Tb, and Bogazköy levels 4, Vb,c, as well as part of IVd correspond to Kültepe Karum II.

Level Ic

Level Ib at Kültepe Karum (dated by textual evidence to ca. 1813-1741 during the reigns of Samsi-Adad I and Isme-Dagan I) is separated from Level II by Level Ic; a one and a half

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17Emre, "The Pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period," fig. 11, kt/m/k 56; Özgüç, Kültepe-Kanış: New Researches, p. 104.

18Ibid., fig. 10 kt m/k 202, and p. 91; fig. 12 ky m/k 151, kt kk 140.


20Özgüç, Kültepe-Kanış: New Researches, p. 110, fig. 64, and pl. XLIX, 1.

21Ibid., fig. 67, pl. XLIX, 8.
meter thick burned stratum. Various scholars estimate a period of twenty, 22 thirty, 23 forty to fifty, 24 and eighty 25 years for a hiatus of occupation between Kültepe levels II and Ib. A short gap seem likely.

The evidence for a gap in occupation is as follows: the remains of Level Ib show that this phase of Assyrian inhabitation was as flourishing as Level II, but buildings were oriented in a different way from those in the previous stratum. 26 Recent reports show that the karum, as well as the citadel-mound, were well during the Ib period. Compared with Level II, the pottery of Ib shows great differences in many respects. New kinds of slip-techniques appear; painted pottery, in color and motif, is also quite different from painted pottery from Level II. Many forms came down from the Level II period without undergoing any changes, but a number of new forms appear for the first time in Level Ib. In 1955, K. Balkan outlined the chief characteristics which distinguished level Ib tablets from those of Level II:

1. Beginning of the omission of the rigid mimation rules of the Old Assyrian dialect.
2. The appearance of new ways of expression.
3. The appearance of new forms of contracts.
4. The absence of any trace of import-ware.
5. The non-occurrence of limu-names of the period in Level II. 27


26Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, appendix b, p. 211.

Further evidence of a gap in occupation exists in that rich objects were found intact in the ruins of Level II—it has been thought that the Assyrians who inhabited the karum during the subsequent period of Level Ib were unfamiliar with the circumstances of the catastrophe which engulfed that settlement, perhaps not of the same generation. As was noted above, the buildings of Level Ib were oriented in a different way from those of level II—the foundations of buildings in Ib appear to have been laid atop the destruction stratum of Ic, and nowhere penetrate it.28

Level Ib

Excavated material from Kültepe Karum Ib shows parallels with Syrian material of the Middle Bronze II B period, represented partly by Ras Shamra Ugarit Moyen 2 and 3, tomb XIV at Ruweise, and Chagar Bazar. In Alishar levels 10 Tc and in Bogazköy city mound 4 and Büyükkale IV d correspond to the period of Karum Kültepe level Ib.

Syrian Parallels

In the MB IIB period of Syria, Shamshi-Adad I (1813-1781 B.C.) reestablished commercial activity at Kültepe, Bogazköy, and Alishar, and strengthened relations with Qatna through the marriage of his son Iasmakh-Adad, the viceroy of Mari to the daughter of Qatna's ruler, Ishki-Adad.29

Burnished, red-slipped "Schnabelkannen" found in Kültepe Ib, and Alishar can be


compared to the pitcher from Rash Shamra Ugarit Moyen 2. The Alishar, Ras Shamra examples have protuberances or bosses; the Kültepe examples have decoration in the form of thin grooves just below or above the handle. A fragment of a "Schnabelkanne" found at Ras Shamra has a long neck, pronounced beak spout and sharp carination and compares to the type found in Kültepe Ib and Bogazköy 4.

As a general rule the "Syrianized" group of vessels of level Ib are quite different form those of Level II. Small jars with basket handles are found in Tarsus, Kültepe Ib and MB II B tomb XIV at Ruweise. The small trefoil mouthed pitchers are quite different from those in Level II which had pointed bases. Examples now from Kültepe Ib and Alishar 10 Tb show a globular body with a long or short neck. Those with a short neck compare to an example

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31 Schaeffer, Ugaritica, vol. 2, fig. 103B (left), p. 244 and Fischer, Die hethitische Keramik von Bogazköy, fig. 2, nos. 1, 2, p. 37.

from Ras Shamra in Ugarit Moyen 2.\textsuperscript{33}

A goblet of gray clay from Kültepe Ib compares to other objects found at Ras Shamra and Bogazköy (level 4).\textsuperscript{34} Also from Kültepe Ib comes a small geometrically decorated jar which Emre states is a local imitation of north mesopotamian pottery from Chagar Bazar.\textsuperscript{35}

Vases of Khabur ware were found at Kültepe Ib. The closest examples in form cited by Hrouda come from Assur.\textsuperscript{36} The presence of Khabur ware in Kültepe Ib is a major factor in fixing the relative chronology of that stratum. According to Kemal Balkan the limu-name Adad-bani occurs in the tablets from Alishar (similar to those of Kültepe Ib) and Chagar Bazar.\textsuperscript{37} At Chagar Bazar many of the tablets were resting on potsherds of coarse Khabur ware (painted in red stripes) which had served as trays. "It therefore follows that some of the Khabur ware cannot be dated later than the lifetime of Iasmakh Adad (son of Samsi Adad I)

\textsuperscript{33}Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, pl. XXIV, nos. 100-102; 105-108; Von der Osten, The Alishar Hûykûc Seasons of 1930-32 part 2, fig. 180, and pl. V e 31, c 2735, p. 186; Schaeffer, Ugaritica, vol. 2, fig. 103 right D. See Fischer, Die hethitische Keramik von Bogazköy, p. 46, note 152, fig. 6, no. 10, 11 with references to Troy in EB.


\textsuperscript{36}B. Hrouda, Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien, Istanbuler Forschungen, vol. 19, (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1957), Pl. 13 nos. 3 and 4 with references to Tahsin Özgüç, "Bericht über die Grabungen von 1950 in Kültepe ausgeführt in Auftrage," Türk Tarih Kurumu Bellenten, no. 65 (1953): fig. 25 and 26, p. 115. See also Hrouda Die bemalte Keramik, p. 31 pl. 7 no. 6 from Assur tomb 9.

\textsuperscript{37}Balkan, Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Karum Kaniš, 43.
who, from the tablets appears to have been governor of the district.\textsuperscript{38}

The metal work of Kültepe Ib again provides some chronological links. Copper pins with decorated or "fluted" shanks occur there and in the "Tresor du Liban" dated by the pectoral of Amenemhet III (1842-1797 B.C.). They are also known from Middle Ugarit II levels at Ras Shamra.\textsuperscript{39} A flanged axe with ribbed handle was found at Chagar Bazar in a grave of Level L which parallels exactly an axe found in Level Ib of Kültepe.\textsuperscript{40}

Glyptic Evidence for Relative Chronology

From the analysis of Old Babylonian style cylinder seal impressions found in Kültepe level Ib, that period can be said to end somewhere within the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon, since the style of Old Babylonian seals present in the reigns of Ammiditan, Ammisadaqa, and Samsuditana was not found in Kültepe level Ib. The span of level Ib is approximately 70 years.

The Old Syrian style of glyptic, which includes Frankfort's First Syrian Group found in Kültepe Karum level Ib, is known at other sites. The so-called second Syrian group postdates Samsu-Iluna. This stylistic group is not found in Level Ib at Kültepe, but is typical of Alalakh level VII.


\textsuperscript{39}Tahsin Özgüç, "Excavations at Kültepe, 1954, Finds on Level Ib," \textit{Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten} 18/71 (1954): fig. 90: 64-72; Schaeffer, \textit{Stratigraphie comparée}, Figs. 78f and fig. 49, 5. Pins of this type were also found at Chagar Bazar. See Özgüç, "Excavations at Kültepe, 1954, Finds on Level Ib," p. 69 and Mallowan, "The Excavations at Chagar Bazar: Second Campaign," p. 133, fig. 12, no. 9.

\textsuperscript{40}M.E.L. Mallowan, \textit{Twenty-Five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery}, 1956, fig. 11, p. 20-21.
Historical Overview

Chronologically this thesis is concerned with the Assyrian Colony period through the Hittite Empire period, and to some extent, the Neo-Hittite states. What follows is a survey of some relevant historical points.

In the Assyrian Colony period, the Assyrian trading settlements were distributed in an area from Assyria to the Plain of Konya in the southwestern part of the Anatolian Plateau. The settlements were termed karum or wabartum. The wabartum was a settlement which had legal and commercial jurisdiction over the Assyrian traders, but which was subordinate at least in importance to the karum.41

The Cappadocian texts attest to eleven colonies of the karum-type and ten of the wabartum-type in Anatolia.42 The Karum Kanes at Kültepe can be described as the chief of the Assyrian colonies and collected taxes from the other settlements for payment to Assur.43 "Its own messengers, the šiprû ša Kârim Kaniš, traveled back and forth between Kanis and individual colonies on official business." "And it was empowered to enter diplomatic negotiations with Anatolian princes."44 Kültepe was at the center of a network of roads that led to other settlements, Karum Wahsusana, to the south (probably modern Nigde), and Karum Burushattum directly southwest of Tuzgölü ("Salt Lake.")45 Karum Burushattum was Hittite Puruskhanda; among the Anatolian Principalities Puruskhanda held a prominent

41 Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, p. 27, no. 12.
44 Ibid., p. 65.
45 Ibid., p. 36 and note 37. Probably to be found in an area defined by the modern towns of Obruk, Konya, Kadinhani, and Cihanbeyli.
position, and its ruler was called a 'Great Prince.' The road going south from Kültepe Kanis passed through Washania (near İncesu), Nenasna (at Akasray), and Ulama. Also south of Kültepe Kanis were Wahsusana and Salatuwar.

In the area north and northwest of Kültepe-kaniš lay karum Hattuš at Bogazköy. Somewhere near Bogazköy and Alishar lay the karum Zalpa and karum Tawinia. An Assyrian colony existed at Alishar but it is unclear what name the site bore during the Cappadocian period.

In the eastern part of the Kızıl İrmak basin lay Durhumit (somewhere between Alishar Hüyük and Sivas). Also in the same general area was a wabartum named Tuhpia.

Other karum and wabartum settlements such as Hahhum, Hurama, Nihria, Ursu, Batna, Hanaknak, Mama, and Samuha, were located in the mountainous region on the routes from Syria to Anatolia.

... entrance of Indo-European elements into Anatolia produced a period of unsettling conditions for a few centuries (ca. 2300-2000B.C.). During this period as a whole the general outlines of conflict between the newcomers and the indigenous Anatolian (Hattian) principalities may at first have resembled that between semi-nomadic groups and urban centers, which easily could have disrupted urban life everywhere, or in specific regions from time to time. Not all the evidence of violence associated with the end of the Early Bronze Age need be attributed to the Indo-Europeans. Many of the destroyed sites may have suffered at the hands of their own traditional city-rivals, who could exploit the generally upsetting conditions to their own advantage. It may even be thought that some may have acted in consort with the more mobile groups of foreigners, who, it must be remembered, might not be so considered a few generations after their appearance in an area. The Old Assyrian tablets of the nineteenth century still show us a basically

47 Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, 38.
48 Ibid., p.37.
49 Ibid. 39-44.
50 Ibid. p. 233.
Hattian system of political centers within which, indeed, at least some Indo-European centers... also existed.\textsuperscript{51}

The rivalries between local principalities did not bring an end to trade with Assur.

The end of the profitable trade with Cappadocia coincided with a major upheaval in Assur. The dynasty of Puzur-Assur I ended with Puzur-Assur II. Assyria was incorporated briefly in the empire of Eshnunna, which grew to its greatest extent under its last rulers, especially a certain Naram-Sin... But this interregnum was destined to be cut short from another quarter, Terqa on the Middle Euphrates.\textsuperscript{52}

The reference to Terqa is to Samsi-Adad (1813-1781). "The last Assyrian caravan to Kanish is attested in letters to Zimri-Lim of Mari" toward the end of the reign of Samsi-Adad I.\textsuperscript{53}

The Cappadocian tablets of Level Ib deal with "different articles than were previously traded."\textsuperscript{54} During the Ib period the Hittites continued their rise to power; centers at Alishar and Hattusha in the north rivaled for power with the previous Anatolian centers of Puruskhanda (Karum Burushattum) and Kanish-Nesa to the south.\textsuperscript{55}

The struggle for power is illustrated by changes at Kültepe. Kültepe has been identified by some scholars with Nesa.\textsuperscript{56} The archeological record of Kültepe fits into the historical reconstruction of the city of Nesa given by Louis Orlin. In that reconstruction, Level II was destroyed by Uhna, king of Zalpuwa/Zalpa resulting in the destruction of layer Ic. During the Karum level of Ic the city of Kanish-Nesa existed as a small and defenceless with no city

\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{52}Hallo and Simpson, \textit{The Ancient Near East: A History}, 96.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, 96.

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, 96.

\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 96.

\textsuperscript{56}Orlin, \textit{Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia}, p. 242, n. 69; and reference to Hans G. Güterbock, "Kaneş und Neşa: Two Forms of one Anatolian Place Name?" \textit{Eretz-Israel} 5 (1958): 46-50; and references to E. Forrer, and Balkan.
city wall. Nesa's king was then a vassal of Zalpuwa. A statue of a goddess, Ḥalmašūt, called "our god" by Anitta was carried off to Zalpuwa.

This deity, goddess of the throne dais, was the personification of the political idea of kingship for the Hittites; and Zalpa and Nesa struggled for power and possession of Ḥalmašūt. If Starke is correct in saying that Ḥalmašūt was conceived by the Hittites, then we would not necessarily expect to find a depiction of that deity on the glyptic of level II. As we shall see later, the pantheon of Kiültepe in the Colony period was a mixture of Luwian and Hattian.

The kings Inar and Waršama of Kanis represent the rulers of Kanis-Nesa of period Ib who were the vassals of Zalpuwa when the city had a diminished political influence. Pithana, ruler of the kingdom of Kussara, attacked the city of Nesa by night, captured its king but treated the population as "mothers (and) fathers" i.e. as elderly people to be respected—and

57 Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, 244-245.


In the 13th century B.C. the Sumerogram ḡ DAG was used to refer to the throne as cult object and may be considered the name of a concrete object while Ḥalmašūt is the personification of an idea. (See Ibid., 113). The throne as a cult object is depicted on Mitannian glyptic dated form 1392 to 1366 B.C. (see Edith Porada, "Standards and Stools on Sealings of Nuzi and other Examples of Mitannian Glyptic Art," chap. in Le temple et le culte, eds. E. van Donzel, Pauline H. E. d'oncel-Voûte, A. A. Kampman, and Machteld J. Mellink, Compte rendu de la vingtième rencontre assyriologique internationale, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historische-Archaeologische Instituut te Istanbul Publications, vol. 37 [Nederlands Historische-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1975]: 170-171 and note 19). The stool or throne is held by heroic figures, bull-men, or griffin-headed demons. The stool or throne is depicted beneath the winged sun-disk; below the throne is often a male figure on one knee. In the 13th century Middle Assyrian glyptic the throne that supports the winged sun-disk is itself unsupported; "after that time the winged disk was no longer represented in such a tangible manner but was shown floating in the sky..." (Ibid., p. 171). Here, then, on the glyptic of the Mitannians, who were Indo-Europeans, is depicted the idea of the throne supporting the winged sun-disk. Possibly on the Mitannian glyptic the winged sun-disk symbolized the king, just as the winged sun-disk in Hittite hieroglyphics means "my sun," a title of the king. (see Emmanuel Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes Hittites, part 1, L'écriture, Paris, Editions due centre national de la recherche scientifique, no. 190 [Paris, 1960]).
did them no harm; nor did he leave a destruction level at the city of Nesa/Kanis. The rulers of level II, overthrown by Uhna of Zalpuwa, are not identified; however the deity after whom the vassal Inar is named would appear to be a non-European, and probably Hattian. The rulers of level II Kültepe-Kanis/Nesa were probably also Hattian.

Anitta, Pithana's successor also ruled in Nesa/Kanis in level Ib, fortifying the city.

The archaeological report of the 1963 excavations reveals apparently that both the Kültepe citadel-mound and the kārum-terrace were walled for the first time during the period of Ib. Also the increase in population inferred by the excavators from the size of the Karum Ib area is compatible with the importance of Neša under Pithana and Anitta.

Anitta fought an alliance "involving most likely the chief vassals of . . . kingdoms within the inner Halys Basin," but "this victory was indecisive in that Anitta did not yet destroy the cities of Hattus or Zalpa." In a second encounter with the alliance of the north-central plateau, Anitta imprisoned the king of Zalpa who was brought to Nesa. Anitta restored the statue of the deity called "our deity." Anitta, according to events described in the Proclamation of Anitta, built a temple for both "our deity" and the weather-god of Heaven who was the god of his dynasty.

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60 Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, 245.

61 Ibid., p. 243.


Starke has shown that the temple to Ḫalmašuit was the palace of Anitta.\textsuperscript{64} Ḫalmašuit did not displace any deity previously in the pantheon or represented on the glyptic. However, the weather-god of Heaven probably already appeared on the glyptic of level II Kültepe under the guise of Adad. On that glyptic he appears with a type of sun-god and the sun-goddess of the Hattian pantheon, identified in this dissertation as Sulinkatte and Wurusemu. In the Anitta text and an Old Hittite ritual for the erection of a new palace,\textsuperscript{65} the deities Ḫalmašuit, and \textit{dUTU} are present.\textsuperscript{66} The \textit{dUTU} of the Old Hittite texts is the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Wurusemu, not the male Iştanus.\textsuperscript{67} Mrs. Bin-Nun has stated that the \textit{dUTU}, or sun-goddess, and the weather-god are very similar in early texts.\textsuperscript{68}

Thus, when Anitta became king of Nesa, a male form of the sun was no longer head of the pantheon there as had been the case on the level II glyptic; and the weather-god of Heaven and the sun-goddess are similar in characteristics. A male sun-god does not appear at the head of the list of deities in treaties until the middle Hittite period and the treaty of Arnuwanda I (ca. 1420 B.C.)\textsuperscript{69} There the sung-god is Iştanus, the Sun-god of Heaven, "almost a replica of the Akkadian Shamash."\textsuperscript{70} On the level II glyptic we shall see that the Akkadian Shamash and the sun-god at the head of the pantheon were two entirely different

\textsuperscript{64}Starke, "Ḫalmašuit im Anitta-Text," 99-100.


\textsuperscript{66}Starke, "Ḫalmašuit im Anitta-Text," 49-50.

\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., pp. 66-67, note 39.


\textsuperscript{69}Gurney, \textit{Some Aspects of Hittite Religion}, 7.

\textsuperscript{70}Ibid., 6.
deities. Therefore, after the accession of Anitta, the level II sun-god Sulinkatte never regains his position as the head of the pantheon.

Anitta, having later conquered Hattusa, destroyed the city and cursed any of his own successors who might rebuild it.\(^71\) When Pithana and Anitta shifted their center of power to Kanis-Nesa it is likely that the government of Kussara continued in local hands. A falling out may have taken place between Anitta and a new power system building up with Kussara as its center. Anitta’s loss of power to another dynasty was witnessed by the "destruction of Kültepe level Ib and the subsequent inauguration of level Ia,"\(^72\) the beginning of the Hittite period. The state of affairs is fairly clear in that the Hittites, who established the Old Kingdom (1740-1400 B.C.), "identified themselves with the city of Nesa and called their language nasili or nesumnili."\(^73\)

The Hattian culture was not obliterated by the Indo-European speaking Hittites.

So pervasive is Hattian influence in the civilization of the Hittite Old Kingdom, that the question has more than once been raised whether the nucleus of the Old Kingdom state was not in fact Hattian rather than Indo-European. The Hittite rulers from Hattusili to Suppiluliuma II with few exceptions bore Hattian throne names... The dynastic titles of the king (Labarna or Tabarna) and queen (Tawananna) are non-Indo-European. It is most likely, although it remains to be proven, that they are Hattic. The principal deities in the state religion until well into the New Kingdom were Hattian deities: a storm-god named Taru; his consort, the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna, named Wursemu; their daughter Mezzulla, the granddaughter Zintuhi; a son of the Storm-god named Telepinu; a warrior-god Wurunkatte; a moon-god Kasku; and a sun-god Estan. All the local gods of the Hattians were properly venerated and their cults maintained. Native priests and priestesses presided over the cults, and the spoken language of the festivals continued to be Hattic... The Hattian cultural legacy seems to have consisted chiefly of the religious (i.e. cult and

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\(^{72}\) Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, 245.

mythology) and the artistic.\textsuperscript{74}

The one deity whose name is genuinely Hittite, the god Shiushmish (literally 'their god'), is of secondary importance; he appears as the local god of the conquered city of Nesha, the very home of the \textit{nasili} language, and it is only after his conquest of Nesha that Anitta acknowledges allegiance to him.\textsuperscript{75}

Around 1650 B.C. the "Hittites" became "men of Hatti" after they moved their capital to Bogazköy-Hattusa (level 3 city, and IVc Büyükkale). The Old Kingdom of the Hittites lasted until about 1400. The New Kingdom was ushered into Bogazköy with level 2 of the lower city and level IVb of Büyükkale. The New Kingdom (ca. 1400-1190 B.C.) was quite different in character from the Old Kingdom. Gurney says:

> It is a well-established fact that the New Empire shows many significant changes in the character of the monarch. The peculiar democratic (or oligarchic) institutions of the Old Kingdom are no longer found; the authority of the king appears to be absolute, conforming to a more oriental pattern. Above all, it has now been demonstrated that the dynasty exhibits strongly Hurrian characteristics. The gods of the (royal) house appear in a Hurrian context and with a Hurrian singer. The \textit{interpretatio hurritica} of the Anatolian pantheon so strikingly and uniquely embodied in the sculptures of Yazilikaya and the proliferation of the Hurrian cults under the later kings can be attributed to the same cause. . . These features seem rather to point to a Hurrian origin for the dynasty itself.\textsuperscript{76}

After the fall of the Hittites in 1190 B.C., the "Neo-Hittite" states in the eastern and southern provinces survived until ca. 709 B.C. "It would appear that part of its (Kizzuwatna) population, together with refugees who had left Hattusas and the central provinces after the invasion of 1190 B.C., formed the nucleus of the population of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms."\textsuperscript{77}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{74}Hoffner, "Hittites and Hurrians," 197-198.}


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{76}Gurney, "Anatolia c. 1600-1380 B.C.," 18-19.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{77}Maurice Vierya, \textit{Hittite Art 2300 - 750 B.C.} (London: Tiranti, 1955), 9.}
The Neo-Hittites left numerous monuments, reliefs, steles, and rock carvings.

**Evidence for the Identification of Deities**

Textual Evidence

Textual evidence will be brought to bear upon the identification of the deities illustrated on the seal impressions. For example, a comparison can be made between the elements and scenes from the local Cappadocian glyptic and the attributes assigned to deities in inventory texts and festival texts.

Early Hattian deities are known from Kültepe documents. The names of deities Anna, Higisha, Kubabat, Parka, Nippas occur in connection with worshippers, priests and theophorous names.\(^{78}\) Other deity’s names occur in the onomastic of the pre-Hittite Assyrian colonies. They include Pirwa, an equestrian form of Ishtar, Ilali, Tarwaw, and Assiyat.\(^ {79}\)

In the earliest Old Hittite texts such as the Proclamation of Anitta, a saga about the first passage through the Taurus, and a ritual for the erection of a palace, there are references to Hattian deities: Ýalašsuit, the goddess of the throne dais; Inara, goddess of Hattusa; Telipinu.\(^ {80}\) Other Hattian deities mentioned in the rituals of the Old Kingdom are 1) Wurunkatte, the War-god; 2) Tasimmet, the Weather-god’s concubine; 3) and in an Underworld context, Lelwani (a god here, not a goddess as later); 4) Istustaya and Papaya, the goddesses who spin the threads of fate; 5) Kait, the grain goddess; 6) Hasammeli, the smith; Zilipuri; Hapantalli, the Sun-god’s shepherd; 7) Kasku, the Moon-god; 8) and the

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\(^{80}\) Ibid., 8, 9, 11.
goddess Kattahzipuri. 81

The Sun-goddess of Arinna makes her first textual appearance in the annals of Hattusili I (ca. 1650-1620). 82

"Hattian myths, which occasionally served as cult legends for particular festivals to be celebrated by the Hittite royalty, were committed to writing early in the Old Kingdom."83

The texts of the Hittite empire period mention that singers from Kanish sing in honor of deities like Ilalia, Halki, Asshiyat, Pirwa, Ishput, Innara, Tarava, and perhaps Shivat.84 Also from the Hittite empire period we have the Bildbeschreibung texts or descriptions of cult statues.

The cult inventory texts, some of which date to Tudhaliya IV, 85 list and frequently describe images, symbols, tables, stands, and offering materials and other components of the cult of a town. The festival texts of the empire period allude to such particulars also, in the description of the festival "at such places in that description where said items are instrumental to and necessary for the execution of some phase of the festival described."86 The cult inventory texts mention such deities as the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god of Zippalanda, 87 Innara, 88 Sun-god of heaven, 89 Pirwa, 90 the Sun-goddess, 91 the Sun-
goddess of Arinna, and Telipinu.

Nerik was an ancient Hattian center and

the newly reconstructed rituals and myths of Nerik are concerned with Hattian deities. Many even contain passages in Hattic with Hittite translation. It is not always easy to distinguish these late texts from those of the Old Kingdom with their predominantly Hattian colouring.

Further evidence that these texts may be relevant to the Assyrian colony period of Anatolian religion and the cultic practices revolving around the Hattic deities may be found in the religious continuity that existed in Anatolia from the seventh millennium to the introduction of Christianity.

Indeed, there is... continuity between the shapeless statuettes of a masculine divinity standing on a bull, like the ones found at Çatal Hüyük on level VI (ca. 6000 B.C.), the representations of the storm god from the Hittite period and the statues of Jupiter Dolichenus, worshipped by the soldiers of the Roman legions;... between the goddess with leopards from Çatal Hüyük, the Hittite goddess Hebat, and the Cybele of the classical period.

As Mircea Eliade says, "in the Hittite pantheon, divinities of Sumero-Akkadian stock stood side by side with Anatolian and Hurrian divinities.... The Indo-European heritage proves to

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92Ibid., 113.
93Ibid., 97.
94Ibid., 97.
95Ibid., 113.
96Ibid., 173.
97Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 19.
be the least significant."

Iconographic Evidence for the Identification of Deities

The seal engravers of the local Anatolian glyptic chose to equate local deities with Mesopotamian deities in addition to portraying purely local non-borrowed attributes. They chose the Mesopotamian equivalents with care, and the Mesopotamian attributes and motifs as well, but with judicious changes. Particular motifs might have a Syrian, Mesopotamian, or local origin.

The Mesopotamian religious iconography must start with the Sumerian pantheons with such deities as An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Nanna, Nergal, Enki, and Ninurta. But the pantheons of Mesopotamia underwent their own changes through time, with Akkadian deities such as Adad, Erra, and Ea becoming identified with earlier Sumerian deities.

A review of the Sumerian and Akkadian pantheons is found in the section on the participants of the local seals (Chapter 3).

Problems of Drawing Seal Impressions, and Using previously Published Line-Drawings.

The seal impressions illustrated in this work are line drawings copied directly by photographic processes. Transparencies have been taken of previously published photographs. The transparencies, when projected, allow an image to be traced which accurately depicts the nature of the cylinder seal impressions. In this manner details have been double checked. Thus the loop at the end of the "elixir-vase" on (Plate 6A) can be seen to be in the hand of the worshipper. The long side loops of this vessel make it very different from Old Babylonian examples. Differences in style have been noted within the local Anatolian

group and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Certain rules were employed as to the cut-off point or division line chosen for the cylinder-seal impressions. In general, for single scene impressions the enthroned deity is the division point; see Plates 43A, 41A, and 28A, etc. This rule was modified when all the life-size characters except one or two face in one direction. In that case the figure facing in the opposite direction became the division point. See Plates 25A, 24A, and 54B. The same rule was applied to processions without focus. When a small-size human figure or animal faces a procession, that procession is broken at that point. Other processions were separated at the deity accompanied by a sun-disc and crescent.

Previously published line drawings are difficult to use since in many cases no attention was paid to details such as facial features. Variations within the local Anatolian group cannot be detected by style alone; but must be made on the basis of the iconography established from those seal impressions published in photograph form. Compare the drawings previously published in Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadocienne*, Hrozný and Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, vols. 1 and 2 with new drawings of the same seal from

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98 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 24, 6, and 57.

99 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 29, 27, 66, etc.

100 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 31. Here plate 56B.

101 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 64. Here plate 56A.


photographs in Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, Eisen, *Moore Collection*, etc. See figs. 1-3. A comparison of these pairs of drawings brings out inconsistencies that indicate startling inaccuracies in content, style, and details such as clothing.

Fig. 1 Comparison of Line Drawings. Left: Hrozný, *Inscription Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, vol. 1 39aA and 30aB; Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadoicienne* 91. Right: Author's drawings from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 33, 29, 23--see also plates 1A, 25A, and 27A.

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Fig. 2 Comparison of Line Drawings. Left: Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadocienne* 92; Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, vol. 2, Ka 609A and Ka 662. Right: Author's drawings from Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne* C; Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 13/16; Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* 128. See also plates 29A, 7A, and 4B.
Fig. 3 Comparison of Line Drawings. Left: Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadocienne* 74; Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, vol. 2, Ka 270, Ka 280. Right: Author's drawings from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 58, 14; Kienast, *Die altassyrischen Text des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyerm*, fig. 3 seal 23. See also here plates 51A, 22, and 2A.
CHAPTER II

STYLISTIC GROUPS REPRESENTED WITHIN CAPPADOCIAN GLYPTIC

The term Cappadocian, as explained above in the introduction refers to a geographical area. The terminology of Cappadocian glyptic does not refer to the local Anatolian glyptic alone, but to all styles found on Assyrian trading colony tablets which became known as Cappadocian tablets. The glyptic found on these Cappadocian tablets consists of Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, Old Syrian together with the local Anatolian styles.

In the 1930's E. B. Reilly, a student of B. Landsberger, collected unpublished and published photographs of available Cappadocian seal impressions. Most of the Cappadocian tablets and envelopes from museums and private collections which he used were clandestinely dug from Kültepe before the excavations there began in 1948. Reilly began a stylistic classification of the Cappadocian seal impressions. He classified this material into the style categories of Old Assyrian, Provincial Assyrian connected with Assur, Old Babylonian, and Syro-Anatolian connected with Syria. The seal impressions that could not be assigned to the


2The name Syro-Anatolian is used by Mebrure Tosun in "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving as Expressions of Various Cultural Influences," Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday: April 21, 1965, Assyriological Studies, No. 16
above categories were considered to belong to the local inhabitants, rather than to the Assyrian merchants. By patiently comparing these local sealings with the names of the witnesses on the Cappadocian tablets, Reilly attempted to assign a sealing to its owner. Eventually he designated at least three local Anatolian styles and classified them as Saluwanta, Illi-wedaku, and Rab-hattim after the owner of a seal representative of that style. Although never published, his classification of the local Anatolian groups has been influential and is mirrored in the classification utilized by Nimet Ö zgüç, Edith Porada, and Mebrure Tosun before 1965. In 1965 Nimet Ö zgüç in her book Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe treated the local Anatolian cylinder seals as one group.

In order to facilitate a comparison of the local Anatolian groups with the other styles of contemporary Cappadocian glyptic, and as an aid in ascertaining the feasibility of maintaining subdivisions of the Anatolian group, a synopsis of the Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Syrian groups follows.

Old Assyrian Level II

Seal impressions of the Old Assyrian style formed the most numerous group in Kültepe

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Karum II period. Seals of the Old Assyrian group have a deep angular engraving, and angular lines are used wherever possible. The style is designated Old Assyrian on the following evidence. A few seals showing a similar angular engraving have been found at Assur. But it was mainly comparison with the seal of King Sarrum-kin of Assyria, rolled on documents dispatched from Assur and found in Kanis, that led to the recognition of the Assyrian style.

As long as the material from Assyria proper is so scarce, any distinction between an Assyrian-Assyrian and an Anatolian-Assyrian style is hypothetical.

Although the Old Assyrian style in level II is a fuller style than the deteriorated schematic Old Assyrian of Level Ib, both may be described as follows. The nose of humans often forms a triangle within which a dot represents the eye; or the eye may be represented by a lozenge and a dot. Sometimes the nose makes up the entire face. The hands are formed by a three-pronged fork, or the thumb and fingers form a triangle (as in the situation of the chief god holding a small cup or dish in his right hand.) The arms and shoulders of the seated deity very often are formed by right angles; the arms of the tutelary deity or worshipper delineate a V-shape. The flounced robe of the chief god is represented by vertical hatching. Worshippers are shown, wearing a costume with a fringed end (seen as a line from the left.

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8Özgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," 233.
elbow to the feet), in a supplicant posture—holding the left arm by the waist and the right arm raised.

In the Old Assyrian style of level II tradition, scenes of worship are the basic subject. Here in contrast to the Old Babylonian style, the worshipper is led to the main god (usually seated on a quilted throne) by a god instead of a goddess. In some of the worship scenes four little men are inserted. The bull with conical projection is rendered in an angular and schematic fashion. Other Old Assyrian motifs include the pair of heraldic animals and the bird on a table-altar. Various deities are shown in the Old Assyrian style, notably Adad, on a lion-dragon holding thunderbolts in this left hand, and the nude goddess holding her breasts.9

Level Ib

As distinguished by N. Özgüç, the Old Assyrian style in level Ib includes Old Assyrian style seals connected with level II, the schematic Old Assyrian, and a group which E. Porada termed "Provincial Babylonian."10

The schematic Old Assyrian style of level Ib has stylistic peculiarities such as "horizontal striations on the bodies of the figures and the exaggerated simplification of the faces of human being."11 Also characteristic are the geometric contours given to animal bodies.12

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11Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, p. 48, pl. XXVII 1, 2.

Schematic Old Assyrian is different from the Old Assyrian of level II with innovations in the execution of details and in motifs. Costuming consists of garments with horizontal stripes in addition to the vertically hatched long flounced robe.

Like the schematic Old Assyrian, the "Provincial Babylonian" sub-group of Old Assyrian in level Ib is radically different from the Old Assyrian of level II. The "Provincial Babylonian" sub-group of Old Assyrian employs the engraving style outlined above for Old Assyrian level II, i.e., deep angular lines, the nose of humans forming a triangle and the hands formed by three-pronged forks. However, in this sub-group, many features typical of the Old Babylonian style are employed. The interceding deity is a goddess following the Old Babylonian tradition, and many other deities with Old Babylonian prototypes are employed: Ishtar, Adad on a bull rather than on a lion-dragon, Shamash with saw, and the god with a mace. Old Babylonian subsidiary motifs such as the kneeling human being attacked by a lion or lion-dragon appear.

The costuming in this sub-group differs in some instances from the other groups of Old

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Nakladatelstvi, 1952), nos. 34aA, 38aC.

13 Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib*, p. 47.


15 Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, nos. 849, 844, etc.


20 *Ibid.*, nos. 880, 882, 883, 884. See also the two goats flanking a tree on no. 884.
Assyrian. Like the Old Assyrian of Level II the long flounced robe is depicted with vertical hatching and the pleated skirt, which is open in front and held in place by a girdle, is used.\textsuperscript{21} But the worshipper as well as some deities wears a garment on which two shoulder straps converge at the waist.\textsuperscript{22} The worshipper does not wear the garment with a fringed end.

Old Babylonian subsidiary motifs appear on a frieze or second register below the main or adoration scenes.\textsuperscript{23} Animals are rendered in a row below the scene of worship, a characteristically Old Assyrian motif.\textsuperscript{24}

To sum up, the Provincial Babylonian sub-group differs from the other Old Assyrian groups in the type of deities depicted, some subsidiary motifs, and costuming; but shares a common style of engraving, manner of representing facial features and hands, and the animal frieze with the Old Assyrian style.\textsuperscript{25}

\textit{Old Babylonian}

In general in the Old Babylonian style, in contrast to the Old Assyrian, figures are naturalistically represented and rounded lines are used.\textsuperscript{26} A separation between Neo-

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., no. 868.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., nos. 862, 876, 874.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., no. 884.


\textsuperscript{25}The engraving style of Old Assyrian level II and the "Provincial Babylonian" of Ib is not so deep or angular as the schematic Old Assyrian of level Ib.

\textsuperscript{26}Özgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," 233.
Sumerian and Old Babylonian glyptic is primarily dependent on motives. The Old Babylonian glyptic is characterized by a revival of some Akkadian/Sargonic motives. For example there is the reappearance of deities known from the Akkad period such as Shamash assuming a mounting posture and holding a "saw." Indeed, in scenes where a standing deity is worshipped, that deity is most frequently Shamash. The winged-dragon is revived from the Akkad period, but is dissociated from the weather-god, Adad. The idea of a worshipper presenting a lamb offering to a deity is also a descendent from the Akkadian period. The nude hero with flowing vase, the bull-man, and crossed animals are other motives derived from the Akkadian period. However, Frankfort specifically notes that "crossed lions are shown with their heads seen from above, as was normal in Early Dynastic but not in Sargonid glyptic." The human-headed bull is revived. On the Old Babylonian antithetical contest scene between bull-man and human-headed bull, the human-headed bulls have their bodies back to back and their heads turned to meet each other. In contrast, in the Old Assyrian style discussed above, these human-headed bulls appear in the

27 Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, p. 35.

28 Ibid., p. 39.


30 Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, p. 34.

31 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 148; pl. XXV g, XXVI h. See also Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, no. 463.

32 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 148.

33 Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 347, 348-353.
same position, but much closer together and without the contest motif. 34

The weather-god standing on a bull is a motif which appears for the first time on glyptic in the Old Babylonian period. Previously, there was no connection between the bull and the weather-god. 35 The concept of a weather-god standing on a bull is probably of Anatolian origin. 36

The forked lightning does not occur on Akkadian cylinders, but rather a deity, in a winged-dragon drawn chariot, cracks a whip. The goddess, in accompaniment, can be said to carry rain. 37 However, Boehmer claims that the weather-goddess of the Akkadian period carries lightning and that this lightning is transferred to Adad on the bull in the Old Babylonian period. 38 It is important to note that Adad mounted on a winged-dragon is shown during this period in the Assyrian sphere of influence, whereas Adad on a bull

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34 Ibid., nos. 844, 845.


36 This motif is said by Frankfort and Moortgat to have Syrian origins, however Haddad in "Baal-Hadad" gives substantial evidence why that statement cannot be justified. The association of weather-gods on bulls is however documented on local Anatolian glyptic. See Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pp. 163, 344; Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, p. 34; Haddad, "Baal-Hadad", pp. 75 -77. See also the Syrian Colony Style glyptic on a seal in Henri de Gennouillac, Ceramique Cappadocienne: Inventoriée et décrite avec une introduction, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales série archéologique, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1926), no. C, where there is a weather-god on a bull. See also seal in Julius Lewy, Tabletes Cappadocienne, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales, Textes Cuneiformes, vol. 21, 3d series, 3d part (Paris: 1935-37): no. 12, 2. This collection of seals hereafter referred to as Tabletes Cappadocienne. See also Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, nos. 695, 691; and Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, vol. 1, no. 30 a A.

37 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 125.

becomes the norm in the Babylonian sphere of influence.  

Ea's goatfish seen on a seal of the Third Dynasty of Ur continues to be represented in the Old Babylonian period. Ea is rarely represented; but as Frankfort mentions, Adad was considered a fertility god and appears once mounted on a bull holding a vase of flowing water. The goat or gazelle is associated with Amurru.

Filling motives play an important role in Old Babylonian glyptic. Among these are monkeys, masks, and the "scales,"

Old Babylonian glyptic can be arranged into four chronological groups: seals that continue the glyptic tradition of Ur III and that were used during the early part of level II of Kanish Karum; Old Babylonian seals dated to the reign of Sin-muballit found in the Kanish Karum Level II; Old Babylonian seals dated to the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-Iluna found in level Ib of the Kanish Karum; and Old Babylonian seals in the drilled technique used during the reigns of AmiDitana through Samsu-Ditana (not found in the Karum Kanish).

**Syrian Groups**

Before the excavations of Alalakh and Küleptepe were published, the lack of stratified examples of Syrian glyptic caused its analysis to be based on intrinsic iconographic and stylistic evidence. Frankfort used the extent of Babylonian influence visible on the Syrian cylinder seals to differentiate two consecutive groups: 1) the first Syrian group (dated from the reign of Hammurabi to the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon), and 2) the second Syrian

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40Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 126, 164.


42Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib*, p. 59.
group (dated to the period after the First Dynasty of Babylon and contemporary with the Kassite dynasty through approximately Kurigalzu I).  

Now the abundant and stratified sealings from Kültepe, supplemented by those from Alalakh, provide a firm basis for distinguishing and dating Syrian glyptic. The categories as proposed by N. Özgüç are as follows:

**Syrian Colony Style**

This style dates to the Level II period and consists of the group of seals previously called Syro-Cappadocian and Syro-Anatolian by E. Porada and M. Tosun.

The characteristics of the Syrian Colony style include a linear style of engraving. Motifs include the "Syrian woman" with hair falling to the shoulders; the "naked goddess" depicted in an extremely long-waisted fashion; the woman withdrawing her garments, often with the assistance of bull-men; Shamash as a conqueror god; the herma, or column with one or two

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human heads; costumes such as the "fish-scale" cloak, and headgear with a tassel.\textsuperscript{45}

Old Syrian Style

This style dates to the Karum level Ib period and later. It has been divided by N. Örgüç into three sub-groups.\textsuperscript{46} First, seals with a combination of Babylonian and Syrian traits represent the group classified by Frankfort as First Syrian.\textsuperscript{47} The group is dated to the period of Samsi-Adad and Hammurabi or \textit{ca.} 1813-1750 B.C. The second and later sub-group of seals has predominantly Syrian traits and dates to the period of Samsu-Iluna \textit{ca.} 1749-1712 B.C. A third sub-group of Old Syrian glyptic dates to the period from Samsu-Iluna until the period of the Mitannian seals. This group, called Second Syrian by Frankfort,\textsuperscript{48} was not found at Kültepe. "The absence of this style at Kültepe proves that the Old Syrian seals of Level Ib were imported only until the time of Samsu-Iluna."\textsuperscript{49}

In general the figures on Old Syrian glyptic have lightly curved noses, full cheeks, and a mouth with clearly rendered lips.\textsuperscript{50} Some motifs are continued from the earlier Syrian Colony style. These include the herma,\textsuperscript{51} the Syrian woman,\textsuperscript{52} nude goddess (without a

\textsuperscript{45}Örgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," pp. 234-236; and Örgüç \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{46}Örgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, pp. 53-57.

\textsuperscript{47}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pp. 253, 256.

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Ibid.}, 269.

\textsuperscript{49}Örgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{51}For examples of the Syrian Colony Style see Hrozný, \textit{Inscriptons Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, vol. 1, no. 42a; for an example of Old Syrian style with Babylonian traits of "First Syrian" see Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 918, and Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XLie. For Old Syrian after Samsu-Iluna or "Second Syrian" see Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 956.
nude goddess withdrawing her veil, and possibly the weather-god with a mace. Some motifs disappear: Shamash as conqueror-god, human figures inside bull platforms or shrines, and bull with cone which had been extremely rare.

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53For the Syrian Colony style see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, nos. 1, 7, 9, 8. For Old Syrian style with Old Babylonian traits see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 926, 929. For seals with predominantly Syrian traits see Özgüç, Seal and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. VIII A, XXVI. For Old Syrian after Samsu-Iluna see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nrs. 947, 963, 973, 995.

53For Syrian colony style see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, no. 2 which is the same as Hrozny, Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépe, vol. 1, no. 12aA; see also Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépe, vol. 2, no. Ka 626. For "First Syrian" see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 915, 194; and Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, no. 13. For "Second Syrian" see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 946.

54For Syrian Colony style see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, no. 2 = which is the same as Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépe, vol. 2, no. Ka 281E and Genouillac, Ceramic Cappadocienne, no. C1; see also Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 9 and Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, nos. 690, 692. For "Second Syrian" see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 942, 943. The garment has changed by the end of the Level Ib period (Second Syrian) from its winglike appearance in Syrian Colony style to a semi-circle, or rope like appearance.


56For Syrian Colony style possible weather-god with mace see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, nrs.2, 12. For First Syrian see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 925. For Second Syrian see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 964, 967, 968.

57For Syrian Colony style see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, nos. 7, 8; Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépe, vol. 2, no. Ka 395; and Hrozny, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépe, vol. 1, no. 21aE.

58For Syrian Colony style see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, nos. 7, 8. Notice banquet outside shrine appears in Old Syrian: for "First Syrian" see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 914; for Second Syrian see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 944, 946.
in the Syrian Colony style.\textsuperscript{59} New elements such as the guilloche\textsuperscript{60} and winged griffin\textsuperscript{61} appear. Also, as will be discussed, the garments and other costuming are different in this style.

Old Syrian or "First Syrian" seals with Babylonian traits often show one set of deities in Old Babylonian costume and another in Syrian attire. Subsidiary motifs separated by the guilloche are Syrian.\textsuperscript{62}

The Old Syrian seals of predominantly Syrian traits display different proportions from the earlier Syrian Colony Style; the long hair of the Syrian woman often merges with one arm.\textsuperscript{63} Garments have a fringed hem\textsuperscript{64} rather than the fringed edge that was seen in the preceding group (with Old Babylonian traits).\textsuperscript{65} Headgear changes from the tasseled headdress in some cases to a spiked helmet.\textsuperscript{66}

The seals of the "Second Syrian" group, dated after Samsu-Iluna, display figures with

\textsuperscript{59}For Syrian Colony Style see Hrozný, \textit{Inscriptons Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, vol. 1, no. 21aE.

\textsuperscript{60}For Old Syrian with Babylonian traits see Ö zgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib}, pls. XXIX\textsubscript{2}, XVD, XXII\textsubscript{1}. For seals with predominantly Syrian traits see Ö zgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib}, pl. XXI A.


\textsuperscript{62}Ö zgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, p. 54

\textsuperscript{63}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., pl.VIIIA, XXIX\textsubscript{1}.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., pl. XXIX\textsubscript{2}

cylindrical hats, oval headgear, and garments with thick borders. The winged sun-disc frequently appears with or instead of the disc-and-crescent. The nude woman is shown withdrawing her veil or robe, but bull-men no longer assist her, and she now often stands on a bull as did the totally naked woman of the Syrian Colony style.

Some Syrian cylinder seals remain unclassified. These seals show Cappadocian motifs such as a procession toward an animal, drinking from a hydria type vase, a bull statue on or in an altar type platform, and a bull with q shrine on top. The seals are deeply engraved as is the Old Assyrian group, but the figures are more rounded than those of the Old Assyrian.

The bull statue on or in an altar reminds one of the Syrian Colony style seals, as well as a cylinder seal whose style is difficult to determine. This seal drawn in ICK I as Kültepe 16 a A, shows a bull’s statue on a platform which has a canopy type top. The bull appears

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67 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLII e, f, i; for crescent see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals pl. XLIIg; for both winged disc and crescent and disc see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals pl. XLIIK. The winged disc also appears on "First Syrian," see Porada Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 910.


69 Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 1092.

70 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL f, XLI d, XL k; Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 1092, 1093, 1094.

71 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL k; and Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 1094.

72 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL f from Tell Judeideh.

73 See seals: Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, vol. 1, no. 21aE, 41 a A; and Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, nos. 7, 8, 11, 14. For Old Syrian style see Lewy, Tablettes Cappadocienne, nos. 9, 10.
behind the enthroned deity. The seal may indeed be of the Syrian Colony style since the
worshippers appear in a cut-away garment seen other Syrian colony seals.74

The motif of a shrine on a bull is seen on an Old Syrian cylinder seal with a naked
goddess standing in the shrine.75 The motif of drinking through a tube is found on "first
Syrian" cylinders.76

The caps on the deeply engraved cylinder seals are the same shape as the round caps on
Cappadocian seals, but they are neither striated nor brimmed. E. Porada dates these seals to
the latter part of the Isin-Larsa period on the basis of the "elixir-vase"; a small vessel which
appears in the field near the seated drinker, and the relation to Cappadocian designs.77

Another unclassified "peripheral" Syrian cylinder seal found at Byblos78 displays flat
rather than rounded figures, and shows a table with cone-like objects on tope of it placed in
front of a bull with pyramidal cone standing on a platform. The bull is approached by a

74 See Lewy, Tabletes Cappadocienne, no. 1; and Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal

75 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 238, pl. XL e.

76 See James B. Pritchard, ed. Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures

77 See Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, pp. 152-153. Other seals of this deep
engraving style have been found in Syria. M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos, vol. 1 (Paris,
1937), pl. CXXIV 2337; Ingholt, Rapport preliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles a
Hama en Syrie (Copenhagen, 1940), pl. XIII 6. See also Hans Henning von der Osten,
The Alishar Hiyuk Seasons of 1930-32, part 2, Researches in Anatolia vol. 8, Oriental Institute
3362.

78 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLI m, p. 257, n. 1. Found in Montet jar. For dating of
Montet jar see Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie d'"l'Asie
occidentale" (IIIe et IVe millénaires), Syrie, Palestine, Asie Mineure, Chypre, Perse et Cacase,
Ugarit Moyen 1 (or ca 2100-2000 B.C.). Thus the seals within the jar predate the Assyrian
Colony period of Level II and this would be the first representation of the bull with pyramidal
cone.
Local Anatolian Groups as Assigned by Reilly

What follows are descriptions of the local groups as distinguished by Reilly. In the absence of any publication from him, it has remained for others to assign individual seals to the groups and the conclusions reached by Tosun and Özgüç to do not always agree. However the attributes of the various styles can be obtained from their writings. Therefore a brief description will be given of the local styles as classified by Reilly, and then a discussion follows as to the inconsistencies apparent in the attribution of particular seals to these groups.

Saluwanta Style

The Saluwanta style is characterized by linear engraving rather than full modelling. Clothing is represented by a herringbone pattern—this pattern curves with the body, as in the hips. The eyes are rendered as large ovals in a large triangular nose. In the hands the fingers are individually represented and the thumb is differentiated.79 Mebrure Tosun lists as features of the Saluwanta style the god on a bull, the bull-altar, and processions of deities on animals.80 For examples of the Saluwanta style according to Özgüç and Tosun see Fig 4 and 5 respectively.

Iliwedaku Style

The Iliwedaku style is said to be characterized by the triangular shape formed by the

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79Özgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," 237, 238.

80Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," p. 186. M. Tosun has incorrectly attributed VAT 9238 to the Saluwanta style rather than to the Syrian Colony style. This accounts for her also listing the nude female deity in Syrian style as a motif of the Saluwanta style. The female deity holding her breasts is found on a seal attributed to Saluwanta style by N. Özgüç.
shoulders and waist of the figures. Mebrure Tosun states that straight lines are used whenever possible with schematic face and forklike hands being typical. Tosun also states that the style presents "numerous contrasts between conventionalized and natural forms, with the former in preponderance." For example, unnatural forklike hands and triangular eyes are in evidence, but also rounded naturalistic animal forms. Concerning the subject matter, the Iliwedakü style is said to be dependent on Old Assyrian. This can be see in the illustrations: note the V-element and the costuming of the worshippers on Anatolian Group 14 seen here on fig. 6 and plate 22. M. Tosun lists the motives of the Iliwedakü style as including Adad, Shamash, Ea, astral symbols, cult objects, and the nude female deity. For examples of the Iliwedakü style according to Özgüç and Tosun see Fig. 6 and 7 respectively.

Rab-hattim

This style is characterized by figures with elongated middle bodies, and animals with stripes and hatching. Tosun describes the motives in the Rab-hattim style as the weather-god on a lion or dragon, a chariot with four animals, god with mace and ax on a lion, the bull-altar, standard bearer, and nude female deity. For examples of the Rab-hattim style according to Özgüç and Tosun see Fig. 8 and 9 respectively.

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81 Özgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," 239.
83 Özgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," 237.
85 Özgüç, "1948 und 1949 Siegel und Siegelabdrücke," 240.
Problems with Later Designations of Seals to Reilly Groups

Some problems which occur in the assignments of impressions by various scholars to the Reilly groupings can be seen in the following examples.

Tosun attributes a seal noted as "Oxford Crowfoot," (see on Fig. 5) to the Saluwanta style. This example shows forked hands which are reportedly a characteristic of the Iliwedaku style.

The seal of Anatolian Group 83 (seen here on fig. 4 and plate 10) attributed to the Saluwanta style by N. Özgüç shows square pupils instead of the oval pupils that are characteristic of the Saluwanta style.

The examples attributed by N. Özgüç to the Iliwedaku style and illustrated on Fig. 6 show triangular eyes and forklike hands; but compare the impression of Anatolian Group 24 which Özgüç also placed in the Iliwedaku style (see fig. 6 and plate 43A). The eyes are not triangular, nor the hands completely forklike. The latter does, however, show the V-element present on other examples of the Iliwedaku style. The seal of Anatolian Group 70 (fig. 6 and plate 55A) attributed to the Iliwedaku style by N. Özgüç displays individualized fingers, which is an attribute of the Saluwanta style; nor are the faces schematic, which they should be if the seal is Iliwedaku style. Notice also the similarity of the impression of Kültepe 35 a C (fig. 7 and plate 44A), attributed by Tosun to the Iliwedaku style, to that of "Tosun #12" (fig 5, plate 29B) attributed by the same scholar to the Saluwanta style. Tosun says that "our no 12 is a rare example of the Saluwanta style in which the rendering of the face and hands is suggestive of the Iliwekadu (sic) style."87

Examples attributed to the Rab-hattim style include those where the figures have elongated waists, bands across the waist and wrist, and square shaped eyes with horizontal

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Fig. 4 Saluwanta Style according to N. Özgüç, drawings by this author. Left: Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, nos. 706, 709, 711, 710. Right: Ibid., nos. 705, 703, 704. Bottom center: Ibid., no. 712. (Right d = Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 33).
Fig. 5 Saluwanta Style according to M. Tosun, drawings by this author. Left: Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," nos. 9, 11. Right: Ibid., nos. 12, 10 (no. 10 = Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 77).

pupils as on fig 8, as well as extremely linear examples such as that on fig. 9.

In short, seals which should be Saluwanta have been classified as Iliwedaku, Syrian seals have been classified as Saluwanta, and seals with schematic figures have been classified both as Iliwedaku and Rab-hattim.


89Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 724 (fig. 6).

90Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," No 18. Here Fig. 9.
Fig. 7--Iliwedaku Style according to M. Tosun. Left: Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," nos. 13/14. Right: Ibid., no. 16. Bottom: Ibid., no. 17.

Fig. 8--Rab Hattim Style according to N. Özgüç. Left: Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 720. Right: Ibid., no. 723.
As was mentioned above, Nimet Özgüç did not use the Saluwanta, Iliwedaku, and Rab-hattim designations in her 1965 book, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe.* Perhaps one consideration was the problems outlined above, but she also states, "The basic concern of this study is the group, which in a previous publication we divided into various classes, e.g. Shalvanta and Ilivedaku styles. The combined group is more properly defined as the developed local style." Motives for the Anatolian group will be discussed in detail later. However, for the present we can briefly note that certain elements are shared in common among the so-called Saluwanta, Iliwedaku, and Rab-hattim groups, a few are not.

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92 Özgüç *The Anatolian Group*, p. 47.

93 Cf. also Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 244, 249. We list here motifs given in the descriptions of the Reilly local groups as well as motifs listed by Frankfort.
Table 1. Motifs of Reilly Groupings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motifs</th>
<th>Saluwanta</th>
<th>Iliwedaku</th>
<th>Rab-hattim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bull-altar</td>
<td>pl. 19B</td>
<td>(fig. 6)</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weather-god on bull</td>
<td>(fig. 4 &amp; pl. 67A)</td>
<td>(fig. 6)</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procession of deities on animals</td>
<td>(pl. 40A)</td>
<td>incorrectly attributed (fig. 7) and (fig. 6/pl. 55A)</td>
<td>pl. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adad on lion, dragon</td>
<td>no examples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>(fig. 4)</td>
<td>(figs. 6, 7; and pl. 22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>pl. 13A</td>
<td>(fig. 8, and pl. 47)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nude female holding breasts</td>
<td>(fig. 4 &amp; pl. 5B)</td>
<td>(fig. 7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chariot drawn by 4 horses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fig. 8) &amp; (fig. 9) &amp; pl. 23B, 61A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull-man as standard bearer</td>
<td>(fig. 4 &amp; pl. 39A)</td>
<td>(fig. 8) &amp; (fig. 8) &amp; pl. 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crossed animals</td>
<td>pl. 14B, 13B</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human-head</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(fig. 6, 7 &amp; pl. 22)</td>
<td>pl. 48A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>(fig. 4 &amp; pl. 11A, 73)</td>
<td>(fig. 6 &amp; pl. 43A)</td>
<td>(fig. 8 &amp; pl. 47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull-men contest scene with lion</td>
<td>(fig. 5 &amp; pl. 12A)</td>
<td>(fig. 6 &amp; pl. 46)</td>
<td>pl. 9B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;elixir-vase&quot; or &quot;scales&quot;</td>
<td>(fig. 4 &amp; pl. 4A)</td>
<td>(fig. 6 &amp; pl. 46)</td>
<td>pl. 48A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


c. Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 16; and von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, no. 284.

d. von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, no. 284.

e. Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 63.


h. Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 896.

i. No examples on seals attributed to Saluwanta by Özgüç and Tosun in references used.

j. Hronzy, Inscriptions Cunéiformes due Kultépé, vol. 1, no. 35aC.

k. Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 70.

l. But see Ibid., no. 12.

m. Ibid., no. 9.

n. Ibid., nos. 54, 33.

o. Ibid., no. 14.

p. Ibid., no. 2.

q. Ibid., no. 18.

r. Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 16.

s. Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 9.


u. Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 54.

v. Ibid., no. 2.

w. von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, no. 284.

x. von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, no. 282.

y. Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 34; Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 894.
Anatolian Groups as Assigned in this Work

There are enough differences between the groups evident in the above chart to question amalgamating the groups into one Anatolian group, notably the fact that the horse-drawn chariot occurs on only one group.

Because of the difficulties inherent in dealing with the unpublished Reilly material, the sealings have here been reviewed without reference to the Saluwanta, Iliwedaku, and Rabhattim styles. The Anatolian group was then sub-divided into five sub-groups given numerical designations: 1A and B = "naturalistic" styles; 2 = a "mixed" schematic and naturalistic style; 3 = "stylistic"; and 4 = "linear style."

Group 1-A

See Figs. 10 and 15. Group 1-A is here called "naturalistic." In this group facial characteristics consist of a straight nose, horizontal oval eye inside the acute angle delineated by the nose. A beard is common. The hands are rendered with individualized fingers, and long curving thumbs. Clothing is mostly characterized by a herringbone pattern, representing
the flounced garment. Costumes of the deities consist of a long flounced garment, a long flounced garment leaving one leg free, a V-neck cloak and a short tunic. Worshippers wear long pleated garments, and a type of mid-calf garment. Animals are represented in rounded naturalistic forms--leonid quadrupeds appear to be the only animals with open mouths. In equipment there is a prevalence for the table type where the legs start in the corners.

Group 1-A shares many characteristics with the Old Babylonian style. The rounded rendering of animals is more characteristic of Old Babylonian than Old Assyrian. In group 1-A suppliant god appears in the posture of the interceding goddess, but like Old Assyrian the interceding deity is a god rather than a goddess. In the costuming, the alternating registers of slanting lines remind one of the wavy patterning on the flounced robe of suppliant goddesses on Old Babylonian seals. The beard corresponds well to an Old Babylonian type.

N. Özgüç notes that

Two kinds of Mesopotamian influence are noticeable in the native seals. The first is connected with Akkadian traditions, as noticed by Frankfort and corroborated by many of our examples. These traditions make themselves felt in the prominence of mythology in the seal designs and in the survival of Akkadian features in certain types of deities.

The latter feature can be seen in Group 1-A by the representation of Shamash with flames. The second kind of Mesopotamian influence on native seals "comes from Old Babylonian art which is contemporary with the Colony period. This influence is evident in the types of deities and in the composition of seal designs. Scenes of worship prevail in Old Babylonian

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94 See Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXVII a, d; XXVI j; XXIX b; and Orthmann, ed. Der Alte Orient, pl. 267 f.

95 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXVII a, d; and Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 331, etc.

96 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, p. 47.

97 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XVIII a, e, k.
Scenes of worship to a seated deity are dominant in Group 1-A.

Group 1-B

See Fig. 11 and 15. The characteristics seen on the impressions illustrated here are mostly the same as those of Group 1-A. A difference is seen in the facial characteristics. The nose is rounded, the eye is oval but not always horizontal. Differences in the iconography and the deities found in Group 1-B rather than 1-A will be discussed in a later chapter. But note the appearance in this group of a weather-god on a mountain. In the equipment there is a preference for the table whose legs start in the center of the table. The hydria vase noted by N. Özgüç occurs frequently; note also that animals are not only naturalistic, like those of group 1-A, but that they sometimes have a tail which ends in a bird’s head. See Fig. 16.

Group 2

See Fig. 12 and 15. Group 2 is here called "mixed." This is a small group whose facial characteristics consist of a straight, triangular nose with triangular eyes and small pupils. The hands are formed or consist of a three-pronged fork. The headgear often has a band near the forehead (Gudea style). The flounced robe of deities is usually depicted with vertical hatching. The costuming of worshippers corresponds to the Old Assyrian. The mixture of conventional and natural forms is noticed in the naturalistic form of the animals versus the straight lines used to form the hands.

Among the deities, Ea appears; other deities include Adad with a bolt of lightning on a bull. Equipment is different from that represented on Groups 1-A and 1-B. The fruitstand

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altar⁹⁹ is not depicted, but we do see a "hittite" altar (See Fig. 12, "Tosun 16, 13").

Group 2 has some affinities with Old Assyrian glyptic. On the impression of *Anatolian Group* 14 (Fig. 12 & Plate 22) we see a man carrying an axe over his left shoulder while holding a spear with four-pronged lightning in his right hand. The figure stands over another small prone figure. This sealing can be compared to the seal of Issi‘akum selulu of Assur.¹⁰⁰ The figure holding a spear with four-pronged lightning and stepping on a prone figure occurs on the Selulu seal. V-shaped elements, fork shaped hands, and costuming are

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related to the Old Assyrian rather than to the Old Babylonian.

Group 3

See Fig. 13 and 15. Group 3 is here called "stylistic." Straight lines predominate in this style group. The nose is formed by straight lines, and the eyes consist of a triangular shape with small pupil or square shape with horizontal pupil. The hands, like those depicted in Old Assyrian and Group 2 consist of three-pronged forks. The hand is sometimes delineated from the wrist by bands; the bodies are sometimes elongated at the waist and
usually bands appear at the waist as well as at the wrist. Deities wearing a vertically hatched flounced robe sit on a "quilted" type of throne. Worshippers appear in this group wearing a different type of garment—a knee-length tunic with a thick border. Among the deities it is important to note the god on an antelope, Adad on a dragon, and Shamash with "saw" on a lion.

The animals of Group 3 are rendered with geometrically shaped details. Bulls often have square eyes and heads with angular horns. The mouths are frequently open with a squared off snout. Birds and fish are unnaturalistic. Seemingly unique to Group 3 is the type of table seen on DeClerq 284. The objects seen on these tables are also different—having the appearance of flat loaves of bread rather than cups of "legs", that appear on the tables of Group 1-A and 1-B. A peculiarity of this style group is the predominance of Adad on a dragon, noted above as being represented on seals of Assyrian influence.

Other similarities with the Old Assyrian include the facial characteristics, forked hands, bands at waist and wrist of humans, the Gudea hat, unnaturalistic birds and fish, animals with squared-off snouts.

Two scenes portrayed in Groups 3 deserve mention. The scene with two bulls (with cone and birds as attributes) at the sides of a table (see DeClerq 284; here fig. 13 and Plate

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101 The impression also appears on Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XL n; in this work on fig. 13 and plate 23A.


23A) is found in the Old Assyrian; the other is the chariot scene.

Group 4

See Figs. 14 and 15. Group 4 is here called "linear." Its style of engraving is like the schematic Old Assyrian of Karum Kanish Level Ib, and this group may well be a later development of Group 3. The face depicted in Group 4 is formed totally by the nose angle, the body and shoulder of seated deities form a square, the hands are forked. The clothing is characterized by vertical and horizontal stripes or hatching, with vertical hatching on the flounced robe of seated deities. The animals, like those portrayed in Group 3, are unnaturalistic. Little equipment is depicted except the "elixir-vase" or "scales" and the table. The weather-god on a bull and Adad on a dragon both appear. The two scenes especially noted for Group 3, i.e., the bulls at the table and the chariot drawn by four horses, also occur in Group 4. Most of the Old Assyrian similarities noted for Group 3 also exist for Group 4. Group 4 therefore appears to be a linear development of Group 3.

The following tables illustrate the differences among these five Anatolian groups when Assyrian and Akkadian/Old Babylonian elements are considered.

The local elements such as atlantid figures and local weather-gods and their occurrence in the different local groups will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

Local Anatolian Impressions Dated to Kültepe Karum Level Ib through Old Hittite

In the Kültepe Karum Ib period (ca. 1813-1741) the use of cylinder seals decreases while the use of stamp seals increases. At Kültepe no more than ten native style cylinder seal impressions were found in the Ib period. The cylinder seals continue the traditions of the Karum II period;

Ibid.

Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, p. 41.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Faces</th>
<th>Hands</th>
<th>Figures/Garments</th>
<th>Animals</th>
<th>Furniture</th>
<th>Deities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1B</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image16.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image17.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image18.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><img src="image19.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image20.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image21.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image22.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image23.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image24.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><img src="image25.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image26.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image27.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image28.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image29.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image30.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 15 Characteristics of Groups 1-A, 1-B, 2, 3, and 4
Table 2. Groups 1-A, 1-B, 2, 3, 4 and Akkadian/Old Babylonian Elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Group 1-A</th>
<th>Group 1-B</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rounded naturalistic animal forms</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long flounced robe in herringbone pattern</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea and goatfish</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with flames</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with &quot;saw&quot; mounting posture or other-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wise</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contest scenes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals with heads seen from above (ED)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull-man with streams</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Groups 1-A, 1-B, 2, 3, 4 and Assyrian Elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Group 1-A</th>
<th>Group 1-B</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-shaped element</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man with spear and 4-pronged lightning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lozenge or triangular shaped eye</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schematic face as in Old Assyrian Ib</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fork-like hands</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnaturalistic fish, birds</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worshipper's costume with fringe edge</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanging from one elbow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long flounced robe with vertical hatching</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene with 2 bulls at table</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adad on dragon</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prone figure under enthroned or standing deity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, there are some new elements: a new deity the goddess standing on a donkey, and two people seated facing each other on a donkey.

The Old Hittite stamp seals exist in Kültepe already in the level Ib period and continue through the Old Hittite Kingdom. Stamp seals of the Ib period are most characteristically shaped with a round-knobbed, conical handle and a disc-shaped base. Conical, polygonal, stalk, and thick loop handles also appear. The rounded knob, conical

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109Ibid., p. 42.

110Ibid., p. 42.
handle type is called *Kanaufkegel-petschaft* by Beran and is in his groups II-V and VII-IX\textsuperscript{111} which he assigns to the younger trade colony period. Beran calls these seal impressions früh-althethitisch. Also dated to this period is his group X.\textsuperscript{112}

Towards the end of the trading colony period, isolated symbols (which are later used as hieroglyphs) appear on the stamp seal designs.\textsuperscript{113} In Cilicia and Konya region there was a school of seal engravers which combined the stamp and cylinder seal. The Tyskiewicz seal falls into this category, as do seals from level I in Karahoyok. This group of seals shows the combined influence of Syria and Old Hittite glyptic. Boehmer dates the Tyskiewicz seal to the first half of the Old Hittite period (and *not* to the last phase of the Assyrian colonies).

The exact date of the end of level I with its comparable examples of seals is unknown; but it is after the fall of the Assyrian colony at Kanes in the last quarter of the 18th century B.C. The fall of Karahoyok level I is dated by Boehmer to the first quarter of the 17th century B.C. The Tyskiewicz type of seal design did not develop, but quickly passed out of favor. The eight-sided seal which appeared in the colony period at Acemhoyok may have been the transition to the Tyskiewicz type.\textsuperscript{114}


\textsuperscript{112}Ibid., 59.


\textsuperscript{114}Ibid., p. 440.
The cube-hammer type of stamp seal appeared in the Old Hittite period and succeeded where the Tyskiewicz type had failed. The cube-hammer seals show a continuation of some of the scenes from the Kültepe level II period.

Next in development, around the second half of the 16th century, was the round stamp seal which stayed in use to the 15th century B.C. These developed from a type where the hieroglyphs were contained in an outer or middle circle. Beran dates the earliest example of this seal type to the latest phase of the trading colonies.

The cube-hammer type of seal came to an end around 1500 B.C. with the reign of Tuthaliya II and the start of the New Kingdom. In the early New Kingdom the one or two sided button seal became common.

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115 Orthmann, ed., *Der Alte Orient*, pl. 376b c; 376 e.g respectively.

116 Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, p. 82; groups XI and XII, nos. 134 - 136.


118 Orthmann, ed., *Der Alter Orient*, pl. 377 a-c.
CHAPTER III
THEMES AND PARTICIPANTS ON LOCAL GLYPTIC

Introduction to Themes and Participants

Themes

Cappadocian cylinder seal impressions of the native Anatolian group exhibit basically three types of major religious themes: scenes of presentation or worship with one focal deity, processional scenes, and impressions with two focal deities and scenes. This chapter will define the major themes as well as human and animal participants in relation to their local or mesopotamian sources. The themes will be presented in a general manner first, then more specifically, followed by a discussion of the participants.

The normal presentation scene consists of a seated deity or a bull with a cone on its back approached by the interceding deity and a worshipping (often in the form of another deity), or two interceding deities and a worshipping.¹ The theme was known in Mesopotamia from the Early Dynastic period, but was a predominant theme in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods. The normal presentation scene was employed as a major theme in styles contemporary with the Old Babylonian style and Kültepe levels II and Ib, for example, Old

Assyrian, Syrian Colony style, and Old Syrian. A local development in Anatolia was the use of the bull with cone as the focus of the presentation, or adoration.

In the late Old Babylonian period, the presentation scene was abbreviated to the chief deity and the interceding deity, thus leaving out the worshipper. This abbreviation is also found in the Anatolian glyptic where it was apparently an independent development. This abbreviated theme will be grouped with the adoration scenes in which the seated deity is approached by one major participant—the interceding deity, another deity, or a human worshipper.

In the "libation" scene a standing "cupbearer" holds a vessel in his hand and stands in front of a deity (seated or standing on a sacred animal), who holds a cup in his/her right hand. Sometimes the cupbearer actually pours a liquid into the deity's cup. Unlike the other types of nonprocessional worship scenes, the bull with cone does not ever become the focus here instead of a "human" deity. Although, as shall be seen, the bull with cone on its back is frequently represented with hands when depicted with the table or the "banquet" motif as if to partake of the objects placed on the table. The bull with cone is never depicted with a cup in one of the hands, nor being given a liquid offering, even though the cups may appear on the table in front of the bull.

A characteristic feature of the local Anatolian glyptic is the processional theme, which occurs with a seated deity as a focus, as a procession without a focus, and as two processions meeting each other. Processions occur either with deities standing on or without their sacred

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4 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15, etc. (Here plates 18A, 9A, 13A, 19A, 52B, and 11A).
animals. In Mesopotamia the concept of a god standing on an animal was known since the Akkadian period where the most prevalent such scene was the weather-god riding a dragon. However, in the Old Babylonian period this feature is seen only rarely and the better parallels for the local Anatolian glyptic are provided by Old Assyrian glyptic contemporary with Kültepe level II and the Syrian Colony Style. The theme of two processions meeting each other appears to be an Anatolian innovation which came to a culmination much later in the Hittite empire period at Yazilikaya.

On the local styles the presentation scenes and processions may be combined, that is, the interceding deity leads a group before the seated deity.⁵

Participants

The deities present in the Assyrian trading colonies as attested by textual evidence were the native deities and a mixture of Assyrian and Mesopotamian deities such as Assur, Ishtar, Shamash, Sin, Belum, Amurru, Ilabrat.⁶ The native deities such as Sulinkatte, Wurunkatte, Telipinu, and the weather-god of Nerik will be discussed in a later chapter since they present more difficulties in identification. But for now it should be pointed out that deities drawn according to Mesopotamian conventions (for example, Ea, Marduk, and Adad) appear on the local Anatolian glyptic. Part of the scope of this study is to determine if these representations represent the Mesopotamian deities, or whether certain conventions were borrowed to indicate a local deity identified with the Mesopotamian deity. To interpret the meanings behind the borrowed conventions it is important to understand the Sumerian and Akkadian pantheons, for

⁵Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 46. (Here plate 42B).

as Frankfort says: "the consistent use of definite groupings, attitudes and attributes is the very language of all religious art, which would be incomprehensible without it."

Sumerian Pantheons

The pantheons of the different geographical or occupational units of Sumer have been summarized by Thorkild Jacobsen. Each city in Sumeria had a city-god, but the pantheons can be grouped as the "marshland," "herder," "shepherd," "orchard," and "farmer," pantheons. The major deities in these groupings are mostly the same, but the family relationships vary, and the minor deities differ.

Pantheon of the southern marsh

Enki is prominent in this pantheon, and so most of the major deities appear as his children; whereas in the herder's pantheon, the same deities are the children of Nanna.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlil/Nammu (his housekeeper)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enki/Ninhursaga (wife also known as Damgalnunna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ereshkigal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninmar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Herder's pantheon

In this pantheon, the deity Nanna(Sin) is the father of Ishkur, Inanna, Utu, Ereshkigal, etc. The character Dumuzi is a human sheepherder, and not Inanna's brother as in the marshland pantheon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlil/(wife)Ninlil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nanna(Sin)/(wife)Ningal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ereshkigal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishkur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Farming region pantheon

Ninurta was a deity with a double nature—that of the "farmer of Enlil" and god of the south wind, and hence a storm god; and a god of pestilence. This war-like side of Ninurta was symbolized by the beast Idmugud a lion-headed or double-headed eagle.9 A myth concerning Ninurta reports his adventures in slaying a dragon/serpent.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{An} \\
\mid \\
\text{Enlil/(Wife)Ninlil} \\
\mid \\
\text{Ninurta/(Wife)Bau} \quad \text{Nergal/(Wife)Ereskigal}
\end{array}
\]

In general, in all the Sumerian pantheons Enlil was a storm god and king of heaven. As king of heaven he made plans, but it was Enki who put the plans into action.10

Enki was the god of water, both fresh water of lakes, rivers, canals, and marshes, but also of rain. Enki's title was "lord of the earth." He was the god of ablution because of the cleansing power of water.11 It is the god Enki who brought "evil" to justice, i.e Enki's son Asalluhe who saw evil, reported to Enki who then sent his messenger (the incantation priest) with a human complainant "to the law court of the divine judge Utu (Šamaš), the sun god, who hears the complaint and gives judgement in an assembly of gods."12 Enki undertook the

9Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 107.
11Jacobsen, Toward an Image of Tammuz, 21-22.
12Ibid., p. 330 note 22.
responsibility for execution of the judgment. Enki was also the holder of the mes. The 100 mes were divine decrees fundamental to civilization. Each of 100 elements required a me to originate it and keep it going. The elements included godship, kingship, shepherdship, scribeship, wisdom, peace, sexual intercourse; and the crafts of leather, basket-weaving, metalworking.

Enki's wife was Damgalnunna another name for Ninhursag. In the marshland pantheons he was considered the father of Inanna, Dumuzi, Asalluhe, Ereshkigal, and Nanshe.

Utu was the god of the sun as well as justice and equity. In the herder's pantheon he was the son of the moon god Nanna, and the sister of Ereshkigal and Inanna.

Dumuzi was considered the son of Enki in the Marshland pantheon, a human son of Ninsun in the cowherd pantheon, and son of Duttur, goddess of the Ewe in the shepherd's pantheon. Dumuzi is the "dying" god. In the myth of Inanna's descent to the Netherworld, Inanna chooses her husband Dumuzi to replace her in the underworld when she returns to earth. In the orchard-man's pantheon Damu is a related figure.

Damu is a vegetation god. His name means 'the Child' and he was a disappearing god. His cult "centered in rites of lamentation and search for the god, who had lain under the bark of his nurse, the cedar tree, and had disappeared. The search ended in the finding of the god, who reappeared out of the river." Part of the Damu cult in the third Dynasty of Ur and the early kings of the following dynasty of Isin, was the recognition of all dead kings as

\[13\text{Ibid.}\]
\[14\text{Ibid., p. 22. 128.}\]
\[15\text{Ibid., 23, 29.}\]
\[16\text{Ibid., 24.}\]
deified and as incarnations of Damu. "The cult of Damu influenced and in time blended with the very similar cult of Dumuzi the shepherd."\textsuperscript{17}

There were several weather-gods: Ninurta, Asalluhe, and Iškur. Ninurta was considered the son of Enlil and thus could be considered at least a half-brother to Ennki (they had different mothers). Ninurta was the farmer's version of the god of the thunder and rainstorms of the spring.\textsuperscript{18} It was the early rains that melted the snow in the mountains and swelled the rivers, and so he was also the power of floods. Because of the violent nature of spring rains and floods, he also had a violent, war-like side.

Ninurta's earliest name was Imdugud, which means 'Rain-Cloud.' and his earliest form was that of the thundercloud, envisaged as an enormous black bird floating on outstretched wings, roaring its thunder cry from a lion's head. With the growing tendency toward anthropomorphism the old form and name were gradually disassociated from the god as merely his emblem; enmity toward the older, unacceptable shape eventually made it evil, an ancient enemy of the god, a development culminating in the Akkadian myth about it (Imdugud) as Anzu.\textsuperscript{19}

This Akkadian myth concerns the slaying of the dragon Anzu. Ninurta was also considered as the chthonic aspects of the sun-god, and as a god of fertility.\textsuperscript{20}

Ninurta was especially important in Assyria.\textsuperscript{21}

Iškur in the shepherd's pantheon was also a god of rain and thunderstorms in the spring. He was equated with Ninhar of the cowherder's pantheon and was thus considered to be the son of Nanna, the moon god.\textsuperscript{22} His symbol was the lightning fork. "As god of rain and

\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, 25.

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, 32.

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}, 32, 33.

\textsuperscript{20}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 113.

\textsuperscript{21}Jacobsen, \textit{Toward an Image of Tammuz}, 35.

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Ibid.}, 26, 29.
thunder he corresponds in the herdsman's pantheon to Asalluhe in the marshman's and has the epithet, 'Man-drenching.' in common with him. In the farmer's pantheon his counterpart is Ninurta. IŞkur's wife was the goddess Shala." 23 Since Asalluhe was Enki's son, when IŞkur and Ninurta are equated with Asalluhe they can be considered sons of Enki.

Asalluhe's name 'Man-Drenching Asal' indicates that he was a god of thundershowers. In the incantations, it is regularly Asalluhe who first observes and calls Enki's attention to existing evils. He was later identified with Marduk of Babylon. 24

Nergal was the ruler of the nether world and spouse of its queen, Ereshkigal. "This may not have been original with the god, since other gods are mentioned as Ereshkigal's spouse in the older tradition, and since an Akkadian myth explicitly tells how he came to occupy that exalted position." 25 In the farmer's pantheon he may originally have been a tree god under his other name Meslamtaea. Nergal was similar to Ninurta 26 and was considered to also have the war-like aspects of the sun-god. 27

Ninhursaga in the northern ass herder's pantheon was the spouse of Shulpae. Frankfort says that Nergal was also known by that name. 28 As the spouse to Shulpae she was the mother of sons Mululil and Ashshirgi and a daughter Egime. "Mululil appears to have been a dying god, comparable with Dumuzi and Damu." 29 In the marshland pantheon she was the

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23Ibid., 30.
24Ibid., 22.
25Ibid., 33, 34.
26Ibid., 33.
27Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 95.
28Ibid., 170.
29Jacobsen, Toward an Image of Tammuz, 30.
spouse of Enki.\textsuperscript{30}

\textit{Akkadian Pantheons}

The Akkadians equated certain of their deities with the earlier Sumerian deities. Ea was equated with Enki. Adad equated with Ishkur. Šamaš with Utu. the goddess Aia with Utu’s wife Shenirda. and Marduk with Asalluhe.

\textit{Assyrian Pantheon}

The name of the god Assur occurs in the Assyrian trading colonies; but the character of the god is difficult to determine. Assur supported Assyrian arms against enemies.\textsuperscript{31} and was somehow associated with justice. since oaths were taken before Assur’s holy weapon.\textsuperscript{32} There is, therefore, some affinity with the god Enki and his execution of judgements. In later times Assur appears attired in feathers. and Frankfort speculates that he was considered the Assyrian form of the Sumerian deity Ningirsu whose emblem was the lion-headed bird Imdugud, since the Imdugud is not found on Assyrian monuments.\textsuperscript{33} Jacobsen states that from the time of Šamši-Adad I, he tended to be identified with Sumerian Enlil; and still later that Assur was equated with Marduk. Still further, there is the question as to whether these identifications were due to any affinity of nature and function of the gods or whether the identity was merely political.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., 128.
\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., 37.
\textsuperscript{32}Goetze, \textit{Kleinasien}, 71.
\textsuperscript{34}Jacobsen, \textit{Toward an Image of Tammuz}, 37.
Presentation or Worship Scenes with one Focal Deity

Normal presentation scenes

The Anatolian groups usually follow the Old Assyrian pattern of employing a male interceding deity; this is an important indicator of the immediate source of presentation themes. The Anatolian groups do, however, render the interceding deity with the so-called "scale" or elixir-vase and a small jar. Presumably the elixir-vase and jar were adopted as divine attributes from the Old Babylonian suppliant deity, since in Mesopotamia the suppliant deity was rendered with the elixir-vase as early as the Ur III period. This appearance of the elixir-vase and jar with the interceding deity in the Old Assyrian style, however, is not a common occurrence.

Normal presentation scenes occur in all local Anatolian subgroups.

Adoration scenes

The adoration scene or the abbreviated presentation scene employs the interceding deity, or other major deities such as Shamash, a figure in human form dressed in skull cap instead of a horned "divine" cap, and, who thus may be the interceding deity or a human worshipper. The differences between the human worshipper and the interceding deity will be discussed later.

The adoration scene occurs in all the local Anatolian groups except group 4, where

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36 Özgüc, The Anatolian Group, nos. 3, 4, 5, 13, etc. (Here plates 9A, 13A, 19A, 52B).

instead some themes have been abbreviated to the point of showing only the chief deity.

Libation scenes

The libation scene is related to the normal presentation scene in that an interceding deity often accompanies the standing worshipper or deity who appears as a cupbearer.\(^{38}\) The worshippers bringing the liquid offering are often of a smaller size than the chief enthroned deity. The squatting cupbearer\(^{39}\) is usually unaccompanied, and thus appears more like a cult functionary than a worshipper. The pedestalled altar, hydria vase, and the table often occur in the libation motif. The equipment will be discussed in greater detail later, but it can be stated here that the equipment used and the interpretation of the libation scene are local Anatolian rather than Mesopotamian.

Libation scenes occur only in Groups 1-A and 1-B, but there is a difference between the groups: libations to seated deities occur only in Group 1-A whereas both groups have libations to gods in processions.

**Procession Scenes**

As stated earlier, there are three types of processions on local Anatolian glyptic: procession to focus, without focus, and meeting processions.

Procession to focus of seated deity

Processions of other deities approaching a chief enthroned deity display a sense of hierarchy. This sense of hierarchy does not exist in the contemporary Mesopotamian glyptic where another deity rarely approaches the chief enthroned deity.


\(^{39}\)Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* nos. 23, 74. (Here plate 27A, 33B).
In local Anatolian glyptic this type of scene occurs in group 1-B and 3.

Processions without focus

Processions depicted in group 1-B are most likely to have no focus.\textsuperscript{40} Processions with no focus are also found in group 1-A.

Meeting Processions

Only one example of this type of procession has been found in the Kültepe II-Ib period,\textsuperscript{41} but it is extraordinarily important because of the theme's later appearance at Yazilikaya in the Hittite empire period. In the Syrian tradition there is a parallel theme in that participants face each other on equal terms (that is, \textit{not} presentation, adoration, or libation scenes). But the Syrian theme involves only two people, and not a procession.\textsuperscript{42} We can see that this local meeting procession also shows Syrian influence in one other aspect, the appearance of a deity standing on a conquered prostrate human.\textsuperscript{43} However, the concept of the procession is local Anatolian.

\textit{Dual Scenes}

A striking development in the local styles is represented by two focal deities on one seal. Sometimes the second focal deity appears in the form of the bull with cone on its back. The general composition may present an arrangement with relatively few filling motifs and with

\textsuperscript{40}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 28, 31, 64, 65. (Here plates 57, 56B, 56A, 55B).

\textsuperscript{41}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 76. (Here plate 59A).

\textsuperscript{42}Old Syrian scenes of two persons seated facing each other, each holding a cup or on either side of a table.

\textsuperscript{43}See later discussion of Shamash.
the deities of approximately the same scale. On other seal impressions at least a partial free-field style of composition prevails. The two deities are on different scales, normally the enthroned deity maintaining a larger size dimension versus the bull, but both being inundated by filling motifs.

The two focal scenes are sometimes related as in The Anatolian Group I, where there are two adoration scenes. In other cases, there is one adoration scene and one libation scene; or one adoration and one normal presentation.

Dual scenes where both chief deities appear of equal size occur in Mesopotamia although rarely. They also occur, likewise rarely, in contemporary Old Assyrian. Dual scenes are most common in the Syrian Colony Style contemporary with Kültepe level II.

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45 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 15. (Here plate 11A).
46 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 40. (Here plate 20A).
47 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 41, 55. (Here plates 11B, 13B).
49 Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 852, 884.
and level Ib.\textsuperscript{51}

The dual scene on local Anatolian glyptic is found groups 1-A, 1-B, 3, and 4. Its appearance in group 4 is very similar to one of the examples of Old Assyrian. Corpus 852 shows two bulls-with-cones on either side of a table as a dual scene to a chief enthroned deity in an abbreviated presentation scene. Local Anatolian impression Tosun 18 shows the two bulls on either side of the table as a dual scene to the deity riding a horse-drawn chariot.

The dual scene continues in local glyptic into the Kültepe Ib period.\textsuperscript{52} It might also be said to occur on the Tyskiewicz cylinder seal and continues into the empire period at Firaktin.

Participants

The participants will be briefly described, that is, their identifying features cataloged before the deities' interactions are analyzed. In this section, the aim is to distinguish "iconography" or specific types. The identification of a name is sometimes easy, particularly if the deity is of Mesopotamian origin with well-known attributes. Sometimes identification presents major problems in cases of local deities, and though their iconography can be established here, discussion of their "names" and specific individuality can take place only after considering the later textual evidence, which is confined to a separate chapter.

Establishing the iconography of local deities often includes a description of the


\textsuperscript{52}Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, pl. XVI D. (Here plate 15).
costuming. That is, one local deity may always be attired in a round hat, long flounced robe; another deity always in a pointed horned hat, long flounced robe; and a human worshipper in a vertically flounced garment. The costuming of the Mesopotamian deities is not specific, that is, Ea may appear in either a round horn-less hat, or a horned conical hat.

_Deities that always Appear as Focus_

Ea

Ea is frequently depicted in groups 1-A, 1-B, and 2 with the goat-fish, the most usual symbol for Ea that originated in the Ur II period, and became common in the Old Babylonian period. On the local styles Ea is less frequently associated with the fish-man and only rarely is Ea shown holding the flowing vase, or with Usmu the two-headed minister known from Akkadian times.

Ea is usually depicted bearded, as was normal in the Akkadian period. Ea does not wear a specific hat. This is in contrast to the other Mesopotamian deities Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar who wear high conical hats. It is interesting to note that the variation of Ea with round hornless hat only occurs on seal impressions of groups 1-A and 1-B. The parallel

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Frankfort, _Cylinder Seals_, pl. XXV d.

Frankfort, _Cylinder Seals_, plis. XIXa, XVIIIk, XXIe, c, XXIII f, XXV d; and Porada, _Corpus of Near Eastern Seals_, nos. 195, 1097, 198, 202, 203.

for the use of round hornless hats on chief enthroned deities is found in the Old Assyrian style where all (?) enthroned deities wear such hats.\textsuperscript{15} in the period contemporary with Kültepe level II.

Marduk

The attribute of Marduk familiar from Babylonian seals is the small wingless dragon. Only one local style seal shows a deity with his feet resting on this dragon.\textsuperscript{57} Anatolian Group 5 and 7 (here plates 19A, 50B) show an enthroned deity with a lion-dragon depicted behind him; and Anatolian Group 6 (here plate 41A) shows a small dragon-like animal facing the enthroned deity. Of these last two, the lion-dragon is associated with Adad as we shall see later; the small wingless dragon of Anatolian Group 6 seems to be associated there with the principal local deity.

Principal local deity

This deity has several attributes. He usually wears a conical hat (horned or hornless) and shoulders an ax. Often his throne rests on the back of a mountain sheep while his feet rest on the back of a lion, or vice versa.\textsuperscript{58} Both throne and feet may rest on a lion, or only the feet or the throne. On one seal the deity’s feet rest on a mountain sheep while the deity

\textsuperscript{15}Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, nos. 844-9, 852; Lubor Matouš, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, vol. 2 (Prague: Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, 1962), nos. Ka 589C, Ka 445A, Ka 375A. The possible exception of Hrozny, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, No. 46aC is published in line drawing form only and details are difficult to check; however an enthroned deity on Old Assyrian style of the Ib period is found in Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib}, pl. XVII i.

\textsuperscript{57}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 26. (Here plate 40A).

\textsuperscript{58}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 73, 2. (Here plates 28B, 47).
Fig. 18 The Principal local deity, drawn by author. Left: Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 73, 2, and 57. Right: *Ibid.*, 39, 6, and 40. Here see plates 28B, 47, 28A, 32A, 41A, and 20A.

holds the rein attached to this animal. Also, the throne may rest on a bull while the feet rest on a mountain-sheep or a lion. A couchant bull or bull’s head may also appear in the

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field.\textsuperscript{61} As mentioned above, a small wingless dragon is associated once with this deity. Sometimes, when no lion appear beneath the deity’s feet, a particular type of lion occurs in the field near the deity. This lion appear to have crossed wings,\textsuperscript{62} but does not have the bird’s feet found on Adad’s lion-dragon which occurs on local style groups 3 and 4. The "lion-dragon" of groups 1-A and 1-B is a lion in all aspects with the addition of wings. It seems unlikely, however, that this last "lion-dragon" is associated with the deity named Adad, since it is depicted on Anatolian Group 23 (see plate 27A) facing Ea, and since, in at least three instances,\textsuperscript{63} Adad approaches the principal local deity. Whether the small lion-dragon was only a symbol for a water-giving or weather-god is debatable.\textsuperscript{64}

Aside from the lion, lion-dragon, and mountain-sheep, the principal local deity is sometimes shown with fish in the field nearby.\textsuperscript{65} The presence of the bull in the field with this deity, as well as the fact that the bull with cone is often supported by the very animals mentioned as associated with the principal local deity (the lion, lion-dragon,\textsuperscript{66} and the mountain-sheep), point to an identification of this local deity as a weather-god. The presence of the lion and bull throne (with the parallel of Old Babylonian Shamash standing on two

\textsuperscript{61}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 75, 57, 48. (Here plates 31A, 28A, 30B).

\textsuperscript{62}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 57. (Here Plate 32A, 28A).

\textsuperscript{63}Hrozný, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, vol. 1, no. 35aA; and Özgüç \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 11, 2. (Here Plates 44B 47). See also Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 10, 13, and Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 896 where the enthroned deity approached by Adad has a conical hat, but no other attribute. (Here Plates 9B, 52B, 48A).

\textsuperscript{64}There is an Old Babylonian seal which shows Adad approaching Marduk (Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, text fig. 40) just as Adad approaches this local deity.

\textsuperscript{65}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 40, 75, 6, 24, 12. (Here plate 20A, 31A, 41A, 43A, 3A).

\textsuperscript{66}Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 894. (Here plate 33A).
human headed bulls) indicates a sun-god, but one who like Marduk, was also a weather-god.

The principal local deity is sometimes shown with a seated goddess. A comparison can be made here with the pair of deities found on lead figurines: a female deity together with a male deity who carries a mountain sheep standard.

**Seated goddess**

The seated goddess is associated with several animals, mixed beings, and plants. Characteristic for her is that, in addition to her throne, usually in the form of a mountain-sheep, she is supported by an elaborate platform of animals and fabulous creatures. The most elaborate rendering is seen on *Anatolian Group 70* (here plate 55A) where she appears on a four tier throne. Here at the bottom, two sheep lie back to back, perhaps each facing a sphinx, although only one is visible. Between the sheep appears a platform-like object. The second tier consists of two reclining human headed bulls lying face to face, each with mountain sheep on its back. The sheep of the second tier face the same direction as those of the first tier, and in the opposite direction as the human headed bulls. Between the couchant human headed bulls is a lion-headed eagle. Over the heads of the human-headed bulls in the third tier lie two lions back to back and facing in the same direction as the sheep of the second and first tier. A platform is supported on the backs of these lions of the third tier. A couchant mountain-sheep rests on the platform and forms the throne for the goddess.

In addition to the "organic" platform another striking characteristic of the goddess is the arc of birds that appears behind her sometimes with a tree and a sphinx. This local goddess

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67Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 102-103.

is also associated with the griffin. N. Özgüç points out that in the wall-paintings at Mari, the sphinx occurs near the figure of Ishtar on a lion.

The seated goddess shares many attributes in common with the principal local deity: lion, mountain-sheep, and human-headed bull. In the Ib period that seated goddess is still associated with the tree and birds as well as the mountain-sheep.

Bull with cone on its back

The bull depicted with a cone on its back is often the focus of normal presentation scenes, adoration, etc. and is sometimes depicted with hands when associated with a table with offerings. The bull with cone is represented with a body patterned in a herringbone design in groups 1-A, 1-B, 2, and 3, but in group 4, the pattern consists of rows of short vertical lines.

The bull with cone appears on other glyptic styles contemporary with Kültepe, namely, Old Assyrian, less frequently on the Syrian Colony style. The bull with cone is not found on Old Babylonian glyptic.

The bull with cone often appears on a platform. The platform takes more than one form.

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69 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 74. (Here plate 33B).


72 Groups 1-B only.


74 Hrozný, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, vol. 1, nos. 21aE, 41aC.
Fig. 20 Local seated goddess, drawn by author. Left: From Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 71; Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, 894. Right: Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 70, and 73. Bottom center: Ibid., 74. Here see plates 45A, 33A, 55A, 28B, and 33B.
A boat-like platform with animal protomes is supported by bull-men, a box-like platform is represented with a couchant human-headed bull or lion on the side, and a simple "ladder" or base-line platform exists. The bull with cone is also supported without the platform by crossed or single animals, the most frequent of which is the lion.

The bull with pyramidal cone on its back does not occur in procession scene, but occurs on normal presentation scenes in groups 1-A, and 3 only. The adoration scene is more frequent, occurring in all the local groups except group 2. The libation scene as described above, does not occur with the bull with cone, although, as noted above, it is frequently represented with hands. The bull never holds a cup in one of these hands (the figure

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75 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 39, 40 (here plate 32A, 20A); parallels exist with the bull with cone on Old Assyrian supported by human-headed bulls, see Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, vol. 2, no. Ka 375B.

76 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 36. (Here plate 45B).

77 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 69; and Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 717. (Here plates 19B, 46). Parallels exist with Syrian Colony Style simple platform with "facade" type design, see Hrozny, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 21 aE.


For single lions see: Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 41; and in Old Assyrian style see: Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 848.

For crossed mountain-sheep see: Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 55; for small lion with wings see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 894 (here plate 33A).

80 The normal presentation scene with bull with cone as focus is common in Old Assyrian see: Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 859, 898, 897, 860, 861, 855, 856, 857.
Deity in a horse-drawn chariot

The deity seated in a horse-drawn chariot occurs in groups 3 and 4. The deity is usually dressed in a long flounced garment and round hornless hat; only twice does a figure dressed in a short tunic or garment with thick hem appear standing in the chariot. The deity Adad approaches the chariot on his lion-dragon. Sometimes the chariot runs over the prostrate body of a human. Frequently the chariot motif is part of a dual scene seal impression where the second motif consists of the bull with cone.

A chariot scene is not represented in either Old Assyrian or Old Babylonian glyptic. Other than the dragon drawn chariot of the weather-god depicted in Akkadian seals, chariot scenes are not depicted on Mesopotamian glyptic after the Early Dynastic period. The Early Dynastic type chariot is remarkably similar to that represented on the Anatolian glyptic

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84 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 9; and De Clercq, *Collection De Clercq*, no. 284. (Here plates 23B, 23A).


86 Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 248.

of the levels II and Ib periods.\(^87\)

N. Özgüç connects the chariot-god with the Indo-European god Pirva.\(^88\) Here, however

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\(^{88}\) Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, p. 68.
the identity of this chariot deity will be discussed later, aside from the comment that the deity is a major one worshipped by the deity Adad.

*Major Deities that Appear in Processions*

Aside from the figure of Usmu, the major deities that appear in procession are all local Anatolian deities.

It is universally recognized that in Old Babylonian glyptic the deity on a bull is the storm or weather-god. This same concept is used with enthusiasm by the Anatolians and the major task is to disentangle the attributes of the various deities who stand on bulls.

Weather-god with round hat

This deity stands on a bull and holds the reins and a cup in his hands. He wears a sleeveless V-necked garment. The deity is always depicted beardless and wearing a horned round hat that sometimes also has a disc resting on top.

Weather-god with "cone and arrows"

The attributes of this beardless local weather-god are an ax and horned conical hat.\(^8\) He stands on the back of a bull, and like the weather-god with round hat, holds the reins and a cup in this hands. Resting on the rear of the bull is a tall slender cone projection. This cone is connected with a parallel vertical rod and is furnished with horizontal feather-like or branch-like projections, as well as vertical bars, which sometimes end in arrow heads.\(^9\) In

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\(^8\)Exception is seal in L. Speelers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des musées royaux du cinquantenaire* (Brussels, 1917), no. 1396. Hereafter referred to as *Catalogue Brussels*. See here plate 26B.

\(^9\)See Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 17 (here plate 54A) where the cone happens to appear without the bull.
other cases, the horizontal projections resemble palm-tree branches. A rain cloud frequently appears in front of this weather-god.

Weather-god on a bull and a mountain

This weather-god has one foot on two mountain peaks, the other foot is in a "mounting" type posture resting on the back of a bull. The bull stands on the elongated portion of the mountain. A plant-like object arises from the side of the mountain; this is held in one of the weather-god's hands. The plant-like object is sometimes similar to the rod furnished with arrows of the weather-god with "cone and arrows". The other hand holds the rein to the bull and a cup. Like the weather-god with "cone and arrows," the weather-god standing on a bull and a mountain is associated with a rain cloud and, in addition, the latter deity is associated with a small goddess shown opening her robes.

N. Özgüç feels that it is probably this deity is the prototype of the god Yazilikaya no. 40. The presence of the small goddess opening her robes reminds one of the Hittite relief of Imamkulu.

Local deity standing on a lion

The local deity treated here differs from another deity standing on a lion, since the former usually carries an ax and occurs in processions. He usually wears a horned or hornless conical hat. This deity's attributes, the lion and the ax, are also two of the

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90Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 19. (Here see plate 58A).
91Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, p. 63.
92Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 76, 21, 64. (Here Plate 59A).
93See the exception in Louis Speleers, Catalogue des intailles et empreintes Orientales des Musées royaux d'art et histoire, supplement (Brussels, 1943), no. 1383 (here plate 48B) where he wears a round horned hat.
attributes associated with the principal local deity. The lion appears standing with its tail hanging down.\textsuperscript{94} Unlike the bulls upon which the weather-gods stand, the lion in processions does not have a rein: but like the weather-gods, this deity often carries a cup in one hand.\textsuperscript{95} Although this deity never appears standing on a mountain-sheep, that animal and a fish often appear in the field nearby.\textsuperscript{96}

N. Özgüç identifies all deities who stand or sit on lions and hold axes over one shoulder as the War-god. However, in this dissertation, a distinction has been made between the local deity who stands on the back of a lion, and the deity who surmounts a reined lion in a mounting posture and carries a variety of weapons (mace, sword, battle ax, spear). The latter will be discussed later as a type of war-god; the former for the present remains unidentified.

Hunting-god

The Hunting-god stands on the back of a stag. He is usually wearing a horned or hornless round hat,\textsuperscript{97} and always carries a curved weapon. In the other hand he holds an eagle, or both an eagle and a rabbit/hare (or small quadruped such as a goat). The hunting-god, unlike other deities, does not appear holding a cup in his hand when in procession. However, he appears at least once enthroned, and as the focus of a "libation" scene.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{94}Except on the seal of Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 55 (plate 13B) where the lion is couchant like that of Shamash and the upcurving tail like the tail of the lion-dragon of Adad.

\textsuperscript{95}Özgüç, The Anatolian Group nos. 21, 76. (Here plates 58B, 59A).

\textsuperscript{96}Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 64, 65, 31. (Here Plates 56A, 55B, 56B).

\textsuperscript{97}For an exception see Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 65. (Here plate 55B).

\textsuperscript{98}Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 80. (Here plate 34A).
Deity in a wagon drawn by boars

The deity that rides in a boar-drawn wagon wears the long flounced costume with a hornless conical hat. In two of three appearances he shoulders an ax. He hold the reigns to the boars in the other hand. This deity is found leading processions of worshippers and/or other deities. The worshippers carry staffs. 99

Usmu

When Usmu appears in processions, he is armed with sword and mace and stands on a boar. He wears a sleeveless V-neck garment with bordered skirt portion, which appears to be slit up the front, and a pointed horned hat. 100 Usmu appears on a boar and armed only once when not in a procession. The fact that Usmu was worshipped in the Kültepe II-ib period is attested on the glyptic only once, 101 but this worship is attested by the presence of boar rhyta found at Kültepe. 102

In addition to the major roles played by Usmu in processions and as adorant, he also appears in a variety of other roles more comparable to his subservient position in Mesopotamian glyptic. He leads worshippers to the god Ea 103 and once he appears in the role usually assumed by the bull-man, i.e. in a contest scene with two lions!). 104

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99 Lewy, Tabletes Cappadocienne, no. 99, and Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 40aB.

100 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 19 and 20. (Here plates 58B, 58A).

101 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 1 (here plate 18A) where carrying a flowing stream he may stand for Ea (see Ibid., p. 61.)

102 Ibid., p. 61.

103 Ibid., no. 18. (Here plate 5B).

104 Genouillac, Ceramique Cappadocienne, no. C₄ = AO 8747. (Here plate 31B).
Deities that are Never the Focus of Presentations or Processions

Some deities, who are major deities in Mesopotamia, are treated as minor deities in this discussion, since they never receive worship in any form by other deities or human worshippers. Among these deities are Shamash and Adad.

Adad standing on his lion-dragon

Adad on a lion-dragon occurs most characteristically in group 3 and 4 of the local styles. He wears a long v-necked garment, a horned conical hat, and holds a rein ending in a lightning/thunderbolt in one hand, while usually holding a spear in the other hand.105

Adad approaches the principal local deity106 or the deity seated in a horse-drawn chariot. He sometimes accompanies an interceding deity,107 but at other times appears to take the place of the interceding deity in bringing worshippers before an enthroned deity.108

Once, Adad is associated with a nude lady holding a bird,109 a fact that reminds one of the nude goddess opening-her-robos who accompanies the weather-god on a bull and a mountain.

Adad's attribute, the lion-dragon, is depicted in a variety of ways. It appears with all bird's feet,110 together with dragon head, and is winged or wingless; with only the foreleg having a bird's foot;111 or as a winged lion. When winged, the wings usually arise diagonally from the neck and cross each other. Adad then rests one foot on the top of the wings.

105See Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 35aA where Adad holds an ax.
107Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 10, 11, 12. (Here plates 9B, 44B, 3A).
108Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 13; and Speleers, Catalogue Brussels, no. 1447. (Here plate 52B).
109Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 11. (Here plate 44B).
110Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 9. (Here plate 23B).
111Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 896. (Here plate 48A).
Fig. 27 Adad/Lion-dragon, drawn by author. Left: From Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 11, 12, 2. Right: From *Ibid.*, 13, 9; Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, 896. Here see plates 44B, 3A, 47, 52B, 23B, and 48A.
Shamash with "saw"

Shamash appears on local Anatolian style seal impressions holding his "saw" in one hand, the other hand held at waist level without a cup. He wears the long flounced garment and a tall horned conical hat. He stands alone or is mounted on a couchant lion as in the Old Assyrian style. In the Old Babylonian tradition, Shamash was depicted with one foot raised on a couchant bull.

Unlike the Shamash depicted on the Old Syrian style cylinder seal impressions, Shamash with saw does not appear on local Anatolian glyptic mounted on a human captive.

Shamash with "saw" once leads a procession approaching an enthroned deity; but is usually shown in a presentation scene approaching the main deity without the appearance of Shamash with flames.

This deity is easily recognized by the flames or rays which arise from all parts of his body. Even his conical hat is usually represented with flames rather than horns. He is

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112 ibid., no. 854.

113 ibid., no. 399, etc.

114 Compare Old Syrian seals found in Hrozný, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 21aE; Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne*, no. A4; and Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 9. In the Karum level II period, only one depiction shows a deity standing on a supine human holding reins that connect to the human’s head. (See Özugüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 76, here plate 59A). The deity there does not carry the saw of Shamash or a single headed mace as in the Old Syrian glyptic, the multiple-headed mace of the conqueror-god of Mesopotamia, nor the small jar and elixir vase held by a conqueror-type deity on Old Assyrian glyptic. (See Özugüç and Özugüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 683 and Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. Ka589C). The rein connected to the human’s head is similar on the Anatolian depiction to the Old Syrian representations.

115 Özugüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 2. (Here plate 47).

116 There are two exceptions; see Özugüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 5, 7. (Here plates 19A, 50B).

usually beardless. \(^{118}\) He is shown approaching Ea or Marduk, usually in a procession of other deities and worshippers, and an interceding deity. Although Shamash with flames is never the focus of worship by humans or other deities, and he never holds a cup in his hand;

\(^{117}\) Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 1, 3, 4. (Here plates 18a, 9A, 13A).

\(^{118}\) One exception, see Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 7. (Here plate 50B).
on *The Anatolian Group* 8 we see that a monkey holding a libation type jug faces him.

There are two variants of the Shamash with flames, and both have Akkadian prototypes; neither type however is found in Old Babylonian glyptic.\(^\text{119}\) One type shows Shamash with flames arising only from Shamash’s shoulders; the other shows flames arising from all parts.

of his body.\textsuperscript{121}

The appearance of Shamash with flames points out the strong influence that Akkadian tradition had on local Anatolian glyptic. Other factors include the appearance of Usmu, who does not appear on Old Babylonian glyptic, and the predominance of Ea, who is rarely represented on Old Babylonian glyptic; their use was apparently taken from the Akkadian tradition.\textsuperscript{122}

Shamash with flames in not depicted in the Ib or later periods.

Local war-god

This deity appears in a mounting posture on a couchant or standing lion. He is usually attired in a horned or hornless round hat and short skirt or tunic, holding the reins of his lion in one hand.\textsuperscript{123} He carries a variety of weapons, a sword, mace, battle-ax,\textsuperscript{124} shaft-hole ax,\textsuperscript{125} and a spear.\textsuperscript{126}

The local war-god approaches the deity Ea,\textsuperscript{127} bull with cone,\textsuperscript{128} or weather-god.\textsuperscript{129} It is probably the War-god who appears without a lion, attired in a long flounced garment and round hat amidst a battle scene.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{121}The latter is discussed by Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 104 in relation to the Epic of Creation where Marduk destroys Qingu with arrows or fire-brands.

\textsuperscript{122}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 165; Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{123}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 8, 52, 55. (Here plates 50A, 27B, 13B). See also Lewy, \textit{Tablettes Cappadocienne}, no. 75.

\textsuperscript{124}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 27. (Here plate 24A).

\textsuperscript{125}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 54a. (Here plate 39A).

\textsuperscript{126}Lewy, \textit{Tablettes Cappadocienne}, no. 75.

\textsuperscript{127}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 54, 8. (Here plates 39A, 50A).

\textsuperscript{128}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 38. (Here plate 30A).

\textsuperscript{129}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 27. (Here plate 24A).

\textsuperscript{130}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 50. (Here plate 70).
Goddess opening her robes

In level II this goddess is seen only with the weather-god on a bull and mountain and is depicted in a smaller size than the weather-god. The robe appears as a circle behind the goddess which she grasps in her outstretched hands.

Parallels for this type of goddess exist in Syrian and Old Assyrian glyptic. The headdress of the Anatolian goddess is exactly like that on the nude goddess of the Syrian Colony Style. Local style seal impressions also show a figure different from the goddess opening her robes: a small nude figure with hands crossed over her breast facing the weather-god Adad. See also below, "goddess holding her breasts".

Perhaps these depictions are not of one goddess, but represent the concubines of each weather-god.

In the Ib and Old Hittite period, the goddess opening her robes is shown both small and full-sized.

Goddess holding her breasts

This goddess is rarely depicted on local style glyptic; but two types exist. One depiction is very similar to the Old Assyrian representation. The other is comparable to the Syrian

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131 Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 690, etc.
132 Figure is apparently incorrectly drawn with a male conical hat. See also nude woman in regular round cap facing Adad and holding a bird in her left hand on Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 11 (here plate 44B).
133 See Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. XXV2; and Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunamış," no. 21 (here plates 34B, 35A), and Tyskiewicz (Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLIII o) as depictions of small size goddess. A full sized goddess appears on Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib, pl. XXV1 (here plate 53), and AO 20138 (see André Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite Nouvellement Acquis (AO20138)" Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et Archéologie 28 (1951): 180-190.
134 See Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. Ka 589C. A small nude goddess holding her breasts is depicted on an Old Assyrian style seal impression. She is behind a weather-god in mounting posture on a bull whose rein ends in a lightning bolt.
The Syrian goddess, when depicted in a reduced size holds her breasts, or stands over a lion or bull. She also appears to be associated with a weather-god similar to the Anatolian weather-god in that the Syrian deity has one foot on the back of a bull; but the Syrian weather-god carries a mace with a somewhat complicated head, instead of an ax.

Nude goddess with mountain-sheep

This goddess wears a beret type headdress like the seated goddess. However, a long ribbon or band hangs down from the back of the beret of this nude goddess. One seal impression shows this goddess in a procession of deities. Mountain-sheep or antelopes appear on each side of the goddess. She cups one breast with her hand. Another seal impression shows the nude goddess holding the antelope/mountain-sheep in the manner of an offering-bringer. The seated goddess also holds a mountain-sheep in one hand.

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135 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 18 (here plate 5B); and Matouš, *Inscriptions Cuneiformes du Kultépé*, no. 449A.


139 The same mace is held by a Syrian weather-god. See Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 692 where he holds a double lightning bolt in the other hand and is confronted by a full-size nude goddess opening her robes.

140 Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne*, no. B6 (Here plate 43 B).

141 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 75. (Here plate 31 A).


Goddess on a stag

There appears to be only one example of this deity. She appears in the meeting procession where she faces the war-god. The goddess holds the reigns of the couchant stag in her right hand and a rampant antelope in her left hand.

Deity standing on a couchant gazelle

This deity appears once on local Anatolian glyptic, in a procession of non-local deities to the principle local deity. The procession consists of Shamash with saw, deity on a gazelle, and Adad.

N. Özgüç identifies this deity as Amurru on the basis of the fact that on Mesopotamian glyptic Amurru is represented in mounting posture with one foot on a couchant gazelle. However, the identification is somewhat doubtful, since the local seal in question belongs to a style where all animals (except Adad’s lion-dragon) in procession are depicted couchant, and since the deity does not carry the curved weapon or wear the characteristic cylindrical headdress of Amurru, as found on Mesopotamian glyptic. The characteristic attire, together with the curved weapon of Amurru are found on Old Syrian glyptic.

Weather-god with sword

This deity usually wears a short skirt or short tunic, and a horned conical hat. Once he

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1939 Daki Çalışmalara ve Keşiflere ait ilk Rapor, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan series 5, no. 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1951), figs. 5, pl. 81.

144 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 76. (Here plate 59A).
145 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 2. (Here plate 47).
146 Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 854, 850, 849, etc.
147 Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 12aA.
wears a round horned hat with ribbons hanging down his back.\textsuperscript{144} The deity holds a sword, a lightning bolt, or both.\textsuperscript{149}

Plate 13A\textsuperscript{150} shows this deity raising the sword over his head. This gesture is rare on local Anatolian glyptic of the Karum II-Ib period and would appear to be of Syrian origin. It is a commonly seen gesture of deities in the late Hittite period.

The attributes of this deity do not help in the identification of his name. The sword and lightning are non-specific attributes of other weather-gods, for example, the weather-god with "cone and arrows" in Plate 57\textsuperscript{151} carries a lightning bolt, and the same deity in plate 40A\textsuperscript{152} carries a sword over his shoulder.

Weather-god holding a plant in a mounting posture completely behind a bull

There is one representation of this deity\textsuperscript{153} who appears as if mounting a non-existent chariot while holding the reign to his bull.

Deity on a donkey

In the Karum II period there are two renderings of a deity associated with a donkey. One variant shows a deity in a mounting posture on a donkey holding the reins to the animal and a cup in one hand.\textsuperscript{154} A different rendering\textsuperscript{155} shows the deity wearing the round hornless cap, sitting side-saddle on the donkey with his feet resting on a large stirrup.

\textsuperscript{144}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 4. (Here plate 13A).
\textsuperscript{149}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 24, 24, 4. (Here plates 43A, 22, 13A).
\textsuperscript{150}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 4.
\textsuperscript{151}Ibid., no. 28.
\textsuperscript{152}Ibid., no. 26.
\textsuperscript{153}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 7. (Here plate 50B).
\textsuperscript{154}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 1. (Here plate 18A).
\textsuperscript{155}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 77. (Here plate 12A).
Nude goddess on a donkey

This deity is not found in the level II glyptic, but on one level Ib cylinder seal impression.\textsuperscript{156} She holds a fish-like object in her right hand. A griffin and a bird appear in front of her.

Couple seated on a donkey

This motif appears on the seal impressions of the level Ib period for the first time in the local glyptic. Each of the participants wears a long garment, the male wears a round hat, the female a beret. Each holds a cup in one hand and sits facing the other. The motif seems to be Syrian in origin. Two examples exist in the Syrian Colony style impressions contemporary with Kültepe level II. They show couples either facing each other, or one behind the other, inside a structure.\textsuperscript{157} The Old Syrian style of level Ib shows couples facing each other with a table or vase between them.\textsuperscript{158}

In the Old Hittite period, we see a couple facing each other within the confines of a structure; the male offering a type of bowl to the female on the famous Bitik vase.

Conqueror god

For the one illustration of this deity on level II glyptic see plate 59A\textsuperscript{159} and the discussion

\textsuperscript{156}\özyuğ, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib}, pl. XXII\textsubscript{2}. (Here plate 59B).

\textsuperscript{157}Genouillac, \textit{Ceramique Cappadocienne}, no. A4; and Özyuğ and Özyuğ, \textit{Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949}, no. 696.


\textsuperscript{159}\özyuğ, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 76.
under Shamash with "saw." In the later period\textsuperscript{160} a stamp seal shows the conqueror deity with the multiple mace across a table from the hunting-god. The Tyskiewicz stamp-cylinder shows a conqueror-god in mounting posture over the body of a prostate human. He holds a rein connected to the head of the human, and his right hand is raised over his own head in the gesture of Syrian-type weather-gods, but no mace or other weapon is visible. One scholar\textsuperscript{161} has interpreted the action of this deity as stabbing a victim with a spear, but the line representing the "spear" has a curved upper portion and seems more likely to represent a rein rather than a spear.\textsuperscript{162}

Deity slaying a bull

There is only one instance where the person slaying a bull is depicted with a deity’s horned hat.\textsuperscript{163} Plate 22 shows a man in a short tunic and round cap about to slay a bull. Both the above mentioned seal impressions show the bull in the position typical in the contest motif with the bull-man. Plate 2B\textsuperscript{164} shows a human slaying a couchant animal.

War-like Ishtar

This deity is represented only once in the local Anatolian glyptic. She appears en face in


\textsuperscript{162}For another example see G. A. Eisen, \textit{Ancient Orient Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collectin of Mrs. William H. Moore}, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 47 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940), no. 60. Hereafter referred to as \textit{Seals Moore Collection}.

\textsuperscript{163}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 18. (Here Plate 5B).

\textsuperscript{164}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XL o.

A boat of two human protomes, and she carries a lion-headed mace in her right hand.\textsuperscript{165}

*Functionaries*

Among the participants on local Anatolian cylinder seal impressions are the interceding deity and human worshippers, as well as figures that appear to represent some sort of cult functionary.

*The Interceding deity*

The interceding deity is basically represented in the Old Assyrian type, that is male. The interceding deity cannot be recognized by any specific attire or appearance, that is, bearded or not, but rather by his position before or behind a worshipper or other adoring deity when approaching an enthroned deity. The interceding deity appears to stand behind the worshipper most often when that worshipper is bringing a liquid offering or "libation" to the seated

\textsuperscript{165}Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 895.
Fig. 32 The Interceding deity. Left: From Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 6, 53, 33.
Right: From Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 16/13 (lower half); Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 32, 12. Here see plates 41A, 4A, 1A, 7A, 6B, and 3A.
deity. The interceding deity accompanies single worshippers or leads processions. Because of the variety of appearance of the interceding deity (including one female deity after the Old Babylonian style including the ribbon element from the back) it is difficult to identify the interceding deity when he appears alone in abbreviated scenes with the enthroned deity, as in Old Babylonian scenes.

The scenes where the interceding deity actually grasp the worshipper’s hand are rare. Scenes where a worshipper occurs between two interceding deities are also rare. This is unlike the Old Assyrian style where two interceding deities often occur.

The characteristic gesture of the interceding deity on Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian seal impressions, that of both hands raised before the face, is found in the native groups 1-A, 1-B, and 3. But in group 2, the gesture of the interceding deity is with one hand raised, the other hand at the waist, i.e., the gesture of the worshipper on the Old

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169 Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadocienne*, nos. 75, 27; and Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 632 B. See here plates 4A, 6B, 4B.

170 See Özugç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 16, 53 (here plates 1B, 4A) where two interceding deities lead a worshipper.


172 Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 399, etc.


Babylonian style.\textsuperscript{176}

Worshipper

The worshipper who is led by the interceding deity to the enthroned deity usually makes the same gesture as the interceding deity, that is, both hands raised in the case of style groups 1-A, 1-B and 3; and one hand raised, the other at the side in style group 2. Worshippers whether human or divine, however, do sometimes appear in groups 1-A, 1-B with the one-hand gesture.\textsuperscript{177}

Ordinary human worshippers or adorants are sometimes not distinguishable from the deities by garb whether merely worshipers or bringing some offering. They are shown in long flounced garments. This is in contrast to the Old Assyrian style where the worshipper appears in a long garment with one fringed edge that is depicted hanging from the elbow of the arm held at the waist.\textsuperscript{178} Again, group 2 shows a closer relationship to the Old Assyrian style than the other local groups, as it does show human adorants in a long garment with one fringed edge.\textsuperscript{179} The worshippers on the native styles do not appear in the garments worn by adorants on the Old Babylonian style seals, i.e., long garments that leave one shoulder free.\textsuperscript{180}

There are two garments that are reserved for human worshippers. One is the ankle length mantle, popular on the Syrian Colony Style seal impressions and worn by adorants or

\textsuperscript{176}Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 717 (here plate 46) and Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. Ka 609 A.

\textsuperscript{177}Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 24, 55, 33. (Here plates 43A, 13B, 1A).

\textsuperscript{178}See Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. Ka 445A, and Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 851, 849, 859, etc.

\textsuperscript{179}Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 717 (here plate 46); and Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 609 A.

\textsuperscript{180}Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 376, 340, 343, for example.
offering bringers. Another such garment is found only in group 3, a knee-length garment with heavy border.

Human worshippers are rendered both in small and full-size, when involved in a libation scene, but are more or less always life size when bringing an animal offering.

Human functionaries

A combination of distinctive dress and a specific function or activity makes some figures appear as cult functionaries rather than as ordinary worshippers.

*Standing bringer of liquid.* One type of human functionary can be identified by a long garment with vertical pleats, a garment peculiar to this individual. He also wears a small round cap, and is not bare headed as the priests on Old Babylonian seals. This functionary appears bringing liquid offerings to the enthroned deity.

*Squatting liquid bringer.* This cult functionary wears either a short flounced tunic or appears naked, but even when naked, wears the round cap like the functionary in long vertically pleated garb. The squatting liquid bringer carries a teapot type juglet and appears in the knielauf position. In the Ib–Old Hittite period, he is always nude.

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182 Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 723; Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 13, etc. See here plates 52A, 52B.


184 Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 392, etc.


On the local Anatolian styles (he only appear in groups 1-A, and 1-B), the squatting liquid bringer is depicted of an equal size with the other figures near him. The position of the squatting liquid bringer is the same as that assumed by the small worshipper of the Old Babylonian period. This small worshipper is also seen in the Syrian Colony style of level II, where he often offers a jar. On one seal, he is even associated with the drinking vessel positioned on the god's lap.

**Bird-man as functionary.** In the Ib-Old Hittite period, the bird-man appears pouring a libation. A nude bird-man, who holds a beaked pitcher, but does not pour a libation, can be found on AO 20138.

**General Comments and Conclusions**

The presentation scene of the native style has the character of a predominantly Mesopotamian motif. The Anatolian groups usually follow the Old Assyrian pattern of employing a male interceding deity. This is an important indication of the immediate source of this motif.

Important local variations include the use of the two-hands raised gesture by the worshipper and the fact that the attire of the worshipper sometimes cannot be distinguished

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189 Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXVIIj.


from that of the deities.

Only rarely do Old Babylonian seal impressions show another deity approaching a seated main deity. In contrast, such combinations are a frequent theme in the Anatolian groups. Thus we can deduce some sort of hierarchy for the Anatolian groups by analyzing the deities worshipped and/or worshipping. Ea, the principle local deity, Marduk, bull with cone, deity in horse-drawn chariot, and the seated goddess are always the chief enthroned deity, and never approach other deities.

In contrast, the god Shamash, who in Mesopotamia is a chief deity, has been demoted on the local styles. He approaches a number of deities including Ea, and the principal local deity. The weather-god Adad has likewise been demoted. He is never worshipped and himself approaches Ea, the principal local deity, and the god in the horse-drawn chariot.

Usmu, who appears in Mesopotamia as the vizier of Ea merely to introduce worshipers, appears in Anatolian glyptic with a second role, that of an armed deity in processions, which appears to be an elevated role. In the Ib-Old Hittite period, Usmu appears further elevated as a libation is poured before him by a bird-man functionary.

The popularity or importance of an enthroned deity can be sensed if we tabulate the number of identifiable occurrences. See table 4.

The hierarchy of the deities can be seen in greater detail, by tabulating by whom the above enthroned deities are worshipped. In general in the level II period, the bull with cone is worshipped mostly by the interceding deity; the principal local deity is also worshipped mostly by the interceding deity in addition to humans, but also by almost every other non-enthroned deity, local and non-local. Ea is worshipped by local Anatolian deities of a war-

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Table 4. Comparison of the Popularity of enthroned deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Bull with cone</th>
<th>Principal local deity</th>
<th>Ea</th>
<th>Seated goddess</th>
<th>Marduk</th>
<th>deity in horse-drawn chariot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karum II</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karum Ib-Old Hittite</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

like character and Weather-god with a sword, in addition to Usmu and Shamash. The deity in the horse-drawn chariot is not worshipped by local Anatolian deities. The Seated Goddess is not approached by interceding deities nor human worshippers, but by local Anatolian weather-gods and the squatting liquid bringer.

Aside from Ea and Marduk, the deities worshipped are local in origin. The deity-worshippers in presentation and adoration scenes are derived from Old Babylonian tradition (Shamash with "saw," deity on a gazelle), Old Assyrian tradition (Adad on his lion-dragon), or Akkadian tradition (Ušmu, Shamash with "flames."

The so-called libation scenes show an important Anatolian variant from the Mesopotamian version. Whereas the Mesopotamian motif shows a libation poured out in front of a deity, (the deity does not hold a cup in his hand, and often an altar is placed in front of the deity) the local motif of level II shows a liquid being poured into a cup of

Table 5. Chart of Worshippers/Worshippees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worshipper</th>
<th>Bull with cone</th>
<th>Principal Local Deity</th>
<th>Ea</th>
<th>Seated Goddess</th>
<th>Marduk</th>
<th>Deity in horse-drawn chariot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god, round hat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(behind)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god &quot;cone &amp; arrows&quot;</td>
<td>1 (behind)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god on a bull and a mountain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(behind)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god with sword</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god holding a plant and behind bull</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local deity standing on a lion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting-god</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local War-god</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usmu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with &quot;saw&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with flames</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity in a wagon with boars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity standing on a gazelle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interceding deity</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squatting liquid bringer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing liquid bringer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the deity, or merely shows a human holding up a juglet in front of the outstretched cup of the
deity. The libation scene occurs most often before a local Anatolian deity, that is, the
principle local deity, seated goddess, weather-god with round hat, rather than to Ea who
predominates in the presentation scenes. The Mesopotamian type of libation motif appears on
local Anatolian glyptic in the Ib-Old Hittite period, where the bird-men are shown pouring
libations on the ground in front of an altar.

In processions of local Anatolian deities, the deities appear in a specific order. 1) The
weather-god with horned round cap, 2) the weather-god with "cone and arrows" or the
weather-god on bull and mountain, 3) local god on a lion, and 4) the Hunting-god on a stag
or bull, 5) Usmu on a boar. Not all of the deities occur in each procession, however the
general order is always the same.

It may be that the weather-god with "cone and arrows" is another rendering of the
weather-god on a bull and mountain. As will be discussed below, the weather-god with "cone
and arrows" appears on local group 1-A.1-B;\textsuperscript{196} but the weather-god on a bull and
mountain appears only in group 1-B. The mountain, on which the latter weather-god steps,
has a plant like object arising from the base, whereas, the "cone" on the back of the bull of
the "cone and arrows" weather-god has a rod with branch-like objects projecting from it. The
top of this cone sometimes even has two peaks;\textsuperscript{197} in addition to other variants of a rounded
top,\textsuperscript{198} flat top,\textsuperscript{199} top with crenelations,\textsuperscript{200} or a top sprouts.\textsuperscript{201} The cone itself is

\textsuperscript{196}Weather-god with cone and arrows on group 1-B see plate 32A, 44A, 55B, 56A.
\textsuperscript{197}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 29. (Here plate 25A).
\textsuperscript{198}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 26, 17, 28. (Here plates 40A, 54A, 57).
\textsuperscript{199}See Hrozný, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, no. 35aC; Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian
Group}, no. 64. See here plates 44A, 56A.
\textsuperscript{200}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 39. (Here plate 32A).
\textsuperscript{201}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 19/20. (Here plate 58A).
sometimes depicted with a herringbone pattern, as is the mountain of the weather-god on a
bull and mountain.202 Another similarity between the two weather-gods is the mounting
posture used all the time for the weather-god on a bull and a mountain, and once by the
weather-god with "cone and arrows".203

Occurrence of Participants in Local Groups of Level II

After having described the identifying attributes of the deities, we can survey their
occurrence in the various groups of Anatolian glyptic. Some striking conclusions arise from
such an analysis. Most of the local Anatolian deities (the weather-god with round-hat, the
weather-god with "cone and arrows", weather-god on bull and mountain, the seated goddess,
and the hunting-god on a stag) occur in groups 1-A and 1-B only. In these two groups where
the local weather-gods predominate, it does not seem unusual to note that Adad on his lion-
dragon is a rare occurrence. Adad appears in groups 3 and 4 where the local weather-gods
do not occur. Likewise Adad on his lion-dragon does not occur in group 2 where the
weather-god on a bull with lightning occurs. Shamash standing on a lion, as seen in Old
Assyrian glyptic, occurs only in group 3. Usmu and Ea are the only southern Mesopotamian
defigies who appear in group 3 in addition to their appearance in groups 1-A and 1-B. For
example, the non-processional Shamash with "saw" occurs only in group 1.

The human functionaries, other than worshippers, appear in groups 1-A and 1-B only.
The squatting liquid bringer appears in groups 1-A and 1-B, and the standing liquid bringer

202 Compare Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 19, 26, 30 with Özgüç, The Anatolian
Group, no. 31. (Here compare plate 58A, 40A, 12B with plate 56B).

203 Compare weather-god with "cone and arrows" on Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no.
19/20 (here plate 58A) with representations of the weather-god on a bull and mountain. The
sprouts from the top of the cone in Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, No. 19/20 (here plate 58A)
appear almost to have spherical ends similar to the Syrian type palm tree in Genouillac,
Ceramique Cappadocienne, no. C1.
Table 6. Participants by local Anatolian Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Group 1-A</th>
<th>Group 1-B</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal Local Deity</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea with goatfish</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marduk</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seated Goddess</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull with pyramidal cone</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull with pyramidal cone <em>and hands</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god round hat</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god cone and arrows</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god on bull and mountain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goddess opening her robe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local deity on lion in processions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local war-god on lion (mounting posture)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting-god on stag</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting-god on a bull</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usmu on a boar</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usmu</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with flames all over body</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with flames arising from shoulders</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with &quot;saw&quot; standing non-processional</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with &quot;saw&quot; non-processional in mounting posture or on lion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity in wagon drawn by boars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Group 1-A</th>
<th>Group 1-B</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naked Goddess with antelope</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War-like Ishtar</td>
<td></td>
<td>rare (Corpus 895)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god with Plant behind bull</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity on Donkey</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nude Goddess holding breasts</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity slaying bull</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squatting liquid bringer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing liquid bringer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god with sword</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adad on dragon</td>
<td></td>
<td>x rare</td>
<td>x rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity in horse drawn chariot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity on gazelle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

occurs only in group 1-A. See the table on occurrence of deities and functionaries in groups.

The 1b period brought drastic changes in the number of occurrences of certain deities as well as in the iconography. For the changes in the number of occurrences, see Table 4 above.

From tables 4 and 5, it can be seen that in level II Ea, the principal local deity and the bull with cone dominate as the focus of presentation and adoration scenes, as well as in the total number of occurrences. In the 1b and early Old Hittite periods, the situation has changed and the seated goddess is represented most often. She no longer occurs only in connection with the principal deity, as was the case in level II, but can be the sole deity on
stamp seals where the frequent motif is "libation." 204

**Participants in lb-Old Hittite Period**

It is no longer possible to correctly ascertain a sense of hierarchy in the lb-Old Hittite period, since either the libations are performed by human worshippers, or because the limited space provided by the stamp seals allows only the enthroned deity to be represented. The change in popularity of the participants from the level II period can be seen in table 7.

As stated above, the Ib period brought drastic changes in the iconography. Aside from the stamp-cylinders there are no longer any processional scenes. Ea, the principal local deity, bull with cone appear with decreased frequency, and some deities do not survive the level II period at all (Shamash with "flames," Marduk, deity in a wagon drawn by boars, deity standing on a gazelle, nude goddess holding her breasts, War-like Ishtar, the local war-god, deity on a donkey, weather-god with a sword). Other deities do not survive the Ib period (Ea, Bull with cone, Weather-god with cone and arrows, Weather-god on a bull and a mountain, nude goddess holding her breasts, Shamash with saw, deity in horse drawn chariot, Adad, and the interceding deity).

Most of the deities who appear in the level Ib period have Syrian affiliations, or are interpreted in the Ib period with Syrian characteristics. The small goddess opening her robes, associated with the weather-god on bull and mountain, has parallels with Syria already noted; the weather-god with mace has obvious affinities with the Syrian weather-god with mace; the

---

204 In level Ib she occurs on dual scene cylinder seals once with the weather-god on bull and mountain (see Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib*, pl. XXV, [here plate 34B]) and once with an unidentified deity carrying an ax (Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib*, pl. XVK D, [here plate 15]). And on the Aidin stamp-cylinder she appears enthroned on two mountain-sheep behind the principal local deity (identified by the mountain sheep throne, two lions holding up the table in front of the deity. Usmu then would be the Usmu of processions, and not the vizier of Ea.)
### Table 7. Popularity of Participants, level II through Old Hittite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Karum II-lb period cylinders</th>
<th>Old Hittite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level II</td>
<td>Level lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal local deity</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marduk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seated Goddess</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull with cone</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god round hat</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god &quot;cone and arrows&quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt; (1 with mace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god on bull &amp; mountain</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goddess opening her robes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local deity on lion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;f&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local war-god</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting-god</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;g&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goddess on stag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usmu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with flames</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash with &quot;saw&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity in wagon drawn by boars</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naked goddess with antelope</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War-like Ishtar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Karum II-lb period cylinders</td>
<td>Old Hittite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level II</td>
<td>Level Ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god holding plant behind bull</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity on donkey</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nude goddess on donkey</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple on donkey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nude goddess holding breasts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity slaying bull</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squatting liquid bringer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing liquid bringer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird-men as functionary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conqueror god</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{l}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather-god with sword</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interceding Deity</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adad</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity in Horse-drawn chariot</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief weather-god in chariot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deity on gazelle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 7--Continued

c. See Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib*, pl. XXX 1b.
d. Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 25.
e. See Tyskiewicz seal in Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group," and AO 20138 in Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (A)20128."
f. Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (AO20138)," AO 20138.
g. Orthmann, ed. *Der Alte Orient*, no. 375d.
i. See Tyskiewicz seal in Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group."
k. See AO 20138 in Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (AO20138)."
l. See Tyskiewicz seal in Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group."
n. See AO 20138 in Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (AO20138)."

popularity of the conqueror-god on Syrian glyptic was also previously noted.

As N. Özgüç states, "In Kanish Karum level Ib, to judge by the seals, the connections have shifted from Assur to Syria, and the contemporary kingdoms of Amurru... the reason must be that after Samsi-Adad I the Assyria Colony period came to an end and that trade relations with Syria and Babylonia developed."205 This Syrian development on local Anatolian style seals is in addition to the fact that Old Syrian style seals are in numerical superiority in the level Ib period, compared to the situation in level II when the majority of

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205 Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib*, p. 53.
seal impressions were Old Assyrian.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib*, pp. 47, 53.
CHAPTER IV

ANIMALS AND SUN-DISCs AS SUBSIDIARY/FILLING MOTIFS

Among the subsidiary and filling motifs are Mesopotamian derived and local Anatolian figures and elements. Just as there were deities borrowed from Mesopotamia and modified, the subsidiary motifs, like the bull-man and nude-hero, were modified in their Anatolian usage. Some seal impressions of groups 1-A and 1-B utilize filling motifs to such an extent that the entire field of the seal appears cluttered.¹

**Motifs**

Motifs Adopted from Old Babylonian Tradition

Nude hero and bull-man

In Mesopotamia, both the bull-man and the nude hero appear in contest scenes with animals² and with each other.³ The nude hero appeared with the flowing vase opposite the goddess Ishtar,⁴ the god Ea,⁵ Amurru,⁶ and the conqueror-god.⁷ He could be standing or


kneeling, on a large or very small scale.\textsuperscript{8} The nude hero was depicted in Mesopotamia from the Akkadian period through the Old Babylonian period as bare-headed with long locks.\textsuperscript{9}

The bull-man in Mesopotamia appears as a standard bearer, or as an offering-bringer.\textsuperscript{10} He is depicted with bull’s ears, multiple horned hat, bull’s tail and hind quarters, and with human torso and face. He always appears standing, not kneeling.

On local Anatolian glyptic, the distinctions between the nude hero and the bull-man are somewhat confused.

The nude hero on local Anatolian glyptic is rendered with long locks, but also with a set of horns and bull’s ears and thus appears to have the head of the bull-man seen in the Akkadian period.\textsuperscript{11} The nude hero carries the vase of flowing streams and appears in contest scenes as in Mesopotamia;\textsuperscript{12} but unlike the Mesopotamian glyptic, the bull-man also appears holding the streaming-vase.\textsuperscript{13} The streams often end in a triangle, a purely local variant.

The bull-man on local Anatolian glyptic appears with human torso, bull’s tail and

\textsuperscript{8}\textit{Ibid.}, pl. XXVIII k.

\textsuperscript{9}Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 517.

\textsuperscript{10}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XXVIII g.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 171.


\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}, nos. 37, 53, 54, 73. (Here plates 35B, 4A, 39A, 28B).
hindquarters, human face, long locks, bull’s ears and one set of horns. In other words, the nude hero and the bull-man are depicted with the same head features.

The confusion between the nude hero and the bull-man seems complete on Plate 32A\textsuperscript{14} where two kneeling atlantid figures are depicted with bull’s ears, but hornless, and with human legs and torso, but with bull’s tails.

As in Mesopotamia, both the nude hero and bull-man appear in contest scenes with the lion, but the nude hero is the more common antagonist.\textsuperscript{15} The bull-man appears as standard bearer, also like the Mesopotamian tradition;\textsuperscript{16} but unlike the Mesopotamian tradition, this motif on local glyptic also employs the nude hero.\textsuperscript{17} Thus, on local glyptic, the bull-man and nude hero have exactly the same functions, in the level II period. Toward the end of the Old Hittite period, the use of bull-men to hold up the winged sun-disc is seen.\textsuperscript{18}

Antelope being attacked by lion or lion-dragon

On local level II glyptic, rampant lions attack mountain-sheep, antelopes, and bulls.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., no. 39. See also Ibid., no. 59 (here plate 39B). A nude hero in the contest scene with a lion sometimes has a tail (see Ibid., nos. 49, 40 (here plates 42A, 20A).

\textsuperscript{15}For bull-man see, Ibid., nos. 63, 75 (here plates 67A, 31A), etc. on group 1-B only.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., nos. 54, 7, 57, 75. (Here plates 39A, 50B, 28A., 31A).

\textsuperscript{17}Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 73; Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL n (here plates 28B, 3A), etc. on groups 1-A, 1-B, and 3.


They appear as minor filling motifs,\textsuperscript{20} or as part of a hunting scene,\textsuperscript{21} or battle scene.\textsuperscript{22}

The hunting scene is important as it occurs on a seal impression that also depicts a procession, and is the first antecedent for the combined use of religious and hunting scenes found in the empire period at Alaca Hüyük. On the level II representations, the lion is usually rampant while its victim is often couchant. The motif of a rampant lion attacking a rampant antelope occurs in the early period only once.\textsuperscript{23}

The motif of rampant lion or lion-dragon attacking a rampant antelope is found in Old Babylonian glyptic,\textsuperscript{24} but only once on local glyptic in the Ib period.\textsuperscript{25} On Old Babylonian seal impressions, the motif is often accompanied by the motif of the kneeling human being attacked by a lion or lion-dragon.\textsuperscript{26} The latter motif is not found on local glyptic of the level II or level Ib periods.

Fish-man

The fish-man associated with Ea is depicted on local glyptic as a human-face in profile or en face, with a round cap on a fish-shaped body and tail. This appearance is a variation of

\textsuperscript{20}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 15. (Here plate 11A).

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, no. 28. (Here plate 57).

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Ibid.}, no. 50. (Here plate 70).

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Ibid.}, no. 34. (Here plate 14A).


\textsuperscript{25}Nimet Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish}, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan. series 5. no. 25 (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1968), pl. XIX A.

\textsuperscript{26}Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, nos. 359, 368.
the Old Babylonian where the creature is human above the waist and fish-shaped below.\textsuperscript{27}

The fish-man on local glyptic is found also with the Principal local deity.\textsuperscript{28}

Lion-headed demon

There is only one occurrence of the lion-headed demon on local glyptic of the level II-Old Hittite period.\textsuperscript{29} The demon consists of a human torso with feathered legs, lion head with wings arising from the neck. He holds an antelope by the neck with one hand, and a lion by one hind leg in the other. The lion-headed demon occurs in Mesopotamia as an attacker of the kneeling man,\textsuperscript{30} holding a human victim upside down,\textsuperscript{31} or holding a dagger in one hand raised over his head while holding a human head in the other.\textsuperscript{32}

Double-headed eagle

The double-headed eagle first appears in Mesopotamia in the Ur III period, and is connected with several gods in the Old Babylonian period.\textsuperscript{31} On local Anatolian glyptic, the double-headed eagle appears between atlantid figures that are supporting the seated goddess’s

\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., nos. 366, 377, 414, 433.


\textsuperscript{29}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 49. a seal impression showing a procession to Ea (Here plate 42A).

\textsuperscript{30}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 173.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., pl. XXIX i.

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., pl. XXVII 1.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., pp. 143, 177.
throne, and on a seal that perhaps depicts the principal local deity; both in level II.34 In  
level Ib, the double-headed eagle is again seen in association with the seated goddess,35 as  
well as on a seal impression depicting the small goddess opening her robes, and the couple on  
a donkey.36

Monkey

Starting in the Ur III period, monkeys appear as "ensigns" mounted on poles.37 In the  
Old Babylonian period they appear on or without poles in front of standing, or enthroned  
deities, between worshippers and interceding deities, or as filling motifs in the middle of  
contest scenes.38 On local glyptic, the monkey always appears without a pole, in the same  
situations as on Mesopotamian glyptic, except that monkeys never hold up a standard or  
symbol;39 and when in front of a deity the monkey and deity usually face the same direction  
contrary to Mesopotamian usage. The monkey also appears behind the bull with cone and  
enthroned deities, and sometimes is upside down.

34Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 894. Tahsin Özugüç and Nimet  
Özugüç, Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Kütlepe Kazısı Raporu, 1949: Ausgrabungen  
in Kütlepe: Bericht über die im Auftrage der Türkischen historischen Gesellschaft, 1949,  
durchgeführten Ausgrabungen, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan, series 5, no. 12 (Ankara:  
Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1953), no. 719 (see here plate 33A).

35Nimet Özugüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunan Mühür Baskıları," Türk Tarih  
Kurumu Belleten 41/162 (1977), no. 35, p. 38. A variation of lion-headed eagle is seen in  
Özugüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 70 (here plate 55A).

36Özugüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. XXV1. (Here plate 53).

37Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 146.

38For impressions showing the monkey facing a deity see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near  
Eastern Seals. nos. 315, 316, etc; for impressions showing the monkey between worshipper  
and interceding deity see Ibid., nos. 341, 388; for the monkey in contest scenes see Ibid.,  
os. 434, 351, and 353.

39Two monkeys hold the symbol of Marduk. cf. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXVIIIb.
On three occasions the monkey is held over the head of a kneeling human or nude hero.\(^{40}\) Another local variant shows the monkey holding a libation type pitcher,\(^{41}\) or a cup.\(^{42}\)

The monkey as filling motif survives into the \(\text{Ib}\) period.\(^{43}\)

**Sun-discs**

In Mesopotamia, the use of moon crescents before an enthroned deity is seen in the Akkadian period;\(^{44}\) while the use of sun-disks together with those crescents starts in the \(\text{Ur III}\) period\(^{45}\) and continues into the Old Babylonian period.

On local glyptic, the sun-disc occurs in front of a variety of deities, both Mesopotamian and local in origin. However, there are several deities who never have a sun-disc, that is, Adad, Amurru, Ishtar, the weather-god with "cone and arrows", deity on a donkey, the deity on a horse-drawn chariot, the local war-god, and the conqueror-god. Twice, the sun-disc

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\(^{40}\)Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 67, 74, 16. (Here plates 41B, 33B, and 1B).

\(^{41}\)Ibid., nos. 73, 28, 8, 11, 24, 40, 60, 62; and Genouillac. *Ceramique Cappadoctienne*, no. C5. See here plates 28B, 57, 50A, 44B, 43A, 20A, 29A.

\(^{42}\)Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 15, 67. (Here plates 11A, 41B). These local variants are unique. They are not found on Old Babylonian, nor Syrian glyptic. Monkeys themselves are not found on Old Assyrian glyptic.


\(^{44}\)Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, nos. 245, 252, 243, etc.

\(^{45}\)Ibid., nos. 277, 292, 293.
with crescent appears in the midst of a hunting scene,⁴⁶ where no deity is present. In the
level Ib period, a sun-disc and crescent appear over a scene showing a variation of the nude-
hero/bull-man contest.⁴⁷ The significance of the sun-disc on local glyptic is therefore
questionable. On some impressions of the level II period, the sun-discs appear on top of the
tall conical hats worn by the deities.⁴⁸

The designs or filling motifs of the discs are quite numerous. Some of these designs
appear to be local Anatolian and occurred in the Early Bronze age before the Colony period
as designs on stamp seals, whorls, or on the "standards" of Alaca Hüyük.

The use and origin of the sun-disc designs can be ascertained from table 8.

Design no. 25, a raised dot in a concentric circle, was impressed on various types of
impressions.

In level Ib design no. 14, the "signe royale" and descendant of design no. 12, was
impressed on vessels from Kültepe and a few from Bogazköy. In the Hittite empire period,
the "signe royale" was the most popular design impressed on vessels.⁴⁹ Other designs were
stamped on vessels, some of which were also used as sun-disc designs in the level II period;
but just as the antecedent of the "signe royale" was most plentiful as a sun-disc design, the

⁴⁶Bedrich Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, vol. 1 (Prague: Státní
Pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1952), no. 35aD; Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 82 (here
plate 68A), and on an animal frieze of Ibid., no. 96; but not all hunting scenes, see Ibid., no.
81 (see here plate 68B).

⁴⁷Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 40. (Here plate 72).


⁴⁹Seidl Gefässmarken von Bogazköy, fig. 26 = Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in
Kültepe 1949, pl. XXXIII 231, and pl. XXII, of Özgüç, Kültepe Kanis: New Researches. See
also Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, pl. XXVI 126 = Seidl.
Gefässmarken von Bogazköy, fig. 25. Also Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948, pl.
XXVIII 160; and Koşay, Alaca Hoyuk 1937-39, pl. XLIX.
"signe royale" is most plentiful as a design impressed on vessels. Aside from the antecedent of the "signe royale," the designs found earlier in the Early Bronze age are those which survive as designs impressed on vessels in the Ib period, and not the Mesopotamian sun-disc designs.

Various theories have been advanced as to the significance of designs no. 25 and 14. vessels in the level II period, including the hydria vase and teapots seen on the seal. According to one theory, these designs, the dot within a circle in the level II period, and the "signe royale" in the level Ib period, marked vessels within households for cultic use; a theory strengthened by the fact that vessels marked with the "signe royale" were found in Temple I at Bogazköy—the temple to the weather-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Another theory is that the marks are royal designations. In favor of this last theory, is the fact that the symbol impressed on vessels of the level Ib period changes; and historical

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51 See Seidl, Gefässmarken von Bogazköy, p. 68.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Associated Deity</th>
<th>Occurrence in level II/IIb</th>
<th>Occurrence prior to level II</th>
<th>Impressions on vessels</th>
<th>Occurrence in Mesopot.</th>
<th>Occurrence in New Kingdom</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plate 2B*</td>
<td>Spindle whorl*</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stamp seal*</td>
<td>yes'</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Group 1-A Plate 1A, 27A*</td>
<td>EB standard in center*</td>
<td>yes'</td>
<td>Old Babylonia</td>
<td>Old Assyrian*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ea Weather-god round hat</td>
<td>Group 1-A Group 1-B Plate 54A, 30A, 12A</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes*</td>
<td>Old Babylonia</td>
<td>Mursili II*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ea Weather-god round hat</td>
<td>variation of above symbol Group 1-A</td>
<td>EB standard*</td>
<td>yes*</td>
<td>Old Babylonia</td>
<td>Mursili II*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Sun Disc Designs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Associated Deity</th>
<th>Occurrence in level II/IIb</th>
<th>Occurrence prior to level II</th>
<th>Impressions on vessels</th>
<th>Occurrence in Mesopot.</th>
<th>Occurrence in New Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Group 1-A Plate 11A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bull with cone</td>
<td>Group 1-A Plate 51A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sometimes Marduk</td>
<td>Group 1-A Plate 40A, 25A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Marduk? Principal local deity</td>
<td>Group 1-A plates 50B, 27B</td>
<td>Stamp seal EB period'</td>
<td>yes'</td>
<td>Old Babylonian'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>no deity on seal</td>
<td>Group 1-A Plate 73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Table 8—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Associated Deity</th>
<th>Occurrence in level II/(l_b)</th>
<th>Occurrence prior to level II</th>
<th>Impressions on vessels</th>
<th>Occurrence in Mesopot.</th>
<th>Occurrence in New Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Principal local deity</td>
<td>Group 1-A, plates 28A, 24A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Principal local deity; weather god on bull &amp; mountain</td>
<td>Group 1-A &amp; Group 1-B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ur III&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Principal local deity</td>
<td>Group 1-A, Group 2 Plate 41B, 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ur III&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Seated Goddess</td>
<td>Level (l_b)</td>
<td>yes'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Group 1-B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Old Babylonian&lt;br&gt;yes&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt; Tudhaliya IV Hattusili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Associated Deity</td>
<td>Occurrence in level II/Ib</td>
<td>Occurrence prior to level II</td>
<td>Impressions on vessels</td>
<td>Occurrence in Mesopot.</td>
<td>Occurrence in New Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Principal local deity; weather-god bull &amp; mountain</td>
<td>Groups 1-B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ur III\textsuperscript{c}</td>
<td>yes\textsuperscript{e} Hattusili III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Principal local deity; goddess on donkey</td>
<td>Group 1-A Plates 3A, 59B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Old Babylonian\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Ea: Principal local deity</td>
<td>Group 2 Plates 22, 3B, 46, 7A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Group 3 Plate 9A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Old Assyrian\textsuperscript{g}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Group 2 Plate 5B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Old Babylonian\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Associated Deity</td>
<td>Occurrence in level II/Ib</td>
<td>Occurrence prior to level II</td>
<td>Impressions on vessels</td>
<td>Occurrence in Mesopot.</td>
<td>Occurrence in New Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Old Assyrian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>Spindle whorl stamp</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Old Babylonian</td>
<td>yes Suppilulium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Group 3 Plate 52B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Level Ib</td>
<td>Old Hittite</td>
<td></td>
<td>Old Babylonian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Principal local deity; Seated goddess; Bull with cone</td>
<td>Level Ib</td>
<td>Standards</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XL o.
Table 8—Continued


f. Sedat Alp, *Siegel aus Karahöyük*, fig. 263.

g. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, nos. 44, 33, 23; Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadocienne*, nos. 27, (23?).


l. See plate 54A, weather-god with round hat wears the simple cross design, the more complicated cross design is in the sun-disc.

m. Koşay. *Alaca Höyük 1937-39*, pls. CXCIII c, CLIV.

n. Seidl *Gefässmarken von Bogazköy*, no. A 62, fig. 6; A 81, fig. 7; and Alp, *Siegel aus Karahöyük*, p. 294, nos. 46 a-d. fig. 136-137.

Table 8--Continued


q. See winged lion behind enthroned deity.


u. This design also appears once associated with Ea. See Plate 50A.


Table 8--Continued


ii. Hrozny, *Inscriptions Cuneiformes du Kültepe*, no. 35aA.

jj. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, text fig. 78.


oo. Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 2--Suppiluliuma.


vv. Seidl, *Gefäßmarken von Bogazköy*, p. 67, fig. 27, 28 from level II.


reconstruction notes that Kültepe had a change of rule between level II and Ib; and that level
Ib is the period of Pithana and Anitta.

Is there any connection between the popularity of design no. 12 as a sun-disc in level II and its use as a design impressed on pottery of level Ib in Kültepe, and later in Bogazköy? What conclusions can here be drawn about the use of sun-disc designs?

It can be seen that the designs are usually in quadrants, and that no design is specific to a particular deity; but that a design appearing near one major worshipped deity does not appear near a totally different major enthroned deity, even though it may appear next to other non-enthroned deities. Also, there are similarities in the different designs that appear next to the major deities. Designs of a cross (simple or complex, see designs 3 - 6) are used in glyptic groups 1-A and 1-B in association with Ea. On the other hand, design no. 11, 12, and 13 (the antecedents of the "signe royale") and multiple pointed star designs appear in association with the principal local deity.  

The sun-disc designs nos. 12, and 13, antecedents of the "signe royale," appear on seals with the following deities: Principal local deity, Seated-Goddess, weather-god on a bull and mountain,  
goddess with antelope, Shamash with flames all over his body, weather-god round hat, local hunting-god with bird in hand, and Adad on winged lion. Deities associated with the "star" designs no. 15-16 include the principal local deity, Seated-goddess, weather-god round hat, weather-god on a bull and a mountain, and local war-god. Deities associated with the "cross" sun-disc designs 3 - 9 include Ea, bull with horns, Marduk, weather-god

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53A four-pointed without rays that appears mostly in local glyptic group 2 (design no. 19) is associated with both Ea and the principal local deity (see also plate 3b as an illustration of this design in glyptic group 1-A); and a three-pointed star with radial lines (but not bent rays, see design 21) associated with Ea also only appears in glyptic group 2.

54Most sun-disc designs associated with the weather-god on a bull and a mountain are abraded and impossible to decipher, for the one presently known example of this weather-god and sun-disc design no. 12 see Hrozný. *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 48aA, where the weather-god is worshipped.
with round hat, weather-god with cone and arrows, and deity on a donkey.

As was mentioned in chapter 3, the local Anatolian deities appear in a specific order in a procession. This procession is sometimes a procession of worshippers to the principal local deity, or it appears behind the Seated Goddess. Also, as mentioned above in chapter 3, the weather-god with "cone and arrows," and the weather-god on bull and a mountain are alternative renderings of the similar deities, with the weather-god on a bull and a mountain appearing only in group 1-B. Those two weather-gods never appear on the same seal.

Furthermore, the weather-god with "cone and arrows" does not occur with the Seated Goddess, as does the weather-god on a bull and a mountain. The weather-god with "cone and arrows" appears with Ea, and Marduk, as well as with the principal local deity.

Also, the antecedents of the "signe royale" appear in both groups 1-A and 1-B, whereas the "star" design sun-discs appear only in glyptic group 1-B.

These groupings, such as the association of the weather-god with cone and arrows with Ea, and the association of the weather-god on a bull and mountain, bring up the question as to whether sun-disc designs indicate a group of deities rather than a specific deity. This thesis is strengthened by the fact that sun-disc designs no. 12 and 13, associated with the principal deity and the Seated-Goddess, also appear in the level 1b period as design no. 14. The

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55See for example plates 44A, 45A.

56See plate 55A.

57See plate 12B, 25A, and 54A where a goat-fish appears beneath the cone instead of a bull.

58See plate 40A, and also 32A where winged lion appears in front of enthroned deity and weather-god with cone and arrows appears behind.

59See plate 44A.

60See especially plate 28B.
latter design is associated again with the Seated-Goddess, who becomes the most prevalently
represented deity of that period while design no. 14 appears in that level impressed on pottery
vessels designating them for royal or cult use.

Even the fact that more than one sun-disc design may appear on one impression does not
appear to invalidate the above theory. The secondary design may appear in the disc on top of
the hat of the weather-god with round hat, or on a standard held by bull-men. This
second design, when it is seen clearly and not abraded, is a simple cross as a variant to the
more complicated sun-disc cross designs in the seal impression.

The theory that a design represents a group of deities of a particular city or ruling
dynasty can be supported by later evidence. The hieroglyphic symbol of a sun-disk in later
times may mean "city." A sculpture dating to Tiglath-Pileser III shows discs on the
crowns of deities of one city that are being carried away by the Assyrians. The designs on
the discs of all the deities are identical. Likewise, all three deities on the rock relief at
Maltai have the same disk design on their hats.

If a particular design, such as no. 12, represented a group of deities of a specific city or
perhaps of its rulers, it would be appropriate for later rulers, who traced their ancestry or

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61 See plates 45A, 54A, 51B.
62 See plate 50B.
64 See R. D. Barnett and M. Faulkner, *The Sculptures of Asurnasirpal II, Tiglath-Pileser
III and Esarhaddon from the Central and S. W. Palaces at Nimrud* (London, 1962), pl. XCII,
and Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, p. 51 and note 16. For another line drawing of one of
these sculptures, see T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London:
University of London. 1970), pl. LX-1,2.
traditions to that city, to adopt the design. Thus, if design no. 12 was specific to the chief
god and goddess of the city of Nesa/Kanes, its use and popularity as a cultic or government
seal in the empire period at Bogazköy would be significant. Perhaps the design was adopted
by the rulers of level Ib Kültepe as a symbol of the ruler's divine right to sovereignty, and
because the deities associated with it could easily be conflated with their own deities (the
weather-god with the sun-god and the Seated Goddess with the Sun-goddess of Arinna). If
these rulers were indeed Pithana and Anitta, the use of the "signe royale" by other rulers,
who traced their ancestry to Pithana and Anitta, that is, later Hittite rulers, would be logical.
The design might then be both a cultic mark and a royal mark, as the Hittite kings were also
the chief priests of the land.

Sphinxes and griffins

The sphinx appears in Mesopotamian glyptic as early as the Early Dynastic period as part
of a motif with a plow, pot, and the boat of the Sun-god. A detailed example of this motif
can be seen on an Akkadian seal where the boat prow ends in a god holding a forked punting
pole. The sun-god, with flames arising from his shoulders, sits in the rear steering. A
bearded sphinx is tied to the prow of the boat and the plow and the pot appear in the field

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over the sphinx. Behind the boat appears a vegetation goddess. In other appearances of this motif, the sun-god’s boat is preceded by a scorpion-man. The entire motif of boat, sphinx, plough, and pot are illustrations of the overnight journey of the sun; and the moon and stars are sometimes a part of the scene. The scorpion men in Mesopotamia are at the portals of the Mashu mountains--the moutains that keep watch over the sun-god’s rising and setting.

The motif has fertility aspects: the plow, the fertility goddess; as well as the fact that the boat may end in a snake or a branch (the snake being a symbol of the fertility god Ningirsu). In the Early Dynastic period, the symbol of Imdugud was engraved over the sun-god’s boat. On other similar motifs the sphinx is guided by a stick, as if it were an oxen or ass which was being taken from a farm to a field. The pot drawn with the plough may contain seeds. Frankfort says, "the contact apparently established between sun and earth each evening in the west, to be broken each morning in the east, would create at the same time a connection with the sprouting plant life with the usual equation of night, earth, and death." The plants carried in, or shown before or behind the god’s boat, "would then equal the ‘golden bough’ which Aeneus required to cross the Styx."

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68 See Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XIX e.

69 Ibid., 68.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., 109.

72 Frankfort, Art and Architecture, p. 90-91.

73 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 108 and pl. XIX f.

74 Ibid., 109-110.

75 Ibid., p. 136.
On one seal the god of the underworld, Nergal, is seen in the boat. Both the Sumerians and the Hittites believed that the sun continued its journey through the netherworld at night. But it was the Sumerian belief that a 'man-devouring' river had to be crossed via boat and ferryman.

The sphinx, winged and unwinged griffin, and double headed eagle are also found on Syrian seals, as well as later Mitannian seals.

The local Anatolian appearances of the sphinx together with the griffin retain the association with death and the underworld. On the seal of plate 33B the griffin tramples one human while attacking a second human with its beak. On another seal a wingless griffin appears near a limbless human. Unlike the sphinx that is also an associate of the Seated Goddess, the griffin does not appear with weather-god on a bull and a mountain. The sphinx is found only once in the level Ib period, but the griffin appears more frequently either by itself or in a heraldic pose with a bull on stamp seals.

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76Ibid., pl. XXIV b. and p. 168.

77In addition, the male sun-god or Istanus was considered sun-god of heaven and underworld. See Goetze, Kleinasien, 137-138.

78Kramer, The Sumerians, 132-133.

79See Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 923, 927, 928, 930, 931 for "first Syrian" examples, see also no. 936 for double headed eagle; Ibid., nos. 980, 981, 984, 985, 953, 961 for "second Syrian" examples.

80See Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 182-184.

81See plate 55A.

82See plates 35A, 56B, 64 for the weather-god with the sphinx. See plate 45A, 55A for the sphinx with the seated goddess.

83Özgüç, Seal and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. 32, no. 2 and no. 5. Özgüç in The Anatolian Group, p. 72 notes 145. 146 points out other appearances of the griffin on stamp seals from other sites contemporary with the level Ib period.
This motif of the griffin is altered from the Mesopotamian motif found in the Old Babylonian period where the griffin attacks a kneeling victim.\textsuperscript{84} The local Anatolian seals of group 1-B show the double headed eagle, and lion headed eagle like Imdugud.\textsuperscript{85}

The sphinx, griffin, and double-headed eagle, with their relationships to the underworld appear on local glyptic only in group 1-B; the griffin in particular an associate of the seated goddess.\textsuperscript{86}

\textit{Local Anatolian Motifs}

In order to stress the purely local usage of some motifs, they have been placed in the category of local Anatolian motifs, despite the fact that the participants in, for example, the atlantid motif, are a derivative of the bull-man, nude hero of Mesopotamia.

\textbf{Atlantid figures}

Atlantid figures appear only in glyptic group 1-B. They are nude-heroes or bull-men with arms raised over their heads supporting platforms upon which rest a bull with cone in its variant with hands or the Seated Goddess.\textsuperscript{87}

In their uses as supporters of platforms and thrones, the atlantid figures occupy a place similar to the couchant bull.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{84} Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XXVII g and p. 160.

\textsuperscript{85} See plate 55A.

\textsuperscript{86} See plate 33B.


\textsuperscript{88} On Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 71, 70 (here plate 45A, 55A), couchant bulls occupy the bottom row of the seated goddess's throne. An eagle or lion-headed eagle is positioned between the two couchant bulls.
In groups 3 and 4 where the atlantid figures do not occur, a pair of nude hero standard bearers appear beneath the bull with cone.\textsuperscript{80}

True antecedents for the atlantid figures do not occur in the Mesopotamian tradition. There we can find only rather matter-of-fact representations of porters. Thus, the atlantid figures appear to originate on the local seals. On the local seals, an atlantid-like posture is used by a kneeling man holding a table over his head and in front of a bull with cone. But this kneeling posture with the arms bent is probably closer to the Mesopotamian motif, where a nude hero holds a lion over his head, the arms are bent and the lion rests on the hero’s head or shoulders. That motif, not classified here as atlantid, does occur in group 1-A, where nude men, or nude heroes hold monkeys over their heads. A true parallel for the atlantid figure exists only once in the Old Assyrian style.

The use of atlantid figures continues in Anatolia through the empire period, and generally follows the pattern where deities are being supported. The lion-headed atlantid figures on the rock relief of Imamkulu support Mountain gods, which, in turn, support the weather-god and his chariot. On the Megiddo plaque, all but the top row of atlantid figures support other

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91 Genouillac, Ceramique Cappadocienne, no. D, (here plate 18B).

92 Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 362; Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXVIII k; Anton Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollseigel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst (Berlin, 1940; repr 1966), no. 305.

93 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 16, 67 (here plates 1B, 41B).

94 Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 639.
figures; only the top row of atlantid figures support a winged sun disc.

The concept of figures supporting the wings of the winged sun-disc appears in use in Anatolia in the 15th century B.C., although not in a true atlantid posture. On one of the stamp seals, two bull-men support a winged sun-disc that hangs over a palm tree.

On Mitannian glyptic of the 14th century B.C., a winged sun-disc is supported by one atlantid figure with intertwined legs. The Middle Assyrian glyptic of the 14th century B.C. shows two nude heros holding the winged sun-disc. Frankfort notes that the association of the sacred tree with the sun-disc was a result of the assimilation of Indo-Europeans and their concept of the pillar supporting heaven. He further states that the concept of the pillar was meaningless to the Asiatics, and that the Assyrians used their characteristic device of rendering the pillar by atlantid figures.

In the new kingdom of the Hittites, the concept of atlantid figures holding up the winged sun-disc, rather than holding up platforms or deities, became dominant. Such Atlantid figures occur at Iftatum Pinar and at Yazilikaya. They also occur in the neohittite period.

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97 Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, text fig. 90, p. 276.


It would seem that the use of atlantid figures in Anatolia changed from that of holding up platforms or otherwise being a support for a deity, to holding up the winged sun-disk at the change from Old to New kingdom. The Old Kingdom culture was influenced predominantly by Hattian elements; the New Kingdom in contrast showed Hurrian influence in religion as well as other matters. Suppiluliuma I, himself, and his dynasty were Hurrians. So perhaps, we can label the origin of the atlantid figures found earlier at Kültepe as Hattian, and the use of atlantid figures in the New Kingdom to uphold the winged sun-disc as Mitannian/Hurrian. The winged sun-disc supported by atlantid figures would then be an asiatic variation of the Indo-European concept of the pillar supporting heaven. This notion is supported by the fact, as Frankfort notes,\(^{102}\) that in the conflation of the pillar of heaven with the palm tree, it is always the "pillar of heaven" which was eliminated, and that the first appearance of a nude-hero/bull-man holding up a winged sun-disc in Anatolia are not in true atlantid posture.\(^{103}\)

File of small-sized men facing in one direction

This subsidiary motif is found once on Old Babylonian glyptic.\(^{104}\) It is one of the motifs which gives groups 3 and 4 their distinctive character. On local glyptic these figures are found associated with the chariot or as a subsidiary motif below the bull with cone.

The motif occurs in the level II period on local glyptic,\(^{105}\) but is more popular in level

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\(^{102}\) Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 276.

\(^{103}\) Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXVII g.


Like the occurrence in Mesopotamia, the figures have one arm raised. The motif does not occur on the Syrian Colony style of the level II period, and parallels in the Ib period are rare. One local seal shows two small men, each in his own register rather than in a series, following a chariot. They are therefore similar to an Old Assyrian seal, where the two men are behind the bull with cone and its platform. Another variant occurs on Syrian glyptic of the Ib period, where four small-sized women proceed in a procession beneath a banquet scene. The motif became popular in the Syrian style after Ib period. There the motif becomes modified in that only the first in the file of figures has his arm raised, or none at all.

On local glyptic, as stated above, the figures are associated with the deity in the chariot, or below the bull with cone. On Syrian glyptic the figures often follow the weather-god.

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107 See Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text fig. 81.


109 Ibid., no. 848.

110 Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. XXVI.b.

111 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLII f = De Clercq, Collection De Clercq, no. 395; Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLIV c, f; Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 944, 947, 968, 972, 988, 989, 992.

112 Sometimes carrying an object, see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals., no. 944. See otherwise Ibid., nos. 947, 968, 973, 988, 989.

113 Ibid., no. 992.

114 Ibid., no. 968, and Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLII f.
or chariot,\footnote{Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLIV f, D. G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals with particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection (Oxford: Clarendon, 1920), no. 167; von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, no. 343; and De Clerq, Collection De Clerq, no. 287.} as well as appearing on seals representing the Syrian goddess opening her robes.\footnote{Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 944, 968, 989.} and banquet scenes.\footnote{Ibid., nos. 968, 944, 972, 988.} Often the motif serves only as a stop-gap.\footnote{von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, no. 311, Hans Henning von der Osten, Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collectin of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 37 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), no. 97.}

The motif of marching men is utilized on Mitannian seals\footnote{Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text fig. 50, p. 184.} on that half of the cylinder where Syrian motifs often appear.\footnote{Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 182-184.} The chariot scene, however, does not appear,\footnote{Frankfort, Cylinder Seals. 282.} and the figures face away from other motifs.

The origin of this motif is questionable. If the origin is Mesopotamian, its use in Anatolia is unique. It was the Anatolian use that was borrowed in Syrian glyptic with certain changes, i.e., associating the file of men with a weather-god rather than the bull with cone, as well as combining the motif of the marching men with a banquet of humans, rather than the bulls with a table between them.\footnote{Local Anatolian bull with table plus file of men; Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, nNr. 37A, and Mebrure Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving as Expressions of Various Cultural Influences." Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday: April 12, 1965, Assyriological Studies, no. 16 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), no. 18. See Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL n. See here plates 61A, 23A.} However, Syrian usage kept the primary Anatolian usage--a file of men following a chariot.

The chariot itself sometimes has the appearance of a war chariot, when it is depicted
General Comments and Conclusions

The subsidiary motifs emphasize the differences between the local groups. The nude hero and bull-man with the flowing stream do not appear in groups 3 and 4 where they function only as standard bearers (the nude hero also rarely in contest scenes).

The bull-man in the contest scene with a lion is found in group 1-B only. In Mesopotamia when the bull-man battles the lion in a contest scene, the lion is depicted rampant, not head down as when the nude hero engages the lion. This rendering of the bull-man battling the lion, in the position reserved originally for the nude hero, is another instance of the confusion of Mesopotamia motifs found in group 1-B. The confused rendering of the nude-hero/bull-man as a nude-hero with tail appears mainly in the same local glyptic

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123Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL n; Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 9 = Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 46A for local glyptic (here plates 23A 23B). On Syrian glyptic see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLIV f and later pl. XLV m --although on Syrian glyptic the horses (two instead of four) run over the human instead of the chariot itself. The later Syrian example of Ibid., pl. XLV m is obviously a hunting scene. Compare the hunting scene on Old Hittite/Middle Hittite seal AO 20138 where a dead stag lies on its back underneath the horses of a chariot (see André Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite Nouvellement Acquis (AO20138)," Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et Archéologie 28 (1951): 180-190.

124In Mesopotamia, the bull-man is engaged in contest scenes with a human-headed bull, a motif not found on local Anatolian glyptic. See Old Babylonian seal impressions of Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 347, 349, 351, 352, 353. In the Akkadian period the nude hero also battles the human-headed bull. See Ibid., nos. 148, 156, 157. On local glyptic the human-headed bull always appears couchant, or in one instance (Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 44) crossed in a heraldic position.

125But the nude hero in the Akkadian period engages both a rampant and upside down lion, see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 144, 145; Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XVII a, b, g. Old Babylonian seals depict the nude hero with upside lion only: see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 354, 361, 397; and Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXIX a. For the bull-man in the Akkadian period see: Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 140, 143, 144, 148, 156, 159, 160, 162-164, 167; for same in Old Babylonian see Ibid, nos. 360, 362.
In the previous chapter, we noted yet another aberration of the contest scene in group 1-B, that of Usmu battling two lions.\textsuperscript{127}

The use of atlantid figures and the confused usage of Mesopotamian motifs supplemented with the fact that the weather-god on a bull and mountain is found only in local glyptic group 1-B, serve to emphasize that group 1-B is the farther removed from Mesopotamian tradition than group 1-A.

The subsidiary motifs also point out the difference in iconography between level II and level 1b.

As can be see from table 10, the use of atlantid figures (with both hands completely raised over head) disappears on the glyptic after the level II period, and does not reappear until its use on rock reliefs at Imamkulu and Yazilikaya.

The double-headed eagle, rare on level II impressions, became popular on the stamp seals of level 1b and the Old Hittite period. The popularity of this symbol, associated with the level II period with the seated goddess, goes hand in hand with the popularity of the "signe royale," also associated with the seated goddess, and the popularity of the seated goddess herself in the later period. The association of the double-headed eagle with the goddess and her family seems to continue into the empire period when, at Yazilikaya, Hebat is followed by Sarruma, her son, and then Allanzu, her daughter, and her grand-daughter depicted on a double-headed eagle.

The use of the bull-man and nude-hero in the animal context scenes decreases drastically

\textsuperscript{126}The Exception is Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 50, group 1-A.

\textsuperscript{127}See here plate 31B.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Group IA</th>
<th>Group 1-B</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish-man</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey with pitcher</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double headed eagle</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nude hero</td>
<td>Contest scene</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x rare</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard bearer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kneeling, holding monkey</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on head with streams</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull-man</td>
<td>Contest scene</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard bearer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holding animals</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with streams</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused Bull-man/hero</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion-headed demon</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atlantid figures</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rampant lion attacking</td>
<td>x rare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rampant antelope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File of men</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prone body</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossed animals</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Group 1-A</th>
<th>Group 1-B</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sun-discs</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross type designs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross with bent rays &amp; &quot;signe royale&quot;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multiple pointed star design</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-pointed star design</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human-head</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x rare(^d)</td>
<td>x(^i)</td>
<td>x(^i)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;elixir-vase; &quot;scales&quot;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal heads</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 74, here plate 33B.
b. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 61, here plate 24B.
c. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 34; here plate 14A.

in the level Ib period, as only one example can be found.\(^{128}\) One example of the nude hero battling the bull-man, a motif not found in level II, occurs on a stamp seal of level Ib. Here

\(^{128}\)Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 21. (Here plate 35A).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>level II cylinders</th>
<th>Level lb cylinders</th>
<th>Colony or Old Hittite</th>
<th>Old Hittite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nude hero</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull-man</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nude-hero</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull-man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rampant antelope</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attacked by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rampant lion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish-man</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion-headed demon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>double headed eagle</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey with pitcher</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun-discs</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(40 - 1A)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(30 - 1B)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5- gr 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6- gr 3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1- gr 4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contest of monsters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atlantid</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>file of men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancer of rain</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
we see a very confused rendering of the Mesopotamian motif. On the local seal, the nude hero kicks the bull-man in the rump, while pulling his tail and one horn.\textsuperscript{129}

Only one seal impression of the level Ib/Old Hittite period shows figures with flowing streams.\textsuperscript{130} Like the contest scene between the nude-hero and bull-man, this motif has been radically changed. Although, due to the fragmentary nature of the impression, we cannot ascertain whether the figures are nude-heros or bull-men; it can be clearly seen that the streams arise from the tops of their heads, rather than from a vase or from the hands as was the case in the level II period.\textsuperscript{131}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{129}Ibid., no. 40. (Here plate 72).
\item \textsuperscript{130}Ibid., no. 22. (Here plate 65A).
\item \textsuperscript{131}See stream without vase on Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 33, 34, etc. (Here plates 1A, 14A).
\end{itemize}
CHAPTER V
EQUIPMENT. PART I—FURNITURE

The equipment represented on the local styles of Cappadocian glyptic includes furniture and pottery. The forms of the various pieces closely parallel that of excavated objects.

Platforms

Glyptic

The most obvious platforms on the local Anatolian glyptic are the boat-like platforms found supporting the bull with pyramidal cone, and the straight platform (fitted over the backs of two lions) that supports the throne of the Seated Goddess. A building-like platform supporting the bull with pyramidal cone occurs only once; but it reminds one of the platforms in Syrian and Old Assyrian glyptic.\(^1\)

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The non-building type platforms of the seated goddess and the bull with pyramidal cone are supported by animals or atlantid figures—that is, the bull's platform is supported by atlantid bull-men or nude heroes; the platform of the seated goddess is supported by two bull lions. The representations where the bull with pyramidal cone is mounted over crossed lions may also be interpreted as a bull on a platform, with the crossed lions representing a decoration on the sides of the platform. Such decoration was seen on thrones in the Ur II period and Akkadian period. On Old Assyrian glyptic pairs of bulls or lions appear beneath the bull with cone.

The entire support for the Seated Goddess seen on plates 55A, 33A, 45A may be viewed as a many-tiered platform. The elements seen supporting the goddess on the above mentioned impressions are so similar as to raise the question whether the depictions represent an elaborate cult statue. See Fig. 35 for a possible reconstruction and compare the base with neohittite bases found at Sinjirli and Carchemish.


4 For Ur III see Ibid., text fig. 38. For Akkadian see Pierre Amiet, Kunst des Alte Orient (Frieburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1977), no. 779.

5 Hronzňy, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 20aC; and Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, nos. Ka 375B, Ka 639, Ka 714.

The scene on plate 198 may be reconstructed to represent a bull statue on a two tiered platform, with an incense burner and a table set with offerings placed on the first tier. See fig. 36. Compare this last reconstruction with the depiction of the "bull altar" at Alaca Hüyük. The platform of the bull at Alaca Hüyük has an architectural appearance, as does the pedestal (upon which three people sit) on the Inandik vase.

**Texts**

With regard to these platforms we can investigate the notion or meaning conveyed by the Hittite word istanana- (GiZAG.GAR.RA) "offering table," "postament or pedestal."

The ZAG.GAR.RA has been defined as located outside or inside the temple. It is frequently a point at which offering materials are put. The Z.G.R. is decorated with fruit. Sacrifices are performed at the Z.G.R. At the end of a day's festivities the deity is taken back to his temple and set down on the Z.G.R. The uses to which the Z.G.R. was put were many and varied, and such that a meaning like "postament" suggests itself. Since, however, ZAG.GAR.RA is ASIRTU showing it to be a small model of a shrine as found on various kudurrus, it is possibly preferable to think of the Hittite Z.G.R. also as being an object representing a sanctuary. A postament or offering stand in the shape of a sanctuary would fit the requirements of the Hittite contexts where the word is found. Furthermore, if such is the case, the use of INA with Z.G.R. may actually mean "into." 8

The scenes on glyptic where a table is set in front of a platform (for example plate 19B, 20A, 45B) are paralleled by the following text: 9

23 [na-]at gisZAG.GAR.RA pí-ra-an a-ta-ri

The table was covered with a linen cloth and set in front of the ZAG.GAR.RA


9 STBoT 14, 5.4-5, text 1 = KUB XXIV 8 + XXVI 60 VS. I 22-23.
Fig. 36  Reconstructed Cult Statue of the Local Anatolian Seated Goddess. Reconstructed by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 70. Here see plate 55A.

The ZAG.GAR.RA as a large pedestal for the statue of the deity is illustrated in numerous rituals and cult inventories.
Fig. 37. Reconstruction of Two-Tiered Platform for the Bull Statue. Reconstructed by the author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 69. Here see plate 19B.
Fig. 38 Reconstructed Cult Statue of the Principal Local Deity. Reconstructed by the author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 71* and Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 894. Here see plates 45A and 33A.
The cups they arrange for display. The deities they carry off and on the postament they set them down.

KUB XVII 35 ii 27-28

27 GIM-an-ma ne-ku-zi DINGIR-LUM kar-pa-an-zi DINGIR-LUM INA É. DINGIR-LUM SAL.MES ha-zi-qa-ra-za
28 ar-ha pt-tin-zi DINGIR-LUM-kân INA GIS ZAG.GAR.RA ti-an-zi

27 But when it becomes evening, they pick up the goddess.
28 The hazgara-women carry the goddess off to the temple.
29 They put down the goddess on the postament.

Kbo IV 9 i 12 - 15

12 su-up-pa hu-u-e-šu
13 ŠA GUD.MAH ŠA GUD.AB.HA ŠA UDU.HA
14 Ő ŠA MĂŠ.GAL.HA iš-ta-na-ni
15 pt-ra-an PANI DINGIR-LIM ša-ni-i pt-di ti-an-zi

12 They place the raw meat
13 of a bull, of cows, of sheep
14 and of goats in front of the istanna
15 before the god (all) in one and the same place

While some cult inventory texts mention one vessel "for the postament," (using the dative-locative ZAG.GAR.RA-ni for ištanani, or leaving the case ending off) the corresponding portions of KUB XVII 35 use the preposition INA (Akkadian INA in Hittite

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11 Ibid., 128, 141.
texts equal to the locative and can be translated "on". Carter, above, suggested that these passages may mean "into."

For example Kbo 7 rev. 7, 13 reads

I $^{DUG}hu$-up-pär as KAŠ $^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA$

KUB XXV 23 ii reads

I $^{DUG}hu$-up-pär KAŠ ZAG.GAR.RA-ni$^{13}$

but KUB XVII 35 i 21; iii 6, 30; iv. 10 reads

I $^{DUG}hu$-up-pär KAŠ INA $^{GIS}ZAG.GAR.RA$ and may perhaps be translated 1 huppar-

vessel of beer on the postament (altar).

Glyptic of the Syrian Colony Style depict persons within the platform supporting the bull statue. A sealing published both in Tablettes Cappadociennes and Genouillac's Ceramique Cappadocienne shows a couple holding hands while seated opposite each other within the bull statue's platform.$^{15}$ The right hand of the person sitting on the left side of the platform grasps the left hand of the person sitting on the right side of the platform, while the other hands are held in front of their faces; and it is possible that a shallow dish is held there between them. The scene is similar to the Old Hittite depiction of the couple on the Bitik vase. There, the man offers the veiled woman a shallow dish. They sit in a colonnade-like hall before a brick construction. Of the couple on the Bitik vase, T. Özgüç says:

$^{13}$Carter "Cult Inventories," 90, 96; 91, 97.

$^{14}$Ibid., 124, 129, 131, 132.

Perhaps... the sitting figures are statues of gods of less than natural size, in which case the ceremony was performed before statues illustrating the sacred marriage... introduction of the temple, indicating the place where the ceremony takes place. 16

The Old Hittite parallel of the earlier Syrian motif further shows the Syrian influence in the Kültepe Ib period and points to a native Anatolian development of the platform or pedestal for the cult statue from the depictions seen on the level II glyptic to a form resembling a small temple. The Inandik vase, also Old Hittite in date shows three people on top of a platform depicted as a building-like facade. This development continued into the Hittite New Kingdom when the bull altar at Alaca Hüyük is represented as standing on top of a platform given again a building-like facade.

The fact that sacrifices were performed at the ZAG.GAR.RA is illustrated by texts. 17

**KUB XVII 35 i 7**

7 [nu-kân LûSANGA I UDU D'U BAL-tî GîZ]ZAG.GAR.RA hu-kân-zi
7 The priest offers one sheep for the Storm-god. At the postament they slaughter (it).

**KUB XVII 35 i 20**

20 [nu-kân LûSANGA GIBI I UDU D'U I UDU D'IMIM.IMIM.BI BAL-tî GîZ]ZAG.GAR.RA hu-kân-zi
20 [And the ne]w [priests] offer 1 sheep for the Storm-god and 1 sheep for IMIM.IMIM.BI. At the postament they slaughter (it).

On the seal impression of plate 45B a procession approaches the human-handed bull standing on a platform. The last human in the procession carries an animal; perhaps an

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17Cf. also KBo XXII 216 11': [i]š-ta-na-ni še-e-er hu-u-e[k-zi] "He slaughters (it) on top of the ištanana".


illustration of a priest bringing a sheep to the platform (that later was called the
ZAG.GAR.RA) for slaughter. On another sealing, three persons approach crossed animals,
one carrying a spear, one a goat offering. As mentioned above, the crossed animals may be
interpreted as a decoration on the side of a platform. (See plate 52A).

Three other instances of a god or human carrying a goat or sheep offering are
represented on local Anatolian glyptic, two of these are offerings to an enthroned deity (plate
42A, 41B). while one is to the weather-god standing with one foot on two mountain
peaks.

The only actual depiction of an animal sacrifice on local Anatolian glyptic is seen on a
seal at the Louvre. The scene in question takes place below the representation of the bull
with cone. A man represented kneeling with only one leg is shown about to cut the throat of
a reclining goat. The bull with cone does not stand upon a platform and yet it appears close
to the type of scene enacted at the ZAG.GAR.RA. It does not represent an alternative locale
of ritual slaughter as these locales are: at the huwası/NAAZI.KIN (or stone hieroglyphic
monument); near or at the harşı-vessel; at a spring; in the priest’s house; at a well; at
the threshing floor; down a ritual pit; at/on the istanana;- on top of the eyan-tree/wood

20Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 49, 67.
21Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 48aA.
22Louis J. Delaporte, Catalogue des cylindres cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental
(Musée du Louvre), vol. 2, Acquisitions (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1923), no. A-871. Also
Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL o (here plate 2B).
24Ibid., p. 189 under huek-. (See here also plate 22).
25(KISLAH-ni) KBo 25.15 +20.2.
26KBo 10.45 I35, KUB 36.89 obv. 4.
(evergreen);\textsuperscript{27} at the wall (kutti);\textsuperscript{28} in front of the hearth in the house of the cook;\textsuperscript{29} at the pillar (\textit{G\textsuperscript{2}D\textsuperscript{M}});\textsuperscript{30} and on top of cut foliage (lahhurnuziyas sara).\textsuperscript{31}

Again, an interesting parallel is found on a seal of the Syrian Colony Style.\textsuperscript{32} It shows a person pouring a libation with his left hand from a cup into a knee-high pithos. The person is facing a bull with cone mounted on a platform. Represented beneath the bull is a human of smaller size carrying an animal offering. It should be noted that the Syrian seals contemporary with Kültepe level II depict libations being poured into receiving vessels which are standing on the ground. Local Anatolian glyptic at that time does not show libations being poured into receiving vessels.\textsuperscript{33} Rather, they show cupbearers pouring liquid directly into a cup held by some deity. The Syrian motif of pouring a libation in front of a bull mounted on a platform illustrates the latter Hittite empire text of pouring a libation in front of the ZAG.GAR.RA.

KBo XIX 128 i 25 - 26\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{center}
\begin{align*}
25 & \text{ nu } \text{ L\textsuperscript{2}U AZU IŠ-TU DUG KU-KU-UB KAŠ}
\end{align*}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{27} KUB 25.33 I 7-8.

\textsuperscript{28} KBo 13.135 7,8,10, KBo 21.25 I 44.

\textsuperscript{29} IBoT I 29 obv. 39-42.

\textsuperscript{30} KUB 25.32 + III 51.

\textsuperscript{31} KBo 17.105 III 28, VBoT 24 II 35-36.


\textsuperscript{33} See neohittite reliefs at Malatya representing King Sulumeli pouring a libation from a small pitcher into a wide brimmed pithos. Vieyra, \textit{Hittite Art 2300 - 750 B.C.}, pls. 62, 63, 64.

\textsuperscript{34} Heinrich von Otten, \textit{Einheitlichen Festritual Kültepe KBo XIX 128) Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten. no. 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 2, 3.
26 PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA III-ŠU ši-ip-pa-an-ti

25 And the incantation priest (lit. 'the sear') pours a libation
26 three times from a KUKUBU-vessel of beer

Kbo XIX 128 ii 12 - 14

12 EGIS-an-da-ma ke-e-da-as A-NA DINGIRMES
ku-e-da-ni-ia KAŠ iš-ta-na-ni
14 pi-ra-an I-ŠU ši-ip-pa-an-ti

12 But afterwards he pours a libation once
14 before the altar to each of the gods.

During the Old Hittite period, Hittite art began to show the motif of pouring a libation onto the ground or into a receiving vessel. The Schimmel rhyton depicts offering-bringers approaching two deities, one of which, the smaller—is a hunting god on a stag.36 The first

"Ibid., 4. 5.

36 the Schimmel rhyton has been dated here to the Old Hittite period for the following reasons:
1. The spouted vessel grasped at the base by the last person in the procession bears a striking similarity to two jugs from the Afyon museum which T. Özgüç dates to the Kültepe Ib period (see Tahsin Özgüç, "Five vessels belonging to the Late Phase of the Assyrian Trading Colony Period," Baghdader Mitteilungen 7 (1974): p. 151, pl. 18 nos. 3-4).
2. The attire of the humans on the Schimmel rhyton closely resembles that on the Bitik vase. A garment reaches down to the knees, but is slit in front. The slit is best seen on the Schimmel rhyton—on the last person in the procession, where it appears as a cloak over the long garment. A triangular piece of the long garment extends to mid calf on the depictions of the Bitik vas, and all the way to the heel on the humans of the Schimmel rhyton.
3. The hair of the men on the Bitik vase (especially the man in the upper register) is long, pulled back behind the ear and falls down behind the man's shoulder. The hair of the humans on the Schimmel rhyton is long, falling down into the cloaks of the men. Whereas the king in the Alaca Hüyük relief and Yazilikaya wears a skull cap, with no long hair showing. Some of the deities only were depicted in the New Kingdom with long hari (see for example Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, Sceaux et Cylindres Hittites, épée gravée due cartouche de Mineptah, tablettes Chypro-Minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras Shamra, Ugarítica, vol. 3. Mission de Ras Shamra, vol. 8 (Paris: Geuthner, 1956), fig. 29, seal of Ini-
human in the offering procession pours out a libation before the god mounted on a stag.

Tables

Glyptic

Three basic types of tables are depicted on the local Anatolian glyptic. The first type consists of a square-shaped top with legs which originate from the corners of the table, converge underneath the table, where they appear to be braced, and then, in a right angle, bend out again to form bull’s feet directly beneath the table top corners. See Fig. 15 group 1-A.

The second type of table also has a square-shaped top, but has legs which originate from the center of the table top. About half-way down to the ground, the legs diverge in either a curve or angle to beneath the corners of the table top. See Fig. 15 groups 1-A. 1-B, 3, and 4.

The third type of table has a bowl-like table top with tripod legs originating from the center. See Fig. 15 Group 3.

The tables occur in presentation, adoration, and libation scenes, as well as


39 Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 75 (here plate 31A) where the elixir vase is carried in procession to the enthroned deity. The table rarely occurs in scenes where the liquid is being poured; see plates 41A, 24B, and 40B.)
processions to a focused deity. The table also occurs between bulls with pyramidal cones and rarely in front of a deity mounted on an animal.

The first type of table shows "legs and arms," cups, and birds displayed on top; the second table type displays "legs and arms," cups, birds, but also animal heads, and in one instance bread. This type of table was very common on the Syrian Colony style glyptic. The third type of table displays only bread.


42 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 71. (Here plate 45A.)

The birds incidentally have a shape very similar to that on Ur III seals; See seals in Anton Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst (Berlin, 1940; repr., 1966), no. 271; and Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 268, 269, and 285.

43 Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 69, 57, 73, 38, 75. (Here plates 19B, 28A, 30A, 31A).

44 Ibid., nos. 5, 57, 73. (Here plates 19A, 28A, 28B).

45 Ibid., no. 1. (Here plate 18a).

46 On the Syrian Colony glyptic the table displays the elixir-vase and goblet, see Genouillac, Ceramicque Cappadoicienna, no. C1. Old Syrian style seals portray tables with cups (see von der Osten, Alishar Hiyük 1930-32, part 2, fig. 246) as well as bread (Nimet Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan, series 5, no. 25 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1968), pl. XIIIb). See also the Old Syrian style basins found at Temples D and B, at Tell Mardikh level IIA (Winfried Orthmann, ed., Der Alte Orient, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 14 (Berlin:
Vessels other than cups are associated with the table and its use. A shallow bowl occurs on top of the table in *The Anatolian Group* 8. The other vessel occurring with the table is a small many handled incense burner.\(^49\)

The small fruitstand "incense burner" compares with the excavated vessels from Kültepe.\(^50\) On the seal impressions the vessels seem to have flames or jagged smoke arising from them.\(^51\)

The table survived into the level Ib/Old Hittite period, but it is rare. It occurs on a cylinder seal from Acemhoyuk which continues the level II Kültepe tradition,\(^52\) but the context is unclear since only a portion of the sealing is available for study. The table occurs once before the seated goddess in a libation scene and, in that instance, conforms to the usage

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\(^48\)Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XLn (here plate 23A). See also this type of table in Syrian Colony Style on Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadochiennes*, nos. 8, 10, 3; Hronzý, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 22aC. See also Old Assyrian seal impression in Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollseiegel*, no. 513.

\(^49\)See plates 11A, 12A, 18B, 19B, 33A, 44B, and 54A.


familiar from the level II period;\textsuperscript{53} but it also occurs on a stamp seal where it is depicted between two standing deities,\textsuperscript{54} the conqueror god and the hunting god, a motif not seen in the level II period.

The use of the table before the focus of a procession continued into the level Ib/Old Hittite period. The Tyskiewicz and Aydin stamp cylinders depict a procession led by Usmu to an enthroned deity (which is interpreted here as a variant of the principal local deity, see chapter 3). In front of the enthroned deity on the Aydin cylinder is a table top supported by two lions.\textsuperscript{55} On the Tyszkiewicz cylinder, the table top object appears more as a semi-circle, but it is likewise supported by two lions.

The table did not occur on Old Babylonian glyptic, but occurred rarely on Akkad seals\textsuperscript{56} and on a seal impression from Kültepe dating to the Ur III period.\textsuperscript{57} The Mesopotamian


\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid}., no. 136.

\textsuperscript{55}Alexander interprets the objects on the table top as two heads (lion and bird), with a protective cloth 'withdrawn so that it hangs down one side.' (Robert L. Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders," \textit{Anatolica: Annuaire International pour les Civilisations de l'Asie Antérieure} 5 [1976], 152). A similar hanging object appears on some pedestalled altars of the level II period (Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, no. 38, here plates 30A, and 44A).

\textsuperscript{56}Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, nos. 216, 252.

\textsuperscript{57}The seal impression dates more specifically to the time of Ibbi-Sin (Nimet Özgüç, "Preliminary Report on the 1951 Excavations at Kültepe," \textit{Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten} 17/66 (1953): p. 124, fig. 32; Orthmann, \textit{Der Alte Orient}, p. 444, 445, fig. 141c.)
examples show the table in the midst of presentation scenes⁵⁸ and liquid offering scenes.⁵⁹

But on Mesopotamian seals, where actual libation takes place, the altar used was the fruitstand or stepped variety.⁶⁰

The same objects seen on the Akkad period stepped altar, i.e., incense bowl, bread, bird, and animal portions⁶¹ occur on, or are associated with the tables on local Anatolian glyptic.

The Syrians and Anatolians seem to have adapted the use of the table on glyptic from the Mesopotamian examples of the Akkadian period. An excavated example of the lower part of a table (of the second type) was excavated at Byblos.⁶² The excavated example has bull's feet, as do the depictions on Syrian and Anatolian seal impressions.

The placement of cups on the table seems to be, however, a native Anatolian addition. The Syrian tables contemporary with level II depict only bread, "elixir vases," and jars. Only the Syrian tables contemporary with level Ib, the Old Syrian style, show cups placed on tables. However, table types other than type 3 rarely display the flat bread like objects found on Syrian tables until the late Old Hittite period.⁶³ On the local level II styles of Anatolia, the flat bread type objects appear instead on the pedestal type altar, a type of altar that develops in the empire period to the "hittite" altar placed before the bull platform at Alaca Hüyük.

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⁵⁸Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, no. 274.

⁵⁹For the Akkadian period see Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 252.


⁶³See Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptic*, no. 136.
The texts of the empire period frequently mention the placement of bread on the **gišBANŠUR**, or table--a motif as mentioned above seen on the seals beginning in the late Old Hittite period.

The following passages are taken from an Old Hittite ritual:

**KUB XXIV 123+ Vs. ii 42-45**

42 LUGAL-uš SAL.LUGAL [-aš]-ša a-ša-an-da-aš GAL ḫISKUR Ū ḫa-ra-su-e-[š]-zi-[li] a-[k] u[-an-zi]

43 LÚ gišBANŠUR š[u-u]p-pa-az gišBANŠUR-az II tu-ni-in-ga[-aš

44 LUGAL-i pa-a-i [LUG]AL-ša pár-ši-[a] LÚ gišBANŠUR LUGAL-i [e-ip-zi tu-us a-ap-pa]

45 šu-up-pa-i gišBANŠUR-i da-a-i GIŠ DINANNA.TUR l.ú. MEŠḫal-[i-

42 The King and Queen seated drink (from) the cup of the Storm-god and [Wasezzil]
43 A table man [takes] two **tuningas**-breads from the holy table
44 gives (them) to the King, and the King breaks (them). The tableman
45 The **hallyiaries**-men sing (and play) the small IŠTAR-instrument.

**KUB XXXIV 123+ Vs. ii 34-37**

34 LUGAL-uš SAL.LUGAL-ša e-ša-an-da-aš GAL ḫUTU ḫe-[š]-zi-[u]-la
35 a-ša-an-da-aš
36 LUGAL-i pa-a-i LUGAL-uš par-si-[i-a] LÚ gišBANŠUR e-ip-zi tu-uš a-ap-pa
37 šu-up-pa-i gišBANŠUR-i da-a-i GIŠ DINANNA.TUR l.ú. MEŠḫal-[i-r]i-es
iš-ḫa-mi-an-zi

34 The King and Queen sit down. They drink seated from the cup of

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65Ibid., 20-23.
the Sun deity and Mezzulla
35 A tableman takes two tuningas-breads from the holy table
36 and gives (them) to the King. The King breaks (them). The tableman
37 takes them and puts them back on the holy table. The halliries-men sing (and
and play) the small Ištar-instrument.

KBo XIX 128 Rs. V 39-43

39' LUGAL-uš GUB-aš GAL.ZU an-dur-za
40' IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI U[R.MA]H e-ku-zi
41' LOM.EMAR Ka-ni-is SIR 0 GAL.ZU pal-ua-at-tal-la-š
42' pal-ua-a-iz-zi III NINDA.KUR,RA pár-ši-ia

39' Der König 'trinkt' stehend die Gottheit GAL.ZU
40' drinnen aus einem Löwen-Rhyton.
41' Die Sänger von Kaniš singen. Der p. (Leute)
42' führt die Handlung des palyai- aus. Er bricht drei Laib Brot.
43' Dann legt man sie zurück auf den Tisch.

Both the texts and the glyptic illustrate that in both the Colony period and the empire
period vessels other than cups were placed in the tables used in the rituals. The table shown
on Bogazköy 136 (placed between the conqueror god and the hunting-god) displays bread as
well as a pitcher. The ḫuppār vessel is a bowl or dish. Compare the following text with the
impression on plate 50A where a small dish sits on a table (along with "arms and legs", and
cups) in front of an enthroned deity.

KUB XXV 22 edge

3 [. . (.)]-zi I UDU.ŠIR-kán UGU pf-e-en-zi ! (Text -i)
4 [na-asš] šu-ur-ḫi še-er GŠBANŠUR da-i-nu-uz-zi
5 [ UZ]U šu-up-pa ti-an-zi 1/2 BÂN ZÍD.DA I DUGššu-u-pár-aš KASH
6 BAL-an-zi

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66 Heinrich Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual (KBo XIX 128)*, Studien zu den Bogazköy-
Texten, no. 13 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1971), 14, 15.

67 Volkert Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik: Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte*,
Studie Pohl: Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui, vol. 4 (Rome: Pontificium
Instiutum Biblicum, 1970), 238, 239.
3 [ ] treiben sie einen Schafbock hinauf.
4 [Und'] er richtet auf dem Dache einen Tisch her.
5 [ Opferfleisch stellen sie bereit; ein Halbmass Spelt (und)
   ein ḫuppar-Gefässe Bier
6 [libieren] sie.

In the discussion under cultic platforms, the connection between the gišBANŠUR and the gišZAG.GAR.RA was noted. A further parallel is noted by Carter in Cult Inventories. He notes that in the cult inventories, the phrase "x vessel of wine or beer for the postament (ZAG.GAR.RA)" is usually paired with the expression "x vessels for display." Although paired, the two phrases obviously refer to different sets of vessels, since the vessels mentioned in each respective phrase do not usually match in type or number the vessels of the other phrase. For example, both KBo II 7 obv., 9-10 and KUB VII 24 obv. 8 mention 1 ḫannešša vessel of beer for the postament (ZAG.GAR.RA), but 1 ḫuppar vessel for display. It is further noted that the paired expression ". . . a,b (INA) gišZAG.GAR.Ra(-ni) . . . x,y asnumas . . . ." precedes the clause GAL!

68 For glyptic examples of tables set before the ZAG.GAR.RA see Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 73, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 69, (here plates 28B, 45B, 35B, 30A, 32A, 20A, 19B). See also Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, nos. 41, 15 and Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 894 (here plates 11B, 33A) where the bull or enthroned deity is depicted over other animals—the lion for the bull, goat-fish for Ea. The animals beneath the deities may be interpreted as platforms of a sort. Note also Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 71 (here plate 45A) where the table seems to appear on top of the bull-mount of the weather-god.

69 Carter, "Cult Inventories," 178, under aššanu-.

70 Ibid. 90, 96, 116, 119.

71 Ibid., 178, under aššanu-.

72 For example KBo II 13 obv. 7, 9, 17; Carter, "Cult Inventories," 105, 106; 110, 111.
becomes clear.

KBo II 13 obv. 11, 14, 16-17.73

11 [lu-ša] NINDA.KUR₄, RA.MEŠ₂ DUḫar-ši-ya-aš SAL.MEŠ₂ ḫa-az-
gar-ia-za ša-ra-a ú-da-an-zi DU ḪUR.SAG-ya kar-ap-
-pa-an-zi

14 II UDÚ DU I UDÚ ḪUR.SAG₂ Ki-li-nu-na (erasure) BAL-an-ši-

16 II BÁN ZÍD.DA I DUG.KAŠ DU GES.ZAG.GAR.RA-ni II BÁN ZÍD.DA

17 II PA ZÍD.DA II DUG.KA.DU aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš Ḫal-zi-ya-ri

[The next da]y loaves of thick bread of the Ḫarši-vessel(s)
the Ḫazgara-women bring up. The Storm-god and the god
of the mountain (kilinuna) they pick up.

14 2 sheep for the Storm-god, (and) 1 sheep for Mt. Kilinuna
they offer. At the Ḫwα~i-s they slaughter (them).

16 2 seah of flour, and) 1 vessel of beer for the Storm-god--
at the postament. 2 seah of flour, (and) 1 Ḫanešša-
vessel of beer for the mountain --at the postament.

17 2 PA of flour, (and) 2 vessels of low-grade beer-for display.
(The people) are called (to eat). The cups they arrange
for display.

Compare the above text with the following seal impressions (plates 30A, 32A, 20A),
which all show two cups plus meat offerings placed on tables before the bull with cone
mounted on its platform. The round "doughnuts" on the table appear also to be cups, drawn
for some reason on their sides. Plate 31A shows the cups on the table depicted both as if
upright and laid on the side.

The same comparisons between the seal impressions and the texts can be made with the
text KUB XXV 23 iv 51-55 and the impressions of plates 19B and 35B.

73 Carter, Ibid., 106, 111.
When it becomes spring, and it thunders, they break open the harṣi-vessel, and he grinds (and) crushes its contents. 1 sheep for the Storm-god of rain they offer.

meat, raw and cooked, they put down. Thick bread of the harṣi-vessel, a vessel of beer--at the postament.

30 loaves of bread, (each made of) a handful (of flour), 3 vessels of beer--for display. Thick bread [they] break.

The rhytons they fill. They eat. They drink. The cups [they] arrange for display.

Again, the seal impression of plate 11A depicts the Ea-type god seated, with his chair and feet resting on a 'platform' of two goat-fish, while he holds a cup in his outstretched hand. Placed before Ea is a table displaying four cups together with two portions of meat. Compare KUB XXV 23 i 17-18; and KUB XVII 35 iii 29-32, which mention 4 vessels of beer at the ZAG.GAR.RA.

Ibid., 162, 172.

A late hittite parallel for cup in the outstretched hand of a deity can be found in the statue of the great goddess from Tell-Halaf. The statue may be connected with burial rituals. See Vieyra, Hittite Art 2300-750 B.C., pl. 88-89 and Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur Spätethitische Kunst, pl. 13 A/1.

Carter, "Cult Inventories," 154, 155; 164-165.
KUB XXV 23 i 17-18\textsuperscript{77}

17 štup-pa ḫu-e-ša-u-wa-az [z]ē-e-an-ta-az ʾī-ya-an-ti
18 NINDA.KUR₄,RA (DUG) ḫar-si-ya-aš I DUG.KAŠ ZAG.GAR.RA-ni
XXX NINDA IV DUG.KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-aš

17 Meat, raw and cooked, they put down.
18 Thick bread of the ḫarsi-vessel, 1 vessel of beer—for the postament.
   30 loaves of bread, 4 vessels of beer—for display.

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KUB XVII 35 iii 29-32

29 ŠĀ TŪL-an-kān ʾu-kān-zi štup-pa ʾi-an-zi VI NINDA.da[n-na-as]
30 I DUG ḫu-up-pār KAŠ INA GĪŠ ZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.KUR₄,RA pār-ši-an-zi
   [B[I-IB-RU-kān]
31 ʾu-ʾu-n-na-an-zi II BĀN ZĪ.D.A IV DUG.KAŠ aš-ša-nu-ma-aš KU-zi
   [NAG-zi]
32 GAL ḫu-stā-nā-wa-an-zi SAL.MES ḫa-zi-ga-ra-za GURUN
   ū-d[a-i]

29 . . . . . . Meat they put down.
   6 loaves of da[nnaš-bread,]
30 1 ḫuppar-vessel of beer--for the postament. Thick bread
   they break. The rh[lytons]
31 they fill. 2 seah of flour, 4 vessels of beer--for display.
   The eat. [They drink.]
32 The cups they arrange for display. The ḫazgara-women bring fruit.

The texts also use the expression GĪŠ BANŠUR DINGIR₇₄, the table of the deity.

Sometimes the texts specifically name the deity to whom the table belongs, as in Kbo XXI 85
iv 27 "IŠKUR-aš GĪŠ BANŠUR," or KUB XXX 54 ii 9 "GĪŠ BANŠUR dTe-l[i-pf-nu]."\textsuperscript{78} The
seals illustrate that indeed each focal deity had his/her own table. See, for example ICK II Ka
82A where both the enthroned deity and the bull with cone at the end of the procession are

\textsuperscript{77}Ibid., 155, 165.

\textsuperscript{78}Maciej Popko, Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen),
sto szesdziesiąta pierwsza serii Dissertationes universitatis varsoviensis (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1978), 79.
featured with tables.\footnote{Also the dual scene seal impressions of Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, nos. 69, and 15 (here plates 19B and 11A) that show a table each for the bull and the enthroned deity.}

Other ritual actions concerning the \textit{BANŠUR} are detailed in the festival of the Warrior-god (Wurunkatte) in KBo IV 9 iv 26-40.

KBo IV 9 iv 26-40.\footnote{Translation adapted from that of Albrecht Goetze, "The Festival of the Warrior-God," in "Hittite Rituals, Incantations, and Description of Festivals," \textit{Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament}, 3d ed. with supplement, ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 359. There are many other accounts of these ritual actions. See, for example, KUB XX 28 ii 1-7, "Festival of Spring at Zipalanda" which parallel the above text lines 36-44; and KUB X 3 22-29, "the second day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival," parallel the above text lines 33-40.}

26 \textit{na-aš-ta} UGULA \textit{LO.MEŠ} \textit{BANŠUR} \textit{šu-up-pt}
27 \textit{wBANŠUR} \textit{an-da} \textit{u-da-i}
28 \textit{3} \textit{LO.MEŠ} MESEDI \textit{BANŠUR-i} ZAG-na-az
29 \textit{i-ia-an-ta-ri} \textit{SUKUR} GUSKIN
30 \textit{u} \textit{3} \textit{LO.MEŠ} PA \textit{su-ru-ḫ-a-šaḫ-an-zi}
31 GAL MESEDI \textit{BANŠUR-i} me-na-ḫa-ḫa-an-da
32 \textit{na-aš-ta} UGULA \textit{LO.MEŠ} \textit{BANŠUR} EGIR-an da-a-i
33 \textit{na-aš-ši} pr-ra-an ḫu-ya-i
34 \textit{nu} \textit{BANŠUR} kat-ir-ra-az e-ip-zi
35 kar-ap-zi-ma-at
36 GAL DUMU.MEŠ E.GAL-ma DUMU.MEŠ E.GAL-ia
37 ḫu-ya-ja-an-te-es \textit{BANŠUR-i}
38 ZAG-na-az i-ia-an-ta
39 UGULA \textit{LO.MEŠ} \textit{BANŠUR} LUGAL-i
40 \textit{wBANŠUR-un} da-a-i

26 Then the foreman of the table-men
27 brings in a sacred table.
28 3 guardsmen walk at the right side of the table;
29 they hold gold lances
30 and three staffs of \textit{šuruhša}-wood
31 The chief of the guardsmen (comes forth to) face the table
32 and places (them) behind the foreman of the table-men.
33 He marches before him
34 and get hold of the table from underneath
35 (the foreman of the table-men) lifts it.
36 the chief of the palace servants and all the palace servants
37 walk at the right-hand side of the table
The foreman of the table-men sets up the table for the king.

The seal impressions of the level II period contain an illustration of the act of 'getting hold of the table from underneath'. Plate 18B shows a kneeling figure holding up a table over his head. The kneeling figure looks back at an enthroned deity. An impression from the Ib period\(^81\) shows a man in atlantid position holding a table over his head before the bull with cone.

A cinoarusib from the glyptic for the three guardsmen who walk at the right side of the table holding three staffs of šuruhha-wood exists in ICK I 40 A B.\(^82\) The seal, however, shows three persons (some indeed carry staffs) marching behind a local god seen in a wagon drawn by two wild boars.\(^83\) Approaching the deity are two cult functionaries carrying a 'fruitstand' type altar and a dish. Another fruitstand altar appears in the field between the deity and the first cult functionary, in much the same way that the fruitstand altar appears near deities mounted on their sacred animals in a procession.

In general, the texts of the empire period dealing with the \(^81\)BANŞUR (table) suit quite

\(^81\)Matouš, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. KA 639. This seal impression has characteristics of the local Anatolian groups 3, 4 as well as Old Assyrian. The seal belonged to an Akkadian, Amur-ili, son of Imdi-ilum. (See Ibid. 52 for inscription). The motif of the atlantid figure holding the table before the bull is Anatolian. And the peculiarity of the bread piled to one side of the table is also found here on plate 18A. A seal belonging to local group I-B (but with some characteristic of group 3 such as the angular monkey heads).

The seal in question (Ibid., no. KA 639) seems to be Old Assyrian with a borrowed local Anatolian motif of the atlantid figure.


\(^83\)See the same scene in Lewy, Tabletes Cappadocienne, no. 99.
well the illustrations on the Colony period seal impressions. The impressions show cups, animal portions, and bowls on the table, while the table itself belongs to a particular deity, and is placed in front of a platform, or held over head by a cult functionary.

**Fruitstand Altar**

**Glyptic**

The pedestalled altar is depicted before enthroned deities in adoration, libation, procession to the focus deity scenes, as well as before separate deities standing on animals within processions. But in the procession scenes, a small figure usually is present performing a liquid offering function. Thus, with rare exceptions, this article of furniture is associated with the "libation" type scenes.

It is also important to note that this altar occurs only in groups 1-A and 1-B and is most prevalent in group 1-B. When the fruitstand altar appears on group 1-A,\(^{84}\) it is set before one of the local deities, never before Ea, Shamash, or Adad. The pedestalled altar does occur before Ea in group 1-B (in contrast to group 1-A), but when it does, it usually occurs in tandem with the hydria.\(^{85}\) Its main use, however, as in group 1-A, is before the local Anatolian deities.\(^{86}\) This type of altar is rarely placed before the bull with cone in the 1-B

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glyptic group and never seen there in the 1-A glyptic group. 87

The pedestalled altar on seal impressions of level II is depicted as the offering place for flat bread-like objects, only rarely with a round disc which may represent a cup. 88

In level II, an altar type similar to the pedestalled altar occurs on a seal impression of group 2. It differs from the pedestalled altar of groups 1-A and 1-B in having more of a straight columnar base rather than the triangular type pedestal. 89 The type shown on group 2 became known as the "hittite" altar, and differed in function from the pedestalled altar. The "hittite" altar was represented with animal portions, a bird, flat bread like objects, as well as a small vessel, and an incense burner beside it. It thus served the same function as the tables on groups 1-A, 1-B, 3, and 4. Like the table, it occurs before the bull with cone.

In one unique representation, the pedestalled altar of groups 1-A and 1-B also resembles the table, in that it is being carried. ICK I 40 a B shows two deities approaching the god in a wagon drawn by boars. One of the former deities carries a bowl, the other carries a pedestalled altar.

The use of the pedestalled altar remained the same in the lb/Old Hittite period. This period displays a mixture of depictions, some seal impressions showing the pedestalled type of


89Compare the pedestalled altar on Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 52 (here plate 27B) with the altar on Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving, pl. IX, nos. 13, 16. See here plate 7A.
altar found in groups 1-A and 1-B, other seals showing the "hittite" altar found earlier only in group 2.\(^\text{90}\) In this period, the "hittite" altar continues to be represented before the bull on its platform\(^\text{91}\) and it continues that use into the empire period.\(^\text{92}\) Its use otherwise, corresponds to that of the pedestal altar of the earlier period. It remained an object on which flat bread was placed.\(^\text{93}\) Likewise, it was used before local deities (but primarily the Seated Goddess) in adoration or libation scenes (like level II mostly libation scenes).\(^\text{94}\)

In this period, for the first time, libations are poured down on the ground in front of the

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\(^{90}\)For the pedestal altar see: Özgüç, N. "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması." See here plates 16, 35A.

For the "hittite" altar, see Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," seal impressions 35, 36, and the Inandik vase. See here plates 38, 36.

\(^{91}\)von der Osten, *Alishar Hüyük 1930-32, part 2*, fig. 255, d 2247.


pedestalled or "hittite" type altar. 95

The pedestalled altar appears on the Tyskiewicz seal depicted in front of the platform upon which the chief deities are enthroned.

The stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection from the Old Hittite period is decorated with a relief frieze showing a seated deity which has been interpreted as the god Astapi, the Hurrian ZABABA or War-god,96 or the king Anitta.97 The deity on the stag is 4Karzi or 4KAL.98 As mentioned earlier, the frieze consists of a procession toward these two deities and illustrates an interesting use of the pedestalled altar as a brazier or incense burner. The first worshipper carries a "Schnabelkanne," or beaked pitcher, and pours a libation out in front of the pedestalled altar and deities. The second worshipper carries a flat object that may be a tambourine or a flat piece of bread. The third worshipper carries another type of spouted vessel by holding it by the base, a method employed by the Usmu figures on the Tyszkiewicz and Aydin seals. The frieze represents a cultic scene similar to the seals and which is depicted further on relief vases.

The Ib/Old Hittite period Inandik vase illustrates that in this period the pedestal/hittite


97The hieroglyphs would then read á-x-tá-s (Laroche sign numbers 19-x-29-415 see *Ibid*.).

98The interpretation again based on the hieroglyphs before the deity which are read KAR-taʔ, or Dberz.
altar was carried much in the same fashion as in the earlier period. The same vase also shows the altar before the temple-facade type platform.

Outside of the native Anatolian style, depictions of a pedestalled type of altar are rare. One such depiction occurs on a cylinder seal impression from the Akkadian period another on an Old Babylonian impression. The other altars of the Akkadian period are biconical in shape and are shown with flames rising from them.

This evidence concurs well with the fact that the pedestalled altar occurs in front of local Anatolian gods. The pedestalled altar does not occur before Ea with goat-fish or fish-men. It does not occur before Adad on a dragon, but only in front of the local weather-gods. It does not occur before either Shamash with "saw" or Shamash with flames. On a seal impression showing Marduk being approached by the weather-god with round hat, the pedestalled altar is not even depicted with the local weather-god, but is replaced by a rectangular object.

Fruitstand or pedestalled type altars like those depicted on the seal impressions were excavated at Kültepe.

A room next to the archive in the house of Adad-zululi contained burials; near them was found a red-slipped and polished pottery stand, evidently used for the cult of the dead. This elaborate object proves that pedestalled altars were also made of clay. The object from the house of Adad-Zululi, however, was an incense-burner rather

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99 Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 239.

100 Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 31 a.


103 Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948, pl. XLIII.
than an altar. . . . this is confirmed by traces of soot under the bowl part and by the
presence of holes in the attachment of the bowl to the pedestal, allowing the smoke of
the incense burned on the ground to rise.\textsuperscript{104}

The scenes with the pedestalled altars are thoroughly native both in the gods depicted and
in the equipment used.

\section*{Texts}

The texts of the empire period illustrate that the use of the offering table called \textit{gıslahhura}
was similar to that of the \textit{gısBANŞUR} in that it was placed before the
\textit{gısZAG.GAR.RA}.\textsuperscript{105} We must take note also of the four basalt altars from Eski Kişla and
Emir Ghazi in the Istanbul museum. The four altars all have registers of hieroglyphic inscrip-
tions on them from Tudhaliyas IV,\textsuperscript{106} and in shape are like the altar of level II group 2 and
the "hittite" altar on the relief at Fraktin.\textsuperscript{107} In the inscription Laroche sign 267 is used to
refer to the altar.\textsuperscript{108} The phonetic reading of sign 267 is louvite \textit{wanai}, the ideogram being

\textsuperscript{104}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group,} p. 55.
\textsuperscript{105}See KBo IV 13 iv 35-38.
autels 'Hittites' hieroglyphiques d'Emir Ghazi et d'Eski Kişla, et les divinites Apulunas(?) et
Rutas," in Hrozny, B., \textit{Les inscriptions Hittites hiéroglyphiques: Essai de dechiffrement,} pt. 3,
Transcription et traduction de 45 inscriptions Hittites hieroglyphiques avec commentaire,
A = inventory no. 7784, pl. 73-77; Altar B = inventory no. 7770, pl. 78-81 (see also
Bossert, \textit{Altanatolien} #549); Altar C = inventory no. 7783, pl. 82-84; Altar D = inventory
no. 7782, pls. 85-87.
\textsuperscript{107}See Bossert, \textit{Altanatolien,} nos. 550-552.
\textsuperscript{108}Altar A = Emirgazi 1 (Laroche, \textit{Les hiéroglyphes Hittites,} pt. 1, p. xxiii) Altar B =
Emirgazi 2 (\textit{Ibid.}) Altar C = Emirgazi 3 (\textit{Ibid.}) Altar A col. 3: using sign numbers from
STÊLE sá-la -ka -tā-i REL-s REL-i -s REL-wa et celui qui a touché(?) à cette
Stèle, ou à quoi que ce soit(?). (Laroche, \textit{Les hiéroglyphes,} pt. 1, p. 171).
Bossert\textsuperscript{110} has made an etymological identification between the hieroglyphic \textit{wanai} and the cuneiform \textit{huwaštī}. Under such an equation, the stone ped-estalled altar was called a \textit{huwaštī}. The texts relating to the \textit{huwaštī} will be examined, but it seems clear that the word is not the best one to describe the descendent of the pedestalled altar. There are three groups of texts, then, that should be examined for parallels with the seal impression scenes utilizing the pedestalled altar—those that mention the \textit{gûlahhora}, the \textit{gûsBA-NŠUR AD.KID} as a descendent of the level II pedestalled altar (table of wickerwork, basket-work, or braided table)\textsuperscript{111}, and the \textit{huwaštī}. The designations \textit{gûlahhora} and \textit{gûsBANŠUR AD.KID} are used in Old Hittite/NS festivals.\textsuperscript{112} Of these, the use of the \textit{gûlahhora} seems most instructive.

\textit{gûlahhora}

The \textit{gûlahhora} was used in a similar manner to the \textit{gûsBANŠUR} and \textit{gûsBANŠUR AD.KID}. The ideogram \textit{gûsGAN.KAL} appears in the hittite text KUB XXIX 4 i 28 in the place where the duplicate text KUB XXIX 5 i 12 has \textit{gûlahhora}.\textsuperscript{113} The \textit{gûs} or \textit{DUUG}gan in


\textsuperscript{111}A table of wickerwork, or a braided table might be represented in the herringbone pattern familiar on the "hittite" altars. The pedestalled altar at Fraktin has a braided effect. See Bossert, \textit{Altanatolien}, no. 552.

\textsuperscript{112}Erich Neu, \textit{Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten}, Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten, no. 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983).

summerian is $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$ or $\text{dug}$ kannu in Akkadian --(tisch- oder altärähnlicher) Gefässständer.\textsuperscript{114}

That the $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$lahhura or $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$GAN.KAL was different from the $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$kannu in Akkadian, is verified by the fact that the Hittites used the word $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$gannum for $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$kannu.\textsuperscript{115} Whether the $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$GAN.KAL, $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$lahhura was related to the $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$GAN, $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$gannum or not, the $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$lahhura was a type of furniture where libations were made.

KUB IX 31 ii 8,9

8 na-at-ša-an $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$la-ah-hu-ri su-ul-ša-i nu me-na-ah-ha-an-da

9 GEŠTIN la-ah-hu-u-ya-i

9 and he pours it out at the $\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$lahhura and opposite he pours out wine.

The Schimmel rhyton and Old Hittite seal impressions show libations poured out before the pedestalled altar.\textsuperscript{116} Before the Old Hittite period, liquid offering scenes occurred as a standing person pouring liquid into the waiting cup of the god. In the level II period, that person is shown with a "teapot;" in the Ib period, he is shown using a beak-spouted pitcher.\textsuperscript{117} The pedestalled altar was present in over one half of those scenes in the level II period, and almost twice as many scenes in the Ib/Old Hittite period have the pedestalled altar rather than not.

\textsuperscript{114}Salonen, Die Hausgeräte, 386. In Hurrian (Nuzi) it appears as the extended form kannulathu just as $\text{dug}$ kasu- (beaker, goblet), appears as kasulathu.

\textsuperscript{115}Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 1952, s.v. Akkadian "$\text{g}^{\text{i}} \text{s}$KANNU," p. 309.

\textsuperscript{116}Bossert, Janus, pl. 3, fig. 8; Hogarth, Hittite Seals, no. 196. In both instances the bird-masked man performs the libation.

The \textit{giš}lah\textit{hura} was placed in front of the platform or \textit{giš}ZAG.GAR.RA.

KBo IV 13 iv 35-38

35 \textit{EGIR-ŠU} \textit{UH} \textit{HAL} \textit{giš}la-ah-ḫu-ra-an-an A-NA PA-NI \textit{giš}ZAG.GAR.RA

36 \textit{da-a-i nu} DINGIR\textit{meš}-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-aš

37 \textit{NINDA}-ya-ra-al ki-iš-ša-an pár-ši-ja

38 3 \textit{NINDA}-ya-ra-al A-NA \textit{DU}TU URU A-ri-in-na

35 Afterwards the seer places the \textit{giš}lah\textit{hura} in front of the \textit{giš}ZAG.GAR.RA

36 and he breaks the \textit{tayaral}-bread for all the gods

37 in the following manner

38 3 \textit{tayaral}-breads for the Sun-goddess of Arinna

Seal impressions of both levels II and Ib show the pedestalled altar in front of or on a deity’s platform.\textsuperscript{118} Both the Inandik vase and the Tyskiewicz seal depict pedestalled altars before large platforms.

The above text also illustrates a connection between the \textit{giš}lah\textit{hura} and the ritual action of breaking bread (see also with the \textit{giš}BANŠUR). The chief function of the pedestalled altar in the level II period was as a kind of table for bread.

The term \textit{giš}lah\textit{hura} has been discussed in \textit{Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana} by Ferdinard Sommer and Hans Ehelolf.\textsuperscript{119} The \textit{giš}lah\textit{hura} is described as a large apparatus on the basis of the text KBo V 2 ii 33f. There various vessels are arranged beneath

\footnotesize

the gislahhura, and in KBo V 2 ii 55 f., the sacrificer walks behind the gislahhura.

KBo V 2 ii 35 - 38
35 na-š-a-š A-NA 1 gisla-aly-hu-ura kai-ta  kiš-an
       ha-an-da-a-iz-zi
36 32 dügühu-pu-ya-a-i nu 16 dügühu-pu-ya-a-i
37 Iš-TU KAS GEŠTIN su-u-ya-an 16 dügühu-pu-ya-a-i-ma Iš-TU LÀ L
38 1 gisZÉ-IR-TUM gisMA gisGEŠTIN UD.DU.A gisZÉ-IR-TUM
35 Then for 1 lahhura he arranges at the bottom as follows:
36 32 dügühu-puuyai. 16 dügühu-puuyai are
37 filled with beer, wine; but 16 dügühu-puuyai are filled with honey,
38 olive oil, figs, raisins, olives.

The above text can be compared to a similar list for the gisBANŠUR AD.KID except that
the instruction ‘beneath’ is missing.

KBO V 2 ii 7-9
7 nu-uš-ša-š A-NA 1 gisBANŠUR AD.KID 2 NINDA mu-la-ti-iš
8 14 SIGH.A 2 dügüBUR.ZI TUR 1À gisZÉ-IR-TUM pit-tal-ya-an
9 gisERIN 4 dügüGAL GEŠTIN da-a-i
7 And 2 mulati-breads,
8 14 bottles, 2 small offering dishes of plain olive oil
9 cedar, 4 goblets of wine he places on the gisBANŠUR AD.KID

In the above text, KBo V 2 (the Ritual of Ammiḫatna, against impurity)\textsuperscript{120} the

gišlahūra is associated with the ḫuprušši.  ḫuprušši is from the Hurrian religious vocabulary and first entered the Hittite texts in the empire period, or the 14th and 13th century. However, the Hurrians already were in Syria at the time of Hattusili I. The hurrian word may have been used, especially in this text of a priest of Kizzuwatna near Syria, by the Hittites for a vessel and use already familiar from the earlier period. Another vessel, the DUG ahrušši, or incense vessel, also had a name derived from the Hurrian, and was associated with the ḫuprušši in the Hittite texts. In Hittite use the ahrušši was a dish for lard or oil in which bread and other foods were soaked. It was placed on the ḫuprušši for cultic use.

On the local glyptic of the level II period, a vessel appears in the shape of a small fruits tand. It is always placed beneath or beside the table, except on a Group 2 seal impression, where it appears beside the pedestalled altar that is being used as a table. So there is a connection between the description given in the Kizzuwatna ritual and the level II depictions; and it has been shown that the table-like use to which the group 2 pedestalled altar was put continued for pedestalled altars into the empire period. For now, see the text Ammiḫatna text.

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121 The DUG ḫuprušši is apt to apply to a vessel used in the Syrian rituals in such sites as Alalakh.

122 Urshu and Khashshum, the northern neighbors of Aleppo were already under Hurrian rule at the time of Zimrilim of Mari.


125 Salonen, Die Hausgeräte, 94, 95.

126 Ibid., 94, 95.

127 See below.
again, where there are 14 **huprus** and 14 **taḫ**ura ("7 twice" for 7 gods and 7 goddesses).\(^{128}\)

KBo V 2 ii 32-34

32  **nu** **AZU** **dam-mi-li** **pt-e-di** **2-ŠU** **7** **ḫu-up-ru-uš-ḫi-in**
33  **ha-an-da-a-iz-zi** **EGIR** **ḫu-up-ru-uš-ḫi-ma** **2-ŠU**
34  **7** **ḫa-ah-ḫu-ra-an** da-a-i

32 And the seer at another (different) place
33 arranges **huprus** twice. Again
34 he places **taḫura** twice at the **huprus**.

In lines ii 57--iii 16 a libation is poured in turn to each deity.\(^{129}\)

**BANŠUR AD.KID**

Like the **BANŠUR**, bread is laid on the **BANŠUR AD.KID**. The **BANŠUR AD.KID** was set before the ZAG.GAR.RA and was at times covered with a cloth.

KBo XIX 128 vs. 20-24\(^{130}\)

20  **LÜ.MEŠ** **AZU** III **NINDA.KUR**, **RA** **EM-SA** **LUGAL-i**
21  **pa-ra-a** **ap-pa-zi** **LUGAL-uš** **QA-TAM** da-a-i
22  **LÜ.MEŠ** **AZU** III **NINDA.KUR**, **RA** **EM-SA** **pär-ši-ya**
23  **ta** **BANŠUR** **AD.KID** **PA-NI** **ZAG.GAR.RA**
24  **ti-an-zi**

20 Die Beschwörungs-priester halten dem König drei saure Brote
21 entgegen; der König legt die Hand (daran).
22 Die Beschwörungspriester brechen\(^5\) die drei sauren Brote
23 und legen (sie) dann (auf) den Flecht-Tisch
24 vor dem Altar.

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\(^{128}\) Sommer and Ehelolf, *Rituale des Papanikri*, 25.


\(^{130}\) Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual*, 2, 3.
KUB XV 34 vs. i 18-22

18 na-at-kân kat-ta [I]\Ś-TU KÁ.GAL URU DA-a-ú-ni-ia pa-a-an-zi

19 nu-uš-ša-an KASKAL-šī gISBANŠUR AD.KID A-NA DINGIRMEŠ LŮMEŠ

\gISERIN-aš ti-an-zi

20 še-ra-aš-ša-an gISMA.SÁ.AB ḫa-an-da-a-an ti-an-zi pi-ra-an kat-ta-ma

21 GUNNI GTŠ-i i-en-zi na-aš-ta TŬG ku-re-eš-šar IŚ-TU gISBANŠUR AD.KID

22 kat-ta ḫu-ît-ti-ia-an-zi na-an KASKAL-an i-en-zi

18 They go down through the Tawiniya-Gate

19 and set up on the road a wicker table for the male deities of the cedar (land).

20 They place on top of it a ‘prepared’ basket, and down in front

21 they make a hearth for wood. Then they pull down from the wicker table a Kuressar
cloth

22 and make it into a road.

From the above text we also learn that a site for a fire was made beneath the
gISBANŠUR AD.KID. For a possible parallel with the pedestalled altar, note again the de-
scription of the excavated pottery stand from Kültepe. . ."presence of holes in the attachment
of the bowl to the pedestal, allowing the smoke of the incense burned on the ground to
rise." 132 A parallel for the cloth also exists on the depictions of the pedestalled altars of the

131 Transcription taken from Volkert Haas and Gernot Wilhelm, Hurritische und luwische
Riten aus Kizzuwatna, Alter Orient und Altes Testament-Sonderreihe, Bd. 3, Veröffentlich-
ungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des alten Orients, Hurritologische Studien, Vol. I
(Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon and Bercker, 1974), 184, 185.

Colony period and empire period. The fact that bread was placed on the pedestalled altars of both the Colony and empire periods was, of course, mentioned above.

When comparing the use of the $gî$BAN$ŠUR \text{AD.KID}$ and the altar, we can note that the altar in front of the goddess Hepat at Alaca Höyük shows a bird perched on top. No mention of animals on the $gî$BAN$ŠUR \text{AD.KID}$ exists. However, like the $gî$BAN$ŠUR$, the $gî$BAN$ŠUR \text{AD.KID}$ is reported to be the receptacle for more than bread. Texts mention oil, honey, and wine. On level II/Ib seals the bird appears on the table (later texts as G-IŠBAN$ŠUR$). Perhaps the $gî$BAN$ŠUR \text{AD.KID}$ was again similar to the $gî$BAN$ŠUR$ in this respect. See below in chapter 6 the reference to KBo V 2 ii 4 where a $gî$BAN$ŠUR \text{AD.KID}$ is present and a duck is "sprinkled" for a god. The "hittite"-type altar depicted in local glyptic group 2 shows vessels, bread, meat, and a bird on the top surface, while a seal impression showing a presentation scene also shows a spouted vessel "hovering" in the field above the pedestalled altar placed before the enthroned deity.

The design of the hittite pedestalled altar at Fraktin which stands before the Storm-god

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134 See KUB XXIX 4 iii 52 -55 in Kronasser, *Der schwarzen Gottheit*.


137 Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. Ka 632B.
has a braided effect. The pedestalled altars on the seal impressions of level II are not divided into registers of herringbone decoration that might represent braiding or script of some sort. The pedestalled altars are first shown with registers in the level Ib/Old Hittite period.

**Huwaši**

The *huwaši* was a stone hieroglyphic monument, and as mentioned above Bossert has made a connection between the hieroglyphic identification on the stone altars from Eski Kišla and Emir Ghazi and *huwaši*. A description of the *huwaši* as a stone hieroglyphic monument certainly fits the appearance of the stone altars inscribed by Tudhaliya IV. Perhaps, also, the registers of herringbone design on the pedestalled hittite altar at Alaca Höyük represent registers of hieroglyphs on a stone altar instead of "braiding". However, whether the word *huwaši* could be used to describe the pedestalled altars on the Colony period seal impressions is another question. A sampling of texts is examined below.

The seal impressions show the pedestalled altar placed in front of the deities, but in texts referring to the *huwaši*, the deity is brought to the *huwaši* not vice versa. Also the *huwaši* is never set down before the ZAG.GAR.RA.

There are some similarities, however, between the pedestalled altar and the *huwaši*. In the texts each deity had his own *huwaši*.

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KBo II 17 rev. 19,20

19 lu-kat-ma ḪUR.SAG-ya NINDA.KUR₄ RA DUG ħar-ši-aš
   NMZI.KI[N.ME]Š pī-tin-zi ku-in-na
20 A-NA PA-NI NMZI.KIN-ŠŪ da-ni-nu-an-zi

19 The next day the Storm-god and the mountain (and thick
   bread of the ħaršī-vessel to the ḫuwašī-s they carry.
   Each
20 before his ḫuwašī they arrange.

KBo II 7 obv. 11

11 lu-kat-ma ḪUR.SAGŠi-id-du-a-na NINDA.KUR₄ RA DUG ħar-ši-aš
   NMZI.KIN₄LA pī-tin-zi
11 The next day Mt. Sidduwa and thick bread of the ħaršī-vessel
   to the ḫuwašī-s they carry.

Other texts mention that during an AN.TAH.ŠUM festival, the ḫuwašī of the Storm-god
of Hatti was located inside the tarnu-house. It was sometimes located in a tent, or on
a paššu-platform, and could be stolen.

140 Carter, "Cult Inventories," p. 94, 100-101; translation adapted. The text here brings
up the possibility that the deity described in chapter 3 as the weather-god of "cone and
arrows" is the personification of a sacred mountain such as the Hattian mountain Hulla
(belonging to the circle of Mezzulla, daughter of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.) (Emmanuel
Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, Librairie Orientale et Américaine [Paris:
Maisonneuve, 1947], 25). In this regard see also the hieroglyphic sign for mountain
mounted on the sign for throne (sign 294 in Laroche, Les hiéroglyphs Hittites, pt. 1). The
cone mounted on the back of the bull can be interpreted as a mountain.

141 Carter, "Cult Inventories," 91, 97.

142 Ibid., 39.

143 Ibid., 46.

144 KUB VII 24 obv. 3-4, Carter, Ibid., p. 71-72.

145 Albrecht Goetze, "The Hittite Laws, " in Ancient Near Easter Texts Relating to the Old
Conclusions on Fruitstand altar

The term $\text{gib}^{\perp}\text{BANŠUR AD.KID}$ appears fairly well suited to describe some of the Hittite altars of the empire period. The Hittite word for the $\text{gib}^{\perp}\text{BANŠUR AD.KID}$ is $\text{gib}^{\perp}\text{hariuzzi}$ - (the uanzi ending of nouns of tools or instruments.) It is not, of course, clear whether the registers of herringbone patterning on the Hittite altar of the relief at Alaca Höyük should be interpreted as registers of hieroglyphs, or braiding, or simply a design carried over from the herringbone pattern visible on the Hittite altars on the Inandik vase of the Old Hittite period. On the Inandik vase, the decoration is reminiscent of the herringbone patterns on the clothing and bull with cone of the native Anatolian seal impressions of Kültepe level II period.

There are strong objections to using the word $\text{hruasî}$ to describe the altars on the seal impressions. The altars of the seal impressions are used like tables, having flat objects like bread on their surfaces. That use of the pedestal altar continued into the Old Hittite period\textsuperscript{146} and New Kingdom period as documented by the relief at Yağrî.\textsuperscript{147} The texts do not mention offerings placed on the $\text{hruasî}$. The seal impressions also show the pedestal altar being carried. This action, too, continues into the Old Hittite period as evidenced on the Inandik vase. It would be extremely difficult to carry one of the stone altars of Emirgazi. The seals also depict the pedestal altar set before the platform or $\text{gib}^{\perp}\text{ZAG.GAR.RA}$,\textsuperscript{148} and this is never mentioned for the $\text{hruasî}$. It seems clear that the word $\text{hruasî}$ is not the best one to describe the pedestal altar.

\textsuperscript{146}Stamp seal from the Ashmolean Museum, see Hogarth, \textit{Hittite Seals}, no. 196. See also Beran, \textit{Die hethitische Glyptik}, no. 134, Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib}, pl. XXV 2b.

\textsuperscript{147}Bossert, \textit{Altanatolien}, pl. 571 and p. 59.

\textsuperscript{148}See Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," pl. IX 13, 16 (here see plate 7A); Tyskiewicz seal (see Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group;" von der Osten, \textit{Alishar Hüyük 1930-32}, pt. 2, fig. 255, d 2247; and Inandik vase.
The Old Hittite representations of the pedestalled altar on glyptic seem to correlate with the word $\text{g}^{\text{i}}\text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{h}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}$. In this regard, the stamp seal of the Ashmolean museum is most instructive. On one of the stamp sides, a hunting god holding a rabbit sits before the pedestalled altar piled up with bread; on another of the stamp’s sides, a libation is poured out in front of the pedestalled altar. It is the use of the use of the pedestalled altar found earlier in level glyptic II stylistic group 2 which appears on the cube-stamp seals. Earlier, in Chapter 2, cube-stamp seals are noted as having followed the stamp-cylinder seals in development from the Cilicia and Konya regions. The cube-stamp seal in question came from Tarsus in Cilicia.\textsuperscript{149} It seems logical that both the group 2 seal impression of the level II period, and the Old Hittite cube-stamp seal from the Ashmolean represent uses of the $\text{g}^{\text{i}}\text{h}^{\text{i}}\text{h}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}$ as under Syrian influence. That group 2 seals displayed other evidences of Syrian influence can be seen in the pair of hands that appear over the "incense stand" of Tosun Anatolian Studies 16, pl. IX 13, 16. These hands can be compared to the pair of upright arms and hands carved in a stele found at the "stele" temple at Hazor.\textsuperscript{150} The stele was in the center of ten uncarved stelae that had been erected with a cult statue on a semi-circular platform. The statue "depicts a man seated on a low stool holding a cup-like object in one hand while the other hand rests on his knee."\textsuperscript{151}

The evidence also points to the fact that following the Old Hittite representations on

\textsuperscript{149}Hogarth, Hittite Seals, p. 38.


\textsuperscript{151}Ibid., p. 44. The temple is from stratum Ia (p. 47). In an article, "Symbols of deities at Zinjirli, Carthage and Hazor," in Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck, ed. James Sanders (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 199-231. Yadin dates the stele temple to the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. (Ibid., p. 216).
glyptic, the New Kingdom representations of the Hittite altar at Alaca Höyük, as well as scenes on seals from the Old Hittite period depict the use of the ḫḫḫḫḫḫhuna.

That the pedestalled altar of level II glyptic groups 1-A and 1-B (in addition to the above mentioned group 2), which appeared before local deities, could also be described with the term ḫḫḫḫḫḫhuna seems likely. The seals which depict that pedestalled altar sometimes also depict the table with the "incense stand." Using the table rather than the altar with the incense stand appears to be native Anatolian, just as the gods before whom the pedestalled altar appears are native. These local scenes played a part in the development of the later Empire period scenes. The scenes of the later period depicting the ḫḫḫḫḫḫhuna or "hittite" altar before the platform or ZAG.GAR.RA show a combination of motifs. The idea of the pedestalled altar standing before the platform is a native Anatolian idea. The Syrian style glyptic of the level II period shows only a pedestalled vessel with flames (the ḫupruḫḫhi-type crucible?) before the bull and platform. The form of the empire period "hittite" altar comes from the Syrian influenced group 2 and cube-stamp seals. The motif of pouring a libation onto the ground is a Syrian motif that appeared on glyptic of level II, which was connected to the Ur III tradition. The concept of making a libation over an altar placed before the deity occurred in Mesopotamia in the Akkadian and Ur III periods, but it was not


adopted by the Anatolians in the level II period. Instead, the concept of pouring liquid into the waiting cup of the deity and "over" the pedestalled altar (which was placed in front of the deity) was used. But the important fact here, is that the association of the pedestalled altar with a liquid offering was used by the Anatolian, not the Syrians. The New Kingdom scene of a libation poured into a waiting vessel which sits on the ground before the Hittite altar (which in turn sits before the deity or platform--the scene at Fraktin) is a combination of all the elements mentioned above.

Thus, we see the change of use of pedestalled altars from those seen on groups 1-A, 1-B through the mixed usage depicted on the Ib/Old Hittite period glyptic--when seals with the local seated goddess still depict the level II type of libation scene (pouring into the deity’s cup) with the pedestalled altar; and also when Syrian influenced seals depicted the pedestalled altar as a place where libations are poured on the ground--to the usage depicted on the New Kingdom reliefs where in further Syrian influence the pedestalled altar finally usurped the functions of a table.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶See the relief at Yağrı in Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 571. The neohittite reliefs are so Syrian influenced as to only use the table, not the pedestalled altar, for the Yağrı type banquet scene. See Orthmann, *Späthethitischen Kunst*, pl. 14, Karaburcu 1; pl. 18, Karatepe B/2; pl. 21, Karkemis Ab/4; pl. 43, Maraş A/2; p. 45, Maraş B/7, B/15; pl. 46, Maraş B/17; pl. 57, Zincirli B/3. Note also neohittite libation scenes at Malatya where libations are poured on the ground before the deities—but without an intervening altar—the Syrian motif. See, *Ibid.*, pl. 40, Malatya A/6, A/5a, A/7; pl. 41, Malatya A/9b, A10, and A11.
The pottery shown being utilized on the local Anatolian glyptic forms a second category of equipment. The pottery includes incense stands, vases, cups, bowls, jars, pitchers, and rhytons. Some of the pottery types appear in use to be practically mutually exclusive. Thus, if the hydria vase with drinking reeds is placed in front of the enthroned deity, the tall vase (called "arm of the balance" by Frankfort,1 here referred to as the "elixir" vase after N. Özgüç2) with its associate the globular jar is hardly ever used.3

Incense stand

Glyptic

The incense stand is a fairly rare vessel, occurring only eleven times on native Anatolian

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As was discussed above in the treatment of the pedestalled altar, the incense stand occurs in Groups 1-A, 1-B beneath or beside the table, and in Groups 2 beside the pedestalled altar. It occurs mainly in adoration scenes, the one occurrence in group 2 is a presentation scene. It does not occur in libation scenes. Four times it is depicted in front of the bull with cone.

There is little evidence in the Mesopotamian glyptic tradition for pottery used for burning oil or incense represented with flames arising from the vessel. There are a few Akkadian depictions of bowls apparently "with burning oil". A sealing of the Old Assyrian style depicts what appears to be a flaming stand of sorts before the bull with cone, but the majority of depictions of the incense stand belong to the Syrian glyptic tradition, on sealings of the Syrian Colony style and Old Syrian style.

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5 Plates 11A, 12A, 19B, 33A, 44B; and Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 630A.

6 Plate 7A.

7 Plates 7A, 18B, 19B, 33A.


The representations of the incense stand on Syrian glyptic show that vessel used before
the bull with cone, before the table, the same usages found on the Anatolian style
impressions. In addition, the incense stand occurs before standing deities on Syrian
glyptic.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Texts}

Since most of the incense stands appear on Syrian style glyptic, it seems likely that the
incense stand itself was borrowed from Syria; and that the descendants of the level II vessel
might be referred to in the empire period texts with a Hurrian word. The appearance of the
Hurrians as early as 1650 B.C. as neighbors of the Hittites is another factor here.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{11}Hrozny, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, no. 22aC.

\textsuperscript{12}Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 8, Genouillac, \textit{Ceramique

\textsuperscript{13}Genouillac, \textit{Ceramique Cappadocienne}, no. C\textsubscript{1} and Hrozny, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du
Kultépé}, no. 22aC.

\textsuperscript{14}Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 906.

\textsuperscript{15}Urshu and Khashshum, the northern neighbors of Aleppo were already under Hurrian
And Hattusili I of the Hittites recorded in the "Deeds of Hattusili" that the "Hurrians had
taken advantage of the absence of the Hittite king to move into the eastern part of the Hittite
realm. . . . When the curtain rises again after the dark period, in the sixteenth century, there
are great changes: Hurrian names abound in North Syria, and in many cities hurrians were in
control." See Margaret S. Drower, "Syria c. 1550-1400 B.C." \textit{The Cambridge Ancient
History}, 3d ed., vol. 2, pt. 1, History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1800-
1380 B.C., eds. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger,
The Hittite texts mention the DuHuprušt as a stand for the apruššt. In Hittite use the apruššt was a dish for lard or oil in which bread and other foods were soaked. It was placed on the Huprušt for cultic use. The Anatolian group 2 impression of Plate 7A shows the incense stand beside the pedestalled altar, while both those objects are placed before the bull with cone. The pedestalled altar, now referred to as the shlahhur, helps in the identification of the incense stand with the word Hupruššt, since the two are found in association in the texts.

KBo V 2 ii 32 - 34

32 nu USMAŠ dam-mi-li pt-e-di 2-ŠU 7 hu-up-ru-uš-ši-in
33 ha-an-da-a-iz-zi EGIR hu-up-ru-uš-ši-ma 2-ŠU
34 7 shlah-ču-ra-an da-a-i

32 And the seer arranges twice at another place 7 Hupruššt
33,34

Again he places 7 lahhrur twice at the Hupruššt

As was mentioned above, the word Hupruššt was borrowed from the Hurrian. It also seems clear that the concept of an incense stand before a table or altar was borrowed by the local Anatolians of the level II period from their neighboring Syrians, and that therefore the


later borrowing of the word ʰu:'.$šʰi to apply to this vessel is appropriate. Whether the vessel ever had a hattian or hittite name is unknown, but if it is a Syrian vessel, that would not be usual. The Syrian use of the ʰu:'.$šʰi and ahruşʰi is evidenced by the Alalakh tablets:

Nr. 126.13

12 $\text{du}k\text{h}u-up-ru-us-š-hi$ 100 $\text{du}k\text{g}al$ 300 $\text{du}k\text{h}a-ru-us-š-hi$ ša $\text{i}, \text{u}_3$

$I_3 \text{š}i\text{h} \text{ma-}(\text{u}_3) \text{l}u-u_2$

12 ʰu:$pʰu$h-$u$-Scalen, 100 grosse Gefässe, 300 ahruşʰu-$u$-Scalen, die mit Öl und Schmalz gefüllt sind

The seal impression shown on plate 51A shows a human figure carrying the six handled fruitstand in his left hand while an object resembling the "pail" of holy water carried by the priest of Old Babylonian glyptic in accompaniment with the sprinkling brush. The human figure on the Anatolian seal approaches the bull with cone creating a scene similar to that found on the Syrian Colony style seal where the incense stand occurs over the hand of the Syrian woman and in front of the bull on a platform. In this connection see the following text.

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17Sałonen, Die Hausgeräte, 94.

18See Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, p. 82, seal no. 58.

19Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 158.

20There are a few Akkadian appearances of the pail. See Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nrs. 211, 245. But there the pail occurs without the accompanying sprinkling brush. For Old Babylonian occurrences see Ibid., nrs. 383, 392, 395, 396, 399, 403; and Anton Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollseiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst (Berlin, 1940; repr. 1966), nrs. 378, 396.

21Genouillac, Ceramique Cappadocienne, no. A₄.
KBo V 2 ii 59, 60

59  2-an-na KI.MIN ŠA  "IM ŠEŠ-ni šu-up-pi ši-pa-an-ti

60  3-an-na ḫu-up-ru-uš-ḫi-in A-NA "Ku-mar-ui [ši-pa-an-ti]

59  he sprinkles(?)/offers a second hubrushi to the pure/holy brother of  

D"IM

60  [he sprinkles/offers(?)] at third ḫuprušṭi to "Kumarbi²²

In an earlier portion of the KBo V 2 text quoted above a connection can be seen between

the ḫuprušṭi and water vessels. This text fits the illustration of plate 51A where the person 
carries the incense stand, but nearby lies the pail of water.

KBo V 2 ii 4

4  nu A-NA 2 DUG A pī-ra-an kat-ta 1 ḫu-u-up-ru-uš-ḫi-in

5  ŠA GĪŠ i-e-iz-zi EGIR ḫu-up-ru-uš-ḫi-ma

6  1 gīšBANŠUR AD.KID da-a-i

7  nu-uš-ša-an A-NA 1 gīšBANŠUR AD.KID 2 NINDA mu-la-ti-iš

8  14 SIGH.LA 2 DUGBUR.ZI TUR JĀ gīšZĒ-IR-TUM pit-tal-ya-an

9  gīšERIN 4 DUGGAL GEŠTIN da-a-i

10  nu ḫu-up-ru-uš-ḫi-in ya-ar-nu-ua-an-zi nu-za LŪ.AZU

11  1 MUŠEN GAL da-a-i na-an-kān A-NA DEN.ZU

12  ú-i-te-e-ni DŠa-a-ri-im-ma-ti si-pa-an-ti

4  And down in front of 2 vessels of water he makes 1 ḫuprušṭi

5  of wood. He places one gīšBANŠUR AD.KID behind the ḫuprušṭi

²²for the use of šipanti as sprinkle see note on šipanti- with the accusative ḫuprušṭin
meaning moisten or sprinkle the ḫuprušṭi, see F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, Das hethitische 
Ritual des Pāpanikri von Komana (KBo VI = Bo 2001), Text, Übersetzungsversuch, 
Erläuterungen; Bogazköy-Studien, vol. 10 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1924), 25.
7 And 2 mulati-breads
8 14 bottles, 2 small offering dishes of plain olive oil
9 cedar, 4 goblets of wines he places on the gi8BANŠUR AD.KID.
10 and they ignite the huprušhi. And the Seer
11 takes one duck and he libates (sprinkles) it for DEN.ZU,
12 Šarimmati with water

The conclusion reached here, then, is that the six handled fruitstand vessel shown used as an incense stand on the local Anatolian glyptic was the antecedent of the vessel described in Hittite rituals as the huprušhi. A small pededestalled altar excavated at the level II house of Adad-Zululi from a grave in the funeral room in the basement was, like the six-handled fruitstand vessels, used as an incense burner. Traces of soot under the bowl portion of the pededestalled altar indicated that the fire was placed in the base of the vessel; the heat rose through the holes in the attachment of the bowl to the pedestal, "allowing the smoke of the incense arnold on the ground to rise."23 However, only one of the handled fruitstand vessels shows the hole in the attachment of the bowl portion to the stand.24 Some of the bowl


24Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç, Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Kültepe Kazısı Raporu, 1949: Ausgrabungen in Kültepe: Bericht über die im Auftrage der türkischen historischen Gesellschaft, 1949, durchgeführten Ausgrabungen, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan, series 5, no. 12 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1953), pl. XXVII, 132. This work hereafter referred to as Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949. The hole was probably used to secure the bowl portion of the vessel to the stand, rather than to allow smoke to escape. See Ibid., p. 161.
portions on the fruitstand vessels have spouts in the shape of bull’s heads—surely a feature of a vessel intended to hold liquid. The fruitstands of level II at Kültepe are described as follows: "Fruitstands found in basements or archive rooms may have a bright red polished slip and six handles, or may be brown slipped, with three handles, and a spout made naturalistically into the shape of a bull’s head."

That there were two ways of using the incense stand fits in well with the glyptic evidence. The method first described, with the fire on the ground and the vessel placed over the fire, fits well with the glyptic scenes where the incense stand appears on the ground beside the table as well as the textual evidence that describes cedar wood that has been soaked in oil burning in the huprushī placed on a hearth. A second method of usage would apply to the excavated vessels which have no holes to allow smoke to escape. This second type of usage allowed the incense vessel to be carried (so obviously the fire was not on the ground!) see plate 51A.

Hydria vase

This large vase as illustrated on the glyptic has an ovoid body, rounded base, a wide everted rim and two shoulder-handles. Examples of this hydria vase have been excavated at Kültepe Karum from level II (it has two V-shaped handles, and two vertical handles and appears in either monochrome or painted variants). The vases have also been found at


Alishar, where they often have only two V-shaped handles.\textsuperscript{28}

The ovoid vase with flaring rim found in the level Ib period of Küstepe has either a more pointed base, together with the 2 V-shaped handles/2 vertical handles, or appears in a variant with a ring base, and four vertical handles.\textsuperscript{29} The vases of the Ib period sometimes have the "signe royale" stamped on them. The Bitik vase belongs to the hydria vase category. It dates to the period corresponding to the Küstepe Ib and Ia period.\textsuperscript{30} The Inandik vase is likewise a hydria vase type and dates to the Old Hittite period. Both the Bitik vase and the Inandik vase have four vertical handles.

The use of the hydria vase will be discussed as it is represented on glyptic, relief vases such as the Bitik vase and Inandik, and in the texts.

\textbf{Glyptic}

The hydria vase occurs in front of all the enthroned deities (except Marduk) in presentation, adoration, libation, and procession scenes; but mostly in libation scenes. And when the hydria vase occurs with the pedestalled altar, it is always in a libation scene. However, the pedestalled altar and the hydria vase occur together only in group 1-B; as in group 1-B the hydria vase always occurs by itself.

The hydria vase does not occur in local groups 2, 3, or 4; nor does it occur with deities on their sacred animals. Only once is it found before a standing rather than an enthroned deity (see plate 31 A where it appears before the nude goddess with antelope).


\textsuperscript{29}Özg{"u}ç, \textit{K{"u}ltepe-Kaniş: New Researches}, pl. XXXII:1: Özg{"u}ç and Özg{"u}ç, \textit{Ausgrabungen in K{"u}ltepe 1949}, nrs. 229, 231.

\textsuperscript{30}Tahsin Özg{"u}ç, "The Bitik Vase," \textit{Anatolia}, vol 2 (1957): 75.
Drinking reeds are always shown in the hydria vase, and one of these drinking reeds is frequently portrayed in the hands of the seated deity.  

The depiction of the hydria vase continues into the Ib/Old Hittite period, and the usage is the same. The vase also continues to be shown in use together with the pedestalled altar, but it now occurs only in libation scenes.

The motif of drinking through a drinking reed is found on Mesopotamian glyptic in the Second and Third Early Dynastic periods, but rarely in the Akkadian period. The motif is not found in the Old Babylonian glyptic contemporary with Kültepe level II, and it is rare on the Syrian style glyptic of the level II period. On Syrian glyptic of this period, large vessels with flaring rims placed on the ground are the receptacle of libations.

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31 Plates 27A, 29A, 32A, 42B, 45A.

32 See Plates 34B, 37; Nimet Ö zgüç Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, series 5, no. 25 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1968), pl. XVIII F.


34 For Second Early Dynastic see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 62; Third Early Dynastic drinking through reed occurs with both open and closed vessels. For closed vessels with flaring rims see Ibid., nrs. 107, 114, 118, 128; and Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XV a , f, Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, nrs. 139, 140, 143. For open vessels see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nrs. 111, 112; Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, no. 141. For Akkadian period open vessel see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 248; for closed vessel see Ibid., no. 249.

35 It occurs on the Syrian Colony Style impression of Ibid., no. 905, but there the vessel is a small one placed on the deity’s lap, not on the floor. Another occurrence is perhaps Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 23aC where a vat like object with projections occurs before a seated figure.

36 Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 8. The closed vessel and drinking reeds appear on unclassified syrian seal impressions (see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XL d, f, k) but there the vessel occurs with the table or before the bull in a platform as well as the biconical altar (see Ibid., pl. XL d, k.)
In the Ib/Old Hittite period, the Syrians used the vase with flaring rim placed on a stand on the floor, but flowing streams rather than drinking reeds arise from the vase.\textsuperscript{37}

The Mesopotamian motif of drinking reeds usually occurred with two people,\textsuperscript{38} and Frankfort speculates on the celebration of a ritual marriage.\textsuperscript{39} The local Anatolian use by one enthroned deity is therefore unparalleled. The scenes with the hydria vase on the local Anatolian glyptic are (in general) local, especially when the vase is associated with the pedestal altar. The specific pottery form and the "signe royale" embossed on it in the Ib period point to a local use. The vase occurs with local gods.\textsuperscript{40}

Excavated Relief and Decorated Hydria vases

The Bitik vase was discovered on the mound of Bitik, 42 kilometers northwest of Ankara. The Bitik vase has been associated with the period of Kiıltepe Karum Ib and Ia\textsuperscript{41} on the basis of the stool upon which the female sits,\textsuperscript{42} the decoration on a cream background,

\begin{itemize}
  \item Exceptions are Early Dynastic in Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, no. 11; Moortgat, \textit{Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel}, nrs. 139, 140; and Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XV f.
  \item Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 77-78.
  \item There is one instance where the hydria vase is depicted in front of an Ea-type god, but here Ea is identified not by the Mesopotamian goat-fish, but only by fish.
  \item Tahsin Özgüç, "The Bitik Vase," \textit{Anatolia} 2 (1957): 75, 76.
  \item Parallels in Ib period glyptic--see here plate 16, and Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions from Level Ib}, pl. XXXL2b; Louis J. Delaporte, \textit{Catalogue des cylindres cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental (Musée due Louvre)}, vol. 2, \textit{Acquisitions} (Paris: Librairie Hachette,
and the tall proportions of the relief figures.

The vase was reconstructed from fragments. Three broad horizontal zones bearing relief decoration are separated by narrower bands between grooved and ribbed borders. The scene on the first band of relief is interpreted as a marriage ceremony of the gods taking place under the balcony of a temple. T. Özgüç has pointed out that if it is, indeed, deities that are represented in the top scene, "it is remarkable that the gods wear none of their usual attributes, such as the hats and weapons, with which they are usually shown." 44

The second band shows fragments of seven figures proceeding towards the right. The figure at the back of the procession carries a jug on his back, for which excavated examples exist in the Old Hittite period. The left arm of this last person is bent upward from the elbow and his hand is held in a gesture of adoration similar to that used on the earlier glyptic. Two people in the procession carry an object with a curved end and it has been speculated that they were intended to lead the procession of offering bearers carrying gifts to the gods. 46

Only a small piece of the third scene remains on the largest fragment, but it shows two male figures facing each other, holding a dagger or knife, point-upwards in front of their faces. Another small fragment shows a male musician, belonging to the lower register, beating a disc-like instrument. This lower register has been interpreted as a scene of

1923), no. A 1036.


44 Ibid., 65.

45 Ibid., p. 77 and n. 78.

46 Ibid., 64.
merrymaking.\textsuperscript{47}

The Inandik vase has been said to also contain a sacred marriage scene.

"Ein noch unveröffentlichtes, fast vollständiges Reliefgefass aus inandik macht den Zusammenhang solcher Szenen mit einem Kultfest deutlich, zu dem auch der 'hieros gamos' gehört hat."\textsuperscript{48}

The order of scenes on the Inandik vase is somewhat reversed from that seen on the registers of the Bitik vase. The Inandik vase has four registers of relief figures. The "banqueting" couple occur on the bottommost register.

The topmost band shows persons playing tambourines and a lute, as well as acrobatic figures. The second register shows more musicians together with a hydria vase and pedestalled altar placed next to a large building-like platform. This building facade has three figures placed on top of it. The third register which occupies the space around the handles is the tallest. Here, a person pours a libation from a beaked pitcher for a person or deity seated by a pedestalled altar, and a procession of offering bearers carry other pedestalled altars toward a statues of a bull on a pedestal. The last register shows food in preparation, more musicians, including those playing a large harp, and a banquet scene with two people seated on either side of a hydria vase and pedestalled altar.

The hydria vase depicted on the Inandik vase therefore conforms to the use familiar from the glyptic. Other scenes represented on the Inandik vase have been met in the glyptic.

The scene of pouring a libation out by a deity seated in front of a pedestalled altar was

\textsuperscript{47}Of the three figures preserved, one plays castanets, whereas two other men execute a dance with daggers, the equivalent of sword dances, which can still be seen all over Anatolia. (Ibid., 65).

seen in the Ib period;\textsuperscript{49} the concept of the cull on a large platform appeared in the level II period as well as the idea of the pedestalled altar and hydria vase set next to a platform.\textsuperscript{50} Personages carrying pedestalled altars were also seen in the level II period;\textsuperscript{51} and of course, a presentation scene or adoration scene to the bull with cone on a platform belonged to the level II period; and there is one case of a kneeling adorant in the level II period who does not bring a liquid offering.\textsuperscript{52}

The representation of the playing of musical instruments is not, however, represented in the local native Anatolian style of glyptic. Their use is, however, documented in the ritual texts. The registers of the Inandik vase illustrate fairly well the following lines of text.

\texttt{KBo IV 9 i 33-50; ii 1-6, 37-41, 51-52; iii 1-5, 11-31}\textsuperscript{53}

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  33 & \texttt{ta-as-ta LUGAL SAL.LUGAL} \\
  34 & \texttt{É ha-li-en-tu-ya-az ú-ya-an-zi} \\
  35 & \texttt{2 DUMU É.GAL 1 LÚ.MESI} \\
  36 & \texttt{LUGAL-i pl-ra-an ḥu-u-ya-a-an-te-eš} \\
  37 & \texttt{BE-LU\textit{r}il-ma DUMU.MESI É.GAL Ú LÚ.MESI MESE} \\
  38 & \texttt{LUGAL-i EGIR-an i-a-an-ta-ri} \\
  39 & \texttt{LÚ.MEŠ ALAM.KA X UD-ma GES ar-kam-mi} \\
  40 & \texttt{GES ḥu-u-ḥu-pa-al gal-gal-tu-u-ri} \\
  41 & \texttt{LUGAL-i EGIR-an pl-ra-an ḥa-az-zi-gán-zi} \\
  42 & \texttt{LÚ.MEŠ ZI-IT-TI LUGAL-i ta-pu-uš-za} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{verbatim}


\textsuperscript{50}Plate 20A, 32A, 33A.

\textsuperscript{51}Hrozný, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, no. 40aB.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., no. 48aA.

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43 a-ra-an-ta-ri nu tar-ū-iš-gān-zi
44 giš. A.TAR ĥa-az-zi-gān-zi

45 LU.MEŠ ALAM.KA X UD ta-ma-e-eš
46 TŪG DAR.A u-aš-ša-an ĥar-gān-zi
47 na-at LUGAL-i ta-pu-uš-za a-ra-an-ta
48 nu ŠU.MEŠ uš ša-ra-a ĥar-gān-zi
49 na-at-sa-an pl-e-te-šī ī-e-ĥa-an-ta-ri
50 pal-ū-iš-gān-zi-ia

ii 1 ku-it-ma-an-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA Ą BA. BA₄, BA₄
2 na-a-u-i pa-a-an-zi nu-kān pl-ra-an
3 pa-ra-a LU.MEŠ ALAM.KA X UD
4 LŪ pal-ua-tal-la-aš LŪ ki-i-ta-aš-ša
5 an-da pa-a-an-zi nu-za A-ŠAR-ŠU nu
6 ap-pa-an-zi

51 UGULA LU.MEŠ MUHALDIM iš-pa-an-[tu]-uz-zi SAR.GEŠTIN
52 LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ip-zi LUGAL-uš QA-TAM da-a-i

iii 1 UGULA LU.MEŠ MUHALDIM D DAG-ti pl-ra-an
2 3-ŠU Ą-NA DZA.BA₄, BA₄
3 3-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

iii 4 UGULA LU.MEŠ MUHALDIM UGULA LŪ MEŠ GIS BANŠUR-ia
5 an-da šu-up-pi-la-aḥ-ĥa-an-zi

11 Ą A-NA ALAM ṢHa-at-tu-ši-ilī-ši
12 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

13 LUGAL-uš a-ru-uš-iz-zi
14 LŪ ALAM.KA X UD me-ma-i
15 LŪ ki-i-ta-aš ḫal-zā-a-i

16 LUGAL-uš GEŠTIN 2-e e-ku-zi
17 DHAL-ma-aš-šu-ut-tum DZA.BA₄ BA₄
18 LUGAL-ušs hu-up-par ši-pa-an-ti
19 GIS DINANNA [I] LŪ.MEŠ ḫal-li-ja-ri-eš SĪR-RU
20 LŪ ALAM.KA X UD me-ma-i
21 LŪ pal-ya-tal-la-aš pal-ya-iz-zi
22 LŪ ki-i-ta-aš ḫal-zā-a-i

23 na-aš-ta LŪ MEŠ ALAM.KA X UD
24 LŪ MEŠ ḫal-li-ja-ri-eš LŪ MEŠ pal-ya-tal-la-aš
25 LŪ ki-i-ta-an-na pa-ra-a pār-ĥa-an-zi

26 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL GIS DAG-ti a-ša-an-ta
Then the king (and) queen come forth from the halentuwa house. Two palace servants (and) one guardsman march before the king. The noblemen, the palace servants and the guardsmen walk behind the king. The entertainers play the arkammi, the hulupal (and) the galgalturi before (and) behind the king. . . . stand beside the king; they dance and play the tambourines. Other entertainers are clad in red garments. They stand beside the king, hold the hands up and whirl around on the spot; they also recite psalmodies.

Before the king (and) queen enter the temple of the War-god, entertainers, psalmists (and) kitaš-priests have come in and taken their places.
The foreman of the cooks presents a libation vessel with wine to the king. The king touches it with the hand.
The foreman of the cooks pours out three libations before the throne and three for the War-god.
The foreman of the cooks and the foreman of the table-men sanctify themselves.

And for the statue of Hattusilis
12 he pours out one libation.

13 The king prostrates himself;
14 the entertainer recites,
15 the kitaš calls.

16 The king while standing drinks the two (gods),
17 the Throne(-god) and the War-god.
18 The king libates into the basin.
19 Small ISHTAR instruments (are played), the liturgists sing.
20 The entertainer recites,
21 the psalmodist offers psalmodies,
22 the kitaš calls.

23 Then they drive out the entertainer,
24 the liturgist, the psalmist
25 and the kitaš.

26 The king (and) queen sit down on the throne.
27 Then a palace servant brings in the pennant of a gold lance
28 and the kalmuš.
29 He hands the pennant of the gold lance
30 to the king, but the kalmuš
31 he places on the throne at the king’s right.

Persons playing a small harp are represented on Syrian Colony glyptic. And, as was noted before, the concept of two people facing each other does not appear on local Anatolian style glyptic until the Ib period. However, that motif does occur on Syrian glyptic of level II period, and on Old Syrian style glyptic dated to the Kültepe level Ib.
However, it was in Mesopotamia where the longest tradition of the portrayal of musical processions existed, with the greatest popularity in the Early Dynastic period. On such seal impression\textsuperscript{57} is a perfect parallel for the relief vases of Anatolia.\textsuperscript{58} A seal impression from Ur shows a musical and offering procession to a seated lion.\textsuperscript{59} Other Early Dynastic representations of musical processions are found on vases,\textsuperscript{60} and on plaques,\textsuperscript{61} while the same motif is seen on the Standard of Ur.\textsuperscript{62}

The tradition continues after the Early Dynastic period; a lute player appears on an Akkadian cylinder seal impression,\textsuperscript{63} and wrestling figures together with a drummer and cymbal player are represented on a terracotta plaque from Larsa dated to the early second millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{64}

It appears, then, that it was the Mesopotamian tradition conveyed through Syrian influence that appears on the relief vases of Anatolia.

\textsuperscript{57}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XV a.

\textsuperscript{58}"A band of female musician appears, one playing the flute, another the bull-headed harp. . .here carried by two dwarfs or children. Three dancers, clapping their hands, execute passes and no doubt sing to the rhythm of the instruments." Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 78.

\textsuperscript{59}\textit{Ibid.}, text fig. 28.


\textsuperscript{61}Musicians and other offering bringers approach a seated figure on an Early Dynastic plaque, \textit{Ibid.}, fig. 72.

\textsuperscript{62}\textit{Ibid.}, fig. 77.

\textsuperscript{63}Joan Rimmer, \textit{Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the British Museum} (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1969), pl. IVc.

\textsuperscript{64}\textit{Ibid.}, pl. Vb.
Relief fragments which parallel the Bitik and Inandik vases were found at Alishar, Kara Hüyük (Elbistan) and Kabakli. At Alishar there are two types of relief, monochrome or red-slipped with incised decoration, and cream and red colored relief like the Bitik vase. A fragment from Alishar\textsuperscript{65} shows the end of a lute. Another two color fragment from Alishar shows a figure "holding castanets, rather higher than a Bitik, and, opposite him, the end of a musical instrument and the hand of the musician has been preserved. This shows that we may expect the same arrangement on the Bitik vase, where the second musician is unfortunately lost."\textsuperscript{66}

A relief fragment from Kara Hüyük (Elbistan) shows a male offering bearer carrying a beaked pitcher in his right hand. The triangular tailpiece of a thinner undergarment can be seen protruding below his cream colored skirt.

Fragments from Kabakli show a figure following a bull in the uppermost relief zone; in the second relief zone there is a musician playing castanets.\textsuperscript{67}

Aside from some of the subject matter, the relief vases and fragments show other similarities to the local seal impressions and other media of representation. Some figures on the relief sherds from Alishar wear a short skirt similar to the garment worn by some of the figures on the lead figures (especially the deity who carries the sickle.).\textsuperscript{68} The two-color fragments found at Alishar preserve a long skirt painted in alternating V registers of cream, reddish brown, and black and illustrate a particular pattern rarely seen on the local Anatolian

\textsuperscript{65}von der Osten Alishar Hüyük 1930-32 part 2, fig. 154 d 1622.

\textsuperscript{66}Özgüç, "The Bitik Vase," 69.

\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., p. 72.

Some scholars feel that the existence of the relief vessels and fragments suggest the existence of painted friezes decorating the walls of temples or palaces.⁷⁰

**Texts**

The Hittite texts help to illuminate the use of the hydria vase. The fact that drinking reeds are always used with the Hydria vase provides a clue for the identity of the vase. The Hittites used the term ⁶⁹A.DA.GUR for drinking reed.⁷¹ The texts mention that the drinking reed was used with the DUG KA.ḌU(.NAG) or drinking vessel with cover,⁷² and the DUGKA.ḌU terms for the vessel DUG filled with PIḤU beer, that is, low grade or inferior beer.⁷³

The following lines come from *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* text 1 (HT 1), a Luwian ritual of Zarpiya against an epidemic.⁷⁴

HT 1 i 25

25 nu ANA DUG KA.ḌU.NAG ḫṣarni I ⁶⁹A.DA.GUR tArnai
(S) inserts a drinking tube into a vessel of beer

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⁶⁹see Plate 3A, 52B—the garment of Adad.


HT 1 i 37 f. 75

37  nu iš̄har dāi nu OA DA.GUR kuiš ANA DUG KA.DU tarnanza nan eš̄anta
    iskijiatzi
    und Blut nimmt er. Das OA DA.GRU, das in das Gefäss mit PIḤU-Bier
getaucht ist, bestreicht er mit dem Blute.

HT 1 i 41 f. 76

41  ANA OA DA.GUR-iaššan purin dāi nu pašī
    an das OA DA.GUR setzt er die Lippe und tut einen Schluck

The hydria vase with its drinking reeds was probably the vessel of low grade beer
referred to in the texts.

The cult inventory texts mention that the DUG KA.DU, or vessel of low grade beer, was
designated "for the postament," or altar platform, and was set for display in accompaniment
with the cups that were arranged for display and the cultic feast.

KUB XVII 35 ii 22 77

22  VI NINDA.KU, I DUG.KA.DU I DUG.KAŠ INA OSZAG.GAR.RA
    NINDA.KUR, RA pār-si-an-zi
23  BI-IB-RU-kān šu-un-na-zi I PA II BĀN ZĪ.DA IV DUG.KAŠ
    aš-ša-nu-ma-aš
24  KŪ-zī NAG-zi GALII-A-kān aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi 1 SAL.MES ha-zi-ga-ra-za
25  GURUN ú-da-i DINGIR-LUM GILIM-an-zi LŪSANGA-ya GILIM-an-zi
26  DINGIR-LUM-ma-aš-kān du-uš-kān-zi
22  6 loaves of sweet bread, 1 vessel of low-grade beer, 1 vessel of beer—for the
    postament. Thick bread they break.
23  The rhytons they fill. 1 PA, 2 seah of flour, 4 vessels of beer—for display.
24  They eat. They drink. The cups they arrange for display.
    The haga-gara-women
25  bring fruit. On the goddess they put a wreath, and on the priest they put
    a wreath.
26  The goddess they entertain.

75Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale, 120.

76Ibid., 120.

4 . . . DINGIR.MEŠ PA-NI NA4ZI.KINIII.[A]
5 ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi I UDU DU I UDU DUTU TÛL-na I UDU DUTU AN-E I UDU D'LAMA I UDU HUR.SAO pl-ìš[-qa-ra-na]
6 BAL-an-zi A-NA NA4ZI.KINIII.À ḫu-u-kân-zi šu-up-pa ti-ya-an-ti'
   I PA ZĪD.DA I DUG.KA.DÙ
7 iš-ta-na-ni da-pl-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-as III PA ZĪD.DA III DUG.KA.DÙ
   aš-sa-nu-um-ma-aš ḫal-zî-ya-ri
8 GALIII.-kân aš-sa-nu-wa-an-(zi) DINGIR.MEŠ ar-ḫa pl-e-da-ni'
   iš-ta-na-ni ta-ni-nu-wa-zi

4 . . . The deities before the ḫuwašši-s
5 they set down. 1 sheep for the Storm-god, 1 sheep for the
   Sun-goddess of Arinna, 1 sheep for the Sun-god of
   heaven, 1 sheep for Inara, (and) 1 sheep for Mt. Piš[qarana]
6 they offer. At the ḫuwašši-s they slaughter (them. Meat
   they put down. 1 PA of flour, (and) 1 vessel of low-grade beer--
7 at the postament, for all the deities. 3 PA of flour, (and)
   3 vessels of low-grade beer--for display. (The people)
   are called (to eat).
8 The cups they arrange for display. The deities they carry
   home. On the postament (Z.G.R.) they set them down.

KBo II 13 obv. 17

17 II PA ZĪD.DA II DUG.KA.DÙ aš-sa-nu-um-ma-aš ḫal-zî-ya-ri
   GALIII.-kân aš-sa-nu-wa-an-zi

17 2 PA of flour, (and) 2 vessels of low-grade beer--for display.
   (The people) are called (to eat).
   The cups they arrange for display.

KBO II 13 7 obv. 21

21 [II BAN] (?) ZĪD.DA I DUG ū-u-up-pār KAŠ I. DUG.KA.D[U] ŠA
   III BAN gIS ZAG.GAR.RA IV BAN ZĪD.DA II DUG [(x ) (?) KAŠ]
22 [aš-nu-ma-aš]

78Ibid., 108, 113, 114.
79Ibid., 106, 111, 112.
80Ibid., 91, 98.
21 2 seah(?) of flour; 1 huppar vessel of beer; 1 vessel; which is 3 seah (in capacity), of low-grade beer--for the postament (Z.G.R.). 4 seah of flour, 2 vessels of beer--

22 [for display.]

KBo 7 rev. 21

21 NINDA.KUR₄.RA DUG ḫar-si-aš II BĀN ZĪD.DA I DUG.KAŠ₄ ọẓ₂ oracle ZAG.GAR.RA II PA ZĪD.DA II DUG.KA.DU aš-nu-ma-aš

21 Thick bread of the ḫarši-vessel, 2 seah of flour, 1 vessel of beer--for the postament (Z.G.R.). 2 PA of flour, 2 vessels of low-grade beer--for display.

These textual references of the DUG.KA.DU fit the glyptic and vase appearances of the hydria vase. The hydria vase on the glyptic was placed before the enthroned deity who often appeared on a platform or "postament." 82

The seal impressions show that the hydria is, in some instances, tall enough to come to the enthroned deity’s knees; 83 about two-thirds that height, 84 one half knee height, 85 and various sizes in between. 86 The excavated examples of hydria vases range in height from 68cm., 61 cm., 56 cm, 87 or about knee height; 44 cm., 45.5, 46.5 cm. or approximately 2/3

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81 Ibid., 94, 101.

82 See Plates 33a, 34B, 38, 45A, 55A, 60.

83 Plate 11B, 26A, 29A, 32B, 33B, and 37. The vase on Plate 31A next to the standing nude goddess is somewhat taller. See also the Inandik vase.


85 Plate 20A, 48, 33A, 60.

86 Plate 29B, 32.

knee height;\textsuperscript{88} 36 cm. or about half knee height.\textsuperscript{89}

The texts mention at one point "1 vessel--which is 3 seah (in capacity)--of low-grade beer for the postament." A DUG.KA.DÜ which held 3 seah. In the \textit{Cult Inventories}, Carter has translated the word BÀN which equals the Akkadian \textit{SÔTU} with the Hebrew word \textit{seah}.\textsuperscript{90}

The \textit{SÔTU} was a large measure equalling approximately 10 liters or 10 quarts.\textsuperscript{91} Thus, the vessel had to be large enough to hold 30 quarts or 7 1/2 gallons, as one of the taller excavated hydria vases might.

\textit{The Elixir vase}

The elixir vase appears on the local Anatolian glyptic as a tall thin cylinder with a bulge in the middle. It is shown being carried in various manners: a person grasps the upper end of the tall cylinder,\textsuperscript{92} the vessel hangs from the hand or wrist by means of a small loop.\textsuperscript{93} The vessel is also furnished with a long strap down the length of the vessel, and presumably the vessel could be carried by slinging an arm through that long strap.\textsuperscript{94}

In previous publications the vase has been termed "arm of the balance,"\textsuperscript{95} "scales,"\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{88}von der Osten, \textit{Alishar Höyük 1930-32 part 2}, fig. 197, c 2377, p. 188; Özugüç and Özugüç and Özugüç, \textit{Ausgrabungen in Külepe 1949}, nos. 232 and 234, p. 174.

\textsuperscript{89}Özugüç and Özugüç, \textit{Ausgrabungen in Külepe 1949}, no. 230, p. 174.

\textsuperscript{90}Carter, "Cult Inventories," 71.


\textsuperscript{92}Plate 2A.

\textsuperscript{93}Plates 6A, 31A, 42A, and 45B.

\textsuperscript{94}Plate 18B, 25A, 27B, 31A, 31B, and 41B.

\textsuperscript{95}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 244, 253, 257, and 282.

\textsuperscript{96}Moortgat, \textit{Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel}, no. 320, p. 113.
and "ball staff." For continuity with the most recent terminology for this vessel, the term elixir vase is retained, though the concept of the vessel containing some sort of elixir or magic for the vase of flowing waters is rejected.

**Glyptic**

On the seal impressions, the elixir vase is most frequently associated with a small globular jar which may appear braced to the elixir vase by some sort of support, when neither the elixir vase nor the globular jar are being held in the hands of an adorant. The globular jar may be held in the alternate hand of the personage who carries the elixir vase with variants where the adorant carries a cup, or a pointed drinking vessel with reeds. Usually, however, the elixir vase and globular jar appear together near the hands (but not connected to them) of the adorant.

The elixir vase appears in presentation scenes where it is associated with the interceding deity, adoration scenes, libation, procession to the focus of an enthroned

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98 Plate 14B, 39B, 40A. (On plate 39B, the globular jar also seems to rest on a cylinder like platform. See the altar like stand under the globular jar on plate 25A--however, on that seal impression the brace does not connect the elixir vase to the globular jar.
99 Plate 2B, 31A; Matouš, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. KA 392. Both the elixir vase and the globular jar appear to be held in the same hand on Plate 6A.
100 Plate 32A.
101 Plate 45B; Hrozny, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 48a A.
103 Group 1-A: Plates 1A, 4A, 11B, 39B; Group 1-B: Plate 6B; Group 2: plate 7A; Group 3: Plates 7B, 9B.
104 Plates 14B, 18B, 20B; also Lewy, *Tablettes Cappadocienne*, no. 20 and Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, no. 42 in local groups 1-A and 1-B.
deity,\textsuperscript{106} and in the meeting procession.\textsuperscript{107} It does not occur in processions without focus, but may occur as an isolated motif with the deity on the chariot.\textsuperscript{108}

The elixir vase occurs with all major enthroned deities in level II except the Seated Goddess. Even the bull with cone is offered the elixir vase.\textsuperscript{109} The elixir vase was rarely depicted in the Level Ib period of Anatolian glyptic.\textsuperscript{110}

In Mesopotamia, the elixir vase (minus the globular jar) makes its first appearance in the Ur III period,\textsuperscript{111} although it is rare at that time. The small globular jar was shown held by Ea in the Akkadian seals;\textsuperscript{112} but became connected with the suppliant/interceding deity in the post-Akkadian period and continued that association in the Isin-Larsa period with the elixir

\textsuperscript{105} Plates 11A, 24A, 24B, 25A, 27B, 31B, 40A, 41B, 42A, 45B; ICK I 48 a A, ICK I a 82A. In these scenes the elixir vase is carried by the person bringing the liquid (Plate 45B), by another deity or the interceding deity (Plates 42A, 24B, 24A, 27B, 31B), or appears on the ground with or without the brace holding the globular jar (see plates 40A, 11A, 25A).

\textsuperscript{106} Plates 6A, 42B, 43A, 46, 47, 48A; Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, no. 40 a B.

\textsuperscript{107} Plate 59A.

\textsuperscript{108} Plates 61B, 62, and 48A.

\textsuperscript{109} Plates 11A, 20B, 32A, 45B, and 51A.

\textsuperscript{110} Plate 17, 61B, 62; and Thomas Beran, Die Hethitische Glyptik von Bogazköy, part 1, Die Siegel und Siegelabdrücke der vor- und altethitischen perioden, und die Siegel der hethitischen Grosskönige. Bogazköy-Hattusa: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der deutschen archäologischen Instituts und der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, vol. 5, ed. Kurt Bittel, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, vol. 76 (Berlin: Mann, 1967), no. 134--where it is held from the hand of the enthroned deity, not the adorant. This last work hereafter referred to as Die hethitische Glyptik.


\textsuperscript{112} Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXI c; Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 202, 204, 201.
vase.\textsuperscript{113} That association continued through the Old Babylonian period and Ea, who had held
the vase with flowing waters through the Ur III period, was rarely represented on the seals of
the First Dynasty of Babylon.\textsuperscript{114}

The elixir vase and globular jar occur on the Old Assyrian style seals. On that style the
containers are found with the interceding deity,\textsuperscript{115} but are also associated with the
conqueroring god.\textsuperscript{116} On one seal the conquering god, with one foot firmly placed on the
back of a crouching victim, grasps the elixir vase by the bottom cylindrical extension, and
holds the small globular jar in his other hand. He approaches the enthroned deity who holds
another, yet squatter, bottle in his hand.

In Syria, we noted that the conqueror god was associated with Shamash with his saw.
Syrian level II glyptic shows the elixir vase with the nude goddess,\textsuperscript{117} and the liquid offering
bringer,\textsuperscript{118} as well as the interceding deity.\textsuperscript{119} Syrian Colony Style glyptic, at least once,
depicts the elixir vase being carried by the base\textsuperscript{120} as on Old Assyrian glyptic.

\textsuperscript{113}For Post-Akkadian see \textit{Ibid.}, no. 260.

\textsuperscript{114}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XXV d, and p. 165.

\textsuperscript{115}\textsuperscript{118}Özgüç and Özgüç, \textit{Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949}, no. 687; Moortgat, \textit{Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel}, no. 511; Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, pl. IXB, XVIIA, XVIII i; Matouš, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, nos. Ka 375A, KA 271B, KA 445A.

\textsuperscript{116}Özgüç and Özgüç, \textit{Ausgrabungen Kültepe 1949}, no. 683 = Matouš, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, no. Ka 589c.

\textsuperscript{117}Özgüç and Özgüç, \textit{Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949}, nos. 694, 690; Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 8.

\textsuperscript{119}\textit{Ibid.}, nos. 669, 696.

\textsuperscript{120}Hrozný, \textit{Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé}, no. 18 a D.
Frankfort\textsuperscript{121} has suggested that the conqueror god may represent Ningirsu or Ninurta, the war-like aspect of the fertility god. The Akkadians brought the Semitic Shamash into the Sumerian culture and this sun-god soon gave "solar characteristics to the chthonic gods of the land."\textsuperscript{122} Perhaps the conqueror god, represented on the Old Assyrian style seals holding the elixir vase, is a representation of this conflation of Shamash and Ninurta. This conflation would explain why the elixir vase was associated with the "fertility god" on Old Assyrian seals, and with the nude goddess on Syrian seals.

The local Anatolian glyptic shows the elixir vase in association with the interceding deity like the Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, and Syrian Colony style glyptic;\textsuperscript{123} but also with the conqueror god in that deity's one appearance in the local styles,\textsuperscript{124} as well as by a cupbearer.\textsuperscript{125} In the latter case, the elixir vase is held by the base, as in the Old Assyrian and Syrian examples. This technique offering was adopted by the local Anatolians probably from the Syrians. In the level II period, the six handled incense stand is held by the base, and in the Ib period, spouted jugs and beak-spouted libation vessels are held by the base.\textsuperscript{126}

Mrs. Van Buren expressed the idea that "elixir" was transferred from the elixir-vase to

\textsuperscript{121} Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 97.

\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Ibid.}, 97.


\textsuperscript{124} Plate 59A.

\textsuperscript{125} Plate 32A.

\textsuperscript{126} Plate 34B, and 49. A parallel is found in two vessels published by Tahsin Özgüç in "Five Vessels Belonging to the Late Phase of the Assyrian Trading Colony Period," \textit{Baghdader Mitteilungen}, Band 7 (1974), p. 151 and Pl. 18, nos. 3, 4. On the Tyskiewicz seal the beak-spouted pitcher is held by the base. For the seal see Robert L. Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders," \textit{Anatolica: Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie Antérieure}, no. 5 (1976), 141-215.
the small globular vase. She identified the small globular vase as the vase of life-giving water depicted from Akkadian times with flowing streams. The idea was that the elixir promoted the permanent flow of water from the small vase.\textsuperscript{127} For the globular jar to be the vase of flowing streams, the vase of flowing streams would have to be seen to be used in a manner identical with the globular jar on the seal impressions, i.e. with the interceding deity. The only representation in which an interceding deity is associated with the vase with flowing streams is one on which the god Ningiszida (the chthonic aspect of the fertility god symbolized by a snake)\textsuperscript{128} assumes the role of an interceding deity on the seal of Gudea, where he introduces Gudea to the god Ea.\textsuperscript{129}

The glyptic representations of the globular jar associated with the elixir vase and the interceding deity, in both the Mesopotamian and local Anatolian tradition, do not show that particular globular jar with flowing streams.

Some scholars have connected the elixir vase with the type of \textit{spouted} libation vessel that was used in Mesopotamia from the Early Dynastic, Akkadian, and Ur III periods.\textsuperscript{130} This libation vessel has a long cylindrical shaped base, (is held by that base when a libation is poured), and a spout arising from the globular portion of the vessel. This spout, through time, was gradually pushed closer to the top of the vessel, so that it almost disappears from

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{127}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, p. 57.
\item\textsuperscript{128}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 71, 119.
\item\textsuperscript{129}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, text fig. 37, p. 143.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
view. However, this spouted vessel was used to pour libations onto altars, a use to which the elixir vase is never put. If, however, such a transition from libation vessel to elixir vase did occur, that transition was during the Post-Akkadian period when the "elixir vase" makes its first appearance, and in the Ur III period when the spouted vessel shows its spout to be extremely close to the rim of the vessel.

The elixir vase has no exact excavated parallels. The Mesopotamian depictions do not show the carrying loop. The Anatolian examples, with the long strap, might be reconstructed as goatskins carried on a person's back. A churn dating from the Chalcolithic period in Palestine provides a pottery parallel of a vessel whose "barrel-shaped body...appears to imitate a goat-skin," and that shape has a similarity to the elixir vase. In ancient Israel water, milk, and wine skins were usually made from the whole goat, the neck and feet being tied. Perhaps the strange shape of the elixir vase represents just such a goat skin—the long cylindrical portions being two tied legs each.

With this idea in mind, it is important to note that the elixir vase makes its appearance in the Post-Akkadian period shortly before the Amorites, a nomadic people, are named in the Ur

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131 See Ur II seal impression in Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, text fig. 38, p. 143.

132 For Early Dynastic see Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte*, pl. XCV; for Akkadian, see Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 247, and Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXIIa; for Ur III see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, text fig. 38.


III period as being sedentarized. After the fall of the Ur III dynasty, while some Amorites in Larsa were battling Isin, others joined the Assyrian traders in their penetration of Cappadocia. And, of course, the first Dynasty of Babylon, characterized by Old Babylonian glyptic where the elixir vase enjoyed its greatest popularity, was Amorite.

The possibility that the elixir vase is a water, milk, or wine-skin is supported by the fact that this "vase" needs a brace or support when it is not being held, as well as by the fact that the vessel is rarely represented after the Assyrian trading colony period of Anatolia.

The concept of the elixir vase as a goat skin will be further investigated in the textual section.

Texts

Like the hydria vase, aid in analyzing the textual evidence for the elixir vase is provided by the other vessels associated with its use. Three vessels were used with the elixir vase: a rather large pointed goblet with reeds, the cup, and the globular jar.

The large pointed goblet with reeds is similar in appearance to the Sumerian and Akkadian sign GA or milk, and it is said that the archetype of the GA sign was the ordinary milk-pot at that time. An identification of the elixir vase itself will be investigated after textual evidence for the associated vessels.

The Hittite texts mention the existence of GA.KU, sweet milk; GA EM-SÜ, sour milk; GA.KALAG.GA and GA DANNU, thick milk or clabber; GA.KIN.AG, curds or cheese; GA


136 Ibid., 92-95.

137 Salonen, Die Hausgeräte, Liste A, nos. 32.2, 32.3, 32.4, pp. 39, 42, 43; and Liste B, no. 27, pp. 44, 47.
SE-TI, whey (?);\textsuperscript{138} and A.GA, whey(?)\textsuperscript{139} 

Sweet milk, clabber, and whey were offered to the gods in rituals.

KBo II 4 Rs. iii 8' - 11', 30' - 32\textsuperscript{140}

8' GIM-an-ma lu-uk-kat-ta nu EN BLUE Ne-ri-ik-ka\textsubscript{4}
9' LÚMES\textsuperscript{8} SANGA PA-NI É DU BLUE Ne-ri-ik
10' pa-a-an-zi nu A-NA DU BLUE Ne-ri-ik-ka\textsubscript{4}
11' SISKUR kiš-an (ras.) pf-an-zi

30' I DUPUR-SÍ-TUM GA KU;
31' I DUPUR-SÍ-TUM DAN-NU I DUPUR-SÍ-TUM) GA DAN-NU (GK, 286)
32' GA SÍ-E-TI

8' Sobald es tagt, gehen der Herr von Nerik
9' (und) die Priester vor den Tempel des Wettergottes von Nerik
10' und geben dem Wettergott von Nerik
11' ein Opfer in dieser Weise:

30' eine "Opferschale" (mit) 'Süssmilch,'
31' eine "Opferschale" (mit) Dickmilch, eine "Opferschale"
32' (mit) Molke'

Bo 3481 Vs i 13' - 15', Rs. iv 16' - 17\textsuperscript{141}

i 13' ma-ah-ha-an-ma lu-kat-ta nu EN BLUE Ne-ri-ik LÚMES\textsuperscript{8} SANGA
14' PA-NI É DU BLUE Ne-ri-ik pa-a-an-zi nu A-NA DU BLUE Ne-r[(i-ik-ka\textsubscript{4})]
15' SISKUR ki-š-ša-an [(p)‐i]a-an-zi

Rs.
iv 16' I DUP Kap-pf-š GA KU, I DUP Kap-pf‐[(is GA DAN-NU)]
17' I DUP Kap-pf-š GA SÍ-E-TI


\textsuperscript{140}Haas, \textit{Der Kult von Nerik}, 284, 285, 286, 287.

\textsuperscript{141}Ibid., 292-297.
i 13' Sobald es aber tagt, gehen der Herr von Nerik (und) der Priester
14' vor den Tempel des Wettergottes von Nerik und bringen dem
Wettergott von Ner[(ik)]
15' ein Opfer folgendermassen [(dar)]:

Rs.
iv 16' eine "Opferschale" (mit) 'Süssmilch,' eine "Opferschale" (mit)
[(Dickmilch)],
17' eine "Opferschale" (mit) Molke' [

For an identification of the wide pointed goblet used with the "elixir vase," the BUR sign
is of note. The BUR sign had as its prototype or archetype the picture of a stone pointed
goblet, apparently represented with reeds, and almost identical to the sign for GA. 142 The
dug pursitu is the equivalent of the dug BUR-ZI; also, in a later period, the term dug BUR.ZI is
a variant of gut ZI (i.e. kašu), or "goblet." 143 The wide pointed goblet with reeds
represented on the local Anatolian glyptic may then be the dug pursitu or the dug kappu. The
dug kappu is mentioned as containing milk or whey. 144

The globular jar or flask associated with the elixir vase is a type familiar in
Mesopotamia. Armas Salonen has equated this type of vessel with the Akkadian name
lahammu. 145 In the Ur II period this vessel was called the la-ha-an-kur-ra, "foreign flask," or
in reality, "flask of the mountains." 146 That name seems appropriate as a term for a vessel
associated with the elixir vase, if indeed the elixir vase was a container used by a nomadic

142 Salonen, Die Hausgeräte, 86.

143 Ibid., 90, 118.

144 Ibid., 104. The dug kappu parallels the gutšu.KU.KU and gutšu.NAG.NAG (Ibid., 113)
listed as a hand-shaped drinking dish.


146 Ibid., 227.
people. The lahannu-vase is attested in the Alalakh tablets. It was a vessel or flask for water, milk, beer.

On the glyptic of the local Anatolian style, the globular jar or flask is sometimes represented with reed projections like the pointed goblet, and like the pointed goblet, may then at times contain milk or whey. In the case of whey, the milk could have been placed in the goatskin to form curds, and the whey poured off into the globular jar or flask.

The flask represented on the local Anatolian glyptic very likely held a number of items, among them milk, or whey, water, and wine, all substances also contained in a goatskin.

In the Hittite texts, the lahanni was used for libations, as it was in Mesopotamia.

KUB XXXII 128 i 13-15; 16-23

| 13 | EGIR-ŠÜ 14 SANGA-ŠU IŠ-TU la-ḫa-an-ni KŬ.BABBAR |
| 14 | ši-pa-an-ti LUGAL-uš-ma IŠ-TU 2 la-ḫa-an-ni GUŠKIN |
| 15 | ši-pa-an-ti |
| 16 | nam-ma 1 dištān-ša-a-an GEŠTIN da-an-zi |
| 17 | nu 1 GAL.GUŠKIN 2 GAL.KŬ.BABBAR-ya A-NA dš-ḫa-ra |

Ibid., 227.

See Plate 25A, and 51A.

Curds were formed in just this way in the ancient Near East, "prepared by churning fresh milk in a goatskin containing leftover clots from the previous supply." (J. F. Ross, "Curds," in Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. A-D (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 749. Again, note the chalcolithic churn from Palestine in imitation of a goatskin.

Indeed, in the Bible, waterskins, wineskins, and milkskins were referred to by the same word, nodh. See J. L. Kelson, "Bottle," 458.


| 18 | 1 GAL.KU.BABBAR-ma A-NA 4Si-it-ta-du 1 GAL.KU.BABBAR |
| 19 | A-NA 4Al-la-zi-ya-ši 1 GAL.KU.BABBAR |
| 20 | A-NA 4Hu-te-na 4Hu-te-el-lu-ur-ra |
| 21 | šu-un-na-an-zi nam-ma EGIR-ma EGIR-an-da 14SANGA-ŠU |
| 22 | IŠ-TU 1 la-ḫa-an-ni KU.BABBAR ši-pa-an- ti |
| 23 | LUGAL-uš-ša IŠ-TU 2 la-ḫa-an-ni GUŠKIN ši-pa-an-ti |

| 13 | Darnach libiert ihr Priester aus einer silbernen lahanni |
| 14 | der König aber libiert aus zwei goldenen lahanni |

| 16 | Dann nehmen sie ein Schöpfgefäß Wein und |
| 17 | sie füllen einen goldenen Becher und zwei silbernen Becher |
| 18 | einen silbernen Becher aber der Gottheit Sittadu, einen |
| 19 | silbernen Becher |
| 20 | der Gottheit Allaziyasi, einen silbernen Becher |
| 21 | den Gottinnen Hutena Hutellura. |
| 22 | Darnach libiert ihr Priester. |
| 23 | aus einer silbernen Trinkschale, |

| 24 | der König aber libiert aus zwei goldenen Trinkschalen. |

The following text of KUB XV 49 iv 1-9 illustrates that the Hittites also used the

**DUGlahanni** in the manner depicted on a Syrian Colony style seal impression¹⁵³—that is, the
globular jar or flask rests on the ground and a libation is poured into it. The libation is
poured from a GAL:

**KUB XV 49 iv 1-9¹⁵⁴**

| 1 | [EGIR-ŠU-ma la-ḫa-a[n-ni-uš?] x x x [x] x |
| 2 | [k]u-e-da-ni-ya ha-an-ti ši-pa-an-da-an-zi |
| 3 | nam-ma 2 NAM-MA-AN TUM GEŠTIN da-an-zi nu-kán k[e-e-da-ni] |
| 4 | 1 GAL.KU.BABBAR šu-un-na-i EGIR-ŠU-ya la-ḫa-an-ni-[uš] |
| 5 | ši-pa-an-da-an-zi ke-e-da-ni-ya 1 GAL.KU.BABBAR šu-u[n-na-i] |
| 6 | EGIR-ŠU-ma la-ḫa-an-ni-uš ši-pa-an-da-an-zi |

| 7 | ku-it-ma-an-ma A-NA PA-NI 4Ti-ya-pé-en-ta-aš |
| 8 | ši-pa-an-za-kan-zi nu LÜ₇₅₇₅ BALAG.DI-pát ša-wa-a-[tar x-ŠU] |
| 9 | pa-ri-pa-ra-an-zi LÜ₇₅₇₅ NAR-ma LÜ₇₅₇₅ BALAG.D[I] |

¹⁵³Hrozný, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 36a B.

If we accept the term *lahanni* for the small globular jar, then texts that mention vessels used in association with the *lahanni* should be examined for clues to the identity of the "elixir vase" itself. Also, from its association with the jar with reeds, the "elixir vase" should be seen to contain milk, as well as wine and water.

In the above libation scenes, the *lahanni* contained wine, but it probably also at times contained water. The *lahannu* in Mesopotamia was used for taking water for washing the hands of the god. 155

In the Hittite rituals, the chief courtier, or chief of the palace servants, *GAL-DUMU* É.GAL, is involved in the hand-washing ceremony before the drinking ceremony. The cupbearer, *LÓQA.ŠU.DU₆.A* and anointed priest or *LÓ-GUDÚ* are also involved in handwashing ceremonies. The chief courtier brings the linen for the king and queen to wipe their hands, but seldom brings the handwashing water. 156 Vessels named for use in bringing the handwashing water are the *huppar*, 157 a bowl; the *kankur*, a large or small vessel also used

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157 KBo IV 9 vi 16-19; Friedrich *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "huppar," p. 75.
for wine.\(^{158}\) A GAL-(cup-goblet) can sit on a *kankur*.

Bo 2839 Rs iv 27' - 29'\(^{159}\)

\begin{align*}
27' & \text{LUQA.ŠU.DU₉.A} \\
28' & [\text{ka]-an-kur wa-a-tar LUGAL-i} \\
29' & [\text{pa-a-i}] \text{ LUGAL-uš ŠU₉₈-A.ŠU a-ar-ri}
\end{align*}

27' Der Weinschalenhalter gibt
28' dem König ein *kankur*-Gefäss (mit) Wasser.
29' Der König wascht seine Hände.

The *kankur* vessel is not given a determinative for clay or wood,\(^{160}\) and, as a vessel used for both water and wine, it is a candidate for the "elixir" vase. The *kankur*, like the "elixir" vase, was used to pour liquids into the cup of the deity or king. The seal impression of plate 32A, both scenes, can be compared with the following text:

KUB XXV 36 vs ii 35' - 37'\(^{161}\)

\begin{align*}
35' & \text{GAL LÙ₉MRŠ QA.SU.DU₉ ka-an-gur GEŠTIN da-a-i} \\
36' & \text{GAL₈M I-NA QA-TI L[UGAL] R₉T-pat šu-un-n[a-i]} \\
37' & \text{nam-ma ka-an-gu-az x-i-pu-x [ . . ]}
\end{align*}

35' Der Oberste der Weinschalenhalter nimmt das Wein *kankur* (mit) Wein
36' er füllt nur den Becher in der Hand des Königs;
37' vom *kankur* ferner

The neohittite hieroglyph for chief cupbearer is an object which resembles the "elixir" vase. It is a tall cylinder, but it has a semi-circular protrusion at the top instead of the


\(^{159}\)Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 264-265.

\(^{160}\)see KUB XXV 36 vs ii 17'-126', 30', 35'-37'; Bo 2839 rs iv 27'-29': Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 202-205, 264-265.

\(^{161}\)Ibid., 204, 205.
Further evidence in regard to the possibility that the term *kankur* is the "elixir" vase of the seal impressions comes from the manner in which nouns were formed in the Hittite language. The suffix *-ur* could be added to the stem of a verb to create a noun. For example, the stem of the verb *anija* (meaning perform) plus the suffix *-ur* forms the noun *aniur* meaning (ritual) performance. When applied to the *kankur* vessel, note that the Hittite verb *kank-, gank-* means to hang or to weigh, and the verbal substantive *gankuyar* means, "the hanging, or weight." The noun *kankur* would be arrived at by combining the stem *kank-* plus the *-ur* suffix. The *kankur* vessel would be a hanging, or suspended vessel. The "elixir" vessel is shown carried suspended from the wrist or elbow on the local Anatolian seals.

If the above theory is correct, the chief cup-bearer in the empire period seems to have assumed some of the functions of the interceding deity, as represented on the local Anatolian glyptic of the Assyrian trading colony period; in that it was the interceding deity who was associated with the "elixir" vase and the globular jar on the seal impressions, but the chief cup-bearer who handles the *kankur* in the above texts. This seems to be a somewhat natural evolution. The vizier Usmu often acted as an interceding deity in introducing persons to the god Ea; and thus the conflation of interceding deity with the office of vizier or minister could come about. The office of cup-bearer in the Near East was a political office, a minister of

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sorts, since an official who served the king wine enjoyed his confidence.\textsuperscript{165}

In the KUB XXV 36 vs ii text, the chief cupbearer used the \textit{kankur} vessel to fill up the cup, or ‘GAL,’ in the hand of the king. Plate 32A shows liquid being poured from \textit{both} the "elixir" vase and the teapot into the cup of the enthroned god. So, although the "elixir" vase may not have contained an elixir or magic for the vase of flowing streams, it may have contained some substance that was added to the liquid offering of the teapot. See below in the discussion of the teapot where the vessel \textit{KUKUBU}, used in libation rituals, could contain a mixture of beer, wine, and cream (\textit{KAŠ GEŠTIN GA.AL}). Some seals show the "elixir" vase, the globular vase near the enthroned deity in addition to liquid being poured into the cup of the deity from a teapot.\textsuperscript{166} Three interpretations of this scene are possible: 1) it shows the mixture of the drinks, but not quite as graphically as in plate 32A, 2) they show a multiple drink offering of perhaps milk and wine, or 3) the \textit{kankur} vessel used as a hand-washing tool before the drinking. In the Bo 2839 Rs. iv text, the \textit{kankur} vessel is brought by the chief cupbearer for hand-washing. The "cupbearer of squatting" in the hittite texts seems to have a parallel among the personnel depicted on the Anatolian glyptic. He carries a "teapot" and appears on Plate 11A complete with "elixir" vase and globular jar behind the interceding deity and approaching the bull with cone. This teapot together with the squatting cupbearer will be discussed next.

\textit{"Teapot"}

The teapot is a small pitcher with a pointed base or a small ring base, one handle on the side, and a fairly long spout (arising from the other side at right angles to the handle) ending


\textsuperscript{166}See plates 25A, 32A, and 40A.
in a beak. The examples excavated at Kültepe from level II parallel those depicted on the seal impressions.\textsuperscript{167} The body forms of the level II teapots are elongated. The earlier teapots of level III and IV had "compressed, rather than elongated" body forms.\textsuperscript{168} The pear-shaped teapot continued in use in the Ib and Old Hittite period,\textsuperscript{169} and on into the Hittite empire period.\textsuperscript{170} A variant shape of the teapot appears in Kültepe level II and also continues into the Hittite empire period at Bogazköy. This variant of the teapot has a high foot and the spout projects, not a right angle, but an obtuse angle from the handle.\textsuperscript{171} The body is carinated.

Glyptic

The "teapot" pitcher is depicted on libation scenes as well as processions with and without focus.\textsuperscript{172} The teapot pitcher is the only vessel carried by the squatting cupbearer\textsuperscript{173} in the level II period;\textsuperscript{174} yet it is never carried by the monkey, nor is it ever


\textsuperscript{168}\textit{Ibid.}, 111.


\textsuperscript{170}Fischer, \textit{Die Hethitische Keramik von Bogazköy}, fig. 19 Nr.344; Bog. Unterstadt 2, and p. 42.


\textsuperscript{173}Plate 11A, 27A, 33B.
depicted with a plant growing from its mouth (as is the beak-spouted pitcher which the monkey carries.) For the above two reasons, the treatment of the beak-spouted pitcher has here been separated from the teapot, although both pitchers are used on the seal impressions for pouring liquid directly into the cup of the god.\textsuperscript{175} In one unique depiction of the libation scene, the teapot is held by the nude hero.\textsuperscript{176} In all other cases, the teapot is used by a human worshipper, or a figure that may be interpreted as a cult functionary.

The pear-shaped teapot continues to be used in the level Ib period in libation scenes.\textsuperscript{177} In addition, on the seals of the Ib period, and the Schimmel rhyton of the Old Hittite period, a type of teapot appears that has a long pedestal base.\textsuperscript{178} This teapot is grasped by this pedestal base. Excavated examples of this type of teapot have been published. The upper body of the teapot is pear-shaped with a carination, the neck is either long or short. One example from Bolvadin had a sieve in a separate place on the body of the vessel, in addition to the long spout.\textsuperscript{179}

Texts

The term \textit{KUKKUBU} designates a vessel which was considered the smaller variety of the

\textsuperscript{174}The squatting cupbearer carries a bowl in the Old Hittite period seal impression in von der Osten, \textit{Seals in Newell Collectin}, no. 392.

\textsuperscript{175}For the teapot see plate 25A etc. For the beak-spouted pitcher see Plates 42A, 45A. The beak-spouted pitcher carried by the monkey but positioned over the cup see plate 57. Both the teapot pitcher and the beak-spouted pitcher may appear on the same seal impression--see plates 20A, 28B, 29A.

\textsuperscript{176}Plate 40A.

\textsuperscript{177}Özgüç, \textit{Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib}, pl. XVID (here see Plate 15 and Plate 35A).

\textsuperscript{178}Ibid., pl. XXV:2 (here see Plates 34B; Plate 49.)

\textsuperscript{179}Özgüç, "Five Vessels of the Late Colony Period," pp. 150-151, Pl. 19: 1, 2.
ADAGURRU—a large pitcher with a pointed bottom and spout for beer, wine, or milk and which normally contained 8.42 liters. The KUKUBU, on the other hand, contained 1.682-3.368 liters, and there was the DUG KUKUBU TUR or small KUKUBU.

The ADAGURRU was a container whose function "seems to have been to hold the libated beer, wine, or milk which was poured out before the image during the ceremony." The KUKUBU in Hittite texts is made of stone, silver, iron, clay; and could be referred to as black or GÚ GİD.DA (long-necked). The KUKUBU was used as a libation vessel and contained the following substances: wine; sweet wine; new wine; beer; beer and wine; taupal; beer, wine, and cream (KAŞ GEŠ GA.AL); yalhi; beer, wine, taupal, and yalhi; marnuuant; refined oil; honey; water; and in a Palaic text, sheep or sacrificial meat.

The KUKUBU GÚ GİD.DA or KUKUBU with long neck was used for water and wine. This description of a KUKUBU with long neck fits the teapot of level Ib Kültepe; that teapot had a pedestal base and a long neck.

Some scholars have equated the Hittite KUKUBU with the DUG kattakurant.

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180 Salonen, Die Hausgeräté, 155, 218.


183 Coşkun, Libasyon, 12.


185 Salonen, Die Hausgeräté, 219.

186 Coşkun, Libasyon, 12.
DUGŠU.NAG.NAG. The DUGŠU.NAG.NAG is a hand-shaped drinking bowl.

Coşkun has, however, cited evidence against the KUKUBU/kattakurant identification, and considers the Hittite KUKUBU a pitcher as a separate vessel from the DUGHAB.HAB.

The KUKUBU as a spouted pitcher, or a long-necked spouted pitcher fits the teapot pitcher used on the seal impressions.

The squatting cupbearer always carries the teapot on the seal impressions, while the standing cupbearer may carry either the teapot or beak-spouted pitcher. In the Hittite ritual texts, the squatting cupbearer appears just before the marnuynat is measured out for the drinking ceremony. Marnuynat is one of the liquids contained in the KUKUBU.

KBo IV 9 vi 25 - 30

25 na-aš-ta pár-aš-na-u-ya-as LÔQA.ŠU.DU₄.A-aš
26 ú-iz-zi nu GAL LÔQA.ŠU.DU₄.A
27 Ú DUMU É.GAL LÔQA.ŠU.DU₄.A
28 A-NA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL a-ku-ya-an-na
29 mar-nu-ya-an pi-an-zi
30 LUGAL [SAL.]LUGAL TUŠ-aš b-Ta-ú-ri-i a-ku-ya-an-zi


188 Salonen, Die Hausgeräte, 113.


190 Coşkun, Libasyon, 15, 12.

25 Then the cupbearer of squatting
26 comes forth. The great cupbearer
27 and a palace servant (acting as) cupbearer
28 give to the king (and) queen (the amount of)
29 *marnuwan* (necessary) for (the) drinking (ceremony).

30 The king (and) queen drink in a seated position (god) Tauri.

The cult functionary who most often handles the *KUKUBU* is the *Lö*SANGA or priest, although the chief cook and chief cupbearer also use it.\(^{192}\) Perhaps in the Hittite rituals, the squatting cupbearer hands the *KUKUBU* to the cupbearer. The participant on the seal impressions identified in Chapter 3 as a cult functionary, can now perhaps be identified as the prototype of the *Lö*SANGA or other priests of the Hittite rituals.

KBo XIX 128 vs. i 25 - 30\(^ {193}\)

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25 *nu* *LÜ*AZU IŠ-TU ĐUGKU-KU-UB KAŠ
26 PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA III-Š ši-ip-pa-an-ti
27 GUNNI I-ŠU qišDAG-ti I-ŠU qišAB-i I-ŠU
28 EGIR GUNNI I-ŠU tar-ša-an-zi-pi I-ŠU
29 qišha-at-tal-ya-aš GİŞ-i I-ŠU nam-ma
30 GUNNI ta-pu-uš-za I-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

25 Nun libiert ein Beschworngspriester dreimal
26 mit einer Kanne Bier vor dem Z.G.R.
27 (Dem) Herd einmal, Thron einmal, Fenster einmal,
28 hinter dem Herd einmal, zum *tarsanzipa* einmal,
29 dem Riegelholz einmal, ferner
30 neben dem Herd einmal libiert er.

KBo V 2 i 46-49\(^ {194}\)

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46 *nu* ki-i *LÖ*SANGA ša-ra-a kar-ap-zi na-aš-kan ÍĐ-i
47 pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi nu II NINDA KU, pár-ši-la na-at-kán ÍĐ-i
48 an-da pl-eš-ši-ia-az-zi nu II DüGKU.KU.UB GEŠTIN da-a-i

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\(^{194}\)Coşkun, *Libasyon*, 15.
49  nu-kán IŠ.TU II KU.KU.UB GEŠTIN an-da ši-pa-an-ti

46 Then the priest elevates these and
47 walks out in the river and breaks two sweet breads. He
48 throws them into the river. He takes two KUKUBUs of wine
49 and libates there wine from two KUKUBUs

On the 14th/15th day of the AN.TAH.ŠUMSAR festival, a day for the weather-god, KUKUBUs filled with *marnuṣrant*, šulḫi, KAŠ, and GEŠTIN are extended to the king, and after the king has performed the hand-placing action, the priest offers libation three times before the ḫuwaši.

In KUB XXVIII 99, 6ff. the chief of the cupbearers gives the KUKUBU of wine to the king, who sacrifices once to the storm-god of the city of Nerik.

KBo XIX 128 Vs. ii 17, iii 5-7

ii 17  nu LUGAL-us III NINDA.SIG pár-ši-ja

iii 5  EGIR-an-da-ma mar-nu-ṣa-an-da-an DINGIRMEŠ-na-aš
      6  ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš ku-e-da-ni-ja
      7  PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA I-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

ii 17  Nun bricht der König drie flache Brote.

iii 5  Hinterher aber libiert er *marnuṣrant*-Trank
      6  allen Götttern vor jedem einzelnen
      7  Z.G.R. einmal.

The squatting cupbearer appears in Hittite rituals, not only before the *marnuṣrant* drinking ceremony, but also after bread was brought to the king. Does he bring the

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197 Ibid., p. 15, note 6.

198 Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual*, 4, 5, 6, 7.
KUKUBU to the king for a libation? Compare the following lines of KUB XXV 1 v 20-31 and the use of the ḫagaruḫ vessel with the Schimmel rhyton on Plate 49:

20) The cupbearer presents once an ḫagaruḫ vessel with wine. The cupbearer brings from outside one sacrificial loaf (made) of seppit weighing 3 seah. (25) The king breaks it, takes a bite and then they take it out (again).

The ubarus pay homage to the king three times and sit down. (30) Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth.

The round object held by the second adorant on the Schimmel rhyton is interpreted here as bread. The object has a surface patterned with dots. The neohittite hieroglyph for bread is likewise a circle patterned inside with dots.

In conclusion, the scenes of libation with the teapot on the seal impressions, together with the standing cupbearer, or squatting cupbearer participant/cult functionary, provide a suitable correlation with the textual evidence for the KUKUBU of marnuyant, wine, etc. as utilized by the priest, cupbearer, king, and squatting cupbearer. In addition, the use of the teapot on the seal impressions matches fairly well the description of the ADAGURRU (of which the KUKUBU was a smaller version): to hold the libated beer, wine, or milk which was poured out before the image during the ceremony. This is especially true when we once again consider the deities depicted on platforms as cult statues.

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199 For more detail on the ḫagaruḫ vessel see below.
201 Laroche, Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites, no. 181, p.95.
203 Plate 33A, 28B. Or deities standing on sacred animals: Plates 25A, 55A, 56B.
Beak-spouted jug with pointed base

On the level II Anatolian glyptic there are two beak-spouted pitchers; one both with a pear-shaped body, but one with pointed base; another with footed, or ring-base. Both have a long-neck, beak-spout, and a handle from the back of the mouth to the shoulder of the vessel. Examples of the beak-spouted jug or pitcher include illustrations of fairly large vessels with prominent beak-spouts, and smaller jugs with shorter necks and less prominent spouts. Excavated parallels for both types date from Kültepe levels II and Ib. The smaller excavated jugs sometimes have a trefoil mouth and are made in imitation of Syrian examples. The smaller jug appears on seal impressions of Syrian tradition connected to the Ur III period, but dated to the level II period of Külepe. On these Syrian seals, the beaked pitcher is held up in the hands of a worshipper approaching the chief.

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204 See plate 44B.

205 Plate 20A, 24A, 28B, 42A, 50A.

206 Plate 28A, 43A, 45A.

207 Large beak-spouted jug see Fischer, Die hethitische Keramik, fig. 3, pl. 39 no. 1; and Kutlu Emre, "The Pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period according to the Building Levels of the Kanis Karum," Anatolia: Journal of the Institute for Research in Near Eastern Civilization and Languages, vol. 7 (1964), fig. 13 kt. p/k 220; fig. 10 kt. e/k 74; pl. XXIII:1. For the smaller jug see Fischer, Die hethitische Keramik, fig. 4 # 7. For level Ib see Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948, no. 158, p. 174.

208 Level II see Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, p. 158, no. 103, no. 104; Özgüç, Kültepe Kaniş: New Researches, pl. XXXVIII: 3; Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948, no. 176. Other trefoil mouthed pitchers have a more globular body than the above "jug" types: see von der Osten, Alishar Hüyük 1930-32, part 2, fig. 193 d 2487; Genouillac, Ceramique Cappadocienne, vol. II, Pl. 33 #27. For the jug or juglet without beak-spout or trefoil mouth in MB I and MB II in Palestine, see Amiran, Ancient Pottery, pl. 33: 1-3, 10 and pl. 34: 9, 10. The MB II examples have pointed bases. See also Fischer, Die hethitische Keramik, 47.

209 Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 668 = Hrozný, Inscriptions Cuneiformes du Kultépé, nos. 21 a A, 26 a B; and Özgüç an Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, nos. 669, #670.
enthroned deity; or, it is used to pour a libation past the cup held in one hand of a standing deity and into a vase placed on the ground. 210 This libation type of motif does not appear on the Anatolian level II glyptic, nor is this particular beak-spouted jug shown as a libation vessel in the Ib/Old Hittite representations (where the footed beak-spouted pitcher is used as a libation vessel); but because of the Syrian parallels and the fact that the smaller jug continued into use into the Empire period as testified by excavated examples, 211 the beak-spouted jug or pitcher represented on the level II glyptic is here considered a libation vessel for the Hittite period as well as the level II period.

Glyptic

Like the teapot, the beak-spouted jug of the level II period is used in libation scenes and in processions with and without focus. It is carried by the standing liquid offering bringer in the long pleated gown, 212 as well as other standing offering bringers 213 and the monkey. 214

On plate 24A, the liquid flows from the beak-spouted jug held by the standing cup-bearer into another beak-spouted jug held by a monkey. In another instance, the beak-spouted jug is used exactly like the "teapot"—the cupbearer pours liquid from the jug into the cup of the god. 215 In yet another unique representation, a series of monkeys and jugs occupy one

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211 Fischer, *Die hethitisches Keramik*, fig. 4 no. 6; no. 268.
212 Plate 24A.
213 Deities: plate 28A, 42A; human: plate 45A.
215 Plate 45A.
register. The seal in question appears to be a collection of the attributes of the god Ea; the nude hero, goat-fish, fish, fish-men, and eagles in addition to the monkeys and jugs. The jugs carried by the monkeys are depicted with plants arising from their mouths, as does the jug carried by the monkey on Plate 44B. The second mentioned example of this plant appears between Adad and the weather = god with round hat. It would appear that this plant is similar to the date-palm sprouts or full-grown date palms arising from the altars in the Mesopotamian tradition, and may stand as a symbol of a deity of fertility. The Anatolian plant resembles the small sprouts depicted on an Akkadian period altar, and similar plants are held in the mouth of the goat on Plates 12A and 38.218

Since the Early Dynastic period "dates" were associated with the deity of fertility. A cluster of dates was carved on a sculptured vase fragment of Entemena portraying a goddess of fertility. In addition, plants and goats or wild sheep and goats served as symbols of Tammuz.220 In the Akkadian period, a seal impression shows a goddess of fertility carrying a cluster of dates, while another seal shows a gazelle eating a plant held in the hand of the enthroned deity.221

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216 For Akkadian period see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXIIIa = Ward, Cylinders of Western Asia, 1236; see also Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 245. For the Ur III period see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXV c = Ward, Cylinders of Western Asia, 1241; and Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXV j = Ward, Cylinders of Western Asia, 1242; Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text fig. 38. For Old Babylonian see Orthmann, ed., Der Alte Orient, pl. 267i.

217 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXIII a.

218 N. Özgüç identifies the plant on Plate 38 as an ear of corn. See Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, p. 85.

219 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 106.

220 Ibid., 17.

221 Ibid., pl. XIX a, XXb.
On the local Anatolian glyptic, the cone on the back of the bull belonging to the god with "cone and arrows" sometimes has the appearance of a palm tree depicted with branches and clusters of dates.\(^{222}\) This cone once appears on the back of Ea's goatfish in a procession where the goatfish with cone becomes the sacred animal of the weather-god with "cone and arrows."\(^{223}\)

It is on seals depicting Ea or attributes of Ea,\(^{224}\) that the beak-spouted jug with plant is carried by the monkey. Thus, on Anatolian glyptic, both the palm tree and the vessel (from which a plant grows) were associated with deities connected with water, rain, or fertility (the weather-god with "cone and arrows" frequently is represented with a rain cloud).\(^{225}\)

The jug or juglet, with or without the plant, is offered or associated with a local Anatolian "family" of deities: the principal local deity, the seated goddess, the weather-god with round hat, weather-god with a sword, Shamash with flames, as well as a motif with the bull with cone.\(^{226}\) The vessel is not, however, associated with Usmu, Marduk, the deity in a wagon drawn by boars, or other major deities except Ea.

In the Ib/Old Hittite period, the jug or juglet, with pointed or ring base, is not represented. Libations are poured from the beak-spouted vessel,\(^{227}\) in both libation scenes

\(^{222}\)Plate 58A.

\(^{223}\)Plate 54A where the goat-fish even has a plant it its mouth.

\(^{224}\)Plate 29A, 73.

\(^{225}\)Plate 25A, 32A, 55B, 57, and 63.


\(^{227}\)Plate 36, 37, 38; see also Nimet Ö zgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunan olan Mühür Baskılar," *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, vol. 41, no. 162 (1977), no. 34; and Tyskiewicz and AO 20138 seals in Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group," and André Parrot,
and processions to a focus deity. But the footed beak-spouted vessel was used before Usmu, and apparently the conqueror god, in addition to the purely local gods (the principal local deity, seated goddess, and weather-gods, the hunting god), and Ea. These libation scenes of the lb/Old Hittite period do, however, continue the tradition of the level II period in that they sometimes take place in the presence of the pedestalled altar and table. Like the pointed or ring-base jug or juglet, the footed beak-spouted pitcher is held by deities as well as human worshippers, or cult functionaries dressed as bird-men.

"Cylindre Hittite nouvellement acquis (AO20138)," Syria. Revue d’art oriental et d’archéologie, vol. 28 (1951); see also Orthmann, ed. Der Alte Orient, pl. 376 a; and Hogarth, Hittite Seals, no. 196; Beran, Die hethitische Glyptik, nos. 134-136; Helmuth Bossert, Janus und er Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske, Publications de l’Institut historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul, no. 5 (Istanbul: Nederlands Heistorisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in Het Nabije Oosten, 1959), pl. 3 fig. 8; and the Inandik vase.

228 For Libation see Hogarth, Hittite Seals, no. 196; Margarete Riemschneider, Die Welt der Hethitier (Stuttgart: Kilpper, 1954), pl. 98; Beran, Die hethitische Glyptik, nos. 134, 135. For Procession see Tyskiewicz and Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (AO20138),"; see also Bossert, Janus, pl. 3 fig. 8; A-927 = Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text fig. 92.

229 For the Principal local deity see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text fig. 92 = A-927. For the Seated goddess see here plates 36, 37, 38 and Özgück, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunmuş," Nr.34; and Beran, Die hethitische Glyptik, no. 135. For a weather-god see seal AO 20138 (Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (AO20138)". For hunting-god see here plate 49; and Ea on plate 21.

230 Plates 36, 37, 38; Özgück, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunmuş," Nr.34; Hogarth, Hittite Seals, no. 196; Bossert, Janus, pl. 3, fig. 8; Beran, Die Hethitische Glyptik, no. 134 illustrate the pedestalled altar. For the table see Beran, Die hethitische Glyptik, nos. 135 and 136. Compare these seal impressions to the level II glyptic of Plates 4A, 57; and Plates 28A, and 28B.

231 For deities see Usmu on Tsykiewicz seal (Alexander, "The Tyskiewicz Group"), and Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text. fig. 92. For humans see plates 36, 37, 38; also Orthmann, Der Alte Orient, pl. 376a; Beran, Die Hethitische Glyptik, no. 135. For bird-men see Hogarth, Hittite Seals, no. 196, Bossert, Janus, pl. 3 fig. 8; AO 20138 (Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite;" see also Riemschneider, Die Welt der Hethitier, pl. 98.
There are numerous excavated examples of the footed beak-spouted pitcher from level Ib/Old Hittite and the empire period.233

Texts

The Hittite texts mention the use of several different libation vessels: the KUKUBU, which was discussed above; the BIBRU, or rhyton; the $huppar$, or type of bowl; the GAL, or cup; the tapišana, a deep plate;234 the zalḫai, which Sedat Alp equates with the KUKUBU;235 the ZA.ḪUM or aššuzeri, which may be the double-handled cup;236 the kattakurant, which may be the arm-shaped libation vessel;237 the išpantuzzi, or footed beak-spouted pitcher;238 and the išgaruḫ, a pointed offering vessel.239

The išgaruḫ is a vessel associated with the singers of Kanesh in the rituals,240 and the


234Coşkun, Libasyon, 21.


236Ibid., p. 532, note 10.

237Ibid., 545-549.

238Ibid., 543; and Coşkun, Libasyon, 9.


weather-god of Nerik. The use of a vessel related to Hattian deities such as the Weather-god of Nerik could well apply to the pointed base jug/juglet primarily associated on the seal impressions of the level II period with the "families" of deities which includes the weather-god on a bull and mountain. As was noted above, the weather-god on a bull and mountain and the weather-god with "cone and arrows" are alternative renderings of the same deity (the weather-god with "cone and arrows" being associated with Ea instead of the seated-goddess). The cone of the weather-god with "cone and arrows" identity as a palm tree links that deity and the weather god on a bull and mountain with the Sumerian Tammuz. Telipinu, a Hattian deity, is a translation of the Sumerian Dumuzi, Tammuz.

The seal impression on Plate 24A, where a standing cupbearer carries the pointed jug in one hand and a small bowl in the other, may be compared to the following text which associates the DUG kattakurant (perhaps a type of bowl as in the arm-shaped libation vessel, or a vessel with a shallow, cut-off or truncated body) with the išgaruḫ.

KUB X 115 iv 14-19

14 LUGUDU iš-ga-ru-uh ḫar-zi-pát
15 UGULA LU.MEŠ GIS BANŠUR DUG kat-ta-ku-ra[-an-da]-an
16 da-a-i na-as-ta GESṬIN
17 iš-ga-ru-ḫi an-da l[a-ḫu-ua-i]

241 Haas, Der Kult von Nerik, 224, 225.

242 See plate 45A where vessel is used for enthroned deity, and weather-god on a bull and mountain appear in procession. The vessel is seen on one seal that depicts the weather-god with "cone and arrows" see plate 57.


244 Alp, "Die Libationsgefäße," 545, 547.

245 Ibid., 547.
The anointed priest holds an iṣgaruh.
The foreman of the tablemen takes a DUG kattakurant and pours out wine into the iṣgaruh.
The anointed priest libates twice with the iṣgaruh.

The most common of the bowls held in the hand of the deity on level II and Ib seals is the shallow drinking bowl, without foot. This shallow bowl-like the goblet may have been used for libation; in fact the kattakurant has been interpreted as a hand-shaped drinking bowl, perhaps a later interpretation of a shallow bowl in the hand of the deity.

Other texts further illustrate the use of the iṣgaruh as a libation vessel:

KUB II 6 ii 10-1

10 UGULA LŪ.MES MUḤALDIM GEŠTIN-[a]n za-al-ḥa-a-it
11 LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ip-zi
12 LUGAL-uṣ QA.TAM da-a-i

13 [UGULA] LŪ.MES MUḤALDIM G[UNNI (?)]-i I-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti
14 [na-aš-ta GEŠTI]N iṣ-ga-ru-uh
15 [an-da laḫu-ya]-ti
10 The foreman of the cooks proffers wine from a zalḥai vessel

(KUKUBU?)
11 to the king.

246 Plates 38, 46; See also Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne*, 53.

12 The king places (his) hand.

13 The foreman of the cooks libates once at the hearth
14 and pours out a *išgaruḫ* vessel of wine.

IBoT II 65 x + 8'-10'

8' ]P^U[ URU Ne-ri-ik TUŠ-aš UŠ-KI-EN x[  
9' p]Ji-ra-an iš-qa-ru-hit BAL-ti x[  
10' ]L^KQA.ŠU.DU₄.A-kán GAL LUGAL

8' ]erweist er sitzend [dem] Wettergott von Nerik die die Reverenz
9' vor der [Gottheit] libiert er mit einem Opfergefass (*išgaruḫ*).  
10' ]der Mundschenk [ ] dem König einen Becher [ 

*Beak-spouted vessel with footed base*

**Glyptic**

The footed beak-spouted pitcher was used to pour libations beside or on the pedestalled altar and table.

**Texts**

This pitcher has been identified as the *išpantuzzi/išpantuwa* vessel by Sedat Alp and Yaşar Coşkun.

KBo XV 33 iii 31-33

31 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . nu^LU[ |EN É³ plunge-ša-ni-i  
33 III-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

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250 Alp, "Die Libationsgefäße," 536.
31 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Und der Hausherr libiert hinter dem "Blut (?)"
(des Opfertieres (?)]
32 vor dem Altar des Wettergottes von Kultivisna aus dem išpantuṣa-Gefäss
dreimal.

2393/c + 59 f. 251

[GAL LUG.MEŠMUHaldim iš-pa-an-du-ua-an KUBARRAR
GEŠTIN udai nu gišBANŠUR-i [pira]n III-ŠU šipanti

Der Oberkock bringt ein silbernes išpantuṣa (mit) Wein herbei
und libiert [vo]r dem Tisch dreimal.

KUB II 13 iv 9-11 252

9 LUG.SILA.ŠU.DU₄.A iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi GIBIL
10 GEŠTIN-aš da-a-i nu gišBANŠUR-i pl-ra-an
11 III-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

9 The cupbearer takes an išpantuṣzi of new wine
10 and libates three times before the table
11

The išpantuṣzi vessel mentioned in KBo IV 9 ii 51- iii 12 has already been mentioned in
relation to the third register on the Inandik vase.

KBo IV 9 ii 51- iii 12 253

ii 51 UGULA LUG.MEŠMUHaldim iš-pa-an-[tu]-uz-zi SAR.GEŠTIN
52 LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ip-zi LUGAL-uš QA-TAM da-a-i

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iii 1 UGULA LUG.MEŠMUHaldim p DAg-ti pl-ra-an
2 3-ŠU Ü A-NA pZA.BA₄.BA₄
3 3-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

4 UGULA LUG.MEŠMUHaldim UGULA LUG.MEŠ gišBANŠUR-ia
5 an-da šu-up-pi-ji-ah-ja-an-zi

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251 Ibid., 536.

252 Ibid., 540.

253 Translation from Goetze, "The Festival of the Warrior-God," 359, 674.
The foreman of the cooks presents a libation vessel (ispantuzzi) with wine to the king. The king touches it with the hand.

The foreman of the cooks pours out three libations before the throne and three for the War-god.

The foreman of the cooks and the foreman of the table-men sanctify themselves.

And for the statue of Ḥattusilis he pours out one libation.

The illustrations of the use of the footed beak-spouted pitcher on glyptic and relief vases parallels the use of the ispantuzzi vessel evidenced in the Hittite texts.

**Rhytons**

Rhytons, or vessels in the shape of animals (or parts of animals) such as the head and even human shoes, have been excavated at Cappadocian sites from Assyrian trading colony levels. Rhytons in the form of full-figure lions and antelopes, and deer have been found, and the shape is peculiar to level II. The figure is usually portrayed standing. One antelope rhyton in a couchant position exists, as do two lions from Bogazköy. Also

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256 Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne*, vol. 2, pl. 5, no. 188.
from Bogazköy in a period contemporary with level II Kültepe comes a decorated tower. On the front of the tower are two bull's heads and rams' heads, one of which is pierced to form a spout; while a eagle is perched on the top of the tower.  

Cup rhytons also existed in the Kültepe level II period in the form of bulls, boars, fish, and rabbits. Cup rhytons continued in use in the Ib/Old Hittite period and the entire cup is formed by the animal's head as in the level II period. Examples of rams, bulls, eagles, hawks, human heads, and rabbits have been found. Rhytons in the Old Hittite period also took the form of an animal protome with attached cup (examples of deer, ram, and bulls have been found), and full figure rhytons continue.

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259 For bulls see Özgüç, Kültepe-Kanış: New Researches, Pl. XLV #2, p. 112 and Pl. XLVI 1, 2, p. 112. For boars see Ibid., pl. XLV #4, p. 113. For rabbits see Ibid., pl. XLVII, p. 113. For fish see Tahsin Özgüç, "Die Grabungen von 1953 in Kültepe," Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten, vol. 19, no. 73, p. 383, fig. 16.

260 For ram see: Özgüç, Kültepe-Kanış: New Researches, Pl. XLV #3, p. 112. For bull see Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 383, p. 223; von der Osten, Alishar Höyük 1930-32, part 2, fig. 210; and Old Hittite cup rhyton from Alaca Höyük, see Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, p. 223. For eagle see, Ibid., no. 281, p. 223; and von der Osten, Alishar Höyük 1930-32 part 2, fig. 213 e 94. For hawk see Erich F. Schmidt, The Alishar Höyük Seasons of 1928 and 1929, part 1, Researches in Anatolia, vol. 4, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 19 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), fig. 169, b 1528. For human head see Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 279, p. 257. For rabbit see von der Osten, Alishar Höyük 1930-32, part 2, fig. 212. For cat see Ibid., fig. 208.


In the empire period, full figure rhytons are again found; some that were very large were used as cult statues. Their presence in the empire period brings up the possibility that the representations of the bull with cone on the level II glyptic may actually be very large rhytons.

Rhytons continued in use through the neohittite, Phrygian, and Hellenistic periods in Anatolia.

Most of the rhytons of Kültepe level II in the shape of animals, either cups or full-figures, were found in a district of the Karum occupied by native merchants. Rhytons

263 Fischer, *Die Hethitische Keramik*, nos. 1278, 1280, 1290, 1291; Bittel, *Hattusha*, pl. 15, p. 72—level IVb, bull rhytons as cult statues. For bird rhytons see Fischer, *Die hethitische Keramik*, no. 1339, pl. 139.


266 Assyrians and native merchants lived in separate districts in the Karum, within complexes whose houses adjoined one another. (See Ö zgüç, *Kültepe-Kanış: New Researches*, p. 99 with its references to Pls. XXXIV, 1-2 and XXIII, 2: which show respectively house Y-Z 24-25 and the pottery in the native house Y-Z 26-28. House Y-Z 24-25 existed also in the Ib level, see Pl. XV, 2.)

The native district is divided from the Assyrian district by a street which runs in a general East to West direction (more accurately, Northeast to Southwest). The Assyrian district is found on the north side of this street, the native district to the south. The street is found just north of house r-S-T/21, the house of Uzua, a native merchant (Ö zgüç and Ö zgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, p. 226, 127); and one building to the south of the Assyrian complex N-O-P/20 (Ö zgüç, *Kültepe-Kanış: New Researches*, p. 91). Within the Assyrian district to the north of this street is the archive of Aššur-Emuqi in square N/21 (Ö zgüç, "Die Grabungen von 1953 in Kültepe," 378), and of another Assyrian merchant in P/19 (Ö zgüç and Ö zgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, 130.)

It is interesting to note that the northeast-southwest boundary street is that street which contains an unexplained earth cone (north of Uzua’s house—see *Ibid.*, p. 127) and that the line of the street if continued toward the Kanış or city mound would meet the line of a branch of a present day water canal, which flows toward the Kanış (*Ibid.*, plan 1).
found in the native merchants' houses include the five lions and four antelopes from the large complex of Beruua;267 and the boar and 2 hare cup rhytons.268 A few of the lion and antelope rhytons were found in the Assyrian district, namely those in house N-O/18-19 where three lion rhytons and one antelope rhyton were recovered.269 A boat type rhyton was found in the house of Adad-sululi (F-G 9/10).270

Before discussing the use of the rhyton on glyptic and in the texts, one further fact must be noted, that the predominance of lion and antelope rhytons in level II matches their significance as the sacred animals of the principal local deity.

Glyptic

Some of the animals and animal heads depicted on local Anatolian glyptic can be interpreted as representing rhytons. In addition, there is one instance where a deity dressed in a short tunic and standing on a lion carries a lion head rhyton in a procession to the seated


268 A boar rhyton and two hare cup rhytons were found in the house O/23 (called O/22 in lbd., p. 86 but according to plan 1 and 11 the house is in square O/23). Rhytons unidentified as to shape were found in a two room house, U-V/23-24 (Ibid., 85), and the archive of a native merchant was found in T-U/25 (Ibid., 87). All the above houses are within the area south of the boundary street and within the native district. The large complex of the native Beruua was located in squares Y-Z/26-28 quite a ways to the south of the boundary north of Uzua's house.

269 Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, 131, 133. This house is the fourth house of level II discussed and contains what is called archiv #2 where the antelope rhyton was found. (Ibid., 221). The house is called in reference to lion figs. 265, 267, in Ibid., p. 220, the 3rd house, and on p. 218, house no. 2 with archive.

270 Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948, fig. 433, pp. 188, 151.
This rhyton is complete with neck and not just the head of the animal. In this manner it is similar to the rhyton shown being used on a Syrian reuse of an Ur III seal. Another depiction of this type of lion rhyton may be found on Plate 28a. The same seal impressions shows a full couchant lion, not on the ground, but in the field near the enthroned deity's head. That figure and another are also possible candidates for the representation of rhytons on local glyptic.

The existence of a full figure bird rhyton with its two legs from Kültepe level Ib brings to the fore the possibility that some of the birds represented on the level II glyptic may represent rhytons.

There is one other variety of usage of animal heads on the level II glyptic constant enough to warrant a possible interpretation as a depiction of rhytons, rather than as mere filling motif. This is the depiction of animal heads complete with neck immediately below a table. These figures include bulls and a ram. The bird figures already mentioned as possible rhytons were located on top of the table.

271 Plate 55A.
272 Hrozny, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 25 a A. Compare the seal impression to the Ur III impression in Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 277 which also shows the animal behind the enthroned deity. The animal serves as the support for the inscription block. Note also that the rampant winged lion has been carved over two lines apparently intended as the borders of the inscription block. The motif of the fluid pouring from a vessel (that is depicted near the top of the seal field) past another vessel held in a small-sized worshipper's hand, and toward the ground is similar to that found on Syrian seals related to the Ur III period. This seal appears therefore to be a Syrian reuse of an Ur III seal.

273 Plate 32A.
275 Plates 12A, 12B, 28B.
276 Plates 11A, 20A, 30B, 48A, 50A; Hrozny, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 35 a A. See also here plates 18B, 28A, and 44B.
The depiction of rhytons on glyptic of the local style appears to continue into the level Ib period. A stamp seal impression from Acemhöyük\textsuperscript{277} shows a tower like object behind the seated goddess, perched on top of the tower is a bird. The depiction bears a striking resemblance to the tower rhyton from Bogazköy.\textsuperscript{278} The Tyszkiewicz stamp-cylinder also apparently shows rhyta, below the table on which some sort of two-faced "victim" is represented.\textsuperscript{279}

\textbf{Texts}

The word \textit{BIBRU} refers to the animal-shaped sacrificial vessel.\textsuperscript{280} The type of \textit{BIBRU} used parallel the type of rhytons found in the colony period. \textit{BIBRU} in the forms of lions (UR.MAḪ), lion’s neck (GÚ UR.MAḪ), antelopes (UDU.KUR.RA, šaša), antelope’s neck (GÚ šaša), deer (AJALU), bull (GUD.MAḪ), wild bull (GUD.AM), boar or swine (ŠAḪ), ram (UDU.ŠIR), bird (MUŠEN); all of which are represented by excavated rhytons of the

\textsuperscript{277}Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunma," pl. XV, no. 39.

\textsuperscript{278}See also the Old Syrian cultic basin from Tell Mardikh where a bird on a pedestal is represented in a file of animals seen in a register below a banquet scene. (Giorgio Castellino, \textit{et al.}, \textit{Missione archeologica italica in Syria: Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1965 (Tell Mardikh)}, Università di Roma, Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, serie Archeologica, vol. 10 (Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente-Universite, 1966), Mardikh TM.65.D.266, Tempel D, level IIIA, pl. XLIII-XLVI; see as well as the stamp seal no. 77 from Bogazköy in Beran, \textit{Die hethitisches Glyptik}.

\textsuperscript{279}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 287.

levels II and Ib period. No textual references, however, have been found for the fist, cat, and hare rhytons; but there are references to Ox, neck of Ox, calf, wild sheep, and horse rhytons.281

Rhytons were used in the drinking ceremony of the Hittite rituals where the BIBRU of the animal associated with the appropriate god was used.

Lion rhyton

The lion rhyton was used in the Hittite texts during the ceremony for Istar LÍL; ZA.BA₄.BA₄, the war-god; GAL.ZU, and Ašgašepa.282 The Kanes singers appear in Hittite rituals after certain deities are "drunk to;" and in association with the lion and steer rhytons. The Kanes singers are associated with Ašgašepa and the lion rhyton, although Ašgašepa is not found in Old Assyrian or Old Kingdom texts.283 Also associated with the Kanes singers and the lion rhyton is the deity GAL.ZU.284 The lion rhyton may also have been used in the level II period as in the empire period for the goddess IŠTAR.LÍL or Ishtar of the fields whose cult was celebrated in Hattic.285

281Coşkun, Libasyon, 36, 37.

282Ibid., p. 42. Aškašepa is a goddess within the circle of Pirwa, perhaps of Luwian origin. (See Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 5, 6, 16; and Emmanuel Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, Librairie Orientale et Américaine (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1947), 67. GAL.ZU in Laroche, Ibid., p. 97 in rituals of Kanis.

283Jacob-Rost, "Sänger von Kaneš," 112; Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, p. 16, note 5.

284Laroche, Noms des Dieux Hittites, 97-- a Kassite god; and Coşkun, Libasyon, p. 42, KBo IV 13 vi 1.

285Laroche, Noms des Dieux Hittites, 95.
In the Hittite texts the lion is the sacred animal of the consort of the weather-god. On the level II glyptic the principal local deity and the seated goddess are associated with lions and antelopes.

Lion sphinx rhyton

The lion sphinx *BIBRU* was used for Istar of Nineveh, Bitinḫi (the epithet of Šala a goddess incorporated into the Akkadian pantheon as the spouse of Dagan or Adad), and Wahiši (found in rituals with hattian gods: the god of Zippalanda, Wašezili, the god Šulinkatti, and Wurunkatte). The sphinx is found on the glyptic of the level II period in association with the seals on group 1-B: principal local deity, the seated goddess, the weather-god round hat, and the weather-god on a bull and a mountain.

Steer rhyton

The GUD, or ox rhyton, was used for the Storm god Éṭṭ (or storm-god of the house), Telipinu, Ḥalki (goddess of grain), 4GİR (close to Telipinu and Ḥalki; the deity of fields and livestock), and Istar. The deity U GIŠ.TIR, storm-god of the forest, and Telipinu were associated with the Kanes singers and the GUD rhyton, as was Aššijaza (the epithet of the storm god meaning beloved, favorite.

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289 For all the above rhytons see Coşkun, *Libasyon,* 41, 42.

Bull rhyton

The bull rhyton or GUD.MAH is mentioned in the festival of the Storm-god.\(^{291}\)

Deer rhyton

The deer rhyton is used for LAMA, the protector god. A totally different deity also written as LAMA is LAMA-raš the equivalent of Inaras, goddess of Ḫattusa and one of the Hattian pantheon.\(^{292}\)

Antelope rhyton

The Bildbeschreibungen texts contain references to antelopes in connection with the consorts of weather-gods.\(^{293}\) In the level II glyptic the seated goddess is associated with mountain-sheep.

The rhytons, as illustrated by the Hittite texts, were used for libations and drinking ceremonies.

KUB XXV 1 iv 21-31 from the festival of the Warrior-god:

(21) The cupbearer seizes [the . . . (and)] the horns of the two silver bull heads and pours out a libation by the side of the hearth. They carry them (25) out (again).

The table-man takes the tunnaptas loaves [from the table] and they carry those out (again).

Then he fills the two silver bull heads with wine.

(30) The . . .(and) the . . . distribute the tunnaptas loaves.\(^{294}\)

\(^{291}\)Coşkun, Libasyon, p. 37, KBo XVII 75 iv 35, 45; Laroche, Catalogue des Textes Hittites, no. 631.

\(^{292}\)Laroche, Noms des dieux Hittites, 100. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 8, 12, 14.

\(^{293}\)von Brandenstein, Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen, 83; Jakob-Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, vol. 9 (1963), 209.

\(^{294}\)Translation from Goetze, "Festival of the Warrior-god," 360.
In the following text the king and queen "drink" more gods.

KUB XXV 22 Rs. iii 9 - 13

9 [GIZ]AG.GAR.RA-ni II PA II BÁN ZÍD.DA IV DUG KAŠ aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš NINDA KUR₄.RA pár-ši-an-zi
10 [B]I-IB-R₁₈-kán šu-u-wa-an-zi I DUG GEŠTIN TA É ĽUZABAR.DIB
12 [b]al-zi-ia-ri GAL₁₈-kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi
13 IG₁₂-zi pal-ši PUTU ṢUL-TU₃-na ṢMi-iz-la-an III-ŠU e-ku-zi
III NINDA KUR₄.RA pár-ši-ia


[R]hyta füllt man, ein Gefässe Wein vom Hause des Weinschalenhalters; und die rhyta soll man taglich füllen.

Er/es wird gerufen. Die Becher richtet man her.

Erst trinkt er (für) die Sonnengöttin von Arinna (und) Mezulla dreimal; drei Dickbrotebricht er.

KBo XIX 128 Rs. vi 10;18

10’ LUGAL-uš GUB-[aš] PIŠKUR ÉTIM GAL
11’ an-dur-[a] IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI GUD e-ku-zi
12’ GIŠ PIŠANNA.GAL SIR₄ ĽUŠILAŠU.DU₄-A-aš
13’ I NINDA.KUR₄.RA GAL LUGAL-i pa-a-i LUGAL-uš pár-ši-ia
14’ na-an-kán ZAG.GAR.RA da-a-i LUGAL-uš GUB-aš
15’ A-NA₄ ĽU₃.MES BE-LU-TIM a-ku-ya-an-na
16’ ki-iš-ša-ri-i pa-a-i

17’ LUGAL-uš TUŠ-aš XV DINGIR₃.MES e-ku-uz-zi
18’ DINGIR.MAH Puš-ša-aš . . . . . . .

Der König ‘trinkt’ stehend den Wettergott des Grossen Hauses

10’ drinnen aus einem Rinder-Rhyton.
11’ Man spielt das grosse INANNA-Instrument. Der Mundschenk
12’ gibt dem König einen grossen Brotaib. Der König bricht (ihn),
13’ und legt ihn (auf den) Altar. Der König gibt
14’ im Stehen den Herren zu trinken
15’ in die Hand.


Otten, Ein hethitisches Festritual, 156, 17.
17' Der König 'trinkt' sitzend die (folgenden fünfzehn Gottheiten:
18' DINGIR.MAḪ, Gulš-Gottheiten . . . .

KBo XIX 128 RS. v 39-45\(^{297}\)

39' LUGAL-uš GUB-aš GAL.ZU an-dur-za
40' IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI Ū[R.MAḪ] e-ku-zi
41' LÜ.MESNAR Ka-ni-iš SĪRRU L0 pal-ya-at-tal-la-aš
42' pal-ya-a-iz-zi III NINDA.KUR, RA pár-ši-ša
43' nu-uš-kān [EGI]R-pa A-NA GISBANŠUR ti-an-zi
44' LUGAL-uš GUB-aš A-NA LÜ.MES BE-LU-TIM
45' ki-iš-ša-i a-ku-ya-an-na pa-a-i

39’ Der König ‘trinkt’ stehend die Gottheit GAL.ZU
40’ drinnen aus einem Löwen-Rhyton.
41’ Die Sänger von Kaniš singen. Der palyaattalaš
42’ führt die Handlung des palyai aus. Er bricht drei Laib Brot.
43’ Dann legt man die zurück auf den Tisch.
44’ Der König gibt stehend den Herren
45’ in dei Hand zu trinken.

KUB XVII 35 iii 5-8\(^{298}\)

5 VI NINDA dan-na-aš VI NINDA ha-ri-iš VI NINDA.KU,\( _7\)
6 I DUG hu-up-pār KAŠ INA GIS ZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.KUR, pár-ši-an-zi
BL-IB-RU-kān šu-un-[na-an-zi]
7 V BAN ZİD.DA IV DUG.KAŠ I DUG hu-up-pār aš-ša-nu-ma-aš KU-ZI NAG-zi
8 GAL BlA-kān aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi DINGIR-LUM ma-aš-kān SAL.MES ha-zi-ga-ra-za
du-uš-kān-zi

5 6 loaves of dannas-bread, 6 loaves of gaḫari-bread,
6 6 loaves of sweet bread,
6 1 huppar-vessel of beer--for the postament. Thick bread they break.
The rhytons [they] fill.
7 5 seah of flour, 4 vessels of beer, 1 huppar-vessel--for display. They eat.
They drink.
8 The cups they arrange for display. And the god the hazgara-women entertain.

\(^{297}\)Ibid., 14, 15.

\(^{298}\)Carter, "Cult Inventories," 129, 143.
The phrase or action of filling of the BIBRU's corresponds to the drink offering procedure.\(^{299}\)

**KUB XXV 23 i 4-7\(^{300}\)**

| 4 | II BÂN ZÍD.DA I DUG\(^{\text{a}}\)ha-ni-eš-ša-as KAŠ ḫar-ši šu-uh-ḫa-u-wa-as |
| 5 | LU\(^{\text{a}}\)SANGA İŠ-TU ÉI-ŠU pa-a-i NINDA.KUR, RA pâr-ši-yâ-an-[zi] |
| 6 | BI-IB-RU\(^{\text{h}},\)kân šu-ua-an-zi a-da-an-zi[a ku wa-an-zi] |
| 7 | GAL\(^{\text{h}},\)kân aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi |

4 2 seah of flour, 1 [hanešša-vessel of beer, for (the ceremony of) pouring into the ḫarsi-vessel]
5 the priest from his house gives. Thick bread they break.
6 The rhytons they fill. They eat. They drink.
7 The cups they arrange for display.

**KUB XVII 35 iv 9 - 15\(^{301}\)**

| VI NINDA\(\text{dan-na-as}\) |
| 9 | [VI NINDA ga-ḫa-ri-iš I DUGḫu-up-pâr KAŠ Ḫa IN\(\text{4}\) ȍgsAG.GAR.RA |
| 10 | III NINDA\(\text{dan-na-as}\) III NINDA.KU, I DUG\(\text{a}\)ha-ni-ša-ša ŠÂ ḫâr-pu-ša-ša-ša |
| 11 | [BAL-zi] NINDA.KUR, RA pâr-ši-an-zi BI-IB-RU-kân šu-un-na-an-zi I PA |
| 12 | III BÂN ZÍD.DA I DUG.KAŠ I DUGḫu-up-pâr |
| 13 | [I DUG\(\text{a}\)ni-ša-ša aš-ša-nu-ma-as KÜ!-zi NAG-zi GAL\(^{\text{h}},\)kân aš-ša-nu-wa-zi |
| 14 | GAL\(^{\text{h}},\)kân IG\(\text{zi}-a\)š |

9 6 loaves of dannaš-bread,
10 [6] loaves of gahari-bread, (and) 1 Ḫuppar-vessel of beer at the postament;


\(^{300}\)Carter, "Cult Inventories," 154, 164.

\(^{301}\)Ibid., 132, 133, 146, 147.
3 loaves of dannas-bread, 3 loaves of sweet bread, (and) 1 ḫanešša-vessel into the ḫarpusta

11 the[ey offer.] Thick break they break. The rhytons they fill. 1 PA,
3 seah of flour, 1 vessel of beer, 1 ḫupparr-vessel,

12 [(and) 1 ḫa]nešša-vessel--for display. They eat. They drink. The cups they
arrange for display. According to the first cups

13 [the cups are a]rranged. And the ḥazgara-women entertain the god. The god
they pick up. Him back to the temple

14 the [carry home.] The liver into the ḫarpusta they pour. The god on the
postament

15 they set down. 1 loaf of bread, (made of) a handful (of flour), they bread.
Beer they offer. The lamps they put up.

In some of the cult inventory texts the sequence of actions is the same as that given
immediately above, although the filling of the rhytons is not mentioned--it must be
understood.

KBo II 13 rev. 2, 6-9302

2  lu-kat-ma DU DUTU TÚL-na P LAMA ḪUr.SaG Pl-š-qa-ra-na kar-pl-ya-an-zi
6  I PA ZI.D.A I DUG.KA.DU
7  iš-ta-na-ni da-pl-aš DIN.GI.R MES-aš III PA ZI.D.A III DUG.KA.DU
   aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš ḥal-zi-ya-ri
   ta-ni-nu-wa-zi
9  NIN.DA.KU.RA.MES tar-na-aš-na-aš pár-ši-ya-an-zi ša-ša-an-nu-uš ti-an-zi

2 The next day the Storm-god, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Inara, (and)
    Mr. Pišqarana they pick up
6  1 PA of flour, (and) 1 vessel of low-grade beer--
7  at the postament, for all the deities. 3 PA of flour, (and) 3 vessels of
    low-grade beer--for display. (The people) are called (to eat).
8  The cups they arrange for display. The deities they carry home. On the
    postament they set them down.
9  Loaves of thick bread, (each made of) a tarma-measure (of flour), for them
    they break. The lamps they set up.

That the rhytons are connected with the setting of the cups for display, the drinking
ceremony, and the feast is further illustrated by the following text:

302Ibid., 108, 113, 114.
Then the priest again dips up (wine) from the god's BIBRU and pours out into the king's GAL goblet and gives it to the king.

Some rhytons were used as cult statues, and Coşkun notes that in some textual places referring to animal-shaped cult objects, it is not easy to ascertain whether the objects are vessels (rhytons) or figurines (cult statues).³⁰⁴ Large cult statues found at Bogazköy are in the shape of two bull rhytons that measure almost 90 cm. in height.³⁰⁵

The use of the rhytons in association with the drinking ceremony and the cups arranged for display is illustrated by the glyptic where the rhytons are frequently depicted below or on the table.³⁰⁶ The birds depicted on the tables sometimes have the appearance of filling the god's cup through the means of pouring out liquid from its beak.³⁰⁷

The text KUB XXV 23 i 4-7, which mentions that the priest gives a hanešša vessel of beer from his house, is paralleled in other instances by the priest giving a tapisana libation vessel or other such vessel.³⁰⁸ In this regard, it is interesting to note the five lions and four antelopes found in the native merchant Beruua's house, together with the fact that a man

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³⁰³Coşkun, Libasyon, 30.
³⁰⁴Ibid., 37.
³⁰⁵Bittel, Hattusha, 72.
³⁰⁷Plates 12A, 12B, 55A.
³⁰⁸Carter, "Cult Inventories," 139, 146, 164, 166, 173.
named Beruua was the priest of the storm-god.  

**Cups**

Enthroned deities and deities standing on their sacred animals usually hold a cup in one hand. These cups belong to one of four basic types.

1. Pointed based cups. These vary in size from the small triangular shaped cups to long cups.
2. Long cylindrical cups or goblets.
4. Cups with stump bases.

These cup types have parallels with excavated vessels from Kültepe, except type number 2. The long cylindrical goblet is paralleled by excavated examples only in Mesopotamia.

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311 Plates 3B, 5A, 9A, 32B, 39B, 47, 56B.


313 Plate 31A.


Glyptic

The cup is depicted on local Anatolian glyptic in the hand of the deity, worshipper, rarely the monkey,\textsuperscript{317} or set on the table before the deity or platform. Cups are displayed on all the groups of the local styles except group 4. While cups are shown on group 2 (see Plate 8), the shallow dish which becomes more popular in the Ib period is also used;\textsuperscript{318} as is the small squat/globular jar.\textsuperscript{319}

The cup appears in use in all varieties of scenes (normal presentation, adoration, libation, procession to focus and without, and meeting procession), but as might be expected, is most frequently used in libation scenes and in processions where the cupbearer appears.\textsuperscript{320}

In Mesopotamian tradition of Ur III onwards, the enthroned deity holding a cup is usually shown so that the fingers of the hand form a triangle. The cup is triangular shaped with a pointed base,\textsuperscript{321} but the shallow bowl is also seen.\textsuperscript{322} The cylindrical goblet also

\textsuperscript{317}For Monkeys see plates 3A, 11A, 41B. For worshipper see plates 35B, 32A.

\textsuperscript{318}Plate 46.

\textsuperscript{319}Plates 7A, 7B.


\textsuperscript{322}For Akkadian see Porada, \textit{Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals}, nos. 217, 224. For Isin Larsa see \textit{Ibid.}, nos. 300, 303. For Old Babylonian see \textit{Ibid.}, nos. 3225, 327, 328.
belongs to the Mesopotamian glyptic tradition. It was held by the enthroned deity in the Akkadian and post Akkadian period, and was used by persons pouring libations in the Akkadian and Ur III periods.

In the Ib period the use of the pointed base cup, long cylindrical goblet, and the cup with stump base continue, but the shallow dish becomes more popular.

Texts

The term DUGAL is used for the cup or goblet in the Hittite texts. The drinking ceremony described in the rituals of the later period is worded 'drink' the god. This phrase is an abbreviation of the wording 'drink the cup of the god' found in Old Hittite texts.

KBo XVII 74 Vs. ii 42-46

42 LUGAL-ūš SAL.LUGAL [-aš-]ša a-ša-an-da-aš GAL DİŞKUR Ü
   D[U₄₅-še-iz-zl-i a-k]u[-an-zl]
43 LÚ GIS BANŠUR š[u-ulpa-az GIS BANŠUR-az II tu-ni-in-ga[-aš
   NINDA ša-ūš da-a-i]
44 LUGAL-i pa-a-i [LUG]AL-ša pár-sš-i-ša LÚ GIS BANŠUR LUGAL-i [e-ip-zi
   tu-ūš a-ap-pa]

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Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, no. 192, Buchanan, Seals in the Ashmolean, no. 389.

For Akkadian see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXIV f; and Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 245. For Ur III see Ibid, no. 290.

Pointed base see plate 35A. Long cylindrical cup see plate 34B, 60, and AO 20138 (Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite (AO201380." For stump base see here plate 34B.

Here plates 16, 38; Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. XXX:2b; Hogarth, Hittite Seals, no. 196; Riemschneider, Die Welt der Hethiter, pl. 98; Beran, Die Hethitische Glyptik, no. 135; and Sedat Alp, Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan Series 5, NO. 26 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1968), fig. 45, p. 167, fig. 44, p. 167.

Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 34.

König und Königin trinken im Sitzen aus dem Becher des Wettergottes und des [Ua'ezzil.]


König und Königin trinken im Sitzen aus dem Becher der Gottheit Inar.

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In the cult inventory texts the relationship between the cups and rhytons for the drinking ceremony is placed in an abbreviated form:
KUB XVII 35 ii 23-24

23  BI-IB-RU-kán  šu-un-na-an-zi  I  PA II  BÁN  ZÍ.D.D  IV  DUG.KAŠ  
   aš-ša-nu-ma-aš

24  KÚ-zi  NAG-zi  GAL^{11.A}  kán  aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi

23  The rhytons they fill.  1  PA,  2  seah  of  flour,  4  vessels  of  beer--
    for display.

24  They eat.  They drink.  The cups they arrange for display.

Compare the drinking ceremony using the GAL^{11.A} or cups, and rhytons (the cult
inventory phrases of filling the rhytons and arranging the cups for display) with the seal
impressions showing the table set with cups and rhytons below or on the table.331

When the type of cup utilized on the seal impression is the pointed base cup, the
depiction of the cup lying on its side on the table, and represented by a doughnut-like circle,
makes sense as that kind of cup could not be placed upright on the table without a holder or
stand.332  When the ring-based cups are used they are depicted in an upright position on the

The statue description texts, or Bildbeschreibungen, describe the statues of the deities as
holding the GAL in the right hand.334  The seal impressions, however, show the GAL
goblet in either the right or the left hand of the deity;335  but this depiction of the cup
depends whether the deity faces right or left.  When the deity faces toward the left, the cup is

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332 See especially plates 11A, 28A, 44B, but also plates 20A, 19B.
333 Plate 31A.
334 Coşkun, Libasyon, 29.
335 See plates 1B, 2A, 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B, 5A; 1A, 6A, 6B, 11B, 12B, etc.
held in the right hand, and vice versa.

The depiction of the table with rhytons and drinking cups on the local seal impressions is a purely local motif. As was mentioned before, the table with breadlike objects on it is found on Syrian glyptic, but the concept of cups placed on a table is not seen on a non-Anatolian style seal impression until the Ib period.\(^\text{336}\) The motif was obviously borrowed from the local Anatolian usage.

**Bowls**

There are two types of bowls that appear on the local Anatolian glyptic: shallow drinking bowls, and footed bowls that are carried by a cult functionary or appear standing on a table.\(^\text{337}\)

**Glyptic**

Two sizes of footed bowls are depicted. On plate 24A, a standing cupbearer brings a small footed bowl and a beak-spouted/pointed-base pitcher to the enthroned deity. But large footed bowls are placed on the tables of level II glyptic and carried by the squatting cup bearer in the Ib/Old Hittite period.\(^\text{338}\)

Excavated parallels of the large footed bowls were found at Alishar, and at Kültepe from

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\(^\text{336}\)For Old Syrian see von der Osten, *Alishar Höyük 1930-32, part 2*, fig. 246, no. 3103, p. 207.

\(^\text{337}\)Shallow drinking bowls from level II: group 2, plate 46; level Ib: plates 16, 38; Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib*, pl. XXX:2b; Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, no. 196; Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter*, pl. 98; Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, no. 135; Alp, *Siegel aus Karahöyük*, fig. 45, p. 167, fig. 44.

\(^\text{338}\)Plates 25B, 50A, and von der Osten, *Seals in Newell Collection*, no. 392. See also here plate 51A where the large footed bowl appears above the hands of a worshipper before the bull statue.
level II levels, but the footed bowl has been found in inner Anatolia from the Chalcolithic period.

The small bowl shown in the hand of the cupbearer on the glyptic representation of plate 24A appears to have a small foot, but it probably parallels the small handleless bowls with ring bases excavated from Kültepe. Footed bowls of a small enough size to fit in the hand as the bowl on the seal impression, have not been excavated.

The small footless bowls used in place of a cup and held in the hands of the deities are also paralleled by excavated finds. These bowls are of a size to fit comfortably in the palm of the hand.

Texts

The appearance of the squatting cup-bearer with the large footed bowl, together with the fact that the bowl is depicted on the table along with the cups "for display," provide a possible clue for the textual identification of this vessel.

In the cult inventory texts, five types of vessels are listed "for display:" the DUG.KAŞ

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340 Winfried Orthmann, *Die Keramik der frühen Bronzezeit aus Innerantolien* (Berlin: Mann, 1963), Chalcolithic: Pazarli, pl. 55 #13/01, p. 41; For Early Bronze age see Alaca Hüyük, pl. 44, #11/51.


or beer pitcher,\textsuperscript{343} the DUG.KA.DÜ or hydria vase of low grade beer,\textsuperscript{344} the ḫanešša or dipper,\textsuperscript{345} the GAL\textsuperscript{11111}A or cups,\textsuperscript{346} and the DUG\textsuperscript{11111}huppar or bowl.\textsuperscript{347}

The DUG\textsuperscript{11111}huppar thus appears as a candidate for the footed bowl seen on the tables of the level II glyptic. The DUG\textsuperscript{11111}huppar is also designated "for the postament/ZAG.GAR.RA" in the cult inventory texts.\textsuperscript{348} The footed bowl appears on one seal impression of the level II period above the hands of a worshipper who approaches the bull statue or "postament."\textsuperscript{349}

In one cult inventory text, both the DUG\textsuperscript{11111}huppar and DUG.KA.DÜ are listed as being "for the postament/ZAG.GAR.RA."

KBo II 7 obv. 1\textsuperscript{350}

13 II BÁN ZÍD.DA I DUG.KA.DÜ ȘA III BÁN I DUG\textsuperscript{11111}hu-u-up-pár-as KÂŠ Giš ZAG.GAR.RA

\textsuperscript{343}Salonen, \textit{Die Hausgeräte}, Old Assyrian: p. 61; Middle Babylonian: p. 65. See the seal impression Beran, \textit{Die Hethitische Glyptik}, no. 136 for an illustration of such a pitcher on the table.

See Carter, "Hittite Cult Inventory," texts KBo II 7 obv. 8, 15, 21; rev.3. KBo II 13 obv. 7. KUB XVII 35 ii 23; iii 31; iv 11. KUB XXV 23 i 18, 45; ii 4, 23.

\textsuperscript{344}\textit{Ibid.}, texts: KBo II 7 obv. 14, 28. KBo II 13 obv. 17; rev. 7.


\textsuperscript{346}Carter, "Hittite Cult Inventories," texts: KBo II 13 obv. 7, 9, 17; rev. 8. KUB VII 24 obv. 10. KUB XXV 23 i 7, 21, 45; ii 4, 25; iv 42. KUB XVII 35 i 11, 24; iii 8, 32; iv 12, 22.


\textsuperscript{348}\textit{Ibid.}, KBo II 7 obv. 7, 13, 28. KUB XVII 35 i 9; iii 6, 30. KUB XXV 23 i 29.

\textsuperscript{349}See plate 51A.

\textsuperscript{350}Carter, "Hittite Cult-Inventories," 91, 97.
13 2 seah of flour; 1 DUG.KA.DÙ vessel, which is 3 seah (in capacity), of
low-grade beer; 1 huppar-vessel of beer--for the postament.

This text can be compared with the Old Hittite seal impression where the hydria vase or
vessel of low-grade beer, the pedestalled altar are placed before the deity, and the squatting
cupbearer brings the footed bowl.351

The huppar was used for bringing water for the hand washing ceremony,352 and as a
receptacle for libations.353 It has been proposed that the huppar is the large two handled
pot seen on the neo-hittite reliefs.354 That very large pot is indeed used for libations, but is
probably not the huppar. Since the hittite texts mention that the huppar vessel was handed to
the king by the anointed priest, it must be a vessel small enough to be passed from hand to
hand.

Bo 2839 Rs. iv 18-19355

18' [LÔGUDÙ h]u-up-pâr-an LUGAL-i
19' [pa-ra-a] e-ep-zi LUGAL-uš
20' [da-a]-i

18' [Der Gesalbte] hält dem König die [Sch]ale
19' [hin]. Der König
20' [nimm]t (sie).

Like the GAL or cup, and the rhyton, the DUG huppar could belong to a specific god.

351 von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collections, no. 392.
352 Carter, "Hittite Cult-Inventories," KBo IV 9 vi 17-19.
353 Neu, Ein althethitisches Gewitterritual, III 9, 20, 26, 33, 38, 43, 48, 53.
354 Coşkun, Libasyon, 53.
355 Haas, Der Kult von Nerik, 264-265.
If the small bowl held in the hand of the standing cupbearer on plate 24A is a small footed bowl, (regardless of the fact that no such vessels excavated are that size), then that seal impression may illustrate the usage of both the *huppar* and the *išgaruh*.

KUB I 17 i 4-8

4 LUGAL-us GUB-aš DUTU DMe-ez-zu-ul-la
5 a-aš-šu-ze-e-ri GUŠKIN e-ku-zi
6 LUGAL-us šu-u-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-ti
7 iš-ga-ru-hi-it še-ir e-e-p-zi
8 GEŠTIN-an-kán la-a-šu-ya-a-an

4 The king standing drinks the sun-goddess and Mezzulla from the gold *aššuzeri*.
5 The king libates into a *huppar*,
6 and hold (it) above with the *išgaruh*
7 pouring wine.

The textual evidence for the identification of the small drinking bowl held in the deity’s hand is inconclusive. This vessel is also shown in the hand on the hittite hieroglyphic signs Laroche #8—to drink, and #27—libation. From the bowl’s appearance in the latter sign we may assume that the bowl was used for libation. The terms used for libation vessels were mentioned above. The term *DUGUTUL₂* refers to a large drinking or soup bowl and a bowl with a round bottom,³⁵⁸ and *DUGUTUL₂.TUR* to a small drinking bowl.³⁵⁹ The terms

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DUGUTUL₂·TUR and DUGSI are the equivalents of the Akkadian work LUMMU or drinking bowl;\(^{360}\) DUGUTUL₂·TUR does not appear in the texts as a libation vessel. The DUGSI is the horn shaped rhyton\(^{361}\) and may bear some importance for the translation of the neohittite inscription: wa-mu-VILLE? CORNE sù? + r-nà BOIRE-u-na-s . . . ROUTE-wa-nà-a, "envoie-moi des cornes à boire."\(^{362}\) BOIRE is sign #8 shown with the small drinking bowl.

The word DUGkattakurant was briefly discussed as a shallow bowl perhaps related to the arm-shaped libation vessel. This term (if the identification with the \(\text{ NU.SU.NAG.NAG}\)) is correct, is a drinking bowl as well as a very important libation vessel. By the empire period, the shallow bowl may not have been used as a libation vessel, having perhaps been replaced by the arm-shaped libation vessel, which consists of a forearm complete with hand holding a bowl. The arm-shaped libation vessel, in shape, matches the neohittite hieroglyphic sign for libation.

N. Özgüç in *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* felt that some of the objects on the tables of the local glyptic resembled the arm-shaped libation vessels of the empire period.\(^{363}\) No such vessel has been excavated from level II at Kültepe; the earliest such libation vessels date from the level Ib/Old Hittite period at Alishar,\(^{364}\) and

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\(^{361}\) *Ibid.*, p. 239, Pl. CCXXIX.


\(^{363}\) Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group*, p. 56. See especially her reference to the seal impression on our plate 50A, and also plates 24B, 41A.

\(^{364}\) von der Osten, *Alishar Hâyük 1930-32, part 2*, fig. 207 #c1276, c 1277, pp. 166, 190. Both were found 3.20 m deep in square I 30. There were no 11T levels in I-J.
Table 11. Pottery on seals, excavated examples, and identifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elixir-vase</td>
<td><em>kankur</em></td>
<td>See Plate 42A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Teapot&quot;</td>
<td>KUKKUBU</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beak-Spouted/Pointed base Pitcher</th>
<th>išgaruh?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>See plate 28B. For excavated examples see Emre, &quot;The Pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period,&quot; fig. 13 Kt. p/k 220, fig. 10 Kt. e/k 74, pl. XXII nr. 1; see also Özgüç and Özgüç, <em>Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949</em>, nrs. 103, 104.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beak-Spouted Pitcher</th>
<th>išpantuzzi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rhytons</td>
<td>BIBRU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Rhyton Image" /></td>
<td>See plate 28A. For excavated examples see Bossert, <em>Altanatolien</em>, nrs. 402-403; Özgüç and Özgüç, <em>Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949</em>, nrs. 265-277, 279, pl. XLIV, pl. XLV 4, pl XLV 3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ring-based cups</th>
<th>GAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Ring-based Cup Image" /></td>
<td>See plate 31A. For excavated examples see Özgüç and Özgüç, <em>Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949</em>, nrs. 230-234; and Bossert, <em>Altanatolien</em>, nr. 406.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pointed-based cups</th>
<th>GAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Pointed-based Cup Image" /></td>
<td>See Plate 41A. For excavated examples see Özgüç and Özgüç, <em>Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949</em>, nrs. 209, 210.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11--Continued</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stump-based Cups</strong></td>
<td>See plate 30B. For excavated example see Özgüç and Özgüç, <em>Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949</em>, nr. 173.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Footed Bowls</strong></td>
<td>See plate 50A. For excavated examples see Emre, &quot;The Pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period,&quot; fig. 10 Kt. m/k 59; Özgüç, <em>Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948</em>, nrs. 313, 314, 316; von der Osten, <em>Alishar Hattıük Seasons of 1930-32</em>, part 2, fig. 207 e 1230; Fischer, <em>Die hethitische Keramik</em>, Nrs. 1042, 1043.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>huppar?</strong></td>
<td>See Plate 46. For excavated examples see Fischer, <em>Die hethitische Keramik</em> nrs. 794, 805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small Shallow Bowls</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bogazköy. Amiran considers that the origin of the arm-shaped libation vessel is North Syria.

The depiction of the level II glyptic objects which appear to be like the arm-shaped libation vessels are bent and not straight, whereas the arm-shaped libation vessels have a straight forearm. The animal legs depicted on the tables of level II glyptic are also bent, the difference being that the objects which look like cups are bent upwards, the "legs" bent downwards. If, however, the illustrations of the animal legs plus hoof as seen on Plates 40B and 43B are turned around so that the "object" is bent upwards, the hoof has the appearance of a cup. Therefore, it seems that all of the "arm and leg" objects on the tables of level II glyptic are really animal legs, and the arm-shaped libation cups are not depicted.

Table 11 shows the use of particular forms of pottery as illustrated on the local glyptic and compares those forms with drawings of the excavated material.

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365 Fischer, *Die hethitische Keramik*, fig. 19, #1102--later than lower city level 4, see p. 73.

366 Ruth Amiran, "The 'Arm-shaped' Libation Vessel and its Family," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 21 (1962), 166. Amiran believes the arm-shaped libation vessel was made in imitation of a prototype made from ivory tusks (p. 162) and originating in North Syria in the MB II period.
CHAPTER VII
TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE
ANATOLIAN DEITIES OF THE COLONY PERIOD

When we turn to textual evidence for aid in interpreting the Colony period representations and in identifying the deities depicted, we have the problem that the documents of the level II period do not deal with religious matters. Some information is obtainable from the theophorous names, but the Anatolian glyptic is earlier than any specifically religious texts. Beginning with the Proclamation of Anitta in the Kültepe Ib period, deities are mentioned as the patrons of kings and guarantors of oaths; in the annals of Hattusili I in the Old Kingdom deities are mentioned as the recipients of booty; and beginning with a predecessor of Suppiluliuma I in the New Kingdom treaties contained a fixed list of deities who served as the witnesses to the treaties. In the New Kingdom, in addition to the treaties, there are texts which describe cult statues and inventories of cult objects. Both general and specific considerations indicate that these later texts are relevant for the earlier colony period. First, there is the continuity of the pantheon, which will be discussed shortly. The correspondences between the later statue descriptions and the earlier representations are too exact to be mere coincidences.

Development of the Hittite Pantheon

In the level II period, Anatolia was occupied by various ethnic elements. The Hattian culture and language had its center in the north portion of central Anatolia; the Indo-Europeans, represented by the Palaians in a region north-west of Bogazköy and the Luwians
in south and south-western Anatolia, were already present. The area of Cilicia displayed a culture of mixed Luwian and Hurrian origins.

The pantheon of Kültepe/Kanes reflects the indigenous population, and is, as was mentioned above, partly Hattian and partly Luwian, with a few Hittite deities already present as indicated by theophorous names. The pantheon of Kültepe (sun-god; sun-goddess; weather-god Taru; Talipinu; Kait; Inara; Pirwa; Ilali; Assiyat; Sanda; Hasameli; Habantali; Isputom; Gulzannikes) remains the core of all the later Hittite pantheons through the New Kingdom. Some deities, notably Pirwa, Isputom, Asiet (Assiyat), and Sanda testified by theophorous names in the Colony period, are not mentioned in Old Hittite texts. However, Hattian and other deities, not textually attested in the Colony period, appear in the Old Hittite texts, namely, Wurusemu, the sun-goddess of Arinna; her daughter Mezulla; Kattazipuri; Wurunkatte (ZA.BA₄.BA₄) the war-god; Sulinkatte; Istustaya and Papaya; Estan; and Lelwani. Cornelius states that Wurusemu was probably a name representing the goddess Wasizzili in one town.

A major change from the original Kanesian pantheon, aside from additions, was the removal of the sun-god from the head of the pantheon (after the level Ib period); and the placing of the weather-god of Hatti in that role with the sun-goddess of Arinna as spouse. As

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we shall see in the last chapter of this dissertation, the sun-god at the head of the Hattian/Nerik pantheon was Sulinkatte spouse to Ereshkigal/Wrusemu. The head of the female "side" of the pantheon continued to be the sun-goddess; thus, Hepat, spouse of the head of the Hurrian pantheon, was equated with Wrusemu, the sun-goddess. Hepat was considered creator of the cedar forest⁶ and Aya, spouse of the sun-god Shamash, was "mother of the forest."⁷

The change in the Kanesian pantheon mentioned above probably took place in the late Kültepe Ib period or shortly thereafter. Historically, the level II period Kültepe was destroyed and the statue of a deity called "our god" or siusummi was carried off by Uhna, king of Zalpa.⁸ The deity thus referred to is probably Ḥalmašuit, the goddess of the throne dais, and a Hittite deity. After the victory of Anitta over Zalpa, Anitta built a temple to the weather-god of Heaven, supreme male deity of the Kussara dynasty in Kültepe.

Afterwards Anitta lost his power and Kültepe level Ib was destroyed. Hattusili I, who traced his descent from Kussara, moved the capital of the Hittites to Hattusha. The weather-god of Heaven remained supreme in the new center of Hattusha, becoming also the weather-god of Hatti.

It may be conjectured that the town of Kussara was in the Hattian geographical area of influence and that, though the Kussara dynasty to which Hattusili traced his lineage was Indo

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⁸For a summary of this period see chapter 1.
-European (as was Anitta), the Hattian deities prevailed in Kussara with little challenge from the Indo-Europeans. This conjecture is supported by the appearance of Wurusemu, Mezulla, and other Hattian deities in the pantheon of Hattusha in the Old Kingdom. Also, the town of Hattusha was nearer the center of Hattian influence than was Kültepe.

The Hattian deities remained at the core of the Hittite pantheon throughout the Old Kingdom; at the head was the weather-god of Heaven. The sun-god is no longer at the head of the pantheon, yet scholars have noted the "universal character" of these two deities. In the so-called middle Hittite period, or early New Kingdom a male sun-god, Istanus, appears at the head of the treaty lists. He is like Shamash, a guarantor of justice. From the time of Arnuwanda I, he continued to head the list of deities in the treaties throughout the New Kingdom. However, when gods are listed who help the king in battle, the weather-god of Hatti appears supreme in analogy to his original role as patron of kings Pithana and Anitta.

Akkadian deities Ishtar and Ninegal (spouse of Ninurta), Nisaba (Akkadian name of Halki); and the Hurrian Teshup are mentioned in the texts of the Old Kingdom. But according to Gurney, they are mentioned as part of the pantheon of northern Syrian and did not become part of the Hittite pantheon until the fifteenth century, the time of Tudhaliya II, and the early New Kingdom.

For a period of time the sun-goddess of Arinna disappears from the treaty lists, that is, she and her family are not mentioned in the treaty of Arnuwanda I. That treaty mentions the sun-god of Heaven, the male deity Istanus, for the first time. However, the sun-goddess

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9Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 11.
10Neu, Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten, 342, 344, 347.
12Ibid., 14.
soon reappears at the time of Suppiluliuma I. At this same time, influence from Syrian brought further, Luwian and Hurrian deities into the treaty lists. Thus, the Hurrian-Mesopotamian deities Ea, Ishtar of Nineveh, and Allatum appear in the treaty lists of Suppiluliuma, although some seal engravers had already in the level II period used the attributes of Enki/Ea such as the goatfish to depict their major deity. The Indo-European deities such as Kasmrusepa, Akkasepa are also mentioned in the treaties at this time. Those two goddesses form a group with Pirwa who was already known in the earlier period.

The period from Hattusili III through Suppiluliuma II is that in which a great many Hurrian deities were added to the pantheon, existing side by side and conflated with the earlier deities--Hebat, Sarruma, Allanzu, the bulls Seri and Hurri, for example.

In the New Kingdom many Hurrian deities were brought into the Hittite religious system, and in the time of Hattusili III and Puduhepa the "Hurrian gods of Kummanni virtually took over the State religion." However, Hattusili III encouraged a Hattian revival.

The following table shows the pantheon as it existed in the level II period. As deities appear in the later Old and New Kingdom, as theophorous names or in texts, they have been added to the table. Names of deities with a dashed line beneath indicate deities who have appeared earlier (either on evidence of theophorous names and/or on the seal impressions of the level II period) and appear later in treaties or other textual evidence in the period where the dashed lines appear. Not all of the deities in any of the ethnic groups illustrated are listed; an attempt has been made to list major deities and those deities with relevance to this and other chapters in this dissertation.

\[13Ibid., 17.\]
Table 12. Deities by Ethnic Group and Period.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Rulers</th>
<th>Deities</th>
<th>Sources</th>
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<td>Hattic</td>
<td>Indo-European</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luwian</td>
<td>Hittite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level II Hattic Pantheon of Kültepe</td>
<td>rubatum; Sulinkatte</td>
<td>Tiwat</td>
<td>Siwat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warpa and Labarsa</td>
<td>Wurusemu Taru</td>
<td>Tarhuntta</td>
<td>Ḫannaḥanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talipinu Wurunkatte Habantali Hasameli Kait</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Assiayt</td>
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Sources:
- Singers of Kanish
- Theophorous names
- Seal impressions showing predecessor of signe royale
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<th>Period</th>
<th>Rulers</th>
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<td>Luwian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Level Ib</td>
<td>Inar; Warsame; Pithana; Anitta</td>
<td>Tiwat</td>
<td>Tarhunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1700 - 1450 B.C.</td>
<td>Labarna &amp; Hattusili I through Tudhaliya I</td>
<td>Šulinlatte (Wursemu, Wurunkatte) Mezulla Estan Kasku Katahzipuri Zithariya Istustaya Papaya Lelwani</td>
<td>ZABABA Siwat Kamrusepa Katahzipuri, high goddess Gulzannikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Rulers</td>
<td>Deities</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Kingdom ca 1440 - 1200 B.C.</td>
<td>Tudhaliya II &amp; Nikalmati; Arnuwanda I &amp; Ashmunikal; Hattusili II; Tudaliya III; Suppiluliuma &amp; Tawananna, Hinti, Daduhepa; Mursili II &amp; Danuhepa; Muwattalli; Mursili III; Hattusili III &amp; Puduhepa Tudaliya IV</td>
<td>Hattic:</td>
<td>Indo-European:</td>
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<td>Luwian</td>
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<td>LAMA</td>
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Table 12--Continued

Treaty of Arnuwanda I

Treaties of the reign of Suppiluliuma
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Rulers</th>
<th>Deities</th>
<th>Asianic and other</th>
<th>Hurrian</th>
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<td>Luwian</td>
<td>Hittite</td>
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<tr>
<td>New</td>
<td>W.God of Nerik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Suwaliyat</td>
<td>Allanzu, daughter of Hepat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>Talipinu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Telipinu</td>
<td>Sarruma Tasmisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GUL-asses, MAH.MES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutena Hutellura</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prayer of Muwatalli, <em>Catalogue des texts Hittites</em>, no. 381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yazilikaya rock relief
Treaties, Rituals, Prayers, etc.

The pantheon of Kanes is partly Hattian and partly Luwian, and the "singers of Kanes" sing to both Hattian and Luwian deities. They are associated with the following Luwian deities: Ašgašepa,14 Kamrūšepa,15 LAMA URU Tauris (perhaps related to the Luwian deity LAMA--Kurunda, Uruwanda, Tuwata)16, KA.GAL Šalawani17 Perwa,18 Aššiyaza. They sing to the following Hattian deities: Išput, the goddess Inar(a), Tarawa (a storm-god),19 Ilaliya,20 Telipinu, the mountain Tapala (connected with Telipinu), and Kait/Ḫalki (the grain goddess)21. The singers of Kanes also sing to GAL.ZU,22 U GIŠ.TIR (storm-god of the forest), the springs AMA Kalimma, Kuwannanni,23 HUR.SAAPala, Hasameli, Zulija.24 Other references include in the pantheon of Kanes the deities, Ilaliya (desired, coveted),25

15 Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, p. 16, note 5.
16 Ibid., p. 8 note 5; and Goetze, Kleinasien, 50.
18 Laroche, Les noms des Hittites, 288. Note also that the Luwian goddess Asgasepa and Kamrusepa later belong to the circle of Perwa; but that a bilingual text gives the Hattian Katahzipuri as the equivalent of Kamrusepa. (Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des Dieux Hittites, p. 28).
19 Laroche, Récherches sur les Noms des Dieux Hittites, 32, 33.
20 Ibid., p. 72.
21 The deity Halki belongs to the circle of Telipinu, but also occurs in Hurrian. see Laroche, Ibid., 73; and Laroche, Les noms des Hittites, 276.
22 Laroche, Récherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, 97—a Kassite god.
23 AMA Kalimma—mother of Kalimma—and Kuwannanni the feminine fo领略 of URU Kuwanna (Laroche, Récherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites 83, 85) are springs (see Jakob-Rost, "Sänger von Kanes," 113.
25 Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, 74.
Išput, and perhaps Šiwat ("Lucky Day", or "day of death")\textsuperscript{26}. These deities are later addressed in Luwian.\textsuperscript{27}

Other deities of Kanes are attested by the names of persons there during the Assyrian Trading Colony. Thus, the Hattian deities Ḫabantali, Tamisya and Ḥuzziyā\textsuperscript{28} were represented, and perhaps also the Anatolian and Semitic god Anna.\textsuperscript{29}

\textit{Family Relationships within the Kültepe Pantheon}

None of the deities listed above, as associated with the "singers of Kanes," is a major enthroned deity. This is natural, since the "singers of Kanes" appear in the texts at the time when the weather-god of heaven was the head of the Hittite pantheon, and no other "supreme" deities or "heads" would be worshipped as part of the state religion. But from the texts\textsuperscript{30} we can reconstruct the pantheon of Kültepe as headed by a sun-god and sun-goddess. An Old Hittite ritual text for the erection of a new palace states: "To me, the king, have the gods--Sun-god and Weather-god--entrusted the land and my house. . . . To me, the king, the Throne-goddess has brought from the seal the power and the chariot."\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26}Gurney, \textit{Some Aspects of Hittite Religion}, 12.
\item \textsuperscript{27}Ibid., 13.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Laroche, \textit{Les noms des Hittites}, 294; Laroche, \textit{Recherches sur les noms des Dieux Hittites}, 22.
\item \textsuperscript{30}Mythological texts assert that the sun-god was "king of the gods." See O. R. Gurney, \textit{The Hittites} (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin, 1966), 139.
\end{itemize}
In the texts of the latter periods, the weather-god of Nerik was assigned two fathers—the weather-god of Heaven and Sulinkatte; although only one mother—Wurusemu. This situation would seem to have resulted in the marriage of the sun-goddess to the weather-god of Heaven; whereby her children become his children. According to Hattian tradition the sun-goddess Wurusemu had a son Telipinu, a son the weather-god of Nerik, a daughter Mezzulla, another daughter Inara, and a granddaughter Zintuhi. There are two major male enthroned deities in the level II period at Kültepe (leaving aside for now, the deity on the chariot). The possibility that these two major deities represent the weather-god of Heaven and Sulinkatte will be reviewed in the last chapter of this dissertation.

The early tradition seems to speak of the sun-god and sun-goddess as the parents of the weather-god of Nerik; since it is the early texts that mention Sulinkatte as the father. Sulinkatte is the Hattian name for Nergal. Nergal, in Mesopotamian tradition, is the husband of Ereshkigal and represented the destructive or chthonic aspects of the sun-god.

A later schema exists that lists both the weather-god of Nerik and Telipinu as sons of the weather-god of Hatti and the sun-goddess of Arinna. The Hurrian Suwalaliyatti is also identified with NINURTA, a weather-god, (but also with Nergal). In the Hurrian

If Wurusemu is the same as the sun-goddess of Arinna. The sun-goddess of Arinna as the mother of the weather-god of Nerik is noted in Volkert Haas, Der Kult von Nerik: Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte, Studie Pohl: Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui, vol. 4 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1974) 74, 93-95; 96-99. The name of the weather-god of Nerik presents problems. There is evidence that the Hattians called the weather-god of Nerik by the name Taru, but Taru is also considered the name of the weather-god of Heaven, in one tradition the father of the weather-god of Nerik.


Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, 60.

pantheon Suwalaliyatti is considered the brother of the weather-god and it is suggested that Suwalaliyatti is another name for Tasmisu.36

The relationship of the rest of the Kültepe pantheon is difficult to determine. The Hattian war-god Wurunkatte, although worshipped at Nerik together with the weather-god of Nerik was not listed directly as among the pantheon of Kültepe.37 Later Wurunkatte is identified with the Akkadian War-god of Kish, ZABABA and the Hurrian Astapi. Astapi is however identified with NINURTA as well as ZABABA,38 ZABABA was the son of Enlil in the Sumerian pantheon.39 Jacobsen notes, that in character ZABABA of Kish is similar to the Sumerian Ishkur and Ninurta. ZABABA of Kish, Ishkur, and Ninurta were all deities of thunder and rainstorms of the spring. The war-like nature of Ninurta has already been mentioned. On the seals of level II, however, the war-god is not given the attributes of a weather-god (standing on a bull) but stands on a lion. Therefore, the equation of Wurunkatte = ZABABA is more accurate for an interpretation of the level II deity, than the identification of Wurunkatte = Astapi.

The Luwian god of pestilence and war occurs in theophorous names of the colony period. Sanda was later considered the equivalent of Marduk, the son of Ea and a sun-god40. Marduk was himself equated with Ninurta. Later still, Sanda survived as the hero/god Herakles, son of Zeus. There is evidence of an equivalence between Sanda and Wurunkatte.

36Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 22.
37Haas, Der Kult von Nerik, 67 f.
38Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, 46.
40Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 102.
This is found in the translation of their names. Wurun means "country or land" and katte is "king." Thus Wurunkatte is "King of the country or land." Sanda also means king and is sometimes written LUGAL-ux.41

We can make an assumption that Sanda was the son of a weather-god or head of a pantheon, like Marduk was the son of Ea (the deity portrayed on the local Anatolian glyptic with the attributes of Enki/Ea is a major enthroned deity or "head of a pantheon.", and Herakles the son of Zeus; ZABABA as son of Enlil head of the Sumerian pantheon. Then perhaps in the Hattian pantheon Wurunkatte should be considered the son of the head of the Hattian pantheon.

The name of the hunting-god of Kültepe is hidden in the Sumerogram LAMA.LÍL or LAMA of the fields. The logogram of 4LAMA is used for the god on the stag. Proposed readings of the Hittite name beneath the logogram are Kurunda, Tuwata, and Uruwanda. In post-Hittite inscriptions the name appears as Runda.42 The same logogram of 4LAMA when written 4KAL refer to a different group of deities, local geniuses of the cities. The deities Habantali, Inara, and Zithariya belong to the KAL group.43

In addition we noted that the seals display more than one type of "hunting god"--one type appears standing on a bull rather than a stag,44 another stands on a mountain-sheep or goat,45 while a third appears dressed in a short tunic. One type of hunting or protector god

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43Ibid., 8 and 12.
44Plates 34A, 19B.
45Plate 58B.
was probably subordinate to another. We must conclude that the pantheons of level II contained more than one protector/hunting-god, the names for whom have not all survived, but among whom most definitely were Kurunda and LAMA.LÍL. That LAMA.LÍL was worshiped at that time is evidenced by the eagle and rabbit rhytons, and the singers of Kanes who sang for LAMA.LÍL.

The two-faced god on the seals of the level II period appears in different contexts: standing next to an enthroned deity as a vizier might, and in processions riding a boar. The identity of this figure presents problems since the Akkadian name Usmu (Sumerian Sha⁴) is not mentioned in the treaty lists. Yet, the figure continues to be portrayed on seals of the Old Hittite period. Ea, for whom Usmu was vizier in Mesopotamia, is among the deities celebrated by the singers of Kanes. Perhaps the rendering of the two-faced god represents the character of a vizier rather than a specific deity. Other Mesopotamian gods also had viziers, including Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld. Her vizier, NAMTAR, was considered the messenger of the underworld. He may appear as Napsara, one of the Primeval gods, in the treaty of Arnuwanda I, since Gurney suggests that Napsara is a corruption of the word Namtar. The Usmu seen in processions of the level II period stands on a boar and carries a mace or sword and club. In Mesopotamia the boar had several meanings. One

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⁴⁶Plates 34A, 41B.
⁴⁹Jakob-Rost, "Sänger von Kaneš," 112.
⁵⁰Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 15.
⁵¹Plates 14B, 58A,B.
was in the context of Enki/Ea—wild boars are depicted in the marshes near Ea in his boat.\textsuperscript{52} But the boar also stood for evil powers. Akkadian seals depict the slaughter of boars to illustrate the overthrow of hostile powers, in order that the sun-god could be liberated from his mountain-grave. Usmu is shown on some of those seals to report the death of the boar to Ea. This hostile power was also referred to as the storm-bird Zu (the sun-god’s enemy), and likewise, seals show Usmu "introducing" the bird-man to Ea.\textsuperscript{53} The bird-man seen on Old Hittite seals approaching Usmu or a seated goddess may be this same bird-man. It is difficult to interpret the connection between Usmu and the boar on the level II glyptic. There are several possibilities: 1) the boar represents an old adversary brought before Enki/Ea by Usmu, 2) the boar represents the boar of the marshes and is simply a method of depicting the association of Usmu with Ea, or 3) the boar represents the imprisoning powers of the underworld and Usmu represents the vizier of Ereshkigal.

The Tyszkiewicz stamp/cylinder of the Old Hittite period shows two different two-faced figures. One two-faced figure appears on a table and is sacrificed (like the boar) while the conqueror god of the Ninurta type looks on. Another two-faced figure appears as vizier or messenger to introduce the procession of deities to the chief enthroned deity.

Does the Usmu figure depicted in the processions of level II represent a vizier whose nature could be expressed in two ways, just as the sun-god and sun-goddess had both a "normal" and "chthonic" nature; or are two separate deities represented—one the vizier of Enki/Ea, the other the vizier of the sun-goddess/Ereshkigal? In any case, although it is impossible to determine what name (if any other than Usmu) the two-faced god is disguised

\textsuperscript{52}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 124, \textit{Pl. XX} f.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, 132-134.
under in the texts, it seems likely that he represents the vizier of one or both of the chief gods of Kanes/Kültepe.

The deity Pirwa is known as an equestrian form of the goddess Ishtar; but can also be a god. The cult statue descriptions texts describe Pirwa as carrying a whip in one hand. On the seals of the level II period, in groups 2 and 4, the deity on a chariot appears. The chariot is drawn by 4 horses and N. Özgüç identifies this god with Pirwa.⁵⁴ There is another deity on the level II seals seen in connection with horses/donkeys. This deity is associated with Enki/Ea.⁵⁵ In the treaties, the god Pirwa is grouped with Ea, Damkina, Telipinu, Kamrusepa/Katahzipuri and Asgasepa. Katahzipuri in other texts is the high goddess of the Palaics,⁵⁶ (kattah is Hattic for ‘queen’)⁵⁷ and Kamrusepa was a goddess of healing. In Mesopotamia, Ea was considered the god of magic.⁵⁸ Kamrusepa is not found in the Colony or Old Hittite period which makes her connection or relationship with Pirwa difficult to trace.

Kamrusepa, Asgasepa are referred to with the title GASAN.IA, my lady, a title also given to ISTAR.⁵⁹

It may be that the god on a donkey of the level II seals associated with Ea is Pirwa. The only other goddesses illustrated on the seals are the small Ishtar like figures before the weather-god on a bull and a mountain, the goddess with an antelope, and the seated goddess.

⁵⁵Plates 12A, 18A.
⁵⁷Ibid., p. 5, note 3.
⁵⁸Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 123.
The early pantheon of Kültepe, in summary, consisted of the supreme deities the sun-god and the sun-goddess perhaps already known under the name Wurusemu. They had a least four children: the weather-god of Nerik; the vegetation/weather-god Telipinu; the war-god Wurunkatte or Sanda; and a daughter Inara. Associated with these deities were Habantali, the shepherd of the sun-god; LAMA.LÍL; a vizier type "Usmu;" and Pirwa.

There is evidence that at least at one time the patron god of Kanish was the west Semitic deity Anna, whom the Amorites considered to be the father of Amurru. In two merchant contracts the oath is sworn by Assur, Anna, and the prince, "a formula in which (as in contemporary Babylonian documents from Sippar, Larsa, and elsewhere) the first-named deity was the god of the country and the second the numen of the city in which the contract was concluded."60 That Anna was also Anu is borne out in an inscription to an Old Babylonian seal which mentions "Amurru, son of Anu."61 Anna was a sun-god.

At the time of Hattusili I, the weather-god Tarn became the spouse of Wurusemu, and other Hattian deities were added. The Hurrian deities, when added, were made to fit the familial relationships of the early pantheon. Thus, Teshub was equated with the weather-god of Hatti; Hebat, Teshub's spouse, became equated with the sun-goddess of Arinna even though Hebat was not a solar deity and was, in fact, in the Hurrian pantheon considered the daughter of Allatum, queen of the Underworld,62 and was a form of mother-goddess.63

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61Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, Pl. XXVIII e and p. 164.
63Roux, Ancient Iraq (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin, 1964), 211.
Sarruma, Hebat's son, was originally a mountain-god, rather than a weather-god (at the time of Hattusili III he became the calf of the bull Teshub). Under Hittite theology, Sarruma became the son of the weather-god,\textsuperscript{64} and later became identified with the weather-god of Nerik who was considered then the son of the weather-god of Hatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

Originally the Hurrian Kumarbi was considered the father of the gods. The myth "the Kingship of Heaven," makes Kumarbi the father of the storm-god Teshub and his brother Tashmishu, later Teshub becomes king. In Syria, Kumarbi was equated with Dagan, the vegetation god.\textsuperscript{65} When, in turn, the Hurrian vegetation god Kumarbi/Dagan became equated with the Hattian vegetation god Telipinu, Kumarbi became not the father of the gods, but one of the sons! In the Hurrian kalutis\textsuperscript{66} Kumarbi is listed after Teshub, and Teshub's brother.

\textit{Cult Statue Texts}

The cult statue description texts or Bildbeschreibungen help to "flesh out" this survey of the Hittite pantheon by giving visual images to the names mentioned in the treaty and prayer lists. In addition, these visual images can be compared to the representations found on level II glyptic and thus aid in the identification of those deities.

Sun-god

On the seals of level II, the attributes of the principal local deity, or sun-god, are the

\textsuperscript{65}Gurney, \textit{Some Aspects of Hittite Religion}, 14.
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., 17.
sacred animals lion and mountain-sheep, as well as an ax and sometimes fish. The god Enki/Ea is distinct from the sun-god when portrayed with his goatfish, but there are clues that the characters of these two major enthroned deities were similar. For example, plate 58 where the enthroned deity has streams of water in one hand, suggesting the deity Ea, but the rays issuing from the shoulders point to the sun-god; note also plate 28A where fish are depicted on either side of the standard carried before the sun-god as well as Plates 43A, 3A, 18B, 31A, and 41A.

The sun-god of heaven is described as follows in the Bildbeschreibung texts:

Bo 2383 RS iii 5-8

5  PUTU ANE ALAM LÚ KÛ.BABBAR a-ša-an
6  SAG.DU-i KÛ HIPTA-za KÛ.BABBAR GAM.ŠU pal-za-ḫa IS.SI
7  II Ezen X ŠE zé-e-ni ḫa-me-es-ḫi
8  LÜMEŠ URU BA(!)-a-da- e-es-ša-an-zi

5  Sonnengott des Himmels, Statuette eines Mannes aus Silber, sitzend;
6  am Kopfe (befinden) sich Fische aus Silber; unter ihm ein Sockel aus Holz.
7  2 Feste im Späte- (und) Frühjahr
8  bereiten die Leute von Bada.

In addition, ewes or female sheep are listed as attributes of the sun-god, and he possesses the epithet "father." 68

Sun-goddess

The sun-goddess on the level II glyptic has many attributes. Like her husband the sun-

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god she possesses the sacred animals mountain-sheep and lion. But, in addition, she is associated with bull-men, birds, the double-headed eagle, and the sphinx.

In the cult inventory texts, the statues of the sun-goddess of Šanantiya (at the time of the inventory considered, of course the spouse of the weather-god of Šanantiya) is described as follows:

KBo II 1 iv 4-5

4 I ALAM SAL TUŠ-aš KÙ.BABBAR I še-kân GAM-ŠŪ II UDU.KUR.RA AN.BAR
5 GAM-ŠŪ qis ρal-za-ḫa-ḫaš AN.BAR X [kal]-ma-ra GUŠKIN DUTU-ŠI
    uruŠa-na-ti-ya

4 1 statue of a woman, seated, of silver, 1 sekan (in size), under which are 2 mountain sheep, of iron,
5 under which is a base, of iron, (with) 10 mountains of gold: Sun-goddess of Šanantiya

The goddess Ijaja (possibly the spouse of the weather-god of the house—DU E migrant) is associated with a mountain-sheep and an eagle. She may also have been a sun-goddess later married to a weather-god. The chief goddess of Kanes, the sun-goddess on the glyptic, is represented as sitting on a mountain-sheep, and this important motif was carried over into the New Kingdom period. Ijaja of Lapana is described:

Vat 6688 + Bo 2496 Rs iv 1-6

1 URULa-pa-na ḫa-la-ia-aš DINGIR³MAR-Ø
2 I ALAM GIŠ SAL²DÜR-an ḫu-u-pl-ta-a-u-ya-an-za SA I [SIG.Ú]
3 SAG.DU.ZU GUŠKIN GAR.RA GA[AM?] ḫa(?)-te-eš-ma GIŠDAG-iš-ša
    AN.NA GAR.[RA]
4 II UDU.KUR.RA GIŠ AN.NA ḫa-liš-ši-[a-an A.NA DINGIR³MAR GAM-an

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von Brandenstein, Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen, 39.

Ibid., 14, 15.
ZAG-na-za GÜB-la(za?) DÜR-an-zi I Á.MUŠEN AN.NA GAR.RA
II URUDUPA II GAL ZABAR Ú.NU.UT DINGIRLM ß.GÁL-iš

1 (Stadt) Lapana: Iiaia, das Götterbild (ist)
2 1 Rundbild einer Frau (aus) Holz, sitzend, ḫūtaituwaqant, 
von 1 Klein-Elfe,
3 ihr Kopf goldbelegt, unten(?) die Platte(?) aber und der Sitz bleibelgt;
4 2 Bergschafe (aus) Holz bleibelgt sitzen unter der Göttin rechts (und) links;
1 Adler bleibelgt,
6 2 (Metall-)Stäbe, 2 Becher (aus) Bronze; Gerät der Gottheit vorhanden(?)

The Sun-goddess of Arinna was represented by sun-discs as well as statues.

Bo 4971 Rs iii/iv 8-12, 16-20

8 UM-MA ḫu-ur-tar-li LUGŠANGA A-NA A-BU-I A?-ya?
9 ḪUTU ÚRÚTŮL-na AŠ ME GŰŠKIN Ḫme-iz-zu-la-aš-š[a
10 AŠ ME KŬ BAŠBAR e-eš-ir nu-ya-ra-aš-za I-NA É.[DINGIR]LM
11 ši-ip-pa-an-za-ki-it ki-nu-un-ma-y-a-za ú-uk
12 I-NA É-LA BAL-ki-mi . . . . .

8 Folgendermassen (spricht) Ḫutarli, der Priester: Mein Vatter hatte
9 als Sonengöttin von Arinna eine goldene Sonnenscheibe, und als Mezulla
10 eine silberne Sonnenscheibe. Und im Tempel
11 pflegte er zu opfern. Jetzt aber pflege ich
12 in meinem Hause zu opfern. . . . .

16 Folgendermassen (spricht) Warwasazi: Als Sonnengöttin von Arinna
17 eine Frauenstatuette und als Wettergott von Arinna eine Männerstatuette
18 hat unser Vater, und ich pflege (ihnen) zu opfern.

72 Jakob-Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," vol. 9, p. 199.
Das Silber aber ist Eigentum der Gottheit;
Piňa, der Schmiedemeister, hat (sie) gemacht.

Chief Weather-god

The weather-god of heaven as envisaged by the Indo-European Hittites had qualities and attributes that were uncharacteristic of the Hattian religion, namely, the wielding of thunder and lightning. Those attributes were borrowed from the other weather-god already known to the Hattians, and placed on the weather-god of heaven, in addition to attributes found on or associated with the local Anatolian gods such as the club and mountains. In particular, the club as the weapon of the weather-god was found on the local styles only in those seals somewhat influenced by Syria, and this club has an affinity with the club depicted as the weapon of Baal.

The representation of the weather-god of heaven in the empire period is thus a mixture of traditions.

The weather-god of heaven is described in the Bildbeschreibungen texts:

Bo 2383 Vs ii 8-13

8 ŠX AN ALAM LÚ GUŞKIN GAR.RA aš-a-an
9 ZAG-až ŠU-za aš-tal-la-an haš-zi
10 GUB-za ŠU-za aš-šu GUŞKIN haš-zi
11 ANa II HUR.SAG ALAM LÚ KÚ.BABBAR GAR.RA [X(?)] GUB-an-za
12 GAM.ŠU ašpal-za ha-aš KÚ.BABBAR II BI.BU.RU KÚ.BABBAR II
13 EZE.N X ŠE.ŠU ž-e-ni ha-me-aš-zi TA É.[LUGAL SUM(?)-an(?)-zi(?)]

8 Wettergott des Himmels, Rundbild eines Mannes, goldbelegt, sitzend
9 in der rechten Hand hält er eine hatalla(-Keule),
10 in der linken Hand hält er des "Heil" (symbol) (aus) Gold,
11 auf 2 Bergen, Mannesbildern, silberbelegt, stehend,

84 von Brandenstein, Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen, 6, 7.
Weather-god of Nerik

The nature of the weather-god of Nerik was a rain dispenser, and protector of the kingdom. His concubine was the goddess Tasimmet.

The bildbeschreibungen texts describe the Weather-god of Nerik:

Bo 6203 Vs 4-6

4 JGUŠKIN 1 še-kán 1/2 še-kán GAM-Š[U (?)
5 ĄPU URU Ne-ri-ik-ka, GISH[1
6 JKUR AN.BAR DÜ-an-zi ²te-


Telipinu

Like the weather-god of Nerik, Telipinu was a rain dispenser and closely connected with vegetation, as well as also being described as the protector of the kingdom. Telipinu’s spouse was the temple "girl" Hatepuna. The small goddess who appears before the weather-god on a bull and mountain, can be compared to Hatepuna. This goddess is the only depiction on the seals of any female that can be interpreted as a "temple girl" as spouse, i.e.

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78Haas, Der Kult von Nerik, 106-107.
depicted in close proximity to a male. Telipinu was also connected with Mt. Hulla. The
text below illustrates Telipinu’s connection with Hatepuna.

Bo 2383 Rs iii 12-14

12 $^dH$ā(!)-te-pu-na-aš ALAM SAL$^u$ KAR.LÍ [L. i-ya-ar?]  
13 $[h]u$-u-pi-da-an-za IGII$^a$.ŠU GÜSKIN GAR.RA  
14 ZAG-za ŠU-za GAL KÙ.BABBAR ḫār-zi GAM.ŠU pal-[za-ḫa-as IS.IS]

12 Hatepuna, Statuette einer Frau, wie (?) eine "Tempeldir[ne]"  
13 "verschleiert (?)", ihre Augen goldbelegt;  
14 in der rechten Hand hält sie einen Becher aus Silber; unter ihr ein  
So[ckel aus Holz].

Telipinu was a Hattian deity. The fact that the small goddess opening her robes
appearing before the weather-god on a bull and a mountain appears only in style Group 1-B
aids in the interpretation of that weather-god as Telipinu, the goddess as Hatepuna, and the
style Group 1-B as depicting Hattian deities.

War-god

The war-god depicted on the seal impressions is associated with a mace, sword, ax, and
spear, and his sacred animal is the lion.

Likewise, the cult inventory descriptive texts describe Wurunkatte/ZABABA as having
the attributes of sword, spear, mace and ax as well as standing on a lion.VAT 6688 + Bo
2496 Vs. i 4-8

4 $^u$RUD$^a$.Ta-ra-am$^1$.ka₄ $^d$ZA.BA₄.BA₄ DINGIR$^L$om-tar  
5 I GEŠPU KÙ.BABBAR KI.LÁL.BI XX GĪN.GĪN II $^u$RUD$^U$.A.RI.TUM GAL

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hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," vol. 8, p. 177.
Group*, p. 66.
The Luwian war-god Sanda carries a bow; this weapon is rarely carried by the war-god on the level II glyptic.²³

Hunting/protector god

We have mentioned the different types of "protector" deities known under the designation LAMA in the Hittite texts. Various attributes were associated with these LAMA deities in the empire period: bow, shield, sword, and spear, and the curved weapon.²⁴ The hunting-god


²³See here plate 30A and Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, no. 38, p. 80.

²⁴The curved weapon is seen on the relief of the "stag" god at Yeniköy.
represented on the seal impressions of the colony period carries only the curved weapon, while the nude hero, who sometimes accompanies the deity, uses a spear. The addition of bows and arrows as attributes of the hunting/protector deity probably took place early in the Old Hittite period to judge from their appearance on the Schimmel stag rhyton.\(^8\) Zithariya, the "protector" god associated with a shield, seems to have been added to the pantheon in the Old Kingdom. The protector god of Dala is said to have the attributes of both a shield and a lance. The deity LAMA.LÍL--the "god who protects the hunters of the field"\(^8\) associated with the stag and bow, continues from the early period through the neohittite period.\(^7\) The statue of the LAMA.LÍL of Wiyanuanta provides a close parallel for the hunting-god on a stag depicted in the processions of the colony period and on the Schimmel rhyton.

VAT 6688 + Bo 2496 Vs. ii 1-6\(^8\)

1 \(\text{URU}[U]-\text{ia-na-}\text{u-ya-an-te} \text{\textsuperscript{D}}\text{LAMA LÍL DINGIR}^{\text{L} \text{\textsuperscript{M}-tar}}\)
2 I ALAM GUŠKIN LÚ [GU]B-an ku-ru-\text{ia-a-ya-[an-za]}
3 ZAG-na-za ŠU-za \(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\) BAN GUŠKIN ḫar-zi GŪB-la-[za ŠU-za]
4 Á.MUŠEN GUŠKIN AR.NA.BU GUŠKIN ḫar-zi
5 I GĪR GUŠKIN GURUN GUŠKIN-ṣi-kán an-da
6 A.NA LU.LIM GUŠKIN-kán NĪG.KI.GUB GUB-rī KÙ.BA[BBAR . . . ?]

1 Uíianauuanta: the god who protects the fields, image of a god:
2 a gold statuette of a man, standing, kurutauuant,
3 in his right hand a gold bow, in his left hand
4 a gold eagle, a gold rabbit,
5 a gold sword, with him gold fruits,
6 standing on a gold deer. . . .

\(^{8}\) Plate 49.

\(^{8}\) Özgüç, The Anatolian Group, p. 67.

\(^{7}\) Winfried Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, vol. 8 (Bonn: Habelt, 1971), 260 with chart showing god on stag associated with bow, see Haci Bekekli 1, Karasu 1, Malatya A/9b on Plate 14 and 41 of that reference.

Protector god of Dala in Bo 2383 Vs ii 24-26 Rs iii 1-4

Vs. ii 24  LAMA ALAM LÚ GUB-an IGI.ŠU GUŠKIN GAR.RA
25 ZAG-za ŠU-za ma-ri-in KÜ.BABBAR ḫar-zi
26 GUB-za ŠU-za A.RI.TUM ḫar-zi

Rs. iii 1  A.NA x-y-NU-kán GUB-ri GAM.ŠU pal-zi-[a-ḫa-aš]
            KJŪ.BABB[AR GAR.RA]
2 II EZEN X ŠE.ŠU zé-e-ni ḫa-me-eš-ḫi
3 [T]E.URU[MEŠ URU]Da-a-la e-eš-[ša]-an-zi
4 ĪR.ŠU NU.GÂL

Vs. ii 24  Schutzgott, Rundbild eines Mannes, stehend, sein Auge
goldbelegt,
25 in der rechten Hand hält er eine Lanze (aus) Silber,
26 in der linken Hand hält er einen Schild,

Rs. III 1  auf einem . . . . . . . (-Tier) steht er, unter ihm ein
           Soc[kel s]ilbe[rbelegt],
2 seine 2 Feste im Spät- (und) Frühjahr
3 bereiten die "Wöstunen (?)" von Dala,
4 einen Diener hat er nicht.

Perwa

In the level II glyptic, there are two deities associated with donkeys or horses. The god
who sits on a donkey and appears once on a seal with the depiction of Enki/Ea; and the deity
in the horse-drawn chariot. The deity who sits on a donkey occurs rarely on the
representations of the colony period. This fact does not appear to agree with the position of
Perwa in the pantheon of Kanes: indeed Laroche describes Perwa as "divinite principale de la
ville." However, the assessment of Pirwa’s position is based on the large number of
theophorous names, including Peruwa, Piruwi, Pirwannu, Peruwašu, Peruntahsu, and

89 von Brandenstein, Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen, 8, 9.
90 Laroche, Les noms des Hittites, 288. See also Ibid., 294.
Parwawi.\textsuperscript{91}

N. Özgüç identifies the deity in the horse-drawn chariot as Pirwa, in addition to the deity standing on the donkey.\textsuperscript{92} However, the iconography of the seal impressions shows that this deity is worshipped by Adad, is accompanied by the bull with cone, and tramples human beings underneath the horses.\textsuperscript{93} The horses are shown with a bird before them. The deity in the horse-drawn chariot appears only in glyptic groups 3 and 4. The associations parallel those of the sun-god on the other style seal impressions.\textsuperscript{94} Furthermore, the trampling of the human fits the concept of the conqueror/Shamash depicted in Syria, and the chthonic aspects of the sun-god as expressed by Ninurta and Nergal. The Sumerians thought of the Sun-god as traveling across the sky in a chariot. The author of this dissertation feels that the deity in the chariot is the Semitic sun-god Anna.\textsuperscript{95}

Further evidence of the fact that the deity in the horse drawn chariot and the deity on a donkey are not the same may be deduced from the fact that the deity on a donkey is not portrayed as a chief deity, but is shown worshipping Ea.

The bildbeschreibungen texts represent the god Perwa "on" a horse while carrying a whip and possibly a shield. The only deity in the level II period who is "on" a horse is the one associated with Enki/Ea and we conclude that deity is Perwa. See below the bildbeschreibungen text for Perwa.

\textsuperscript{91}Laroche, \textit{Ibid.}, 288.
\textsuperscript{92}Özgüç, \textit{The Anatolian Group}, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{93}See plates 23A, 23B, 61A.
\textsuperscript{94}Adad approaching the sun-god/principal local deity see plates 3A, 44B, 47, 48A, 52B, 9B. Sun-god accompanied on seal by bull with cone see plates 20A, 32A, 33A.
\textsuperscript{95}See chapter 8 below.
As mentioned above, Perwa was a Luwian deity and the fact that the only deity depicted on a donkey/horse is one associated with Enki/Ea is important for the interpretation of the level II depictions of Enki/Ea as perhaps a Luwian deity.

Summary

The bildbeschreibungen (cult statue) texts, or other textual evidence, cannot by themselves provide identification of the level II deities. The glyptic must be viewed in conjunction with the textual evidence. The following chapter explores available textual evidence.

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evidence that can now be united with a summary of the glyptic evidence presented in earlier chapters.
CHAPTER VIII

SYNTHESIS OF EVIDENCE FOR INDIVIDUAL DEITY IDENTIFICATION

*Deities in Local Style Group 1-B*

The deities depicted in the stylistic group 1-B are represented with the most identifying attributes, and the presentation of their identifications is an essential element in understanding the identification of the other groups and deities.

The principal local deity and seated goddess of group 1-B

These deities are associated with symbols of the underworld such as the sphinx and griffin, lion-headed eagle that is in Mesopotamia, the symbol of Ninurta. The subsidiary motifs of the sphinx and griffin only appear in this stylistic group. The enthroned deities are identified here as the Hattian god Sulinkatte and the goddess Lelvani/Ereshkigal.1 Sulinkatte was equated with the Mesopotamian god Nergal. Sulinkatte is here considered a sun-god. In Mesopotamia Nergal expressed the chthonic aspects of the sun-god.2 Another Mesopotamian connection between the sun-god and the underworld is found in the group of designs illustrating the sun-god in his boat. These date back to Early Dynastic times and depict the

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journey of the sun-god through the underworld at night. The deity Nergal is also depicted in a similar scene, where he is depicted with bull’s ears. As Kramer says of the Sumerian belief: "the sun after setting continued its journey through the nether world at night, turning its night into day....that there was a judgment of the dead by the sun-god, Utu.” The Hittites also viewed the male sun-god as journeying through the underworld at night.

In some of the Mesopotamian representations the boat is half human/deity, half boat. The Sumerian myth of Enlil and Ninlil: Birth of the Moon-god is the source of the Sumerian belief that the "man-of-the-boat" ferried the dead across a "man-devouring" river.

Other evidence for the identification of the local Anatolian sun-god on group 1-B = Šulinkatte comes from the use of rhytons. The deity Wahiši, associated with Šulinkatte and the weather-god of Zippalanda, is celebrated with the lion sphinx rhyton. Otten points out that in Bo 2736 Vs. 8ff the mother of the weather-god of Nerik is Ereshkigal.

Bo 2736 Vs 8 ff.

8  ₍-ḫu-ya D[U URU]n[e-ri-ik EN-IA . . . . . . .]10
10 ne-pl-ša-az ma-a-an-za ne-pl-ši A-NA A-B[I-KA . . . . . . .]

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4 Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXIV b.


7 Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 133.

8 See chapter 6 under rhytons.

9 Otten, "Gottheit Lelvani," 135.

Šulinkatte and Lelvani are worshipped by the weather-god with round-hat and the weather-god on a bull and mountains, the deity in a wagon drawn by boars. Once, the war-god on his lion appears in a procession that faces the lion-headed sphinx.

The Weather-god in round hat on style group 1-B

The weather-god in round hat heads processions to Šulinkatte/Nergal. The weather-god of round-hat is identified for this stylistic group as the weather-god of Nerik as son of Ereshkigal and Šulinkatte, keeping in mind that it is the early texts that identify Šulinkatte as the father of the weather-god of Nerik.

The weather-god on a bull and two mountain peaks

The unusual rendering of this deity is found only in group 1-B. His position in processions is identical to that of the weather-god with "cone and arrows" whom we have identified as Telipinu/Dumuzi. In the Sumerian southern orchard pantheon, the deity Damu as disappearing god appears as the great-grandson of Ereshkigal. In the representation of this deity on the level II glyptic, one foot rests on two mountain peaks. The motif of standing on mountains continues through the empire period and appears at Yazilikaya, where not only is Teshub, etc. portrayed standing on two mountain, but the deified king Tudhaliya is so

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11 See plate 43A.
12 Plate 56B.
depicted. As Jacobsen says: "A particularly interesting feature of the Damu cult is that it recognized as incarnations of the disappearing and sleeping god all the dead kings of the third dynasty of Ur, and the early kings of the following dynasty of Isin."\textsuperscript{13}

The weather-god on a bull and two mountain peaks is here identified as Telipinu/Damu. This depiction of the weather-god is associated with the small goddess opening her robes. Telipinu’s spouse was Hatepuna, a temple heirodule.\textsuperscript{14}

\textit{Deities in Style Group 1-A}

The principal local deity and seated goddess of stylistic group 1-A

The principal local deity here takes the form of UTU, as in one of the bildbeschreibungen texts, where UTU is associated with a lion and a fish. The seated goddess in this stylistic group is probably Wurusemu. The ethnic name here behind the designation UTU may be the Hattian Eštan.

The local Anatolian UTU shown on the glyptic with the lion\textsuperscript{15} and antelope rhyton,\textsuperscript{16} and is worshipped by the Mesopotamian Shamash\textsuperscript{17} as well as Adad, weather-god with round hat,\textsuperscript{18} weather-god with cone and arrows,\textsuperscript{19} and the hunting-god on a stag\textsuperscript{20}.


\textsuperscript{15}Plate 28A

\textsuperscript{16}See plate 24A.

\textsuperscript{17}Plate 41A.

\textsuperscript{18}See plate 44A, 44B.

\textsuperscript{19}See plate 32A.

\textsuperscript{20}See plate 44A.
The weather-god in round hat of group 1-A

This weather-god appears in this stylistic group and here also represents the weather-god of Nerik; here as the son of Wurusemu.

The weather god with "cone and arrows"

This deity that appears in stylistic group 1-A is identified as Telipinu. He is closely associated with the enthroned deity portrayed with the attributes of Enki/Ea. On one seal his "cone" is depicted on top of Enki/Ea's goat fish. The only other deity associated with Enki/Ea's goatfish is Marduk, Ea's son in Mesopotamia. The weather-god with "cone and arrows" is here identified as Telipinu/Dumuzi. Dumuzi in the Sumerian marsh pantheon was the son of Enki/Ea. The "cone" on the back of this weather-god's bull sometimes resembles a date tree. The date tree was associated with Dumuzi/Tammuz in Mesopotamia. Very few females are depicted in stylistic group 1-A (the seated goddess Wurusemu rarely), and the weather-god with "cone and arrows" is not depicted with a small nude goddess opening her robes.

The deity portrayed with the attributes of Enki/Ea

The identification of this deity is complicated. The deity Enki/Ea is not attested in the texts as a major deity in Anatolia for the period of level II. At first it seems strange that a Mesopotamian deity of the marsh would occupy such a prominent place on the local Anatolian glyptic. However, a religious text from Kanish and a text from Lagash bear similarities in that both "invoke reeds and reed thickets as the gods' favoured plants." 21  Ea as god of

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ablution magic was "usually called 'Lord Reed Bundle,' after the reed bundles from which was constructed the reed hut in which the rites were performed." Another text from Asia Minor, a poem, refers to an evil black dog demon and "continues to speak of ...Ea and of drawing pure water from the river." Nanshe, the fish-goddess daughter of Ea, was city goddess of Nina/Nineveh in the southeastern part of the Lagash region and was connected with rivers and canals around Lagash and Nineveh. Lewy points to the Ninevite influence on the religion of Assyria in the old Assyrian period, "which is overwhelmingly dominated by the national god, Ashur." In the above we have evidence of another association between Assur and Ea.

It is clear from the accumulation of attributes that Enki/Ea on the local seals represents a weather-god. In Mesopotamia, Enki/Ea is portrayed with two streams of water coming either from his shoulders or from the vase of ever-flowing water. The two streams represented the Tigris and Euphrates river according to Jacobsen. These two streams are seldom illustrated on Enki/Ea himself in the level II glyptic, but are instead given to Usmu and the bull-man. Other characteristics of Enki/Ea were equally important in Anatolia. As Frankfort says, Enki/Ea in Anatolia has become a dispenser of rain.

The weather-gods worshipped in the Assyrian colonies included Tarhunda, the Luwian weather-god, Taru, the Hattian weather-god, and Assur. The iconography of Enki/Ea on the

23Lewy, "Assyria, c. 2600-1816 B.C.", 763.
local glyptic points to the deity being Tarhunda, the precursor of the Hittite weather-god of heaven, with perhaps an equation with Assur. Several of the seals that illustrate Enki/Ea are inscribed with a theophorous element of Aššur.29 The character of Enki/Ea has some affinities to that of Aššur regarding justice. It seems likely that the god "Enki"/"Ea," as depicted in stylistic group 1-A, illustrates Tarhunda, but that Tarhunda was considered the equivalent of Assur. The deity Assur was depicted locally with his dagger and boomerang, and no doubt is the chief enthroned deity on the Old Assyrian style seals.

Evidence for identification with Tarhunda. Luwians are attested in the Kültepe tablets of the level II period, and as Mellaart says, "it is not impossible that the original kārum of Kültepe (and perhaps that of Bogozköy also) was founded for trade with the western and southern regions long before the participation of the Assyrians."30

Enki/Ea is known in the Sumerian mythology as the father of humans,31 in the Sumerian language one word stood for both water and semen; and Enki was considered the power to fecundate.32 The word Ea was written dA.A or dE.A.33 The logogram A.A, in


31See myth of Enki and Ninmah in Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, 22, 116-117.

32Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, 111.

Hittite texts, is the equivalent of the Hittite word *muwa* meaning "body fluid"/"sperm". In hieroglyphic Hittite, *muwa* was written with Laroche sign no. 107—a bull's head (Laroche sign no. 105 or "u" with the 4 bars of sign no. 391). Alp states that this sign (Laroche no. 107) is the sign of the storm-god and be transcribed as "U. In that sense, A.A becomes "U. The word *muwatallali* is an adjective of the weapon of the storm-god. The word *muwa* appeared in the Old Assyrian period.

There is also a group of words ending in *-muwa*, that is taken by some scholars to be the Indo-European Luwian. The theophorus names built with *-muwa* include the deities Arma (moon-god), Jarri, Innara, Sanda (war-god = Marduk), Uruwanda (the stag-god), and Tiwata (the Luwian sun-god), as well as Tarhunda the weather-god.

The empire period attributes of the weather-god of heaven include an eagle and the "good/holy" sign *aššu*. We have already mentioned that some of the birds depicted on the level II glyptic appear on the table set before the god and have the appearance of rhyta. These frequently appear in association with "Enki/Ea". In the Hittite texts, Ea is also said to

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36 Laroche in *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites*, p. 68 with citation of Alp.


41 See bildbeschreibungen text on the weather-god of heaven in chapter 7.
hold the "aššu" sign. Other gods also hold this sign: Ištar, Ijaja, Weather-god "Anrufung" --all weather-gods or spouses of weather-gods.

There are other attributes of Enki/Ea that point to an identification with the precursor of the weather-god of heaven. The portrayal of Enki/Ea once with both flowing water and the rays of a sun-god (see plate 5B) suggests a deity with both sun/sky and weather/water characteristics.

In Mesopotamia Enki/Ea is associated with the nude hero. The nude hero appears as the servant of Ea, holding the gatepost emblem. In Early Dynastic times, this same nude hero, holding the same gatepost emblem, appears on a terracotta plaque. These plaques were to be buried in the corners of courtyards to protect against evil. On the right arm of the nude hero in question are the words "Come in, Guard of what is good." On the left arm: "Go out, Guard of Evil." The nude heros have a dual nature and were known as twins on terracotta reliefs. Enki/Ea’s vizier, Usmu, also displays a dual nature--in that he has two faces, one looking forward, one looking back.

There are other associations of Enki/Ea with gates. The singers of Kanish sing to both A.A and the deity Ašgašepa. Ašgasepa is a deity, that in the treaties, is grouped with Ea, Damkina, Telipinu, and Kamrusepa/Katahzipuri and is paired with Pirwa. The first

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42von Brandenstein, Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen, 29.
44Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 90. See Ibid., pl. XXI c.
45Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 60 and note 5 with publication of the plaque.
46Ibid., 90.
47Coşkun, Libasyon, 31.
element in this deity's name is Hittite (aška-) and means "gate."49 Another deity, Ispanzasipa, has as the first element in the name the Hittite ispant- or "night" and appears in the treaty lists of Suppiluliuma together with Aškasepa.50

A further connection between "Enki/Ea" and the Luwians is found in the Hittite magical rituals. In Mesopotamia Ea was the god of magic,51 and the magical rituals in the Hittite texts are mainly of Luwian origin. "It is characteristic of these Luwian texts that divine authority is claimed for the ritual by a piece of mythology attributing it to the goddess Kamrusepa."52 Thus, in a magical text, references may be made to the sun-god and Kamrusepa treating the bodily parts of a man by combing and washing a sheep.

The close association of the weather-god "cone and arrows"/Telipinu to the god "Enki/Ea" also points to the identification of the latter as the weather-god of heaven and father of Telipinu. In the myth of the missing god, the Luwian goddess Kamrusepa makes use of sheep from the herd of the Sun-god to charm away the anger of the god.53 This 'mythologeme' is, as noted, seen in the magical texts of Luwian origin.

The attributes of the weather-god of heaven in the later period are a wagon drawn by two bulls called "day" and "night", (the bulls of Teshub after the weather-god of heaven was equated with Teshub) names which would seem to have connections with a sun-god and also express a duality.

Evidence for identification with An/Assur. A connection between "Enki"/"Ea" and the Assyrian deity Assur can also be found. As stated above, some owners of seals depicting

49 Ibid., p. 16, note 5.
50 Ibid., p. 16 and note 5.
51 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 123.
52 Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 54.
53 Ibid., 54.
"Enki" have the element Assur as part of their names. The seal illustrated on Plate 11A has dual scenes. In one scene, "Ea"'s throne rests on two goatfish. In the second scene, the bull with cone is depicted with a table and two worshippers. Behind the second worshipper to the bull with cone is a dagger. In Mesopotamia, An was frequently envisaged as a huge bull. One of his epithets is 'Fecund Breed-Bull,' an apt personification of the overcast skies in spring whose thunder recalls the bellowing of a bull and whose rain engenders vegetation far and wide. As an older form of the god himself we should probably consider the 'bull of heaven'...54

Assur was equated with the Sumerian An. As H. Lewy says:

By his nature, the god Ashur is the heavenly sphere referred to in the Epic of Creation by the Sumerian designation AN.ŠAR. Yet as the genuinely Sumerian pantheon does not contain a deity of this name and function—closest to it would be the Sumerian AN—it is obvious that AN.ŠAR is a comparatively late Sumerianization of the Assyrian god’s name. That Ashur is originally a deity of west Semitic origin can likewise be inferred from the Epic of Creation where Ashur is said to be the son of Lakhmu and Lakhamu....In other words, Ashur’s father and creator is one of the deities worshipped in 'Bethlehem'...Ilaprat, another deity worshipped by the Assyrians of the Old Assyrian period, likewise originated in Bethlehem.55

Assur and Ilaprat appear together as "gods of our fathers" in a letter addressed by a priest to his son,56 and Ilabrat was considered the vizier of An/Anu.57 The Sumerian equivalent of Ilabrat was NIN-ŠUBUR, ("the Lord Boar").58 The two-faced figure seen on

54Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, 95, 96.
55Hildegard Lewy, "Assyria c. 2600-1816 B.C." 766.
58Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 720. Note also that Lewy mentions that Ilaprat was originally the god of the town of Bethlehem and that "at the time when the fertility cult of Bethlehem enjoyed the protection of the Roman overlords of Palestine, the sculptured head of a swine adorned the gate by which one left Jerusalem for Bethlehem." Ibid., p. 720 and note 5.
the local glyptic, and usually identified as Usmu, may at least sometimes represent Ilaprat as vizier.

The dagger was one of the emblems of the god Assur. An Old Assyrian text mentions "1/2 mina of copper in Abum for a libation for the dagger of Aššur (GīR Āššur)." The dagger and boomerang as emblems of Assur, and Assur's character as enforcer of judgement, are seen in the fact that at Kanish "judgements were rendered in the presence of 'Ashur's dagger' or 'Ashur's boomerang', the idea being that the one who gave false testimony or who passed an unjust judgement would be struck down by these weapons."

The seal of plate 11A depicts dual scenes. On the right is "Enki"/"Ea" with his goatfish. On the left is the bull with cone. The bull has a table before it and is worshipped by two humans bringing offerings. Behind the last human is a dagger, and perhaps here we have the bull with cone representing the deity Assur as weather-god. That the local seal engravers of Anatolia had other ways of portraying Assur, is apparent from the seal seen on plate 43A where a deity sits enthroned on a lion and holds the boomerang; he is approached by the deity in a wagon drawn by boars and a worshipper holding a dagger. It should not follow, then, that every depiction of the bull with cone represents the deity Assur, but certainly a weather-god.

Twice a snake is associated with "Enki"/"Ea." Some Old Assyrian seals show the snake behind the enthroned deity. Also, the row of lions at the bottom of Plate 12A

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61See plates 12A and 39A.

reminds one of the row of weather-gods mounting lions at the bottom of an Old Assyrian
seal, and as we saw on Plate 43A Assur sits on a lion.

Later Assyrian glyptic show some interesting connections with attributes that were
associated with the deity Ea in the early Mesopotamian tradition. One such seal shows the
winged sun-disc with arms as Assur; from the arms descend two streams of water similar to
the two streams of water found with Ea in the Mesopotamian tradition. The feathery wings
are a rendering of clouds and "the setting of clouds is particularly appropriate to a god who,
like Assur, embodies, inter alia, the generative force of nature, which depends upon rain."

The seal cutter’s choice of the attributes of the Mesopotamian god Ea as a depiction of
the chief weather-god in Anatolia, whether named Assur or Tarhunda is appropriate. In all
instances, the depiction of the two streams (connoting two rivers in Mesopotamia) have been
changed to indicate rain. Both Anatolia and Assyria are hillier countries than Babylonia and
as Frankfort says,

In Babylonia rain serves at most to supply the nomadic shepherds with pasture, while
agriculture is dependent upon irrigation. In Assyria, however, the country is mostly
too hilly for irrigation by canals, and agriculture is dependent upon rain, which is
much more plentiful there. . . . the seal cylinder (of the winged-sun-disk with arms and
flowing water) is more explicit. . . . as to the relations between god, 'sacred tree'
and rain, and fully symbolises the dependence of vegetal life upon the circulation of
moisture through earth and atmosphere. The 'sacred tree' is here not merely placed
upon a mountain; it emerges from a water-vessel. The winged disk above it has
outstretched hands from which the water descends to just such vessels as that from
which the tree springs. 66

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Seals, pl. XL j; Nimet Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish,
Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlanıd, series 5, no. 25 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi,
1968), pl. XXVII #2. The last is a seal in the schematic Old Assyrian style.

63Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, Pl. XL j.
64Ibid., text fig. 65, page 213.
65Ibid., 211.
66Ibid., p. 212, 213 and text fig. 65.
Whether Tarhunda or Assur, the rendering of "Enki"/"Ea" in local stylistic group 1-A signifies a sky god.67

Ea/Enki's spouse

The identity of a spouse for the "Enki"/"Ea" figure is equally problematic. As a portrayal of a weather-god, "Enki"/"Ea" on the local glyptic might be expected to have a concubine or temple hierodule as a spouse, and the texts mention Tasimmet as the weather-god of Nerik's concubine.68 In fact, the seal on plate 5B shows such a female with "Ea" and "Usmu", but standing and without any deifying attributes. In Mesopotamia, the spouse of Enki/Ea is Damgalnunna(Damkina)/Ninhursag.69 Another name for Ninhursag is also Nintu. In the Hittite texts, the phonetic word behind NIN.TU is Hannahanna.70

The spouse of An is Ki "the earth" and another name for Ki was Urash (the tilth).71 In another text, 4Urash is mentioned as the mother of the disappearing god Damu.72 Damu, in the Sumerian orchard pantheon, was similar to Dumuzi/Tammuz in the marsh pantheon. Ea was considered the father of Dumuzi in the marsh pantheon, and a text mentions Enki/Ea as the father of Damu.73

In the Sumerian pantheons, Ninurta was a half-brother of Enki/Ea. The weather-god in round-hat as the weather-god of Nerik and Ninurta can be considered the brother of Enki/Ea/weather-god of Heaven.

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67See Ibid, 213-214 for Assur as sky god.
68Volkert Haas, Der Kult von Nerik, 88.
69See Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, 22.
70Goetze, Kleinasien, p. 143 and note 3.
71Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, p. 446, note 11; and Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, 95.
72Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, 71.
73Ibid., 73.
On the glyptic of level II, the precursor of the weather-god of heaven Taruhunda/Assur is worshipped by or associated with "Usmu", weather-god with "cone and arrows", 74 Adad on a bull, 75 Shamash, 76 war-god, 77 and a weather-god with a sword, deity on a donkey or Pirwa 78.

Hunting-god on a stag

The hunting god on a stag in some instances is probably the Luwian Uruwanda when associated with Tarhunda/Enki/Ea, 79 and in other cases, a Hattian hunting-god. 80

War-god

The war-god seen on seals showing Tarhunda/Enki/Ea is probably Sanda, the Luwian war-god. He appears on a lion worshipping Tarhunda/Enki on plate 13B. Sanda on stylistic group 1-A is rendered in a mounting posture on his lion. 81 The war-god seen in stylistic group 1-B in turn, with its associations with Šulinkatte, is probably Wurunkatte. He is depicted standing on the back of a lion, but not in mounting posture.

Two-faced deity standing on a boar

This deity is rare (seen only on Plates 14B, 58A 58B). In the scarcity of depictions makes identification difficult. In two of the appearances, he is in a procession that consists of the weather-god round hat or Taru, the weather-god of cone and arrows or Telipinu, the

74See plates 12B, 25A, 40A, 54A.
75See plate 22A.
76See plate 50A.
77See plate 39A.
78See plate 12A.
79 See plate 19B.
80See the processions of deities, plates 44A, 55B, 56A.
81See plates 13B, 24A, 27B, and 50A.
hunting-god (one stag-god, one hunting-god on a goat). He carries a mace and a sword. The two procession seals have many elements that are unusual to local Anatolian glyptic. For example, Plate 58A is the only illustration of the "cone" of the weather-god with "cone and arrow" depicted with the date clusters at the ends of the branches. The attire of the deities on Plate 58A is unusual--note the opening of the long garment between the legs. The weather-god with "cone and arrows" on this plate carries a mace rather than an ax--this together with the unusual attire gives the seal a somewhat Syrian appearance.\textsuperscript{82} On plate 58B, what appears to be a small sphinx appears in front of the war-god, yet the sphinx is quite unlike the bearded sphinxes found in stylistic group 1-B and also bears Syrian influence. Plate 58B also shows a hunting-god on a goat instead of a stag, the goat being the sacred animal of the western-Semitic deity Amurru.

The Syrian elements of these depictions may point to an identification of the two-faced figure as Ilaprat, lord of the boars.

\textit{Deities in Local Style Groups 3 & 4}

The deity in a horse-drawn chariot

This deity appears only in local groups 3 and 4 with their Assyrian rather than Akkadian or Old Babylonian elements.\textsuperscript{83} The driver of the chariot is here considered a Sun-god. A human often appears beneath the wheels of the chariot. In Mesopotamia, Shamash and Amurru appear as a "conqueror" god stepping on a human being.\textsuperscript{84} A clay mold for a

\textsuperscript{82}Syrian weather-gods carried maces. This attribute of weather-gods was adopted by the Hittites and the weather-god of Heaven is seen at Yazilikaya with a mace.

\textsuperscript{83}See above old page 46 in dissertation.

\textsuperscript{84}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. XXVIII a, c for Shamash. In \textit{Ibid.} pl. XXVIII d Amurru identified by the goat in the field nearby and his mace assumes the posture of the conqueror god. See also \textit{Ibid.}, p. 167.
model chariot of the Old Babylonian period shows a presentation scene with the deity Shamash on the front of the chariot. Shamash is in the attitude of one foot on a mountain and holds a sun-disc symbol in his right hand. The design on the sun-disc is the dot within the circle. Still on the front of this mold, in a register above the presentation scene, the crescent symbol of Amurru appears (one of the symbols of Amurru, the others are the crook and the curved mace.) On either side of the crescent symbol of Amurru is a sun-disc with the spoked wheel design. Two clay models from Larsa show only the crescent symbol of Amurru and the dot within a circle.

In Mesopotamia, Shamash as equated with Utu, was the father of Shakan, deity of goats and goat herding. The sacred animal of Amurru was the goat or gazelle The deity Amurru does is not represented with any frequency until the Old Babylonian period in Mesopotamia. The scene on the clay mold of a chariot model therefore can be interpreted as the sun-god father of Shakan/Amurru. A connection between Shamash and Amurru in Mesopotamia is found on a seal that shows a god and goddess, a panel naming Shamash and his wife Ay (Aia), but the emblem of Amurru has been engraved in one column. In the level II glyptic, the sun-disc design of a dot within a circle is once held by a bull-man behind a procession of deities. In that procession, the god Amurru on his goat follows Shamash on a


86 An attitude frequently used by Shamash.

87 Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, 26.

88 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 164-165.

89 Ibid., 165.

90 Ibid., p. 165 and pl. XXVIII h.
lion holding his saw. 91

The motif of a file of men also appears with the chariot on the level II glyptic, a motif familiar from Syria. 92 Amurru was a west semitic god, in Mesopotamia "the god of the West" and was portrayed on Syrian seals. 93 See the Syrian seal on Plate 59B where the god with the mace stands on two goats. In the west Semitic pantheon, the god Anna was considered the father of Amurru.

The deity on the chariot of the local stylistic groups 3 and 4 may therefore be the deity Anna identified with Shamash as the father of Amurru. There is evidence that at one time Anna was the patron god of Kanes. 94 In two merchant contracts the oath is sworn by Assur, Anna, and the prince, "a formula in which (as in contemporary Babylonian documents from Sippar, Larsa, and elsewhere) the first-named deity was the god of the country and the second the numen of the city in which the contract was concluded." 95

The deity Ningirsu (Ninurta), connected with another Mesopotamian city, Lagash, likewise has an association with war-chariots. In a Mesopotamian story, Gudea, king of Lagash, is told by the goddess Nanshe to "construct a new and beautifully decorated war chariot for Ningirsu and to present it to him together with its span of male donkeys and the god’s emblem and weapons, accompanied by the sound of drums." 96 Gudea also builds a temple for Ningirsu and his wife, Bau. 97 The connections between Lagash and Kanish were

91 See plate 47.
92 See here plate 23A. For Syrian example see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLIV f where the four men follow a chariot. See also Ibid., p. 272.
93 Ibid., p. 255, pl. XLI e.
94 See Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 720.
95 Ibid.
96 Kramer, The Sumerians, 139.
97 Ibid.
However, the main deity to approach the deity in the chariot is the god Adad on his dragon, and it would seem strange to have Adad worshipping another weather-god Ninurta; therefore we still feel the evidence points toward as identification of the deity in the chariot as being Anna.

\[98\text{See plate 23B.}\]
CHAPTER IX

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NEW KINGDOM

Themes and Participants

The history of representation in Anatolia shows that the local Anatolian attributes of the deities are preserved, and the Mesopotamian attributes discarded. The weather-gods of the empire period were associated with mountains as attributes, not palm-trees; and indeed even the order in which the deities are depicted on the group 1-B processions, complete with hunting-god, is preserved at Yazilikaya.

The weather-god of heaven was the deity of the dynasty of Anitta of Kussara. Now, with the identification of the Indo-European weather-god Tarhunda with the glyptic representations "Enki/Ea," it is clear that when Anitta conquered Kültepe, he recognized a deity among the Luwian population there that was similar to the deity of his own dynasty. Shortly afterwards, in what would appear to be a political move, the sun-goddess of the Hattian, Wurusemu was considered to be married to the weather-god of heaven (Tarhunda). Thus "marrying" the gods of two ethnic groups. This marriage explains the Hittite textual references to two fathers for the weather-god of Nerik (Taru). When Taru, as the Hattian weather-god, is equated with Tarhunda, we get the strange circumstances of seeing textual references that the weather-god of heaven, or Taru, was the father of Taru. The rock relief at Yazilikaya shows two weather-gods in the central chamber--one can be considered Teshub/Tarhunda and the other Taru.

The New Kingdom continues the types of divine representation established in the Colony.
Age, though as a whole with less accumulation of detail, despite the much larger scale available for the rock reliefs. An innovation is, however, the name of the deity that sometimes appears in accompanying hieroglyphs.

By the New Kingdom period, normal presentation scenes and processions with no focus are no longer depicted, however, all the other themes found on the representations of the Colony period survive, including the so-called banquet scene which first appeared with the Ib/Old Hittite period. In addition, there is a new theme in which a deity embraces the worshipper. Of the participants familiar from the Colony period, the main deities survive. Mesopotamian deities such as Adad, Marduk, Shamash with saw or flames, Usmu, and of course the interceding deity disappear. But we still find the sun-goddess, the bull (although no longer depicted with a cone on its back), weather-gods, the war-god, and the hunting-god. The only major deity who does not appear is the deity in the horse-drawn chariot. The chariot survives, but is pulled by bulls and transports the weather-god of heaven.

Themes

Presentation scenes

The adoration and libation scenes are represented in the New Kingdom.

Adoration

Adoration scenes are found only on the glyptic of the New Kingdom period. Other than the deities, only the worshipper is depicted; he wears a short tunic and frequently carries a bow.1 The deities worshipped include the weather-god of heaven,2 the sun-god,3 Ishtar,4

and the stag-god. The deities will be described more fully later.

Deity embraces worshipper

The seals of Muwatalli, Hattusili III and Puduhepa, and Tudhaliya IV show the Hittite royalty in the embrace of a deity. This theme is an innovation of the New Kingdom and appears to be a variation of the adoration scene. In this "embracing" scene, the deity stands behind the worshipper and holds the worshipper's hand in the adoration position. This theme is depicted both on glyptic, as on the royal seals, and in relief at Yazilikaya. The deities depicted are the weather-god of heaven, Hepat, and Sarruma.

\(^{2}\text{Ibid.}, \text{fig. 32, 34.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Ibid.}, \text{fig. 70.}\)
\(^{4}\text{Ibid.}, \text{fig. 54.}\)
\(^{7}\text{O. R. Gurney, \text{The Hittites} (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin, 1966), 67, 206.}\)
\(^{8}\text{Schaeffer, \text{Sceaux et cylindres Hittites}, fig. 24.}\)
\(^{9}\text{Seal of Muwatalli, see Schaeffer, \text{Ibid.}, p. 116. See also seal of Tudhaliya IV where the "mighty weather-god," appears opposite the sun-goddess of Arinna--cf. Emmanuel Laroche, \text{Les Hiéroglyphs Hittites}, part 1, \text{l'Écriture}, Editions due Centre National de la Recherches Scientifique, no. 190 (Paris, 1960), p. 21 for weather-god and \text{Ibid.}, p. 100 for sun-goddess; and Laroche sign numbers 360-199-28, 360-191-191 respectively.}\)
\(^{10}\text{Seal of Puduhepa, see Gurney, \text{The Hittites}, 67.}\)
Libation

Libation scenes in the New Kingdom carry on the tradition begun in the Old Hittite period of pouring a libation on the ground before an altar.

Libation scenes do not occur on glyptic but on the rock reliefs of Firaktin and the sphinx gate of Alaca Höyük. On the reliefs at Firaktin, the deities Teshub and Hepat\textsuperscript{12} are approached respectively by Hattusili and Puduhepa\textsuperscript{13} who pour libations. The libation ritual depicted at Alaca Höyük is, however, part of a procession to the deities.

Processions

There are two type of processions utilized in the New Kingdom, processions to a focus deity, and meeting processions.

Processions to a focus deity

The reliefs of the Sphinx-gate from Alaca Höyük show on the left hand side a ritual procession headed by the king and queen, followed by attendants to the storm god represented by a bull on a large pedestal platform. The king stands in front of the bull with the pedestalled altar between, and raises his hand in the attitude of adoration seen on the glyptic. On the right hand side of the gate, reliefs show the remains of a procession approaching a seated goddess, the consort of the storm god.\textsuperscript{14}

At the far left side of the sphinx gate are reliefs depicting musicians before a bull rhyton, and these together with the procession led by the king and queen parallel the religious

\textsuperscript{12}The goddess is identified by hieroglyphs; the god’s name is not given.

\textsuperscript{13}The name Hattusili is identified on the left panel of the relief.

celebrations seen on the Inandik vase. The upper row of reliefs on the left side of the gate depict a stag and boar hunt; here one is reminded of the stag beneath the palm tree on the Schimmel rhyton in a context of an offering procession.

The reliefs at the sphinx gate, as excavated, were in the process of renovation or replacement. Work or carving proceeded from right to left on the left hand side of the gate. Thus, the right hand side of the lower frieze is completely recarved, and block number 3 (the sword eater and the person on a ladder) is finished, while block number 2 (the musicians) is one third incomplete, and block number 1 (the bull rhyton) is very incomplete. Many loose stones were found by the excavator, Macridy, and may be identified as the original blocks before the renovation. These original blocks show that apparently Alaca Hüyük depicted processions to two seated deities, the storm god and consort. The storm-god originally depicted in the form of an enthroned deity was placed on the right hand side of the gate. Although not completely preserved, presumably the deity on the left hand side of the gate was originally the storm-god’s consort. There the king, followed by the queen and attendants, pours a libation at the feet of the enthroned deity.

Meeting processions

Reliefs. The rocks of Yazilikaya, about one mile from Bogazköy, form two natural chambers or galleries. The main chamber is decorated with a row of figures of gods and goddesses starting on the sides and walking towards each other to meet in the center or end of the chamber. These deities represent the Hittite pantheon at the time of Tudhaliya IV. The

16 Ibid., 17.
17 Bossert, Altanatolien, no. 513.
18 Ibid., nos. 502-503; 504-505.
Hurrian names for the deities are generally written in Hittite hieroglyphs accompanying the figures. The processions do not depict merely the Hurrian series of gods and goddesses, called *kalutis*, but are a mixture of Hattian, Indo-European, and Hurrian deities some of whom are conflated. Thus, the main chamber depicts Teshub/the weather-god of heaven and Hepat/Sun-goddess of Arinna, but also depicts the granddaughter of Teshub. There was in the Hurrian pantheon no such granddaughter, and the Hurrian reading of the hieroglyphs refer to Zintihi the granddaughter of the Weather-god of Ratti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, whose name in Hattian means "granddaughter." Gods found in the Hurrian *kalutis*, such as Lupatig, and Tenu, the vizier of Teshub, have been left out of the male procession. Likewise, the goddess Ishara from the goddess *kalutis* appears to have been left out.\(^\text{19}\)

The deities depicted at Yazilikaya are:

Central group:

No. 42: Teshub/Weather-god of Heaven
No. 43: Hepat/Sun-goddess of Arinna
No. 44: Sarruma
No. 45: Allanzu/Mezulla
No. 46: Teshub's granddaughter/Zintuhi

Left side:

No. 41: Ninurta/Brother of Teshub
No. 40: Kubarbi/Telipinu
No. 39: Ea
No. 38: Sausga
No. 37: Ninatta

Right Side:

No. 46a: Darru-Dakitu
No. 47: Hutena/Istustaya
No. 48: Hutellura/Papaya
No. 49: Allatu
No. 50: nameless

\(^{19}\text{for the *kaluti* see Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 17.}\)
No. 36: Kulitta
No. 35: Kusuh/Kasku/the moon-god
No. 34: Sun-god of Heaven/Simegi/Istanus
No. 33: Astabi/Wurunkatte
No. 32: Stag-god, KAL/LAMA
No. 31: Pirinkir(?)
No. 30: Hesui (?)
No. 29: Serri
No. 28: Hurri, bulls of Teshub stand on earth,
hold up the Sky.

The order within the procession of the Hattian deities is Taru, Telipinu, Kasku, Wurunkatte, and the stag-god. As demonstrated in a previous chapter, the anatolian glyptic compositions of the colony age are not haphazard and many give a coherent basic order of deities whose individual iconographic character has also been demonstrated. These deities have now been given precise names in comparison with empire works. Furthermore, these deities appear in the same order in the colony age glyptic processions and the imperial rock carved reliefs. Thus, the hierarchy of the gods illustrated at Yazilikaya was not a product of syncretistic thought of the empire, but was an integral part of the Hattian religion of earlier centuries.

The major deities depicted at Yazilikaya, their identification and colony age equivalents can be seen on table 13. See also table 14.

\[\text{Ibid.}, 24.\]
Table 13. Deities at Yazilikaya and Colony Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yazilikaya</th>
<th>Colony Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teshub</td>
<td>Tarhunda/Enki/Ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebat</td>
<td>Seated goddess/Wurusemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother of Teshub</td>
<td>weather-god of Nerik/round hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumarbi</td>
<td>weather-god &quot;cone and arrows&quot;/Telipinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>weather-god on bull/mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sausga</td>
<td>goddess opening her robes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun-god of heaven</td>
<td>local principal deity/ALTIU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astabi</td>
<td>war-god/Wurunkatte/Sanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Stag-god' (KAL)</td>
<td>stag-god/Uruwanda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yazilikaya illustrates the complicated situation of the Hittite pantheon, for it was an attempt to depict the official pantheon at the time of Tudhaliya IV. It illustrates very well the problems of the conflation or nonconflation of deities.

By the New Kingdom, the Hattian deity Taru was, on the one hand, considered as the equivalent of the Weather-god of Hatti (also called the Weather-god of Heaven), in so far that both were considered the spouse of Wurusemu, the Sun-goddess of Arinna.21 At the same time, however, the conflation was not complete and the Weather-god of Nerik (the alternative title for Taru)22 was considered the son of the Weather-god of Hatti and Wurusemu.23

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21Ibid., p. 19, note 5.
Table 14. Identification of Yazilikaya Deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Yazilikaya</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Empire period Attributes</th>
<th>Colony age Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>TESHUB</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Symbol" /></td>
<td>Laroche, <em>Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites</em>, s. v. O'W du CIEL. Other representations: Beran, <em>Die hethitische Glyptik</em>, 250-253; and seals of Ini-Teshub, in Schaeffer, <em>Ugaritica</em>, vol. 3, figs. 27, 30, 32, 34.</td>
<td>Holds in his right hand a mace, and stands on two mountains in the form of mailes. Hieroglyphic sign for lightning.</td>
<td>Šulinkatte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Yazilikaya</td>
<td>Sign</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Empire period Attributes</td>
<td>Colony age Equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Kumarbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laraocche, in Gurney, <em>Some Aspects of Hittite Religion</em>, p. 22, n. 2: Kumarbi, based on <em>Kalutis</em>. Bittel, <em>Yazilikaya</em>, p. 80: Telipinu as vegetation god.</td>
<td>Holds a plant in his left hand and stands on two mountains</td>
<td>Telipinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Laroche signe # 209</td>
<td>By hieroglyph and order in <em>kalutis</em>.</td>
<td>Holds a mace in his right hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sausga</td>
<td>Laroche sign #s 104, 421, 434</td>
<td>By hieroglyphics; Sausga appears in the <em>kalutis</em> at a later point--after Kusuh, Simegi, Astabi, KAL. See Gurney, <em>Some Aspects of Hittite Religion</em>, 17.</td>
<td>Male form of Ishtar-Sausga with wings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Yazilikaya</td>
<td>Signs</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Empire period Attributes</td>
<td>Colony age Equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 &amp; 36</td>
<td>Ninatta &amp; Kulitta</td>
<td>Laroche signs # 153, 29</td>
<td>partly from semi-preserved hieroglyphs; partly from texts that mention Ishtar's two attendants.</td>
<td>Ninatta holds a cow's horn, a container for ointments and cosmetics. Kulitta, no. 36, holds a mirror.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Kuskuh</td>
<td>Laroche sign #193</td>
<td>By hieroglyph as the moon-god. In the <em>kalutis</em> Kuskuh follows Ea.</td>
<td>Wears a pointed hat with moon crescent; represented with wings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sun-god of Heaven</td>
<td>Laroche signs 3 191, 182</td>
<td>By hieroglyphs and <em>kalutis</em></td>
<td>Winged sun-disc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Yazilikaya</td>
<td>Signs</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Empire period Attributes</td>
<td>Colony age Equivalent</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Astabi</td>
<td>Laroche signs #</td>
<td>By hieroglyphs and kalutis</td>
<td>Carries a sickle sword</td>
<td>Wurunkatte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19, 415, 29, 66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>(\text{\textsuperscript{DKAL, LAMA}})</td>
<td>Laroche sign # 103</td>
<td>By hieroglyphs and kalutis</td>
<td>Carries a sickle sword</td>
<td>(\text{\textsuperscript{DLAMA}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>HEPAT</td>
<td>Laroche signs #</td>
<td>By heiroglyphs and head of the female kalutis</td>
<td>Stands on a panther</td>
<td>Sun-goddessss, Wurusemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>215, 334, 88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Yazilikaya</th>
<th>Signs</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Empire period Attributes</th>
<th>Colony age Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>By hieroglyphs and female <em>kalutis</em></td>
<td>Stands on a panther whose rein he holds in his right hand; he holds an axe in his left hand. Like Teshub and the Weather-god of Hatti, has sword hanging from his belt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarrumua</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laroche sign #80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laroche signs #278?, 285</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yazilikaya can be said to depict the Hattian pantheon, especially where the representations of Zintuhi, the granddaughter of Wurusemu is concerned. If Yazilikaya is interpreted as the Hattian pantheon of the Old Kingdom conflated with Indo-European deities and with Hurrian deities conflated or added, then figures 42 and 41, the weather-god of heaven and the weather-god of Hatti, can both be said to depict Taru the wife of

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Wurusemu. It seems more likely that Yazilikaya depicts the dilemma both of the identity and nonidentity of the weather-god of Heaven with Taru. Figure 42 would then depict the weather-god of heaven in his supreme place as head of the pantheon (and as Tarhunda), wife of the sun-goddess of Arinna and father of the Weather-god of Nerik/Taru. Figures 41 and 40 then depict sons of the supreme pair—Weather-god of Nerik/Taru and Telipinu just as they were originally sons Wurusemu.

Yazilikaya portrays not just a translation of the Hattian pantheon at the point where the granddaughter Zintuhi appears, but throughout the processions, with the exception of the now familiar displacement of the sun-god by the weather-god of heaven, and the addition of the Hurrian deities.

The center wall of the main chamber at Yazilikaya then depicts a family of deities dating from the Old Kingdom and earlier, with Hurrian names written in hieroglyphs: the weather-god of heaven and spouse Sun-goddess of Arinna together with the original children of the sun-goddess, namely, Taru and Telipinu. Behind the Sun-goddess/Hepat appears Sarruma, an added Hurrian deity somewhat conflated with the weather-god of Nerik, the daughter Mezzulla and the granddaughter Zintuhi.

The concept of a meeting procession was seen in the colony period glyptic (plate 59A) where a goddess standing on a deer meets a war-god.

*New kingdom glyptic.* On the glyptic, the theme of meeting processions is abbreviated to two deities facing each other.\(^{25}\) The seal of Amanmashu shows the weather-god of heaven standing on two mountain deities facing the sun-god of heaven standing on a lion. Behind the

\(^{25}\) Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 24, 68.
sun-god, a man carrying a spear and bow appears. The seal of Tudhaliya IV depicts the weather-god facing the sun-goddess of Arinna. The sun-goddess is represented wearing a beret similar to those worn by the seated-goddess/sun-goddess on level II seal impressions, instead of the polos she wears at Yazilikaya.

**Banquet Scene**

Two reliefs dating to the New Kingdom period show this theme. Both at Yagri and Yazilikaya reliefs illustrate two persons on either side of a pedestalled altar. At Yagri, each figure can be seen to hold a dish in the right hand; and at Yazilikaya the figures are male and female—one wears the pointed hat of the male and one wears the polos seen on the goddesses there.

**Dual Scene**

The glyptic and the large scale reliefs of the New Kingdom carry on the tradition of dual scenes that appeared on the glyptic of the colony age. The seal of Ini-Teshub contains one scene in which a male figure carrying a mace approaches the weather-god of heaven, an adoration scene. It also contains a scene where a figure standing on a bull spears a rampant lion.

Likewise the reliefs, of Alaca Höyük and Firaktin, each with a scene to both the weather-god and consort, are examples of dual scenes.

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26 *Ibid.*, fig. 68.
28 Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 571.
29 The relief appears at the entrance to the main chamber, but outside the chamber itself, around the corner from relief #64.
30 Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 32.
Individual representations

The representation of isolated deities occurs on both glyptic and reliefs. Among these is the representation of the weather-god of heaven at Imamkulu.

That relief is on a large block of stone and is contained within an oval frame. Three lion type figures support three mountain-men who have swords hung from their waists on the left side. The shoulders of the mountain men support a storm-god and a chariot drawn by a pair of bulls. The storm-god, identified as the weather-god of heaven by the hieroglyphs, carries a mace in his right hand, has a sword hung from this waist on the left side like the mountain men, and raises one foot to step into the chariot. He holds the bulls’ reins in his left hand. The reins end in a lightning symbol. In front of the mountain men is a tree, and represented at the top of the tree is a winged Ishtar figure with her robe depicted by a wavy line. She faces the storm-god, while a bird, perhaps an eagle, is depicted between them.31

The posture of the weather-god mounting a chariot, like the weapon of lightning, was borrowed from other weather-gods known from the Colony period. Plate 50B shows a weather-god with one foot raised in a mounting posture, while he holds the reins of the bull.

Table 15 illustrates the deities depicted in the New Kingdom (other than at Yazilikaya, Firaktin, and Alaca Höyük) together with their attributes. The information regarding attributes aids in the discussion of the nature of the deities in the New Kingdom.

Nature of Participants.

Deities that appear as focus of adoration, libation, or procession

These deities include the weather-god of heaven, Hepat or sun-goddess, the sun-god, Ishtar, and the stag-god.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site or Object</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Otherwise Identified</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imamkulu</td>
<td>w-god of Heaven</td>
<td>ḫW CIEL Laroche signs 360, 199, 182</td>
<td>Drives a chariot drawn by 2 bulls supported by mountain men; reins end in lightning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concubine of weather-god</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Winged female, opening robes, stands on top of tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Ini-Teshub*</td>
<td>W-god of Heaven</td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Stands on two mountain-men and carries a mace. Rampant bull behind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Amanmashub</td>
<td>W-god of heaven</td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Stands on two mountain-men, carries a mace and lightning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun-god of heaven</td>
<td>Analogy with Yazilikaya fig 34</td>
<td>Stands on a lion carries a lituus and wears the winged sun-disc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Ini-Teshub*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stands on bull, rein ends in lightning; carries a mace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun-god of heaven</td>
<td>Analogy with Yazilikaya fig 34</td>
<td>Wears winged sun-disc, supported by a bull</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Talmi-Teshub*</td>
<td>W-god of heaven</td>
<td>ḫW CIEL</td>
<td>Carries a mace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Ini-Teshub*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beardless weather-god carries an axe and a mace; wears long garment leaving one leg free.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site or Object</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Otherwise Identified</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figurine #21 from Carchemish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thunderbolt, mace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Ini-Teshub\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td>w-god of the house</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{DU É}</td>
<td>Sphinx as Meriggi sign #87.1 for E. Protective deity of Ini-Teshub\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td>Bearded figure with mace in right hand; winged sphinx in his left hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Muwattali\textsuperscript{h}</td>
<td>W-god of heaven</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{DW CIEL}</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carries a mace in his right hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Tudhaliya IV\textsuperscript{i}</td>
<td>Mighty weather-god \textsuperscript{DMuwattali}</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{D FORT} Laroche signs #360, 199, 28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carries a mace in his left hand, a sword hangs from his waist. He embraces Tudhaliya who carries a spear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun-goddess</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{DSOLEIL} Laroche signs #360, 191, 191</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wears a beret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal \textit{Siegel aus Bogazköy} vol. II, #101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goddess stands on a lion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eftatum Pinar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Two deities surmounted by winged sun-disc. The goddess wears a large disc like beret like those shown on the early glyptic. Mixed beings hold up the sun-disc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site or Object</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Otherwise Identified</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statuette of goddess</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sun-goddess by attributes</td>
<td>Goddess in large disc like beret holds a child in her lap. Wears large earrings as seated goddess/sun-goddess does in colony period here plate 28B. Throne with lion-feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sipylos relief or sculpture near Manisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated figure on throne with possible lion supports, a motif common later in representations of Cybele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Siegel aus Bogazköy #102</strong></td>
<td>Moon-god</td>
<td>Laroche sign #193</td>
<td></td>
<td>Winged male wears a pointed hat with moon crescent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seal of Lat-Kur</strong></td>
<td>Sun-god of heaven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Analogy with Yazilikaya fig 34</td>
<td>Carries a Lituus and wears a sun-disc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Figurine #1 from Carchemish</strong></td>
<td>Sun-god of heaven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Analogy with Yazilikaya fig. 34</td>
<td>Carries a lituus in his right hand, has a winged sun-disc over his head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hogarth Seals, no. 313</strong></td>
<td>Stag-god</td>
<td></td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Double sided seal shows a stag-god with bird &amp; curved weapon on one side, with bow, bird, and sword on the other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Figurine from Assur</strong></td>
<td>LAMA.LIL</td>
<td></td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Holds a hare in his left hand; a curved weapon partly preserved in his right. A bird sits on his right arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site or Object</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Otherwise Identified</td>
<td>Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeniköy relief&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Stag-god LAMA.LIL</td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Stands on a stag, shoulders a curved weapon with left hand, holds a bird with the right hand. A sword hangs from the waist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine #8 from Carchemish</td>
<td>Stag-god</td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Carries a bow over shoulder, holds a bird in his left hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal ring&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sausga Ishtar</td>
<td>By attributes</td>
<td>Winged figure stands on a double headed sphinx; one lion head, one human. Lion on either side of figure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal of Taki-Sarruma&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Sausga Ishtar</td>
<td>By attributes, analogy with Yazilikaya fig. 38</td>
<td>Winged figure wears long skirt of female, pointed hat of male.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 32.
<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 68.
<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 34
<sup>d</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 36.
<sup>e</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 30.
<sup>f</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 29.
<sup>h</sup>Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, nos. 250-252.
<sup>i</sup>Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 24.
Table 15—Continued


k. Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 70.

l. See also Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*, fig. 377 d, p. 453


n. Gurney, *The Hittites*, fig. 7, p. 137.


p. Schaeffer, *Sceaux et cylindres Hittites*, fig. 54.

Weather-god of heaven

The weather-god of heaven is usually shown wearing a short tunic. He possesses one or several of the following attributes: mace, spear, and sword as weapons; bird; chariot drawn by two bulls; bull with rein ending in lightning; two mountain men.

The posture of the weather-god of heaven mounting a chariot, as at Imamkulu, was, like the weapon of lightning, borrowed from other weather-gods of the Colony period. In addition, mountain men replace mountains as a support of the weather-god. Mountain-men appeared on the glyptic as early as the Ur III period, and appear in the Syrian style glyptic of the Karum Ib period and later. It is possible that the Hittites took over the concept of mountain-gods from Syria, together with the mace as a weapon of the weather-god.

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32 Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*, text fig. 44g, pp. 238-239.


34 *Ibid.*, text fig. 84, p. 270.
These mountain-men, to some degree, take on the atlantid role seen in the earlier period—that of supporting the deities; although bull-men or rather rampant bulls continue that atlantid function at Yazilikaya (nos. 28 and 29), and in glyptic.

The chariot as an attribute signifies the universal character of the sun-god of heaven and the weather-god of heaven; and the conflation of the weather-god of heaven with the Hurrian Teshub whose chariot was pulled by the two bulls Serri and Hurri, "Day and Night."35

As we mentioned before, the spear and lightning were the weapons of Adad represented in the Kültepe level II and Ib periods; and most of the local weather-gods depicted at that time held the reins of the bull on which they stood. Most of the attributes of the weather-god of heaven, then, already appeared in the colony period, either in local Anatolian or Syrian.

Other weather-gods

Weather-gods such as the weather-god of the house were depicted with the mace, which, therefore, is not an exclusive weapon of the weather-god of heaven.

Sun-goddess or Hepat

In the New Kingdom, the sun-goddess continues to be associated with birds, as at Firaktin, and with the lion or panther (Yazilikaya, Sipylos, and glyptic) both attributes that appeared with the sun-goddess in the colony age. She also continues, for the most part, to wear a beret.

Moon-god

The moon-god first appeared on local Anatolian glyptic on the Syrian influenced Tyszkiewicz stamp/cylinder of the early Old Hittite period. There, he is identified by a moon

crescent on the top of his hat, and is represented as the last figure in a procession to "Ea"/the principal local deity. This position behind a weather-god\textsuperscript{36} is the basic position preserved at Yazilikaya, if one disregards the intervention of Ea, Sausga and her attendants.

In the New Kingdom period, the moon-god's attributes are the lion as well as the moon-crescent.

Sun-god of heaven

On the glyptic of the New Kingdom, the sun-god of heaven appears together with the weather-god of heaven,\textsuperscript{37} just as the sun-god and weather-god appear at the head of the treaty lists.\textsuperscript{38} The attributes of the sun-god of heaven, identified by hieroglyphs at Yazilikaya, illude the lituus, and the winged sun-disc. He may be supported by a lion or an atlantid bull. As the Sun-god of heaven and a sky god, there may be some connection between the depictions of the sun-god supported by the atlantid bull, and reliefs no. 28 and 29 at Yazilikaya where the bulls Serri and Hurri stand on the earth and hold up the sky in atlantid fashion.

The ax carried by the Sun-god on the level II glyptic does not occur in the New Kingdom period, but reoccurs in the neohittite period,\textsuperscript{39} at Carchemish. The lion as the sacred animal, of course, is an attribute that continues from the Colony period.

\textsuperscript{36}The figure preceding the moon-god on the Tyszkiewicz seal is here interpreted as a weather-god on the basis of his pointed helmet, short tunic, and long curving hair that compare to those of the Syrian weather-god. See Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, text figs. 85, 86, p. 270.

\textsuperscript{37}See Schaeffer, \textit{Sceaux et Cylindres Hittites}, figs. 34, 68.

\textsuperscript{38}Gurney, \textit{Some Aspects of Hittite Religion}, 4.

Stag-god

The attributes of the stag god in the New Kingdom are the stag, bow, curved weapon, eagle, hare, and sword: these fit the cult statue description texts of LAMA.ÍL. Of the attributes, the stag, eagle, and curved weapon definitely are continued from the tradition represented on the level II glyptic.

Ishtar-Sausga

This deity, depicted with the long garment of a goddess and the pointed hat of a male, is shown in the New Kingdom representations with wings. The war-like Ishtar of the Old Babylonian period, who is represented with the two quivers of arrows slung over her shoulders, appears in the New Kingdom with wings. She is associated with the sphinx, which was an attribute of the seated-goddess on the level II glyptic. Ishtar appears only once on the local glyptic of the early period and, in general, was a later Hurrian addition to the Hittite pantheon; and the iconography associated with her must then be traced from that tradition.

Deities that Never Appear as the Focus

Telipinu

The figure of Kumarbi/Telipinu, no. 40 at Yazilikaya, is associated with mountains and a plant. The plant, sometimes identified as an ear of corn, would be suitable for an identification of that figure with Kumarbi, identified with Dagan. From the etymology of the name Dagan, it is known that he had some connection with corn, which in Hebrew is called

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however, we know little about Dagan as to whether a depiction of that type of god would be appropriate standing on two mountains. Telipinu, as a vegetation god, is associated with mountains, especially Mt. Hulla. Indeed, N. Özgüç feels that the weather-god of the colony period glyptic, who stands on two mountain peaks with one foot while he steps with the other foot onto a bull, and who holds a plant in one hand, is the prototype for Yazilikaya figure #40. This work has identified that colony age weather-god as Telipinu/Damu.

Mezulla

As the daughter of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, she is depicted at Yazilikaya conflated with Allanzu the daughter of Hepat. There, she stands on a double-headed eagle. In the Colony period, the double-headed eagle was associated with the seated/sun-goddess.

We know from the cult statue description texts, that in the New Kingdom, Mezulla was associated with the attributes of her mother the Sun-goddess of Arinna—both have sun-discs as objects which may serve in the cult in the stead of statues. It seems likely that the double-headed eagle continued, from the colony period, its function as an attribute of both the sun-goddess and daughter Mezulla.

Ea

The depiction of Ea at Yazilikaya is that of the Hurrian Ea, and is matched on the

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44 Plates 33a, 38.
goddess side by his wife Damkina. His appearance at Yazilikaya, after the Kumarbi/Telipinu figure and before the Moon-god and Sun-god, belongs to the order of the Hurrian kalutis. At Yazilikaya he carries a club or mace; the mace being an attribute of weather-gods in general—and so Ea does continue the colony age association of Ea and weather-gods.

War-god

The sickle-sword as an attribute of Astapi at Yazilikaya is the sole accompaniment of the representation. The ax and lion attributes of the Colony period war-god are missing.

Goddess opening her robes

This goddess appears only once in the New Kingdom representations, at Imamkulu. Like the Ishtar figure at Yazilikaya she appears winged, yet she is distinct from the goddess Ishtar-Sausga.

In the Colony period local glyptic, the small goddess opening her robes is associated with the weather-god now identified as Telipinu/Damu. The Hittite texts name this "temple girl" spouse of Telipinu as Hatepuna. 46 The weather-god of Nerik also had a concubine, Tesimi, 47 perhaps the original spouse of Taru/weather-god of Nerik before he became the spouse of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

In any case, depictions of a goddess opening her robes before the weather-god in a bull-drawn chariot, the weather-god of heaven, appear in the Old Hittite period. 48 This conception of a concubine for the weather-god of heaven, traced back to the Colony period,

47 Ibid., 88.
48 AO 20138; see André Parrot, "cylindre Hittite nouvellement acquis (AO20138)," *Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* 28 (1951), 180-190 and see Margarete Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart: Kilpper, 1954), plate 97.
continued into the New Kingdom at Imankulu.

Summary

The analysis of Yazilikaya as a depiction of the complicated, conflated or juxtaposed Hittite/Hurrian pantheons is based on the iconography of the deities depicted there, yet it is strengthened by the texts of the period. Thus, the conflation of the Sun-goddess of Arinna with Hepat is illustrated by the well-known prayer of Puduhepa, which contains the following passage: "O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the countries, in the land of Hatti thou bearest the name 'Sun-goddess of Arinna,' but in the country which thou hast made the land of cedars thou bearest the name 'Hebat.'"\textsuperscript{49}

On the other hand, a festival text in honor of Sausga of Samuha lists first the Sun-goddess of Arinna and her daughter Mezulla, then, lists Hebat, Sarruma and the whole Hurrian kaluti.\textsuperscript{50} They are juxtaposed, not conflated.

The representations of the New Kingdom at Yazilikaya and at Alaca Höyük (where the adoration of the bull continues the tradition of colony age glyptic and the old Hittite Inandik vase) are really the last flowering of the Hattian tradition. The iconography of the neohittite period is more influenced by Syrian than Colony elements.

For example, the weather-god of heaven continues to have the attributes of a chariot drawn by bulls,\textsuperscript{51} a bull with reins ending in lightning,\textsuperscript{52} a mace; but is rarely depicted on


\textsuperscript{50}Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 18.

\textsuperscript{51}Winfried Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur späthethitische Kunst, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, vol. 8 (Bonn: Habelt, 1971), Malatya A/11.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., Til Barsip B/2, Djekke 1.
mountains.\textsuperscript{53} But as early as the Karum Ib period, Syrian glyptic contained representations of the weather-god on mountains.\textsuperscript{54} The weather-god on a bull with lightning is found on the local style glyptic of the colony period, but on group 2, a Syrian related style.

Likewise, the Telipinu-like weather-god at Ivriz carries a corn stalk reminiscent of Dagan rather than a plant like Telipinu. The stag-god/protector-god rarely carries the curved weapon\textsuperscript{55} and, indeed, is rarely represented on a stag.\textsuperscript{56} The war-god does not seem to appear in the late period at all, but is replaced by the war-like Ishtar.\textsuperscript{57}

The collection of figurines from Carchemish, although found in a grave dated to 604 B.C.,\textsuperscript{58} have been dated to the New Kingdom on the basis of iconography and style.\textsuperscript{59} These figurines, then, which include representations of trees\textsuperscript{60} that remind one of the hieroglyphic symbol for Telipinu, can not be said to unquestionably illustrate the continuation of the earlier iconography.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, Til Barsip B/3.
\textsuperscript{55}Orthmann, \textit{Untersuchungen zur späthethitische Kunst}, Sammlung Sarre X/1, pp. 259, 553.
\textsuperscript{56}\textit{Ibid.}, Haci Bebekli 1, Karasu 1, Malatya A/9b.
\textsuperscript{57}\textit{Ibid.}, Malatya A/5a, A/7.
\textsuperscript{60}Carchemish figurines #33 and 32.
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The seal impressions of the Assyrian Colony period in Cappadocia that constitute a local Anatolian group, as distinct from other contemporary styles,\(^1\) have been the subject of this dissertation. In preparation for the main subject of investigation, namely, the pantheons and religious rituals documented in the glyptic, the classification of the subgroups of the local Anatolian glyptic were reviewed. In chapter 2, I presented my reasons for abandoning the subgroups of Saluwanta, Iliwedaku, and Rab-hattim previously suggested by Reilly. The classification system used here consists of:

- group 1, distinguished by relatively naturalistic outlines and modelling, and divided into subgroups A and B on the basis of the rendering of faces, and the presence of certain individual motifs;
- group 2, characterized by a mixture of naturalist and angular engraving;
- group 3, characterized by the stylization of hands like forks and of both human and animal heads with angular components; and
- group 4, characterized by a great simplification of both motif and angular outlines, considered an outgrowth of group 3.

As divisions of the local Anatolian glyptic, they share many characteristics, such as the depiction of the bull altar, or bull with cone; contest scenes; herringbone striations on the

\(^1\)Those styles are: Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, Schematic Old Assyrian, "Provincial Babylonian," Syrian Colony Style, and Old Syrian. See below in chapter 2.
figures; and an overall linear character of engraving as modified above for the different
groups.

Although style, that is, the way of rendering, was the primary criterion for distinguishing
the subgroups of local Anatolian glyptic, the iconographic correlations immediately began
making themselves evident. This presaged well for the likelihood of one of the main goals
here, namely, to define the character of the local deities and to attach specific names to those
deities. The conditions necessary for such identification were summed up by Frankfort: "We
must...refrain from endeavoring to penetrate beyond the phenomenal side of our subject,
until such time as certain representations can be shown to be characteristic of certain
localities, and may therefore be interpreted in terms of local mythology."^2 Accordingly, all
possible pertinent evidence has been utilized in order to make such specific identifications
within the 5 local groups. Textual evidence such as theophorus names, the proclamation of
Anitta, as well as ritual and cult statue descriptions and the depiction of the Hittite pantheon
on the New Kingdom relief at Yazilikaya, were viewed in a framework of local iconography,
Mesopotamian, and Syrian background.

The problem was a double one: to identify both individual deities and pantheons, i.e.,
Mesopotamian, Syrian, or one of the several local Anatolian pantheons. A beginning point
was made with a few deities who possessed such attributes and characteristics that they could
be identified without doubt, and when taken together with other pertinent evidence, made it
possible to distinguish individual pantheons.

The motifs on the local seals are not random collections and the interpretation of the

^2Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the
nature of major deities depends on pottery utilized. The "subsidiary" motifs such as the varying sun symbols as well as the attributes and animals of the deity. For example, although "Enki/Ea" at first glance seems to be a major Mesopotamian deity playing a major role, he has assumed local characteristics. Above all, the role of Usmu has changed. In Mesopotamian tradition Usmu is Ea’s vizier; on local seals Usmu sometimes appears armed with sword and mace riding a boar. Another factor to bear in mind is the influence of Akkadian motifs, rather than contemporary Old Babylonian. Shamash appears with flames rising from his body as in the Akkadian period, and Marduk appears with the saw usually associated with Shamash. Just as in the Akkadian period, Marduk with saw approaches Ea or Usmu acting as "Ea" carrying the vase with flowing water (see Plates 9A, 13A, 18A).

One important possible way of studying these various pantheons would be to correlate the seals with the names of their owners to ascertain whether people obviously at home at Kanish possess a seal illustrating the pantheon of Kültepe. The work done by E. B. Reilly in correlating names and sealings would have been extremely helpful in this regard, however, that material was unavailable to the present writer. However, the Rab-hattim style distinguished by Reilly was so named because one owner of such a seal held the Old Assyrian title rab-hattim, great one of the scepter, an official in the native administration.3 The Rab-hattim style is here considered our style groups 3 and 4, a style which bears a very close resemblance to the Old Assyrian style—a fact which seems to correlate with the Old Assyrian title of at least one owner.

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Sun-Discs and their Association with Cities and Pantheons

The use of the "subsidiary" motif of sun-disc is an important element for analysis of the local Anatolian pantheons. In the Old Assyrian colony period, deities were represented by sun-discs. That the sun discs existed in the Old Assyrian period is attested by a letter from the local authorities of a provincial town to their superiors at Kanesh. There it is stated that "thieves entered their local temple of Ashur and stole all the gold and silver objects including a golden sun from the god's breast. Golden suns as votive gifts for Ashur and other deities are repeatedly mentioned in the business letters. . .".

In our view, the sun-disc designs depicted in front of the enthroned deity, or on top of the hats of deities in procession represent in Anatolia families of deities or pantheons, and perhaps originally of different cities. The hieroglyphic symbol of a sun-disc in later times may also mean "city."

The sun-disc design in Mesopotamia may also be related to cities. The four-pointed star with wavy lines has been interpreted as a representation of the deity Shamash, but probably instead more specifically represents Shamash as the patron deity of the city of Sippar.

Shamash was the patron deity of both Sippar and Larsa; and a neobabylonian building

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inscription of Nabuapaliddina (870 B.C.) made to commemorate his restoration of the temple of Shamash at Sippar shows a large sun-disc of four-pointed star with wavy lines mounted on a small stand placed upon a table. On the other hand, Shamash as he appears on model clay chariots from Larsa show Shamash holding up the sun-disc design of the dot within the circle. That the sun-discs represent the family of deities of a Mesopotamian city would explain the appearance of the four-pointed star with wavy line sun-disc in front of deities other than Shamash. The multiple pointed star in Mesopotamia represents god, heaven, Anu, and later Ishtar. However, it is found on seals from Tell Asmar (Eshnunna), a town connected to underworld deities just as the deities associated with the multi-pointed star in local group 1-B are associated with the underworld. Eshnunna was capital of the country of Warum

one of the several kingdoms which flourished before and during the Old Babylonian period in the fertile region between the Tigris and the mountains. After the collapse of the empire of Ur III, the kings of eshnunna strove for political power and

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10 See for example this design in front of Ea on Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXVIII k. This design would then signify the appearance of Ea of Sippar. See also Ibid., pl. XXV e where the four-star wavy line sun-disc appears in front of a god identified as Tishpak (see also Ibid., p. 145.)


12 See the following seals from Asmar with the multiple pointed star design: Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XVI f, pl. XX a with the sun-god, pl. XXI b, f with snake god; and Pl. XXVI I with Istar and Shamash, pl. XXVI a, b. See provenience of these seals in Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, list of plates, pp. xxviii-xxix. Tell Asmar as Eshnunna see Ibid., p. 144. See also Henri Frankfort, Stratified Cylinders from the Diyala Region, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 72 (Chicago, University of Chicago Pres, 1955), seal numbers 577, 589, 619, 659, 662, 669, 729, 760, 768, 773.

In Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 121 in reference to, Ibid., pl. XXI b (which is the same as Frankfort, Seals from the Diyala no. 616), Frankfort notes that the "standard" next to Ningiszida has an appearance like the sign/logogram for snake "MUŞ." The top of this "standard" is like the multi-pointed star. The same multi-pointed star seems to appear at the top of a staff held by a deity on Frankfort, Seals from Diyal Region, no. 577.
expansion until the first kingdom of Isin, then the victories of Hammurapi barred their aspirations.\textsuperscript{13}

A multi-pointed star with bars instead of wavy lines is found on a monument from Ur.

The sun-disc as a "subsidiary" motif appears in the Akkadian period. The association of deity's symbols and territory continues into the art of the Kassite period when *kudurru* or boundary stones showed the emblems of gods and were part of the tradition of marking the boundaries of fields by "reliefs naming the gods who vouchsafed the permanence of the boundary."\textsuperscript{14}

There are 4 or 5 major sun-group designs on the local seals: the multiple-pointed star design, the predecessor of the "signe royale", the cross patterns, the dot within the circle, the "spoked" wheel design, and the four pointed star. The multiple-pointed star pattern appears to be associated with Hattian deities of the underworld, the sun-disc design that was the predecessor of the "signe royale" is associated with another Hattian family of deities and, given its later prominence probably represents the pantheon of Kültepe/Kanish. The sun-disc of the simple cross designs appears with Tarhunda/"Enki"/"Ea" and a group of Luwian deities. This simple cross design appears frequently on the Old Assyrian group of seals,\textsuperscript{15} a fact that may somehow correlate with the Assur element in the names of two seals owners of "Enki/Ea" seals. The dot within the circle sun-disc design is connected with the deities Anna and Amurru. The spoked wheel sun-disc design is found on a seal from Assur.\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{14}Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, 130.


\textsuperscript{16}Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 250 text fig. 78.
appearance of the different sun-disc designs correlates with the stylistic groupings. The multi-pointed star design is found only in group 1-B, the cross pattern sun-disc designs are found only in group 1-A; the predecessor to the "signe royale" is found only in groups 1A and 1B; and the dot in the circle is found only in groups 3 and 4; the simple four pointed star is found only in group 2. Only the design of four-pointed star with wavy lines is found in both groups 1 and 2, but is still not uniformly represented in all the groups, since it is not found in groups 3 and 4.

A sun-disc with wavy lines seems to be connected with cities that have a sun-god as patron deity as at Sippar; and the design with wavy lines associated with the Hattian sun-god and sun-goddess of Kanish follows that pattern. The association of the multiple pointed star pattern with Ishtar then, perhaps, can be interpreted as being connected to Inanna/Ishtar being the "morning and evening" star. Frankfort even suggests that the multiple pointed star associated with Ishtar indicates the planet Venus.

The designs in the sun-discs continued into the empire period as designs within the winged sun-disc on glyptic. The multiple-pointed star design appears on the seal of Tudhaliya IV the seal depicts Tudhaliya embraced by his patron god and the sun-goddess. The patron deity of Tudhaliya IV was Šarruma, a Hurrian deity who had been conflated with the weather-god of Nerik/Taru. It is interesting that this multiple-pointed star symbol is used here, considering its connection in the level II period with stylistic group 1-B and the Hattian


\[18\] Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 195.


deities including the weather-god of Nerik. The multiple-pointed star design also appears on a seal of Hattusili.\textsuperscript{21}

Hattusili II adopted Sausga of Samuha as his personal deity; but at the same time he appears to have encouraged an active Hattian revival. The holy city Nerik had been overrun many centuries earlier by the barbarian Kaska folk and the cult of its weather-god had been carried on at the neighbouring city of Hakpis. Hattusili tells us with pride that he recaptured the place and restored its cults. Now Nerik was an ancient Hattian center and the newly reconstructed rituals and myths of Nerik are concerned with Hattian deities. Many even contain passages in Hattic with Hittite translation. It is not always easy to distinguish these late texts from those of the Old Kingdom with their predominantly Hattian colouring.\textsuperscript{22}

The simple cross design appears in the winged sun-disc on the seal of Mursili II.\textsuperscript{23} The patron deity of Mursili II was the sun-goddess of Arinna,\textsuperscript{24} but it is to the weather-god of Hatti that Mursili prays on the occasion of a pestilence sweeping the country.\textsuperscript{25} Another helper of Mursili II was the god Yarri, a Luwian deity\textsuperscript{26} The simple cross design is associated in level II with Tarhunda the Luwian weather-god and predecessor of the weather-god of heaven/Hatti who became the wife of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. It continued in use in the empire period as part of the seal design of Mursili II.\textsuperscript{27}

The possibility that the sun-disc design in Hittite hieroglyphs might mean a city has


\textsuperscript{23}See Schaeffer, \textit{Sceaux et cylindres Hittites}, fig. 109.

\textsuperscript{24}Gurney, \textit{The Hittites}, 173, 174.

\textsuperscript{25}Gurney, \textit{Some Aspects of Hittite Religion}, 2.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 16 and note 3.

\textsuperscript{27}Mursili II also at the end of his life was instrumental in the beginning of the involvement of the Hittite royal family in the cult of Sausga of Samuha. Mursili II credited that deity with healing his son Hattusili. (See René Lebrun, \textit{Samuha, Foyer religieux de l'empire Hittite}, publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, vol. 11 (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1976), 38-39.
already been mentioned.

Sun-discs and Cappadocian Pantheons

The association of the different sun-disc designs with different families of deities and/or cities is clear. Therefore, we proceed with an analysis of the pantheons represented by the different sun-disc designs in the local Anatolian glyptic. There are 3 sun-disc designs associated with local Anatolian pantheons: the multi-pointed star, the precursor to the signe royale, the cross designs, and perhaps the dot within the circle. Other sun-disc designs are associated with Syrian and Old Assyrian pantheons: the four-pointed star, the four-pointed star with wavy lines, the spoked wheel design.

The Pantheon Represented by the Multi-Pointed Star

A pantheon distinguished as purely Hattian is represented only in the local stylistic group 1-B. They appear with the multi-pointed star sun-disc. This glyptic displays the most purely Anatolian, non-Mesopotamian motifs: the atlantid figures appear only here, the unique depiction of the weather-god standing two mountain peaks while mounting a bull and holding a plant, the tree that appears behind the seated-goddess in this group only, the unique depiction of Usmu in a contest scene, and the addition of hands to the bull with cone. The Mesopotamian deity Shamash does not appear. This group is therefore taken to display indigenous, Hattian, deities and attributes.

Not only do the subsidiary motifs of sphinxes, double-headed eagles, and griffins point to the underworld, but the use of the multi-pointed star "sun-disc" itself points to the underworld. As mentioned above, this design is associated with the Mesopotamian site of

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28 see plate 31B.
Eshnunna. The patron god of Eshnunna was Ninazu. an underworld deity whose precise nature is not clear; the name seems to mean ‘Water Knower.’ He counted in Enegir (another of his cities) as son of the queen of the nether world, Ereshkigal; a variant tradition made him a son of Enlil and Ninlil.

Ninazu like Nergal was a chthonic god of both death and life-giving powers. Ninazu was identified with ‘Damu (the disappearing god similar to Dumuzi/Tammuz) in laments just as were other chthonic deities.

A frequent motif depicted on the glyptic of Eshnunna is the fertility god in the form of the snake god identified by Frankfort as Ningiszida, but who may during the Akkadian period be Tishpak. Ningiszida was likewise a power of the underworld where he held the office of "throne-bearer." Ningiszida was the depiction of the chthonic aspects of Ninurta/Ningirsu. Ningirsu was the patron deity of Girsu, a part of the town of Lagash.

A connection between the cities of Kanish and Lagash is hinted at in the textual comparison of the poems regarding reed thickets as the "gods' favoured plants."

In Mesopotamia, Ningiszida is depicted originally as a intertwining copulating vipers or half human, half snake. He was later portrayed with snakes coming out of either his lower


\[32\] Frankfort, *Seals from Diyala Region*, nos. 577, 589, 659, etc. For Tishpak see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 121—the fire altar stands before both Ningiszida and Tishpak.


\[34\] Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 97, 113.


body, or his shoulders. The seal of Gudea of Lagash\textsuperscript{37} shows Ningiszida with two \textit{mushussu} (creature composed of lion-snake-eagle)\textsuperscript{38} coming out of his shoulders and another \textit{mushussu} beneath the inscription. The same animal later became the sacred animal of Marduk, and in fact of Tishpak who displaced Ninazu as head of the pantheon of Eshnunna before or during the arrival of the Akkadians. Tishpak is a Hurrian deity.\textsuperscript{39}

On the local Anatolian seals, the chief enthroned deity is Šulinkatte. Šulinkatte is the Hattian equivalent of Mesopotamian Nergal, who represented the destructive aspects of the sun-god. The spouse of Šulinkatte is Ereshkigal/the sun-goddess of Wurusemu, and their children include Taru, the weather-god represented on the glyptic of group 1-B as the weather-god in a round hat. Telipinu appears rendered as the weather-god on a bull and a mountain; and the war-god Wurunkatte usually appears weaponless.

This pantheon is shown on the seals of Plates 6A, 30A, 30B, 33A, 42A, 45A, 55A, and 56B. Šulinkatte appears enthroned on lions (plates 33A, 43A, 45A), but also with fish (never, however, with Ea's goatfish)--see plates 30A, 42A, 43A. The lion-headed demon identified in Mesopotamian tradition as the demon of disease and associated with Nergal appears with the main deity (see plate 42A).

The goddess Ereshkigal appears with tree, birds, mountain sheep, sphinx, lion-headed eagle, double-headed eagle, and bull men. Her identification later with the sun-goddess of Arinna is illustrated in the cult statue description texts where the sun-goddesses sit on mountain-sheep and are associated with eagles. Although the illustrations of the seated-goddess in other "families" show her holding mountain sheep, only the depictions on group 1-

\textsuperscript{37}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, text fig. 37, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{38}Oppenheimer, \textit{Ancient Mesopotamia}, 197.
\textsuperscript{39}See Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 121.
B show her sitting on mountain sheep. In the Akkadian style seal impressions, the lion-headed eagle, Imdugud, was the animal of Ninurta, like Nergal another deity with war-like aspects of the sun.\textsuperscript{40} By the Ur III period, Imdugud was not associated with any one particular deity in Mesopotamia; however, in the Hattian pantheon it seems to be an associate of Uruusemu in the same way as the lion-headed demon is an associate of Šulinkatte/Nergal.

The weather-god Taru is shown in this pantheon as the weather-god in round hat. Taru is the name of the weather-god of Nerik.\textsuperscript{41} In the level II period, the Hattian Taru was equated with the Luwian weather-god Tarhunda who became the Hittite Tarhunda. The complicated relationship between Tarhunda and Taru can be explained by the later development of the Hittite pantheon. The weather-god of heaven, or Tarhunda was the dynastic god of Anitta who conquered Kanish. Shortly afterwards in what would be a political move, the theologians “married” Tarhunda to the sun-goddess of Arinna, creating both of the following situations as reflected in the Hittite texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Šulinkatte/Wurusemu</th>
<th>Tarhunda(Taru)/Wurusemu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taru</td>
<td>Taru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taru then becomes his own father!

Telipinu, combination vegetation and weather-god appears in this pantheon holding a plant that grows out of his mountain. This is in contrast to the rendering of Telipinu as the weather-god with cone and arrows who carries an ax. The latter weapon is like that of the

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Ibid.}, 133.

Syrian weather-god, and it is significant that rendering appears with the mixed Luwian/hattian pantheons. The Hattian rendering seen on the seals presently under discussion stresses, however, vegetation. He always appears with a small goddess opening her robes. She is identified as the goddess Hatepuna, and cult statue descriptions describe her as a temple hierodule or harlot. Hatepinu does not appear with Telipinu rendered as the weather-god with cone and arrows.

In processions, Wurunkatte, the war-god, is weaponless. On plate 55A, however, he appears on his lion, carrying a human head and "processing" behind the hunting-god to the seated-goddess Ereshkigal. The cult description texts describe Šulinkatte as having a human head in his hand. The goddess's sphinx is nearby together with a limbless body. Wurunkatte's position in the processions is usually after Telipinu. The same is true, as we shall see, of the war-god in the Luwian pantheon--Sanda. The names of the two war-gods are similar in that katte is "king," and wurun means "country or land." Wurunkatte is then king of the country; Sanda also means king and was sometimes written LUGAL-\textit{uš}. It is not known whether Wurunkatte was the son of Šulinkatte; however, in the Luwian pantheon, Sanda was equated with Marduk the son of "Ea;" and as the Luwian deity depicted as "Ea" is the weather-god of heaven, Sanda can be considered the son of the weather-god of heaven, the head of that pantheon--so perhaps Wurunkatte should be considered the son of the Hattian pantheon.

The hunting-god on a stag appears (see plate 55B), but the Hattian name behind the textual references to LAMA.LÍL is unknown.

The beak-spouted pitcher is used.\textsuperscript{42} In the latter texts this pitcher, the \textit{išgaruh} is used

\textsuperscript{42}See plates 42A, 43A, 45A, 57A. For the identity of this pitcher see old numbering pgs 210-213.
only in connection with the singers of Kanish and the deity Taru.

The Pantheon Represented by the Predecessor to the "Signe Royale": Kiîtepe/Kanîsh

The identification of this pantheon representing the town of Kanish is based on the later use of the signe royale on temple vessels at Hattusha by rulers who were "men of Neša," and descendants of Anitta. The pantheon of Kiîtepe, as reconstructed from textual evidence was partly Luwian and partly Hattian. The two chief enthroned deities on the glyptic displaying this pantheon show them to be similar to the chief enthroned deities on the Hattian pantheon discussed above. The pantheon of Kiîtepe is seen on plates 20A, 24A, 28A, 28B, 31A, 41A, 44B, 50A.

The sun-disc in the form of the signe royale occurs later at Yazilikaya in the form of a hieroglyph in front of the sun-god of heaven (Yazilikaya no. 34). That same hieroglyph is read phonetically tiwata in personal names. Indeed the symbol for the sun-god, no. 191, and the moon-shaped symbol for heaven depicted at Yazilikaya look very much like the sun-disc and moon crescent displayed in front of the enthroned deity of the Kiîtepe pantheon on the level II glyptic. Therefore, the sun-god at the head of this pantheon is taken to be Tiwat/Siwat, a Luwian deity known as part of the Kiîtepe pantheon as reconstructed from theophorus names, etc. An early name for a male Hattian sun-god is not known.

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44Laroche, Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites, sign. no. 191, no. 4, pp. 101, 287.

The other deities in this pantheon are a seated goddess, probably Hattian Wurusemu; Wurusemu’s children Taru, the Hattian weather-god; Telipinu; Sanda, a war-god; the god LAMA, protective deity; LAMA.LÍL, the god on a stag—probably the Luwian Uruwanda; Inar, a Hattian goddess who became the genius of Hattusa; and Kait, the grain goddess.

The chief god, Tiwat/Siwat is often depicted in the tall hat with an ax over his shoulder. His throne rests on a lion, or both a mountain sheep and a lion; he is associated with the lion-rhyton. He is associated with fish and fits the cult description text of the sun-god of heaven.

The seated goddess in this pantheon differs from the seated goddess in the pantheon with the multi-pointed star (Hattian Ereshkigal) in that she appears with large ear-rings and holding an antelope/mountain sheep. She is not associated with the tree or sphinx. It is not clear whether she is the same goddess who on one seal appears naked holding the mountain sheep. That latter depiction is like the Syrian Ishtar type goddess on a Syrian related seal. In the annals of Hattusili I, the sun-goddess of Arinna has the epithet GAŠAN-IA

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46 The Hattian deity Eštan who is later equated with the Hittite male Istanus has been considered as a male deity solely on the basis of this equation. But Gurney notes that a Hattian Sun-deity written il-e-li-e-ta-UTU has the epithet ‘queen’ (kattah/SAL.LUGAL) is clearly a goddess yet has the Hittite translation UTU-US. Eštan has not been found with a clear male epithet. See Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, p. 11 note 1.


48 Habantali, a Hattian deity, is one of the deities referred to in the texts by the logogram LAMA, and the name Habantali is found among the names of the Assyrian colonies. See Laroche, Ibid., 287, 294.

49 Ibid., 294.

50 Halki in Hittite.

51 See plates 20A, 28A (with the deity’s standard), plates 31A, 41A, and plate 28B (with the bull man with flowing streams).

52 Plate 31A.

53 See plate 43B.
("my lady") another title also given to Ishtar. Another connection between Ishtar and the sun-goddess of Arinna may be found in the fact that Hattusili III had as his patron deity Ishtar of Samuha, yet was responsible for the Hattian revival of the deities of Nerik.

The weather-god Taru appears again as the weather-god in round hat. On the seal seen in plate 44B he is depicted behind the Mesopotamian deity Adad. The interpretation of this scene is problematic. Perhaps in this pantheon, Adad represented an older generation of weather-god; or a type of weather-god of heaven. In the Proclamation of Anitta “ISKUR-unnas or Tarhunna served as a guarantor for the curse on Hattusa. Adad in Mesopotamia was equal to ISKUR. As we shall see, Adad in other pantheons is shown worshipping sun-gods (group 3 and 4 the sun-god in the horse-drawn chariot); but never appears in the pantheon of the cross design sun-disc to worship the enthroned deity there, the weather-god Tarhunda (equated with Assur?).

Telipinu, the combination vegetation god and weather-god, is depicted as the weather-god on a bull and a mountain, and is perhaps the weather god with an ax on plate 24A. This depiction is exactly like that of the weather-god with "cone and arrows" without the "cone", etc. Also his appearance behind the enthroned deity is a position analogous to the weather-god with "cone and arrows" in his relationship to Tarhunda/"Enki"/"Ea". Telipinu is shown

\[\text{54 Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 11.}\]
\[\text{55 Other deities also received this title, namely Kamrusepa and Asgasepa. See Emmanuel Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites, Librairie orientale et Américaine (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1947), 87, 95, 97.}\]
\[\text{56 Hattusili III married Puduhepa, a priestess of Kizzuwadna, and many Hurrian deities entered the Hittite pantheon at that time. The Hurrian Hepat was equated with the Sun-goddess of Arinna.}\]
\[\text{57 Bedrich Hrozny, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, vol. 1, Monografie Archivu Orientálního, 14 (Prague: Státni pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1952), no. 48 a A.}\]
with his hierodule/harlot spouse named Hatepinu.\textsuperscript{58} The weather-god with "cone and arrows" does not appear in this pantheon.

The war-god Sanda appears in the Kültepe pantheon mounted on a lion carrying a mace or battle ax, or unmounted and carrying a shield apparently made up of two humans.\textsuperscript{59} The Luwian war-god Sanda is said to carry a bow. The war-god written with the logogram ZA.BA₄.BA₄ is said to hold shield in his left hand.\textsuperscript{60}

\textit{Pantheon with the Cross Design}

This pantheon occurs on local stylistic groups 1-A.\textsuperscript{61} The deities in this pantheon are Tarhunda/Assur/"Ea", Telipinu, Sanda, LAMA, LAMA.LİL, and Pirwa. The pantheon of Hattusa in the Hittite empire period included the weather-god of Hatti/Heaven, the god KAL/LAMA of Hatti, Ea and Ea's spouse Damkina, Pirwa and the goddess Askasepa, Hapantalli and Karzi, as well as the goddesses Hebat, Ishtar of Nineveh, Kubaba, Allatum, and the deified throne Halmasuitta.\textsuperscript{62} The pantheon represented by the cross-design sun-disc and the pantheon of Hattusa known from the texts are thus very similar; Santa may appear as his equivalent Marduk,\textsuperscript{63} he also appears in a procession taking his usual place behind Telipinu.\textsuperscript{64} Pirwa appears on plate 12A riding a donkey.

\textsuperscript{58}\textit{Ibid.}, no. 48 a A.
\textsuperscript{59}\textit{See} plates 24A, 41A, 50A.
\textsuperscript{61}\textit{Seals} showing this pantheon are: 1A, 1B, 7B, 11B, 12A, 12B, 25A, 27A, 39A, 40A, 51A, 54A, 54B, 56A.
\textsuperscript{63}\textit{See} plate 40A--the enthroned deity has his feet resting on a small dragon.
\textsuperscript{64}\textit{See} plate 56A.
The weather-god with "cone and arrows"/Telipinu has a special relationship to Tarhunda/Assur/"Ea" in this pantheon. The iconography indicates that they are father and son. In the treaties, Telipinu appears in a group of deities that includes Ea, Allatum or Damkina, Perwa and Askasepas. We have already mentioned the connection of Telipinu to Tammuz/Dumuzi the son of Ea in Mesopotamia. The importance of Telipinu (the weather-god with cone and arrows) on the seals with the cross-design sun-disc parallels the importance of Telipinu in the Hattian myth of the missing god. It is the Hittite/Luwian goddess of magic, Kamrusepa also in this pantheon, however, who uses sheep from the herd of the Sun-god to appease Telipinu.

It is important that Usmu does not appear on the seal impressions of this pantheon. Usmu was Ea's vizier in Mesopotamia, whereas in the earliest Hittite texts, Telipinu functions "as a kind of minister bringing wine for the assembly of the gods."

The association of the level II depiction of Tarhunda/"Ea" with the god Assur and Old Assyrian seals has been mentioned above, including the popularity of the cross-design sun-disc on those seals. Many more Old Assyrian elements are found in local stylistic groups 2, 3, and 4.

65 See above with mention to the weather-god's "cone and arrows" appearing on "Ea"'s goatfish on plate 54A.
66 Goetze, Kleinasien, 130.
69 Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, 11.
Tarhunda/Assur is approached by the cult functionary squatting cupbearer.  

_The Pantheon Represented by the Dot Enclosed in a Circle_

This pantheon appears only in local style groups 3 and 4 and is seen on Plate 47A, 48A, 60. The head of this pantheon is a deity sitting on a lion, or alternatively his throne rests on the lion and his feet rest on a goat. He is worshipped by Amurru, the god on a gazelle/goat, Adad, and Shamash. The deity in the horse drawn chariot is included in this pantheon on the basis of the sun design found on the model clay chariots of Larsa, and on the prevalence of this deity in stylistic group 4 where the circle sun-disc is also prevalent. This deity has been identified as the Amorite Anna, father of Amurru. Anna is portrayed as a sun-god punishing evil doers beneath his chariot. Anna is worshipped by Adad on his dragon.

A connection between Larsa and the Amorites is demonstrated by the fact that the Amorite descendants of Naplanum established a dynasty in Larsa. This dynasty fought the rulers of Isin (Išme-Dagan and Lipit-Istar dated 1953 - 1924 B.C.) for control of Ur.

There is evidence that Anna was at one time the patron deity of Kanesh, yet in the Hittite ritual texts the singers of Kanish do not perform for this deity. There is, however, a

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70 See plate 27A.
71 See also Özugç, _The Anatolian Group_, no. 88.
72 See here plate 47.
74 See plates 23A, 23B.
76 Hildegard Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 719-720.
connection between the singers of Kanish and the deity "Gal.ZU/KASSU." Kassu was the name of the Kassite deity--an Indo-European sky-god, and head of the Kassite pantheon when the Kassites first conquered Babylon. Connections among the deities Kassu-Anna/Shamash-Amurru and the deity in the horse-drawn chariot can be found in the motif of the trampled human being. The trampled human being in Mesopotamian tradition is associated with Amurru, Shamash, and the lion-headed monster of Nergal. On one of the empire seals where the name Gassu appears, a lion-headed deity also appears, and Güterbock proposes that the signs for Gassu are the signs for the demon-headed deity. The same name, Gassu, is one of the names which occurs with the title 'great squire. groom.' written with the hieroglyphic symbol for reins.

Pantheons with West Semitic Deities

The four-pointed star sun-disc design and the four-pointed sun-disc with wavy lines both appear on seals with either Syrian influence or Syrian glyptic, and both are associated with Semitic deities. Amurru appears with both designs. The sun-disc design with the wavy

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77 Güterbock has suggested the reading of "GAL.ZU as KASU--see Hans G. Güterbock, "Lexicographical Notes II: 6. DU"GAL = Kâsu = zeri," Revue Hittite et Asianique 74 (1964), 98. KASU is a cup and therefore 'KASU would be a deified cup--but GAL.ZU is drunk to with the lion rhyton, in itself what one might term a deified cup (see Heinrich von Otten, Ein hehitisches Festritual (KBo XIX 128, Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten. vol. 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971, pp. 14, 15)--a fact that seems more appropriate to a major deity.

78 See Laroche, Noms des dieux Hittites, 97.


81 Laroche, Les Hieroglyphes Hittites, p. 150.

82 Amurru on seals with sun-disc and wavy lines, see Old Babylonian seals from Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 427 and 452. For Amurru with four-pointed star without wavy lines see Hans Henning von der Osten, Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 37 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. VII No. 67 and Winfried Orthmann, ed., Der Alte Orient,
lines is geographically widespread from Sippar and Mari in Mesopotamia to Syria in the west.

Some distinctions between the deities portrayed in these two groups can be made:

A deity wearing a "polos" or "top hat" appears on a seal with the four-pointed star with wavy lines, as do staffs with human heads. The weather-god found with the four-pointed star without wavy lines wears the short tunic, stands on a bull and carries a lightning symbol. The weather-god on the Syrian seals with the design with wavy lines, in contrast, still wears the long garment, but also a horned hat with a unique s-curved point, and the double lightning arises from a mace similar to that surrounded by two lion heads and carried by Ishtar, etc. "Adad/Hadad" places one foot on his bull in mounting posture and instead of a spear carries an object that may be a curved stick. The conquering god on the glyptic with the four-pointed star wears a short tunic, carries lightning and an ax, and steps on the human; but the conquering god in the Syrian seals with the design with the wavy lines carries the saw of Shamash, and not only mounts the human, but holds a rein attached to the head of the human.

Other distinguishing features in these two groups include: a pair of hands that appears on


83 See here plate 8.

84 See again plate 8, and Syrian seal in Hrozný, Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kültêpé, vol. 1, no. 42a.


86 See plate 22.

an altar before the bull with cone on a tall Syrian type platform with the four-pronged star sun-disc. Assyrian related "V" elements appear on seals of that group as does a deity carrying a boomerang.\textsuperscript{88}

A nude goddess with gazelles appears in the four-pronged star with wavy lines group as well as a kneeling man with bow and arrow.\textsuperscript{89}

These features by themselves are not sufficient to identify the deities in these groups. The four-pronged star sun-disc with wavy lines appears on non local Anatolian glyptic, and we can survey the above distinguishing characteristics and the circumstances of the appearance of this sun-disc for clues to the identity of the deities.

On Mesopotamian seals the "polos" or "top hat" is rarely found, and then it seems to be associated mostly with Amurru.\textsuperscript{90} He appears with both of the above sun-disc designs. In the seals from Syria dated to Atchana VII, contemporary with Kültepe level Ib, this "male" hat appears on winged war-like Ishtar. These Syrian seals with war-like Ishtar/Sausga do not have sun-disc designs, however a four pointed star without the moon crescent and disc does appear on one seal.\textsuperscript{91} The goddess’s garb leaves one leg free as the depictions from Mesopotamia of this goddess.\textsuperscript{92} She sometimes carries a spear\textsuperscript{93} The polos hat is found in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[88]See plate 46.
\item[89]See plates 43B and 8.
\item[90]See seals from Orthmann, ed., Der Alte Orient, pl. 267 r and p. 345; Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 520, 522, 524 and Porada 1bid., text p. 59—"as far as is known, (the top hat) is found with no other Old Babylonian figure."
\item[91]See Ursula Moortgat-Correns, "Neue Anhaltspunte zur zeitlichen Ordnung syrischer Glyptik," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, NS vol. 17 (1955), fig. 3.
\item[92]Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 130.
\item[93]von der Osten, Seals in Newell Collection, pl. XXIII nos. 322, 325. See also Moortgat-Correns, "Zeitlichen Ordnung syrischer Glyptik," fig. 3; and Anton Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst (Berlin, 1940; repr. 1966), no. 524 and p. 52.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the Old Hittite period on the seated goddess.\textsuperscript{94} and later on other Syrian goddesses.\textsuperscript{95}

The "polos" hat reappears on the Hurrian goddesses at Yazilikaya and on female deities in later Assyrian art. It is important that the polos hat appears in the geographical area where both the Mitannian and Assyrian kingdoms arose.\textsuperscript{96} The Subarians or Hurrians appeared in the territory of the later Assyrians and the glyptic of the area seems to have a predilection for deities and monsters with wings.

The winged goddess with spear and polos hat on the Syrian seals is probably Sausga, the Hurrian equivalent of war-like Ishtar. There are differences between Sausga and Ishtar: Sausga is considered half female and half male, and Ishtar never was depicted with wings. She sometimes appeared with quivers of arrows slung over her back that give a wing-like appearance.\textsuperscript{97} Frankfort mentions the winged goddess in connection with "Mitannian"/"Hurrian" seals.\textsuperscript{98} Yazilikaya is seen in figure no. 38\textsuperscript{99} in the male procession wearing a "male" mesopotamian type pointed deities hat. On the Syrian seals she once appears with a deity who is probably Teshub.\textsuperscript{100} The weather-god there holds the reins to 2 bulls--again probably Teshub's bulls "Day" and "Night".\textsuperscript{101} The identity of this pair as Hurrian Sausga and Teshub is complimented by the fact that Hurrians were known to be in


\textsuperscript{95}See von der Osten, \textit{Seals in Brett Collection}, no. 88 where a goddess wearing this hat is surrounded by "ankh" symbols, see also von der Osten, \textit{Seals in Newell Collection}, no. 324.

\textsuperscript{96}Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, 207.

\textsuperscript{97}\textit{Ibid.}, pls. XXVII k, and XXIX a.

\textsuperscript{98}\textit{Ibid.}, 282.


\textsuperscript{100}Moortgat-Correns, "Zeitlichen Ordnung Syrischer Glyptik," fig. 3.

\textsuperscript{101}Moortgat-Correns has identified those deities as Ba'\textsuperscript{al} and Anath. See \textit{Ibid.}, 88-101. The character of Anath is very similar to Sausga and war-like Ishtar. See as one example of a description of Anath, Raphael Petai, \textit{The Hebrew Goddess} (New York: Avon, 1967), 52.
the area at the time of Atchana level VII and Kültepe level Ib. Teshub was introduced to Mesopotamia at the latest during Sargon of Akkad's dynasty. During that same time the Hurrian deity Tishpak became the patron god of Eshunna.

Other Hurrian names in Sargonic and neo-Sumerian texts attest to the gradual growth of the new population throughout the Near East in the third millennium. By Old Babylonian times, Hurrians are found from Shastrum (Shushara) in the east to Alalakh in the west, while the existence at Mari of incantations translated or adapted into Hurrian already reveals this language in its characteristic role as a vehicle for the transmission of Babylonian culture.

Sun-Disc with Four-Pronged Star and Wavy Lines

The sun-disc with four-pronged star and wavy lines is found in geographical area that contained both Hurrians and west semitic peoples. It originated at Sippar, was found at Mari at the foot of the Khabur river, in Syria, and on Old Assyrian seals. Does this Hurrian influence on the areas where this sun-disc design occurs indicate a Hurrian presence in local Anatolia in the level II period? Lebrun states that the evidence from the Kültepe tablets of a goddess Kubabat in Kanish points to a Hurrian presence perhaps originally from northern Syria.

In the paragraphs that follow we will survey the usage of the four-pronged star sun-disc with wavy lines as it appeared at 1) Sippar, 2) Mari, 3) Old Assyrian seals, and 4) Syria. In Mesopotamia, deities shown with this design include Nergal, Ishtar, Tishpak (equated with...

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103 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 163.


105 Lebrun, Samuha, 12.
Teshub). Indeed, further evidence for the early appearance of Hurrian elements on cylinder seals is the appearance of the god Tishpak on seals dating to the time of Gudea. Tishpak was "a northern, Hurrian, Weather-god who displaced Ninazu (‘Lord of the Waters’) at Eshnunna before or during the arrival of the Akkadians."

Sippar

The four pronged star with wavy lines sun-disc is well known from the neobabylonian stele of Nabuapaliddina, for example, and from that same time period has been attributed to the deity Shamash. The stele in question was made to commemorate the king’s restoration of the temple of Shamash at Sippar; and so the sun-disc design may represent the city of Sippar as well as Shamash. The population of Sippar was partly Semitic and Sippar held an important position as a trading center with the west and the north in the Old Babylonian period. Sippar was

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106 Tishpak from the Akkadian period was the chief god of Eshnunna (Tell Asmar). See Roux, Ancient Iraq (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin, 1964), 170. Depictions of Tishpak show him seated on the lion-bird dragon of Ningiszida (See Frankfort, Seals from Diyala Region, pl. 61:649 and p. 42; with dragon heads projecting from his shoulders (Ibid., pl. 66: 709 = Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXVe); or standing on two crouching enemies with reins through their noses (Frankfort, Seals from Diyala Region, pl. 66:705).

107 For Nergal see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 383, p. 47; For Ishtar see Ibid., nos. 372, 377, 391; for Tishpak see Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XXV e; for god/king with a mace see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 427.

108 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, text fig. 37.

109 Ibid., 121 with reference to Thorkild Jacobsen.


112 For Old Babylonian glyptic showing Shamash with this symbol see Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 394, 395, 397, and 399.
probably a port of trade between the sheep nomads of the desert and the inhabitants of the urbanized stretches along the Euphrates. It seems that the most important nomadic tribes had permanent encampments at Sippar, if indeed the city did not originally consist of a cluster of just such encampments (called Sippar-Jaharu, Sippar-Amanānum, Sippar-Arūru, Sippar-sēri). Sippar possibly followed a more Western type of urban agglomeration, as indicated by the fact that the 'factory' of the traders of Isin existed within the city.\textsuperscript{113}

Sippar actually was the dividing point of two major Old Babylonian trade routes from the South (Kish, Babylon) to the west. One route left Sippar and went north via Mankisum and Iahappila to Assur, then west to Shubat-Enlil, Atmum, and hence to Kanish; another route went west via Rapiqu to the city of Mari. Once at Mari the traveler had access to roads to Qatna or Halab, or again north to Ashihum and northwest to Atmum and Kanish.\textsuperscript{114}

Mari

It is precisely to the west that this sun-symbol came into use—that is at Mari to the northwest and in Syria, and was no doubt transmitted by the above mentioned nomads. Mari had both an Amorite and Hurrian population.\textsuperscript{115} West Semitic deities include Amurru, Ilaprat, Dagan, Anu/Anna (father of Amurru), El, Ashera,\textsuperscript{116} the weather-god Hadad/Ba'al, Erah/Jarih, the moon-god, Anat, (west Semitic Ishtar and consort of Hadad), Salim (god of dusk or completion of day), Yam/Jam (the sea god), Rashap/Resheph (the god of the

\textsuperscript{113}Oppenheim, \textit{Ancient Mesopotamia}, 116-117.


\textsuperscript{116}Helmer Ringgren, \textit{Religions of the Ancient Near East} (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973), 140 where Ashera in the time of the first Dynasty of Babylon appears as the consort of Amurru. In Ugarit she was the consort of El.
underworld and pestilence later equated with Mesopotamian Nergal),\footnote{117} Hauron, Samsum (the sun-god),\footnote{118} Ilaprat (a sun-god named 'The Lord of the Boar),\footnote{119} Tibar (belonging to Mt. Tibar in Palestine),\footnote{120} and Lakhmu (father of Assur).\footnote{121} These deities are known from the theophoric element in Amorite personal names.\footnote{122}

It is known that the region around Mari and Terqa worshipped the god Dagan.\footnote{123} The city of Terqa lies not far from Mari in a northwesterly direction. Terqa's name "suggest an etymology based on Semitic words for irrigation. . . . Terqa suits this etymology, since it is located on the Euphrates between a network of ancient canals paralleling that river, and about fifteen miles below the confluence of the Chabur River. It lies in modern Syria. . . ."\footnote{124} Terqa is known to have had a temple of Dagan, a Semitic god,\footnote{125} and later after the defeat of Mari by Hammurabi (ca. 1760) was the "presumed capital of the independent kingdom of Hana (about which) we know little more than the names of the rulers. . . . all of the Amorite type. . . . except for a certain Kashtili-ashu."\footnote{126}


\footnote{119}Ilaprat was originally a deity of Bethlehem (Efrath). See Lewy, "Assyria c. 2600-1816 B.C." 766, and Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 720.

\footnote{120}Ibid., p. 719, n. 3.

\footnote{121}Lewy, "Assyria c. 2600-1816 B.C.,” 766.

\footnote{122}Röllig, "Die Religion Altsyriens,” 88; Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 719.

\footnote{123}Hallo and Simpson, The Ancient Near East, 96.

\footnote{124}Ibid., 96.

\footnote{125}Ibid., 102.

\footnote{126}Ibid., 102-103.
The seal of king Mukannishum of Mari shows the four-pointed star with wavy lines. Amiet has analyzed the iconography of the glyptic of Mari, and assigned them Semitic names. The deity depicted as Ea with the vase of flowing water he has identified with the Semitic El and Amiet claims that the Ea figure on our plate 22 for example is the deity El shown with the flowing vase of Ea. Amiet identifies as Ba'al, son of El, the weather-god with long hair, dressed in a short tunic, pointed hat and carrying a spear that is seen approaching "Ea" on some seals. Other depictions of Ba'al with this long hair come from Ras Shamra.

Amiet has identified Nergal as the deity shown with the vase of flowing water and riding a boat. Those deities are appropriate to the west Semitic, Amorite population of Mari, but it is also known that as early as the third dynasty of Ur there were Hurrians at Mari.

An offering list from Mari dated to around 1700 B.C. lists Shamash and a sun-god of heaven, but also a winged, war-like Ishtar appears at Mari as at Atchana, and may be the

129 *Ibid.*, p. 220, note 4. For the identification of El as Ea Amiet says "identifié avec Ea: il s'agit plutôt de son correspondant syrien, le dieu El, qui résidait 'à la source des fleuves, entre les sources des (deux) abîmes' et qui présidait le panthéon, ce qui le rapproche d'Anu. Sur les cylindres syriens en question (fig. 6), nous pensons donc devoir reconnaître Ba'al rendant hommage à son père, El dont la déesse portée par les génies de l'eau (fig. 3a) pourrait être la parède, Ashérat-de-la-Mer." (*Ibid.*, 220-221.
130 *Ibid.*, fig. 6, p. 220.
132 Amiet, "Notes sur le Répertoire Iconographique," 226, and fig. 8, fig. 1 and fig. 2b, and 3b. The last equals Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXIV b and page 168.
Old Assyrian seals

The four-pointed star with wavy lines also occurs on the Old Assyrian style seals, on which the same group of deities is depicted. As in plate 5B and the ivory box lid from Minet el Beida, the goddess is naked only from the waist up. The Old Assyrian seal belongs to Subelim, son of Su-Istar, which may be further evidence that the goddess depicted is Ishtar.

Semites replaced the original Subarian population in Assyria. The Assyrians were originally called Subarians/Hurrians and when the "Semites arrived they pushed the Subarians into the east-Tigridic foothills of the Kurdish mountains and into the mountainous regions of northern Mesopotamia." Among the Semitic population, a distinction can be made between the Assyrians and the Amorites." The Assyrians considered themselves followers of the Semitic Akkadians, and many Old Assyrian families traced their ancestors back to Old Akkadians. Among the deities of the Old Akkadians were Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, and Ea. The western Semites, called Amorites, lived both in Anatolia and Assyria and worshipped the gods Dagan, Ilaprat, etc, mentioned above.

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135 Amiet, "Notes sur le Répertoire Iconographique," fig. 12.
136 Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 693.
139 Ibid., 731 where Hurrian and Subarian are equated.
140 Ibid., 733.
141 Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 719.
142 Lewy, "Assyria c. 2600-1816 B.C." 735.
143 Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, 189.
Hurrians are also attested for the Assyrian area. As above, the original pre-semitic occupants of Assyria were Subarians/Hurrians. The city Baltil or Baltila "which was used by later Assyrian kings with reference to the earliest precursor of the city of Ashur... is a Hurrian name, being identical with a personal name found not infrequently among the Hurrian population of the Nuzi region... that the founder of Baltila worshipped the Hurrian god Tilla..."\(^{144}\) The god Tilla figured as the son of the storm god Enlil.\(^{145}\) The storm-god was very important to the Hurrians.

Syria

Syrian glyptic contemporary with the Assyrian trading colonies the sun-disc with wavy lines is associated with a pantheon headed by a sun-god depicted like Shamash with flames rising from his shoulders,\(^{146}\) holding a human head in or near his hand,\(^{147}\) having a lion as a throne,\(^{148}\) or with the winged dragon.\(^{149}\) The naked Syrian goddess appears—either holding her breasts\(^{150}\) or opening her robes (herself, or bull men help her).\(^{151}\) A sun-god with saw appears mounted on a human being, a rein passing from the nose of the victim up

\(^{144}\) Lewy, "Assyria c., 2600-1816 B.C." 731.

\(^{145}\) Ibid., 732.

\(^{146}\) Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, nos. 692, 669.

\(^{147}\) Ibid., no. 696, p. 236, and no. 698. The Hittite texts mention the Hattian deity Sulinkatte as holding a head. Sulinkatte was a sun-god equated with the Mesopotamian Nergal.

\(^{148}\) Ibid., no. 691.

\(^{149}\) Hrozny, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 41 a B.


into the deity's hand, and this is reminiscent of the attributes of Tishpak. "Adad" appears on a bull with mace and lightning and his own naked consort; A clothed goddess associated with a lion and the two-faced "Usmu" appear. The "Adad" figure in long gown with the horned hat and s-curved point is quite different from the short tuniced weather-god who appears in the level Ib period holding a mace over his shoulder, trampling human beings like Tishpak, or after the level Ib period standing on two mountains. The later Syrian weather-god standing on two mountains shows a spiked helmet, and occasionally a spear and has been identified by Amiet as Ba'al. The bull altar, or bull with cone frequently appears on top of a platform as it does on the local Anatolian seals and on Old Assyrian seals. But on the Syrian seals human beings are sometimes depicted within the building/platform—a usage adopted by the Hittites. The bull altar or bull with cone is a native Anatolian feature adopted by the Old Assyrians and Hurrians.

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153 Ibid., nos. 691, 692, and p. 235.
154 Ibid. no. 698 for goddess; Ibid., no. 691 for Usmu.
156 Ibid., nos. 964, 967, 968.
157 Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari," fig. 6 and p. 221. In Syrian seals after the level Ib period Egyptian elements are associated with Ba'al. Thus on Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, no. 967 he holds a lotus blossom along with the reins to a bull.
160 Human beings are also depicted on a seal from Mari where two small heroes hold up the throne of Nergal. Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari," fig. 1, p. 215.
A seal from Smyrna\(^{161}\) shows an enthroned deity that is probably Amurru with the four-star wavy line sun-disc pattern. He holds a gazelle in his hand and another gazelle appears in the field immediately in front of him.

Deities associated with the four-pronged star with wavy lines--non-Anatolian appearances

The deities associated with this design were perhaps interpreted as either Hurrian or Semitic depending on which ethnic part of the population of Mari, Sippar etc. one belonged to. Thus, war-like Ishtar could be either the Hurrian Šausga or Semitic Anath whose characters are almost identical; the weather-god could be either Ba‘al/Hadad or Teshub, the sun-god could be Shamash or the Hurrian Shimegi. As Kupper says "Teshub being identified with Adad, each ethnic community could express the name of the Weather-God in its own language."\(^{162}\)

Other than the possible appearance of Teshub and Šausga, it is difficult to assign other features of these seals to Hurrian influence. "The search for Hurrian elements in art encounters two major difficulties: the rarity of the available monuments and the uncertainties which persist as to the definition of Hurrian art,"\(^{163}\) even though later Hurrian glyptic and ceramics have been analyzed.\(^{164}\) One other possible Hurrian element may be the Humbaba mask. The Humbaba mask appears on Mesopotamian glyptic together with this particular

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\(^{161}\) Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, text fig. 81, p. 251.


\(^{163}\) Kupper, "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria," 39.

sun-disc design. The Humbaba mask was extremely popular on Mitannian glyptic.

The Hurrian element was prevalent on the Mitannian glyptic dated between 1550 and 1400 B.C., and in looking for Hurrian elements on the glyptic of the earlier Assyrian period one would expect those elements to bear some similarity to later features.

_The Pantheon with the Spoked Wheel (more than 8 Pointed Star) Sun-Disc_

This design is rare on the glyptic engraved in any of the local styles. It occurs in group 3 (see plate 9B). Very few attributes are illustrated to aid in the interpretation of the enthroned deity. Possibly he is Assur, on the basis of analogy to that sun-disc appearing on a seal from the city of Assur. The Assyrian deities attested on the trading tablets are Assur, Adad, Amurru, Anu, Ea, Ishtar, Sin, Shamash, and lesser known deities such as GUD, Ilabrat, and Ishara.

In the much later neo-Assyrian period deities are depicted wearing a polos type hat with a many-rayed sun-disc design on top. The same sun-disc design appears on different deities and cannot therefore designate a single deity. See for example the illustration of Ishtar from Til Barsib and the rock carving of Maltai.

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165 Porada, _Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals_, nos. 383, 399; Frankfort, _Cylinder Seals_, Pl. XXIX h, XXVI e, text fig. 44, p. 183; and Moortgat, _orderasiatische Rollsiegel_, no. 305.


168 Ibid., text fig. 78, p. 250.


Possible Hurrian element at Kültepe

Lebrun states that the evidence from the Kültepe tablets of a goddess Kubabat in Kanish points to a Hurrian presence perhaps originally from northern Syria. The name in the Kültepe tablets is Ku-ba-ba-at. But it is interesting to note that the name for the Sumerian queen Kubaba from the period of Sargon of Agade is written Kù-"Ba-ba. Baba is another name for Inanna and was the spouse of the Mesopotamian deity Ningirsu. KÙ has the meaning of "pure," "splendid." Gudea built a temple for Ningirsu and Baba in Lagash, for which he obtained cedar wood from the Amanus mountains. Other connections between Lagash and Kanish has already been mentioned. A connection between northern and southern Mesopotamia under the Sumerians (in particular involving the city of Nina a "suburb" of Lagash) has been mentioned by Lewy:

Whereas there is no direct evidence to indicate whether the divine patroness of the pre-Semitic city of Ninua was identical with the fish-goddess Nanshe worshipped in the Babylonian city of Nina, it is significant that the goddess Ishtar of Ninua was one of the principal deities worshipped by the inhabitants of the Hurrian city of Nuzi and other towns in its vicinity. Other geographical names follow a pattern similar to that of Ninua and Nina: the name of the very old south Babylonian city of Uruk is obviously identical with Urkish. . . The country of Urkish, located in northern Mesopotamia, was, in the period immediately preceding Sargon of Akkad, the homeland of a king Tisatal an inscription of whom has been found. This king’s inscription as well as his name are Hurrian, whence it is apparent to which ethnic element the population which chose these and similar geographical names belonged: their language was that which is nowadays commonly Hurrian, but to which the name Subarian would be equally applicable.

171 Lebrun, Samuha, 12.
174 Ibid., 81.
Nanshe was the daughter of Enki and the mother of Ninmar, a bird goddess.\(^{177}\) Ninmar, the bird goddess is hence the granddaughter of Enki. If identifications and equations of deities are correct there is an interesting analogy with the rock relief at Yazilikaya, where the granddaughter of the Sun-goddess of Arinna is depicted behind the goddess Hebat/Sun-goddess or Arinna on a double headed eagle. The above mentioned correlations would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Enki&quot;/Tarhunda/Teshup</th>
<th>married Damkina/Sun-goddess of Arinna/Hebat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nanshe</td>
<td>Mezulla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird goddess Ninmar</td>
<td>Zintuhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laroche mentions the parallel personal names of Šauška-zita and Ninuwa-zita.\(^{178}\)

The character of the few seals on local Anatolian glyptic displaying the four-pronged star with wavy lines is Syrian; whether it is west Semitic Syrian or Hurrian Syrian cannot be determined conclusively. The appearance of the "polis" type hat on one seal might point to Hurrian connections and the identify of the naked goddess with gazelles as Kubabat. Other identifications are extremely tenuous. The deity with "polis" hat, shield, and mace might be the Hurrian Astabi, although his name does not appear textual until much later. Gurney feels that although the Hurrians are attested at Atchana level VII contemporary with Kültepe level Ib, they had no influence on the religion of Anatolia until the fifteenth century.

But the six-year annals of Hattusili...give us...a glimpse into...the pantheon of North Syria at this time. After capturing Hassuwa (near the Euphrates), Hattusili depots to Hattusa among other booty the Weather-god of Aleppo, the goddess Allatum, the god Atalur, (a local mountain god), the goddess Lilluri, and the goddess Hebat 'daughter of Allatum'. In the Alalakh tablets (from the same area) Hebat and

\(^{177}\)Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, 23.

\(^{178}\)Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites, 293.
the Weather-god of Aleppo are associated with a goddess Ishtar or Ishhara. These are the gods of the Hurrians.\footnote{Gurney, \textit{Some Aspects of Hittite Religion}, 13.}

However, the textual evidence and the political power of the Hurrians seems to lag behind their religious/cultural influence. Their presence in Syria as early as c. 1900 is attested:

The Hurrians had already penetrated into northern Mesopotamia in the Sargonic period. However, under the Third Dynasty of Ur, their main centres of population were still to the east of the Tigris. In Syria power was generally in the hands of the Amorites, but Hurrians had nevertheless crossed the Euphrates and conquered some territories on the right bank. The principalities they occupied, like Khasshushum and Urshu were situated to the north of Aleppo. This geographical division holds good only on the political plane, for it is probable that the Hurrian population had already swarmed farther southwards.\footnote{Kupper, "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria," 22-23. (Italics by this author). The Mari documents date to c. 1800 B.C. The Aleppo tablets date some fifty years before the Mari documents.} Aleppo tablets (from) level VII going back to the time of the first Dynasty of Babylon... In the society there described the Hurrians appear to be firmly established. Leaving aside the throne, on which there are Amorites, they occupy high civil and religious offices, while the religious practices bear traces of their presence... Such a state of affairs makes it necessary to push the beginnings of Hurrian penetration back to a more remote date.\footnote{\textit{See plates 8A, 41B, 43B.}}

The chief enthroned deity on the Syrian seals associated with the four-pronged star with wavy lines is a sun-god with flames rising from his shoulders, but on the local seals he is depicted with an ax, like Šulinkatte and Tiwat, the other local sun-gods;\footnote{\textit{See plates 58.}} but not enthroned on any animal. Ea does not appear in this group, unless we count the variant sun-disc with 3-pronged star and wavy lines\footnote{\textit{See plates 8A, 41B, 43B.}}, and there "Ea" is depicted with both flowing water and flames.

The later Hurrian pantheon was headed by Teshub and Hebat, but other deities in the pantheon included the sun-god Shimegi, the war-god Astabi, the moon-god Kusuh, and the
goddess Sausga (Ishtar). The deity Ea was also important to the Hurrians. "One of the most characteristic effects of the Hurrian westward penetration was the importation of Babylonian deities in Hurrian guise, in particular Ea." Other Hurrian deities are Tashmishu, the equivalent of Ninurta, and Tenu, the vizier of Teshub. The names of these deities are known from cult texts of Teshub and Hebat which list the Hurrian pantheon, lists of gods invoked in treaties, and references to the Hurrian singers in the Hittite ritual texts.

The elements identified here on seals with the sun-disc of four-pointed star and wavy lines may not be "Hurrian" but would seem to originate from northern Mesopotamia—the entire concept of wings, be they on the sun-disc or on deities has connections with "Mitannian" glyptic. It is not known whether the origin of the "polis" or "top hat" can be associated with early depictions of Hurrian deities, but the possibility exists.

Pantheon Represented by the Four-Pointed Star

This pantheon occurs mainly in local stylistic group 2. The deities and attributes on this local group are quite different from the deities of the other groups and would appear to be Syrian. The deities with this design are perhaps the pantheon of the Amorites. The western Semitic deities of Syria at a slightly later period were Ba'al/Hadad, El, Anath, Respheh, Ilaprat, Dagan, etc. Some of the western Semites or Amorites were permanent inhabitants of

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187 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 264.
188 See plates 7A, 9A, 22, 46, 59B for seal of this pantheon in stylistic group 2. Plates 3A and 3B show this pantheon in stylistic group 1-A.
Assyria who accompanied the Assyrians as merchants, and several Amorite deities, such as Ilaprat and Dagan became part of the Assyrian pantheon. The appearance of the weather-god and some subsidiary motifs are deciding factors in assigning this group of deities to a western Semitic/Syrian pantheon. The local seals with this sun-design have the Old Assyrian "V" element, and thus share this element with the other Semitic pantheon from Assyria.

An important factor in assigning this pantheon to the deities of the Amorites is the appearance of Amurru on seals with the four-pointed star sun-disc design.\footnote{See Orthmann, ed., \textit{Der Alte Orient}, pl. 267r and p. 345. See also von der Osten, \textit{Seals in Brett Collection}, pl. VII, no. 67.}

The weather-god on this group of seals has a quite different appearance in the level II glyptic from the local weather-god with mountain, plants, and cones. On the level II glyptic, he is depicted in a short tunic, holding up a lightning symbol that is unattached to the reins of the bull.\footnote{See plate 22.} If the western Semitic designation is correct, he is Hadad/Ba'al.\footnote{Amiet identifies as Ba'al, son of El, the weather-god with long hair, dressed in a short tunic, pointed hat and carrying a spear that is seen approaching "Ea" on some seals from Mari. See Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari, Syrian seal fig. 6, p. 220.} On other seals Ba'al/Hadad appears wearing a spiked hat and carries lightning, bow, and spear.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, seal fig. 6, pp. 220-221.} (Check footnote) On the local Anatolian glyptic of level Ib Hadad/Ba'al is depicted like Amurru on two gazelles.\footnote{In the first dynasty of Babylon, Adad was once called "God of the West" on a seal. See Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 163, and note 2.} He is worshipped or at least faces Anat on a horse.\footnote{See plate 59B.} Anu is said to appear as a male figure sitting on a mountain and holding a mace in his right hand. The mountain is said to represent Apsu, mountain of springs and two streams flow out

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190 See plate 22.
191 Amiet identifies as Ba'al, son of El, the weather-god with long hair, dressed in a short tunic, pointed hat and carrying a spear that is seen approaching "Ea" on some seals from Mari. See Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari, Syrian seal fig. 6, p. 220.
192 \textit{Ibid.}, seal fig. 6, pp. 220-221.
193 In the first dynasty of Babylon, Adad was once called "God of the West" on a seal. See Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 163, and note 2.
194 See plate 59B.
of the heads of monsters at the base of the mountain. Ašera in level II appears

clothed.

A conqueror-god appears in this group. He is attired in a short tunic and stands amongst
several heads and prone human bodies while holding a spear in one hand and a mace in the
other. Lightning appears around the spear, and a boar is attached to the mace. Amiet
considers this deity to be a weather-god. The weather-god Hadad/Ba‘al on his bull also
appears on that same seal, and the connection between the two proposed weather-gods is not
clear. Another depiction of the deity with the spear and lightning trampling on human beings
is found on the Old Assyrian Silülű seal. In Mesopotamia, the motif of the conqueroring
god is associated with Shamash, Amurru, and the lion-head demon of Nergal. In later
depictions the Amorite god of pestilence, war, and the underworld (Reseph/Reshef) appears
like a warrior Ba‘al carrying a spear and an ax. Reshef was equated with Nergal, and we
have already mentioned the boar as a symbol of the underworld and evil forces in
Mesopotamia. The depiction on plate 22 shows the boar carried at the end of a mace, in a
manner similar to that in which the birdman, another evil foe, is shown being brought to EA
for judgement in the Akkadian period. The deity carrying the boar could then be

195 Seal of the Akkadian period from Mari. See Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de
Mari," fig. 5, pp. 219-220.
196 See plate 7A.
198 Kemal Balkan, Observations on the Chronological Problem of Karum Kanis, Türk
Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan, series 7, no. 28 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1955),
figs. 6-11, and pp. 54, 56, 76, note 58.
199 An Egyptian inscribed stele, ca. 1550-1100 B.C. See John Gray, The Canannites,
200 Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pls. XXIII d, and pp. 123, 132-134. This seal also appears
as Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, no. 198.
"Ninurta" conqueror of the birdman, rather than "Nergal," or it could be an illustration of IIaprat, Lord of the Boar.

The Anatolian Pantheons and their Distribution in the Local Stylistic Groups

The distribution of pantheons on local Anatolian glyptic is indicated in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>multi-pointed star</th>
<th>signe royale</th>
<th>cross</th>
<th>4-pointed star</th>
<th>4-pointed star with wavy lines</th>
<th>dot within circle</th>
<th>spoked wheel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(rare)(^a)</td>
<td>X(rare)(^b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-B</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(rare)(^c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X(rare)(^d)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(^e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. See plate 3A, 3B.
b. See plate 41B.
c. See Hrozný, *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, no. 48 a A with w-god on bull and mountain; here plates 20A, 44B.
d. See plate 7B.
e. See plate 9B, 52B.

\(^{301}\)The boar in Mesopotamia was a symbol of the evil forces conquered by Ninurta in order to liberate Ea’s son Marduk from the mountain grave (see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 132, 137).
In general, style group 1-B depicts Hattian deities, group 1-A depicts Hattian and Luwian deities, group 2 Syrianized or Syrian deities, and group 3 and 4 Semitic deities. The Kültépe pantheon and the predecessor to the signe royale is depicted in both groups 1-A and 1-B, a fact that stresses its mixture of Hattian and Luwian elements—because as stated above, group 1-B depicts mainly Hattian elements.

The worship themes in all of the Anatolian pantheons have several elements in common. For example, only enthroned deities along with the bull-altar (bull with cone) receive adoration. When occasionally a lesser deity receives a libation, it is without the full panoply of an interceding deity and/or other worshippers. The theme of processions on animals seems to be Anatolian and Old Assyrian; it is not found in the Syrian influenced group 2. On the other hand, the concept of a meeting procession appears to be Syrian.

Anatolian Pantheons of the Colony Age and the Hittite New Kingdom

The order of deities in the processions of the Hattian and Luwian pantheons on the level II glyptic is always the same. That order is: 1) Taru (equated with Tarhunda), 2) Telipinu (and Ishtar type spouse Hatepuna), 3) Wurunkatte/Santa, 4) LAMA.LÍL. The reasons for this order are not known, however, it must be significant for the same basic order recurs at Yazilikaya, which depicts the Hattian pantheon with the Hurrian pantheon interwoven with it. There in the male procession, the order is as follows: 1) Teshub, as weather-god of

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202 Local weather-gods Taru and Telipinu receive such libation.
203 See Porada, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals, nos. 918, 967, 968 and Syrian influenced plate 59B in this work.
204 For example, in the female procession the granddaughter of Teshub is depicted. In the Hurrian pantheon there is no granddaughter of Teshub. However, in the Hattian pantheon the sun-goddess of Arinna's granddaughter was called Zintuhi. The hieroglyphs in front of the goddess who follows Hepat's daughter (and with the former stands on the double headed eagle, associated in the level II period with Wurusemu) read granddaughter. Thus that goddess is Zintuhi. (See Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, p. 19, note 5.) Teshub as
heaven. 2) Teshub's brother Šuwaliyat/Tashmisu/Ninurta.²⁰⁵ 3) Telipinu/Kumbarbi (followed by Ea, Sausga/Ishtar, her attendants, and the moon-god). 4) Sun-god of heaven, 5) Astabi, the war-god, and 6) "KAL (LAMA).

If the order of deities at Yazilikaya strictly followed the Hurrian kalutis the order would be quite different. It would appear as follows: 1) Teshub, 2) Šuwaliyat/Tashmisu/Ninurta 3) Kumarbi (followed by Ea, Nisaba/Halki, and the Moon-god), 4) Sun-god of heaven, 5) Astabi, 6) "KAL (LAMA), 7) Ishtar (followed by Pirinkar), 8) ZABABA or Hesui (followed by Nergal), 9) Tenu. In other words Ishtar would have to be removed from her place near Telipinu/Kumarbi. It is an Ishtar type figure who appears with Telipinu in the level II Hattian pantheon. Ea would not appear immediately after Telipinu.

**Historical Significance of Deity Identifications**

The detailed analyses and identifications presented here make it possible to follow the religious complexity and interaction of various groups and their status in the second millennium in a vivid and specific manner. My work has also clarified the continuity and changes in the religious iconography of the colony age and the New Kingdom. The proposed identifications of individual deities have historical implications.

The identification of the local pantheons in evidence at Kültepe on seals of level II aids our understanding of the historical events surrounding Anitta, king of Kanish and Kussara, in that political events appear to be reflected in the change of the deity who heads the pantheon.

There is evidence for two ethnic Anatolian pantheons in the level II glyptic. The weather-god of heaven is depicted at the head of the pantheon.

²⁰⁵ AT Yazilikaya deity no. 42 is Teshub, he is followed by deity no. 41. The hieroglyphs in front of no. 41 have been read "U-ŠEŠ (the last sign is difficult to read—see Laroche, "Les Dieux de Yazilikaya, 69-70). ŠEŠ is "brother." Ninurta in Mesopotamia is the half-brother of Ea who was interpreted by the Luwians as Tarhunda (see chapter 8).
pantheon headed by a male weather-god, equated with the sky-god Assur and the precursor of the weather-god of heaven (portrayed with the attributes of Enki/Ea); and the Hattian sun-goddess Wurusemu and her husband at that time Śulinkatte. When Anitta conquered Kanish, he therefore found part of the population worshipping a deity similar, if not the same as the deity of his dynasty, i.e., the weather-god of heaven. Anitta built a palace in Kanish and called it the "temple of Halmasuit (the deified throne)." This palace has been identified by Gurney as the same palace of Kültepe level Ib in which the "dagger of Anitta" was found. Anitta also built a temple to the weather-god of heaven. In a political move to...


207 O. R. Gurney, "Anatolia c 1750-1600 B.C.," in The Cambridge Ancient History, 3d ed., vol. 2, pt. 1: History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1800-1380 B.C., eds. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger; chapter VI (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 233. The building in which the dagger was found was in Kültepe level Ib (see Louis Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, Studies in Ancient History, vol. 1 (The Hague: Mouton, 213.) and was destroyed in a violent conflagration. The dating of Anitta here follows the work of Gurney above. An alternative dating for Anitta is found in Lewy (Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 714-715) where Pithana and Anitta are dated to the level II period on the basis of the name of a witness to a divorce record of Pithana. This witness, named Khaduwa, is equated by Lewy with a Khaduwa who was an official to the local prince contemporary with Imdi-ilum of the first generation of Assyrian merchants.

This dating of Anitta does not fit the archeological evidence, however. If Anitta if dated to level II then historically the destruction level of Ic must be attributed to the change of dynasty in Kussara (the "Hittites"). Level Ib would then date to these "Hittites." Who then destroyed level Ib and ushered in level Ia with its typical megaron or Hittite style building? (see Gurney, "Anatolia c 1750 -1600 B.C.", 233-234).

Further evidence that Anitta should be dated to the level Ib period is the fact that a tablet mentioning the kings Inar and Warsama, predecessors of Anitta, was found in level Ib. If Anitta is dated to level II, then his predecessors Inar and Warsama must belong to level III, not Ib.

Lewy herself mentions that in the second of the three generations of Assyrian merchants of Kültepe level II the Assyrian domination of the city of Zalpa was replaced by that of a native ruler (see Lewy, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period," 713). Starke has said that the king of Zalpa and Anitta, both as Indo-Europeans, were fighting for the right to rule (symbolized by the statue of the deified throne) so then this king of Zalpa must be a native and not an Assyrian ruler. Since the change of rule at Zalpa to native rulers is dated to the second generation of level II, Anitta who fought one of these native Zalpa kings cannot be dated to
unify his power it seems that Anitta/or his "theologians" also married the Indo-
European/Luwian weather-god of heaven to the Hattian sun-goddess. Thus, toward the
middle of Kültepe level Ib, the weather-god of heaven becomes the wife of Wurusemu and
father of her son Taru, the Hattian weather-god. The deified throne, a concept of the Hittites
according to Starke,208 delivered the city of Hattusa into the hands of Anitta. This use of
religion for political purposes is seen at other times in the Hittite empire period. For
example, Hattusili III states that

the royal protection is above all assured by Istar of Samuha and then by the storm god
of Nerik. that is to say by the two great divinities of key regions to which Hattusili
must devote all his attention: a region situated to the north of the Hatti, recovered
from the Gasgas and guardian of an old religious background on one side, and a
region to the east and to the southeast of Hatti, on the other side, belonging to the
Kizzuwatnienne tradition or open to one whose people became more and more
influential at the imperial court; cities like Samuha, Pattiyarik, Lawazantiy, Lumanni
are the great representatives of this zone; consequently, one will not feel any difficulty
in seeing Hattusili place himself under the guard of Sauska of Samuha, symbol of
Kizzuwatn and of the neighboring regions to be united with Hatti and of the storm
god of Nerik, symbol of the Hatti territories retaken from the Gasgas; the one
translates to the opening of some new religious tendancies, the other the respect of the
Anatolian tradition.209

Gurney states that Anitta’s destruction of Hattusa is evident in the archeological level IVd
of Büyükkale (acropolis) in that level would represent the Bogazköy contemporary with
Kültepe Karum level Ib, the Bogazköy after the capture by Anitta; that level IVc represents
the prosperous period of the Hittite Old Kingdom. The Hittite Old Kingdom was probably
founded by new dynasty at Kussara, this change in dynasty also was witnessed by the
"destruction of Kültepe level Ib and the subsequent inauguration of level Ia."210 This new
dynasty of Kussara perhaps worshipped the sun-goddess. Hattusa was a Hattian center and

the first generation of Assyrian merchants.

209 Lebrun, Samuha, 61. translation by this author.
210 Orlin, Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia, 245.
the spouse of the sun-goddess, now the weather-god became the weather-god of Ḥatti. The signe royale impressed on vessels found in Temple I (the temple of the weather-god and the sun-goddess of Arinna) at Bogazköy date to the 14th century.\textsuperscript{211}

**Significance of Specific Equipment Usages Related to Local Pantheons**

The fruitstand altar or 𒌦 ḫhūra appears in front of the Hattian deities. It does not appear in front of Tarhunda/Assur depicted as "Enki"/"Ea" with goatfish; and does not appear according to present evidence with the cross design sun-disc.\textsuperscript{212} Tarhunda/Assur is seen with rectangular altars.\textsuperscript{213} The bottle with reeds seems to appear only with the cross-design sun-disc and that particular family of deities.\textsuperscript{214}

The appearance of the squatting cup-bearer before Tarhunda/"Enki"/"Ea"\textsuperscript{215} and how this early illustration relates to the later textual appearances is a matter for future study.

The particular kind of table found in local style group 3 adds to the evidence of Syrian related deities as the pantheon of this group with the parallel of the excavated table from Byblos.\textsuperscript{216}

**Summary**

It is clear from the wealth of information discernible from this study, that the small seal impressions remain the principal evidence for an immensely elaborate religious and ritual


\textsuperscript{212}It is seen on plate 27B with a sun-disc design consisting of cross pattern with diagonal lines; but the deity is not Tarhunda/"Enki"/"Ea".

\textsuperscript{213}See plate 39B, 25A.

\textsuperscript{214}See plates 25A, 51A.

\textsuperscript{215}See plate 27A.

\textsuperscript{216}Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, vol. 1, 1926-1932 (Paris: Geuthner, 1937), pl. 140 no. 3372.
exchange of different groups. Decipherment of the glyptic may be difficult because as Frankfort says,

The artist is more definitely committed to precision than the author. He can but render one scene, and on the whole, but one aspect of his many-sided deity. But by the addition of symbols or attributes he may hint at a wider characterization than he is able directly to present. He may have to depict a chthonic deity but can suggest its connection with animal life. Or he may be commissioned to show the god as the "Lord of Vegetation" without for that reason being prevented from indicating his warlike character by the inclusion of an appropriate symbol.217

Thus, each symbol and nuance of glyptic must be examined. It is hoped that this study, in which, in fact an attempt was indeed made to analyze each symbol and its use, has added to the understanding of both Anatolian and Mesopotamian deities. There are now various short studies of particular Mesopotamian religious subjects, but as a whole the situation outlined by Oppenheim in 1964 still exists and pertains to both Mesopotamia and Anatolia:

It is typical of the Assyriogist's culture-conditioned approach to Mesopotamian religion that the role and the function of the divine image in that civilization have never been considered important enough to merit a systematic scholarly investigation. Only as far as the few known statues of gods or goddesses and other representations of the deity have been the concern of the Mesopotamian archeologist or the historian of art have they received a modicum of the attention they deserve. This neglect offers us a characteristic instance of the influence of subconscious associations on the selection of research topics. The aversion to accepting images as genuine and adequate realizations of the divine presence, manifested in a traditional human form, has played an important role in the religious development of the Western world. The roots of the attitude of rejection stem not only from the Judeo-Christian heritage but existed, earlier and independently, in Greek thought. In fact, pro- and anti-iconic tendencies have often been instrumental in shaping trends and releasing events in the history of our culture. And they are far from dead now. They still linger in the scholar's ambivalent attitude toward "idols" and taint his approach to all alien religions. This influence manifests itself, mainly, by subtly shifting emphasis from less acceptable manifestations of a foreign religiosity to those which we can more readily comprehend, or, at least, consider more acceptable in Western terms.

... images in Mesopotamian religion. ... neither appear to our esthetic prejudices nor do they provoke special curiosity due to any fantastic and irrational shapes or because of the number and size of their preserved remnants.218

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218 Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 183-184.
APPENDIX A

PLATES

Where scale is not indicated in the plate captions, none is available. However, drawings are enlarged roughly 2.5 to 3.5 times an average "cappadocian" sealing in order to accentuate details.
Plate 1

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 33

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 16
A. Drawn by author from Kienast, *Die altassyrischen Texte Heidelberg*, fig 3 seal

B. Drawn by author from Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl XL o. Scale is 2.2 times that of photograph. Photograph is approximately 1:1.
Plate 3

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 12

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 86
Plate 4

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 53. Scale is 2.25 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 711. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Speleers, *Catalogue des musées royaux d'art, supplement* 660. Scale is 3.275:1.
Plate 5

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 78

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 18. Scale is 1.917 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 703. Scale of photograph is not noted, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 6

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 79*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 32*
A. Drawn by author from Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," pl. 9 no. 13/16

B. Drawn by author from Genouillac, Ceramique Cappadocienne, pl. B. Scale is 3.725 times photograph. Scale of photograph is not given.
Drawn by author from Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 716. Scale is 1.9 times photograph. Scale of photograph is not noted, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 9

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 3*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 10*
Plate 10

Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 83*
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 15. Scale is 1.77 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 709. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 41
Plate 12

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 77*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 30*
Plate 13

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 4*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 55*
Plate 14

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 34*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 22*
Plate 15

Drawn by author from Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib. pl XVI D
Plate 16

Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 38
Plate 17

Drawn by author from Özgüc, "Acemhöyük Saraylarında Bulunması," no. 29
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 1*

B. Drawn by author from Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne*, pl. D. Scale is 2.044 times photograph.
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 5

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 69. Scale is 1.838 times photograph of Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 704. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 20

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 40

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 35
Plate 21

Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarında Bulunmaş," no. 31
Plate 22

Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 14. Scale is 2.3707 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 715. Scale of photograph is not noted, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 23

A. Drawn by author from Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl XL n. Scale is 2.096 times photograph. Photograph is approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 9. Scale is 1.9286 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 721. Scale of photograph is not noted, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 24

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 27*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 61*
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 29


B. Drawn by author from Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles des musées royaux d'art*, supplement, no. 1396. Scale is 3.055:1.
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 23

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 52
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 57

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 73

B. Drawn by author from Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 12
Plate 30

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 38

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 48
Plate 31

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 75*

B. Drawn by author from Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadoienne*, no. C4. Scale is 1.817 times photograph. Scale of photograph is not noted.
Plate 32

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 39

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 25

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 74*
Plate 34

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 80

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, Seal and Seal Impressions of Level Ib, pl. XXV, no. 2
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 21

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 37
Plate 36

Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 36
Plate 37

Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarında Bulunması," no. 37
Plate 38

Drawn by author from Özgür, "Acemhöyük Saraylarinda Bulunması," no. 335
A. Drawn by author from Özgüz, *The Anatolian Group 54*. Scale is 1.792 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 705. Scale of photograph is not given, but it appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüz, *The Anatolian Group 59*
A. Drawn by author from Özungüç, *The Anatolian Group 26*

B. Drawn by author from Lewy, *Die Keilschrifttexte aus Kleinasien*, no. 313
Plate 41

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 6

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 67
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 49

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 46
Plate 43

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 24. Scale is 2 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 714. Scale of photography is not noted, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

Plate 44

A. Drawn by author from Tosun, "Style in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 17

B. Drawn by author from Özugç, The Anatolian Group 11
Plate 45

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 71*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 36*
Drawn by author from Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 717. Scale is 1.812 times photograph. Scale of photograph is not noted, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 47

Drawn by author from Özgűç, *The Anatolian Group 47*

B. Drawn by author from Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles des musées royaux d'art*, supplement, no. 1383. Scale is 2.1429:1.
Plate 49

Plate 50

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 8

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 7. Scale is 2.298 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 706. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
Plate 51

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 58

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 56
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç and Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 723. Scale is 1.585 times photograph. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 13*
Plate 53

Drawn by author from Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib*, pl. XXV, no. 1
Plate 54

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 17

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 66
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 70. Scale is 2.356 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen i Kültepe 1949*, no. 718. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 65
Plate 56

A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 64

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, The Anatolian Group 31
Plate 57

Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 28*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 21. Scale is 2.41 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 722. Scale of photograph is not given.
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 76

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level 1b*, pl. XXII, no. 2
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Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarında Bulunması," no. 28
A. Drawn by author from Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," no. 18

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Plate 66

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A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 63. Scale is 1.874 times the photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 712. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 47
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A. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 82*

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 81*
Plate 69

Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 51*
Plate 70

Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group 50*
A. Drawn by author from Özgüç and Özgüç, Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949, no. 719. Scale is approximately 2.2 times photograph. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.

B. Drawn by author from Özgüç, Seals and Seal Impressions of Level 1b, pl. XIX A
Plate 72

Drawn by author from Özgüç, "Acemhöyük Saraylarında Bulunma," no. 40
Drawn by author from Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group* 60. Scale is 2.017 times photograph of *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949*, no. 710. Scale of photograph is not given, but appears to be approximately 1:1.
## APPENDIX B

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The Anatolian Group, 2

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Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," Pl. VIII, no. 9 ........................ text fig. 5A
  " " " " " " " " " " Pl. VIII, no. 10 ........................ text fig. 5D
  " " " " " " " " " " Pl. VIII, no. 11 ........................ text fig. 5C
  " " " " " " " " " " Pl. VIII, no. 12 ........ Plate 29B, text fig. 5B

Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving,"
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Tosun, "Styles in Kültepe Seal Engraving," Pl. IX, no. 17 ........ Plate 44A, text fig. 7C
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