SYMBOL SPACE AND MEANING
IN HITTITE ARCHITETURE

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ABSTRACT

SYMBOL SPACE AND MEANING

IN HITTITE ARCHITECTURE

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The importance of the Hittites derives from the fact that they were an organized central power extending over a large territory within which a number of societies maintained their language, culture and traditions. The archaeological findings of Hattusha, the Hittite capital reveal that the city had reached its maximum limits during the Great Kingdom period and the most magnificent and monumental buildings of the city are dated to this period. Yazılıkaya, the open air sanctuary which reached to its final form during the Great Kingdom period too, is an outstanding example of the many temples constructed in Hattusha that belong to different periods and the dimensions of which are quite different from each other. Among the archaeological findings of Hattusha, the royal archives are other

important material evidence as they transmit us the Hittites' perception of the cosmos.

However, understanding the antique world that is at a "distance" both historically and conceptually is not an easy task. In this context, rethinking and reinterpreting the meaning attributed to Yazılıkaya, the open air sanctuary, can only be achieved by considering the political, architectural and religious aspects together. This study is an attempt to reinterpret the material knowledge by drawing the appropriate limits of this knowledge with a contextual approach.

Keywords: Hittities, Hittite Architecture, Hittite Art, Yazılıkaya, Religion, Society

ÖZ

HİTİT MİMARİSİNDE
SEMBOL MEKAN VE ANLAM

ONURLU, Sema

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

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Hititlerin önemi, varolan çeşitli toplulukların kendi dil, kültür ve geleneklerini korudukları geniş bir yüzölçümüne yayılmış organize bir merkezi güç oluşturmalarından kaynaklanmaktadır. Hititlerin merkezi Hattuşa'da elde edilen arkeolojik buluntular, şehrin en geniş haline Büyük Krallık döneminde eriştiğini ve en görkemli ve anıtsal yapıların da bu döneme tarihlendiğini göstermektedir. Büyük Krallık döneminde son haline getirilmiş olan Yazılıkaya açık hava tapınağı, değişik dönemlerde Hattuşa'da inşa edilen ve boyutları birbirinden oldukça farklı pekçok tapınak arasında öne çıkan bir örnektir. Hattuşanın arkeolojik buluntuları

arasında yer alan diğer belgelerden kraliyet arşivleri, Hititlerin evreni algılama biçimlerini aktarmaları bakımından önemlidirler.

Ancak, tarihsel ve kavramsal olarak "uzak" olan antik dünyayı anlamak kolay bir iş değildir. Bu bağlamda, Yazılıkaya açık hava tapınağına atfedilen anlamı yeniden düşünmenin ve yeniden yorumlamanın üstesinden siyasi, mimari ve dini yönleri gözönüne alarak gelinebilir. Bu çalışma, bilginin sınırlarının belirlenmesi işini tarihi bağlamla birlikte ele alarak, bilgiyi yeniden yorumlama girişimidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Hititler, Hittit Mimarisi, Hittit Sanatı, Yazılıkaya, Din, Toplum

To the memory of my mother and my father

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: April 7th, 2004   Signature:

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of architecture, there are both advantages and limitations in studying antique civilizations. The improved techniques and equipment used in archaeological study, written sources that convey invaluable information and comparative studies may appear to provide satisfactory evidence in the study of ancient cultures. However, the contemporary concepts that are developed throughout the long years of human existence and thought become the major limitation in understanding the antique world which is at a "distance" both historically and conceptually. For this reason, although any current interpretation of the archaeological evidence may appear clear and adequate, the state of the evidence necessitates the questioning of these interpretations especially when there is no additional testimony available.

The study of civilizations has been a part of archaeological research starting from the nineteenth century, when this discipline originated. This interest has been shared with the historians since then, whereby material knowledge can be generated with the proper evaluation of the historical context, without necessarily being an archaeologist. The quality of the knowledge and drawing the limits of this

knowledge then becomes important in the construction of history. The present study is an attempt to work on these limits and to arrive at an interpretation with the proper decoding of the archaeological evidence.

Nineteenth century archaeologists attempted to order the ethnographic and archaeological information by categorizing cultures in a developmental sequence. Classical evolutionary theory thus provided a scientific underpinning for the grand narrative of the historical development in the expansion of western states (Van Buren and Richards 2000, 5). However, the *zeitgeist* of the twentieth century caused reshaping of the archeological interest in civilizations.

One of the most seminal scholars of twentieth century archeological theory is Gordon Childe who attempted a broad and sustained socio-economic analysis of the ancient world. In his theory of cultural archaeology, culture is defined as a social heritage of a community sharing common institutions, traditions and way of life, generated by interaction with other groups (Wailes 1996, 3). According to this definition of culture, the shared ideas or beliefs are the result of the interaction within a group of people and these shared cultural norms are transmitted to subsequent generations through the process of civilization, which results in the continuity of the cultural tradition (Jones 1997, 24). Nevertheless, Childe argued that although the comparative studies of civilizations could point to common processes and results, the variations in the details of economic, religious and political systems lead to the history of individual civilizations (Van Buren and Richards 2000, 6).

At the present age of postmodernism, an era in which modernism is continuously criticized, the terminology of archaeology and history is scrutinized, as well. The

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terms that are envisaged to be related to holistic approaches are categorized as having negative connotations. "Civilization" is one of these terms. "State" is a term which is defined during the rise of modernity, hence the subject of another debate among the scholars. The connotations of the term "state" for antiquity should be considerably different than what we define as a modern state. As Van Buren and Richards (2000, 5) maintain 'the complex societies judged to have attained and/or maintained a "state" level of political organization have traditionally been and continue to be categorized as "civilizations" in the literature'.

The study of ancient states is a field that the scholars from many different disciplines -the forerunners being the historians and the archaeologists- are interested in. While the archaeological evidence has been a major source of information, the written sources of antiquity are substantial in supporting the archaeological evidence for the reconstruction of history.

Van Buren and Richards (2000, 5) define civilization in very general terms as 'an ideological phenomenon, typically associated with complex societies, that cover large geographical regions, frequently persisting despite the emergence or destruction of individual polities'. Leaving aside more complex definitions of the term, Hittites deserve an equally profound investigation, together with Egypt, Assyria and other Near Eastern civilizations which has been the concern of the European scholars in their search for their origins[1]. The archaeological and textual evidence testify that, like the Assyrians, Egyptians and the Romans, the Hittites

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[1] It should be mentioned that among the European researchers German scholars have been particularly interested in Hittite history since the beginning of the twentieth century, in their search for their own origins. The language of Hittites was considered to be of Indo-European origins. Hence, it is not surprising that most of the current excavations are still led by the German archaeologists. As a result of this fieldwork, there is now considerably more material evidence on Hittite architecture and material culture.

had conquered vast areas and survived a long period of time in history. Although cultural exchange with their contemporaries was a prominent factor, they developed their distinct civilizations manifested by their distinguishing traits.

The development of any civilization and sustaining sovereignty for an extended period require the establishment of an administrative system. 'The purpose of all such systems is the exercise of control' (Morony 1991, 8) although there can be differences in each system. Similar to the current practices, written documents have been an essential part of administration since the discovery of the script. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned at this point that although written evidence of the period is very important in the interpretation of the knowledge pertaining to the ancient world, the interest of the writers or reporters of antiquity lacked our contemporary point of view. 'They are not only biased and selective but occasionally erroneous –whether intentionally or unintentionally' (Ridgway 2002, 221). Consequently, as modern definitions are being used in the efforts to shape the meta-narratives that are assumed to be present in any form of art, the codes that are present in ancient narratives cannot be read directly. Thus the interpretation of the archaeological and written evidence has to be considered with caution and in a more straightforward, contextual manner in the reconstruction of history.

Among the Hittite settlements it was Hattusha that was discovered initially and studied most extensively. The other two important sites Ortaköy (Sappinuva) and Kuşaklı (Sarissa) are relatively recent discoveries. Although some researchers believe that Alacahöyük is the most important cult center Arinna of the Hittites, there is still a controversy about the definite location of the site. As a result of this relatively limited evidence and as the other civilizations that had settled in Anatolia have already received more attention of the European scholars, there remains

much to be studied especially about the Hittite architecture. Moreover, the European scholars showed a greater interest in the rich corpus of the written sources of the Hittites in their search for the origin of the Indo-European languages and the art objects have received more attention than the Hittite architecture.

Architectural programs and rebuilding of the cities are observed during different periods of history. In our efforts to read the meaning of these programs, political power, the rise and the wealth of the state becomes a major point of interest. Rather than trying to produce complex interpretations in reconstructing history from the evidence in hand, the role of ideology needs to be considered in understanding how sovereignty was efficacious across the territories of ancient civilizations. This necessitates the conceptualizing of the subject matter and evidence as the isolation of any object from the subjects or the context may lead to the dangerous grounds of overinterpretation.

It is generally known that the omens, prophecies and oracles were important processes in ancient decision making in all aspects of life including the decision of the location of a city or a temple. However difficult to appreciate in terms of modern secularized understanding, in ancient belief the gods governed all aspects of life, from the well being of the people or the society to any military success. Rather than ignoring this process or concluding that it was simply a tool of manipulation in politics, it should be considered as a rational approach for the legitimization of the decisions in a world that there is no separation of the secular and the religious spheres. Why cannot religion "provide a template or blue print for the organization of social and psychological processes" in ancient societies (Meyer 2002, 179) if ideology can today? It can then be concluded that ideology in

modern societies has replaced religion as justification for actions and decisions. The stage and actors are different but the dynamics of governance are still the same whatever the tools may be.

Archaeological evidence reveals that Hattusha, the capital of the Hittites, faced two conflagrations during their history. The city was rebuilt many times and the remains of Hattusha inform us that during these rebuilding programs, a number of temples and a palace complex were constructed. One of the most interesting and unique structures of these temples is an open air sanctuary to the north east of Hattusha. The sanctuary, now called Yazılıkaya, is formed by the natural rock outcroppings that are carved to produce flat wall surfaces on which there are the depictions of the deities and kings. Natural rock settings which serve as sacred places are usually encountered in many parts of the world[2]. However, the work and arrangement of Yazılıkaya reliefs are exceptional. They are different and far more impressive than other contemporary structures encountered either in the Hittite world or elsewhere in Anatolia.

The Hittite scholars have assumed that the meaning carried by the Yazılıkaya reliefs is a direct consequence of the Hurrian influence on the Hittite religion. In this regard, Yazılıkaya is interpreted as the manifestation of the efforts of Puduhepa, the influential queen of Hurrian origin, and the adoption of the Hurrian pantheon by the Hittites. It is unanimously accepted among the Hittite scholars that one of the most distinguishing traits of the Hittite world is the tolerance towards religion. From what has survived, however, it cannot be deduced if there was indeed a certain ordering or a depiction present in the other Hittite temples.

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[2] For an extensive study on the idea of the archaeology of sacred natural places see, Bradley, (2000).

Unfortunately, the monumental human size statues made of precious metals and stones that are described in the Hittite cuneiform texts have disappeared and only a small number of statuettes are the remains of the religious iconography of the Hittites. This is an important difficulty encountered in solving the problem of the Hittite pantheon. When the discussion is grounded on the written evidence, then, obviously the statement that the Hittites were "the peoples of a thousand gods" is verified[3].

Then what may be the reason for the Hittites, "the peoples of a thousand gods" (Lehmann 1977), to bring a new arrangement to their pantheon? How may we proceed today to understand such a modification? The distinguished open air sanctuary at Yazılıkaya is generally accepted as the evidence for the intent of ordering and giving a final form to the Hittite pantheon. This argument still has to be reconsidered since Puduhepa, the influential consort of Hattushili III (1267-1209), who is believed to have commissioned Yazılıkaya, addresses the Hittite divinity, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, in one of her prayers. The recipients of the libations offered by Hattushili III and Puduhepa at Fraktin, another Hittite cult place close to modern Kayseri, are the Storm God and the sun Goddess of the Hatti.

It is obvious that the depictions of the deities in the highly original Yazılıkaya sanctuary are there to make a religious and political statement. It is also clear that Yazılıkaya constituted a significant part of the imperial project, as religion is an essential part of administration. However, we must admit that we have no way of knowing exactly what this meant for the planners of the sanctuary and in our

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[3] For the Hittite texts that refer to a thousand gods see Beckmann, 1996 pages, 36, 58, 80, 106 and 115.

efforts to interpret the meaning of this space, material evidence is highly important yet it has to be scrutinized with caution.

A very expressive example of how diverse the meaning of an object could be depending on the perceiver is the symbol of Ankara. The outsized version of ritual standards of Alacahöyük, the Early Bronze Age settlement near modern Çorum, has been used as the symbol of Ankara for some time now. When the copy of the standard which carries a stag flanked by two bulls was placed at Sıhhiye traffic circle in Ankara, the citizens of Ankara were informed that this was a Hittite sun disk. While this symbol of Ankara is a sun disk or not is already controversial, the purpose of the standards and what they symbolized is only a surmise. Toni Cross (2000, 23) points out that this structure is irreverently called "Bulwinkle" by the foreign community in Ankara. This perhaps is the best example that represents our position when we are reconstructing the Hittite history from the available archaeological and written evidence.

William Cronon (2001, 409-411) gives a striking example of how two contemporary authors who published books with nearly identical titles, in the same year, in 1979 with very divergent conclusions. The authors, while dealing with virtually the same subject had researched many of the same documents, agreed on most of their facts yet their conclusions about the long drought that struck the Great Plains in United States, in 1930s were completely different. While the drought was a natural disaster and the people's struggle with it was a triumph of individual and community spirit for one of the authors, the other author considers the situation lesser about the failures of nature and his interpretation is more about the failure of human beings to accommodate themselves to nature.

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As Ridgway maintains (1999, 221), in trying to specify a meaning to the ancient world we 'tend to project our own experiences and contemporary concepts of brilliant masters and dominant political personalities on a culture that was not only different from ours but also from those of other ancient and contemporary peoples'.

However, these interrogations are not to mean that interpretation is not possible. The issue becomes the contextualization of any subject. As Shanks and Hodder (1998) point out, 'the same or similar things have different meanings in different contexts… it is the context that allows a sensitivity to diversities and to local challenges to social meanings…but most contexts are grouped together in larger contexts'. The problem then obviously is the defining the relevant context for each problem and ascribing the interpretation to this context.

Last but not the least, being equipped with an engineering background and applied sciences, lacking a thorough knowledge of art and architecture naturally results in ignorance. Under these circumstances, the commonly accepted terms and definitions appear alien, arousing diverse questions and eventually antithetical interpretation. While ignorance is a disadvantage in grasping even the very basic notions of the field of study, it becomes an advantage in taking a more critical position in the interpretation of the evidence at hand.

CHAPTER 2

THE HITTITE WORLD: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Among the early Anatolian civilizations, Hittites continue to deserve a profound investigation. This is due to the fact that they existed over a large area extending from the west of Anatolia, to the east of modern Turkey. Despite the fact that they have not been located yet, it is known from the archaeological data that Hittite settlements existed in the Black Sea coast and southeastern Turkey as well.

The archaeological evidence of Anatolia reveals that there already existed a number of small independent settlements before twentieth century BC. However, by the twentieth century, residential areas and public buildings had started to be built within the settlements. Thus what one may call 'cities' in modern sense originated. We also know from the archaeological evidence that trade had already begun in this period. The Assyrian traders first arrived in Anatolia in about 1900 BC. The Assyrian trade colony at Kültepe, the ancient Kanesh, near Kayseri, is one of the best examples of early settlements in Anatolia. The business correspondences of the Assyrian merchants inscribed on clay tablets found in this site provide us with the information about the local princes.

As expected, the outcome of trade is the increase of the wealth, which in turn requires the establishment of power and control over the people. Hattusha, the capital of the Hittites though not very prevalent, was already a settlement in the nineteenth century BC. We learn from the cuneiform texts that Anitta, the ruler of a city named Kusshara and who later made Kanesh his capital, burned down Hattian Hattusha in the beginning of the eighteenth century and put a curse on the city so that it would never be settled again. The archaeological evidence reveals that Hattusha was reoccupied by the seventeenth century and this date marks the emergence of the Hittite Kingdom. Hittites who gained power in the area started to expand their territories, soon afterwards.

The origin of the Hittites is still ambiguous. They arrived in the mountainous Hatti land (figure 1), in the modern Çorum district, and settled there around the beginning of the seventeenth century BC. They continued to call their territory as the land of Hatti during their presence in Anatolia, which lasted about five hundred years up to the beginning of the twelfth century. The history of the Hittites is divided into two periods as the Old Kingdom and the Great Kingdom[4]. The Old Kingdom is thought to have endured in the time span 1650-1400 BC and the Great Kingdom between 1400-1200.

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[4] Some sources refer to this period as the Imperial Period (Gurney 1990, Akurgal 2001 Ünal 2002, Seeher 2002) while the others as the New Kingdom (Byrce 1998). Moreover, some scholars tend to divide the Hittite History into a different number of periods and dub these periods in various ways. Whereas some distinguish between the Old Hittite, Middle Hittite and Imperial periods (Alp 2000, 57, 72; Joukowsky 1995, 242-246; Kuhrt 1995, 231, Popko 1995, 67-157, Hoffner 1998, 169-173), the others tend to follow the conventional division of Old Kingdom and Empire but date these periods quite differently (Ünal 2002, 123-141). Hans Gustav Güterbock (1997a, 8) divides the history of the Hittites into two as the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom or the Empire period. Peter Neve specifies this period as the Great Kingdom or the Hittite Empire interchangeably (1996, 100-115). As a consequence diverse periodizations will be encountered in different sources. In this text, Hittite history will be considered in two periods and the second and obviously the more glorious period will be referred to as the Great Kingdom as the connotations of the term Empire are rather pretentious.

Following their defeat by the Sea Peoples the Hittite civilization continued to survive in the southeastern part of modern Turkey reduced to small states that are known as Neo-Hittite Kingdoms. Most of these states were absorbed Assyrians in time and by the end of the eighth century the last remains of the Hittite civilization faded away.

2.1.   Origins of the Hittites

The language of the Hittites is an important clue about their origin. They used to record information on clay tablets of which 30,000 have been found at Boğazköy, a province of modern Çorum. The decipherment of these tablets revealed that the Hittite language was closely related to Indo-European and it was concluded that they arrived in Anatolia from elsewhere, the exact place of origin still being unknown. However, it was soon shown that some discrepancies existed between the Hittite and the stem languages and it is generally agreed that Hittite is a distinct branch of Indo-European family[5] (Gurney 1990, 99). The tablets also reveal that Boğazköy was ancient Hattusha, the capital of the land of Hatti and the seat of rulers who had been among the most important of the Middle Eastern world during the fourteenth and thirteenth century BC (Macqueen 1986, 22).

If the inhabitants of this city were called Hatti, then who were the Hittites? The excavations carried out around Boğazköy reveal that the area was already occupied in the fifth millennium, the Chalcolithic period. There are other settlements dated to later periods of in the vicinity of Çorum. The Early Bronze

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[5] More information about the current debate on the origin of the Hittite language can be obtained from the Rober Drews (2001) edited book on the Indo-Hittite language family.

Age settlement Alacahöyük (figure 1) is the most important of them all. Seeher (1999, 158) maintains that the inhabitants of the site were the native settlers of Anatolia, called Hatti and they were the predecessors of the Hittites in this region. Towards the end of Early Bronze Age a Hattian settlement was founded at Boğazköy too, and beginning from this period the place has been the subject of continuous occupation throughout the history.

2.2.   Old Hittite Period

During the beginning of the second millennium, conflicts between the immigrant Hittites and local Hattians took place and 'the ruins excavated demonstrate that the city of Hattush was burned down in a great conflagration around 1700 BC (Seeher 1999, 160). This evidence is a clear attestation of the aforementioned Anitta text, which informs us that the city was burnt down. By the second half of the seventeenth century, Hattushili, "one from Hattusha" founded the first Hittite Kingdom at Hattusha, former Hattush. It is only from c.1650 that the Hittite history can be reconstructed. As there is no Hittite king-list of the type preserved in Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, and the texts often referred to as 'Hittite King Lists' are rather lists of royal ancestors to whom offerings were made, the approximate chronology of the Hittites depend on the datable rulers of their contemporaries (Bryce 1998, 409; Khurt 1995, 229). As a consequence, the absolute chronology of the Hittites is still debated (Appendix A).

During his reign, Great King Hattushili I extended the boundaries of his state up to northern Syria. His kingdom included the land of the Pala and Luwia. The Palaites

were of Indo-European origin (Joukowsky 1996, 241) and they lived in the western Black Sea (figure 1). The existence of the Luwians is inferred from the Hittite records and the exact location of their territory is not defined, yet. It is assumed from the Hittite records that these people of Indo-European origin too, were settled in the western and southwestern Anatolia and the land of Arzawa was incorporated into their territory (Joukowsky 1996, 240). Joukowsky maintains that Hittite Laws refer to Luwia in ca. 1500 which must be later associated with Arzawa as it not mentioned in the texts of the later periods. The influence of the Luwian culture especially the hieroglyphic script that survived until the end of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms after the fall of the Hittites will be discussed later.

Mursili I, the successor of Hattushili I gained control of the trade routes to Mesopotamia and the Hittites conquered a wide land extending as far as Babylon in the south. In the succeeding decades, although not very stable, the sovereignty of the Hittite Kingdom continued over Anatolia. However, by 1400 BC the land that is under the control of Hittite Kingdom waned to the limits of central Anatolia only, Hattusha remaining as the capital.

2.3. Great Kingdom

Despite the fact that the Great Kingdom is considered to have started around the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was in mid fourteenth century BC that Suppiluliuma I took on the throne and during his reign the Hittite Kingdom was raised to a great power. He put an end to the Hurrian Kingdom of Mitanni in the region Upper Euphrates and brought extensive areas in North Syria under Hittite

control. He made the Hittites the only real geopolitical rivals of the Egyptian pharaohs (Hoffner 1990, 2). Although the two rivals confronted each other during the reign of Suppiluliuma, the results are not known well. Nevertheless what is known is that northern Syria remained under the control of the Hittites. After the death of Suppiluliuma I, Muwattalli took over the throne and the capital was moved to Tarhuntasha a Hittite settlement that has not been discovered yet. The situation remained until Ramesses II became the pharaoh who desired to reestablish the Egyptian power in northern Syria. It was during the reign of Muwattalli that the two powerful states pharaonic Egypt and the Hittites confronted each other in the decisive battle of Kadesh. The battle was ended with a long lasting peace treaty between Egypt and the Hittites. It was formerly believed that it was the Egyptians who were victorious in this battle, as the reliefs on the Egyptian temple walls at Thebes were accepted as the description of this victory. However, Hittite archives reveal with no question that Hittites continued to be the dominating power in Northern Syria (Gurney 1990, 28).

Tarhuntasha did not remain very long as the capital. Murshili III carried the capital back to Hattusha once more. Meanwhile after the defeat of the Mitanni Kingdom, Assyria which had revived after the destruction of Mitanni became the new rival of the Hittites. Wars between Hatti and Assyria occurred during the reign of Hattushili III and his son and successor Tudhalia IV. Their reign is another glorious era of the Hittites. It was during this period that Hattusha was rebuilt. Many of the structures in Hattusha remain from this period. It is again during the reign of Tudhaliya IV that the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya was brought to its ultimate arrangement (Seeher 1999, 168).

During their existence, the Hittites tried to sustain stability within their territory by reducing the number of rivalries. Beckman (1996, 1) maintains that the 'foreign lands could be rendered harmless either by annexing them to the Hittite Kingdom as vassals or by drawing them into alliance as equals'. According to Beckman, neutrality was not an option in the relations of the Hittites with the other states; foreign lands were either enemies or friends. Beckman (1996, 4) and Houwink ten Cate (1970, 73) mention that a protectorate status would be give to some vassal countries. Two different types of vassalage that Houwink ten Cate refers to are "linkiyassas" and "kuriwanasi". While "linkiyassas", "A man of Oath", was the formal liegeman, "kuriwanasi" denoted a type of dependency with greater freedom by which a kind of protectorate would be assembled (Houwink ten Cate 1970, 73). Of the states that the Hittites confronted many times during their history during their struggle for dominance, Mitanni, Kizzuwatna and Arzawa, were characterized with the latter designation.

In either case a treaty setting the rights and the obligations of each party would be concluded. These treaty texts, which are the manifestations of the developed system of governance of the Hittite world, constitute about half of such documents of the ancient Near East. This is a clear attestation of the importance that the Hittites gave to the relations with their contemporaries. Yet these treaties could never ensure the integrity of the Hittite land and 'revolts would frequently break upon the death of a Hittite monarch' (Beckman 1996, 4).

Although the identity of the contemporary states of Anatolia are still relatively unknown, the Hittites had to face many problems as the other states started to

gain power (Macqueen 1986, 50). The Hurrians[6], whose original homeland is not certain either, had settled in northern Mesopotamia. It was during the nineteenth century excavations that their existence was discovered and it was the twentieth century research in Boğazköy, Ugarit, Alalakh, Mari, Emar and several other sites that demonstrated the influence of this group in the neighborhood (Hoffner 1998, 167; Wilhelm 1989, 2). Of the evidence discovered at these sites, the Hittite sources are the ones that provide researchers relatively extensive information about the Hurrians.

The Hurrians, one of the most dynamic social, cultural and political forces to emerge in the Near East, had developed a pantheon and a body of religious tradition, which survived long after they lost their political power in the region (Bryce 1999, 56). Even as early as the beginning of the third millennium, they had earned a reputation for metalworking (Hoffner 1998, 168). Similar to the other states in the vicinity, initially there existed Hurrian city-states. In the sixteenth century BC a kingdom, which is known as the Mitanni Kingdom was established on the Hurri lands and Akkadian sources refer to this kingdom as Hanigalbat while the Hittite sources most frequently refer them as Hurrians and their land as the 'Land of Hurri' (Wilhelm 1998, 25). The situation of the ancient Near East in the Late Bronze Age is seen in figure 2.

The Hittites had already confronted the Hurrians during the Old Kingdom period. Hattushili I, the first Hittite king had fought against the Hurrian states in his campaigns conducted into North Syria. During the Old Kingdom the allies of the Hittites or the governors appointed to the peripheral settlements of the Hittite lands were always faced with pressure from their neighbors and the east of Hatti

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[6] For a brief history of the Hurrians see Wilhelm (1989).

land was always under the threat of the Hurrian states. Towards the end of the sixteenth century BC the Mitanni Kingdom was established on the Hurri lands (Wilhelm 1989, 18). The sixteenth and fifteenth centuries BC represent the period within which the Hittites and the Mitanni Kingdom were gaining power contemporaneously in the region. In the early fourteenth century, during the reign of Suppiluliuma I, this situation changed and the Hittite force became prevalent. This also signifies the beginning of the Great Kingdom period. It was in this period that the Hurrian names appear in the Hittite royal family (Gurney 1990, 20). While some of the Hittite queens had their names in Hurrian, some of the Hittite kings had alternate Hurrian names during this period (Hoffner 1998, 173-174).

Among the scholars, Hurrian influence on the Hittite realm is generally considered to begin with the arrival of Puduhepa, the Kizzuwatnean princess to Hattusha as the wife of king Hattushili III (c. 1250 BC). Kizzuwatna, a dependent of Mittanni Kingdom time and again, had acquired considerable cultural significance by adopting Hurrian cults (Wilhelm 1989, 23). However, both the copies of the earlier religious texts and the texts on horse training and clothing trade are the material evidence that the Hurrian influence had already started in earlier periods (Hoffner 1998, 175-178). Nevertheless, the culmination of this effect was reached in the thirteenth century, during the reign of Hattushili III and his successor Tudhaliya IV.

2.4. The Fall of the Hittites

By end of the thirteenth century BC the decline of the Hittites starts. The Hittites always had to challenge their neighbors throughout their history but little is known

about exactly how the Hittite Kingdom came to an end. An immigration that started from the northwest may have been the reason. Macqueen (1986, 51) states that:

> Whatever elements may have made up the invading force, its effect on Anatolia is clear. Hence, the northwestern trade route was the first to be cut. The invaders moved down the Aegean coast and on along the Mediterranean shore.

Meanwhile Arzawa, the undiscovered state that is known to be the great rival of the Hittites, was swept away. Cilicia and Cyprus also fell and the invaders reached north of Assyria. The second trade route of the Hittites was also lost at this time, causing the decline of the Hittite Great Kingdom.

The importance of the Hittites derives from the fact that they were an organized central power extending over a large territory within which a number of societies maintained their language, culture and traditions. The organization of power was obviously maintained by some kind of an overarching administrative framework. Due to these traits of the Hittite Kingdom, the Hittites are considered as a dominant power in their period and it is testified by material evidence that this organization was maintained particularly from 1400 BC onwards.

The decline of the Hittites marks also the close of the Bronze Age in central Anatolia. Seeher (1999, 169) mentions that the various complexes of the Great Kingdom period in Hattusha reveal signs of a fiery destruction.

Klengel (2002, 107) states that there are several reasons for the breakdown or the disintegration of the Hittite state. As there is no Hittite textual evidence, naturally, the history of the era can only be constructed by the evidence in Egyptian and Assyrian sources. An Egyptian inscription of Ramesses III mentions

that Hatti and all the countries of eastern levant were defeated by the so-called Sea peoples. The situation in Anatolia after the arrival of the so-called 'Sea Peoples' still remains obscure and in between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age there is a "Dark Age" of about 200 years which is recently dubbed the "Crisis Years" (Klengel 2002, 108). It is believed that together with the destruction of some settlements in central Anatolia after the fall of Hattusha around 1200 BC there has been mass movement of people as well (Bryce 1998, 382). The archaeological evidence shows that some Hittite elements including the hieroglyphic script (Bryce 1998, 383), language and the stone monuments continued to survive in the south eastern provinces of the Great Kingdom until the eighth century (Gurney 1990, 32; Alexander 2002, 11). The contemporary Assyrian sources refer to Syria and Taurus mountains as the "Land of Hatti" and the names of the kings mentioned in these sources are Hittite names (Bryce 1998, 385). The Hittite state was divided into three parts, Hatti Tarhuntassha and Carchemish as evident from the texts of Ugarit (Klengel 2002, 108).

Carchemish, situated on the Euphrates was an important seat in Syria during the Hittite dominance in central Anatolia. A branch of the Hittite dynasty continued to rule in Carchemish after the fall of the Great Hittite Kingdom (Bryce 1998, 384). Carchemish could not remain united for a long time and several other new kingdoms emerged in Syria in the twelfth century. The kingdom of Kummukh -the Commanage of the Greco-Roman times-, the kingdom of Hammath, the kingdom of Melid and the country Tabal which was called Lower Land in the Hittite times and which included the cities Tuwanna, Tunna and Hupisna are the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms where the Hittite influence survived until the end of the eighth century BC (Gurney 1990, 33; Bryce 1998, 385). It is startling that even though this region previously belonged to the Mitanni Kingdom, where the Hurrians are known to

have constituted the majority of the population, it was the genuine Hittite culture that pervaded, not the Hurrian.

As Klengel (2002, 102) maintains, Anatolian history is scarcely reflected in the written trad itions of the other contemporary kingdoms and it is not mentioned at all in later Greek and Roman records. It is the biblical tradition that refers to the Hittites but the population mentioned in the Old Testament is the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms of early first millennium Syria not the Hittties of second millennium Anatolia. The Hittites who disappeared in central Anatolia were completely forgotten until the French archaeologist and architect Charles Texier discovered the ruins of an ancient city in Boğazköy, in 1834 (figure 3) and it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the reference to the Hittite Kings in the Old Testament could be resolved.

CHAPTER 3

HITTITE WRITTEN SOURCES AND SOME ASPECTS OF THE HITTITE SOCIETY

In the quest for a better understanding of human behavior, extensive work is carried out in many disciplines and fields including sociology, anthropology, history and archaeology. The poststructuralist approaches, since the 1980s, are striving to answer the question whether an objective view of the past can be reconstructed or, is it a reflection of the present, used to satisfy our own often unrecognized ideological needs (Whitley 1998, 1). These challenges resulted in the so-called "hermeneutic" twist, which shifted the principal focus of interest in anthropology and archaeology from social structure to meaning (Gellner 1995, 48; Whitley 1998, 13). Whitley (1998, 13) defines hermeneutics as the method and philosophy of interpreting and understanding, central to which is the concept of meaning as meaning implies an understanding of historical and cultural context.

Thus, cognitive archaeology, which is considered to be an integral part of archaeological studies, is defined as the study of all those aspects of ancient culture that are the product of the human mind. It covers the perception, description and classification of the universe (cosmology); the nature of the

supernatural (religion); the principles, philosophies ethics and values by which human societies are governed (ideology); the ways in which aspects of the world, the supernatural or human values are conveyed in art (iconography); and all other forms of human intellectual behavior that survive in the archaeological record (Flannery and Marcus 1998, 35). Although this definition apparently includes subject matter from many other disciplines, it searches for a comprehensive past in the interpretation of archaeology (Shanks and Hodder 1998, 69). Despite the fact that the methodological discussions and the growing interest in the interdisciplinary studies in each field have blurred the boundaries between the disciplines it is evident that the archaeological findings play an important role in the reconstruction of history.

Among the archaeological findings of Bronze Age Anatolia and ancient Mesopotamia, the corpus of cuneiform texts, that is, the written sources, are extremely important material evidence. They inform us about how various elements have been transmitted from one culture to the other one throughout the history of the ancient Near East, the "cradle of civilizations" and they provide us with the evidence of economic and legal practices that are not often encountered in the Greek and Roman sources (Van de Mieroop 1999, 2).

Since the Anglo-Saxon culture looked for its origins in the European sources, the Near eastern civilization and its products were omitted from history for a long time. However, if the statement that writing is the feature that distinguishes history from prehistory, then as Kramer has stated, "history begins at Sumer" (Kramer 1998). The cuneiform[7] script was developed around 3000 BC in ancient Sumer in a pictographic character and later took its final wedge shaped form around 2400

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[7] An example of cuneiform script is given in Appendix C.

BC again in the same place (Van de Mieroop 1999, 10). In contrast to the alphabetic script that requires a separate symbol for each individual sound, the cuneiform script is a syllabic script in which each group of signs represents a whole syllable or a complete word or concept that are called logograms[8] (Bryce 2002, 58). Most often the script would be recorded on pillow shaped moist clay tablets for the ease of shaping and then the clay tablets would be dried. As the cuneiform script is not a language itself it was adapted to record many languages including what is dubbed 'Hittite' today. The name was given as it was the official language of the Land of Hatti but strictly speaking, this is not correct (Alp 2000, 4; Gurney 1990, 102). It was later discovered that the correct name of the language was 'Neshite' and the Hittites called themselves 'Neshites'. Neshite, the center of the former Assyrian Trade Colony was later named also as Kanesh by the Hittites. Consequently, the initial settlement of the Hittites, before they made Hattusha their capital, appears to be the site Nesha/Kanesh/ modern Kültepe to the east of Kayseri. Nevertheless, the name 'Hittite' given to both the language and the people is the widely known name that is still being used and will apparently continue to be used.

The majority of Hittite cuneiform tablets were found in Hattusha, the Hittite capital. When they were first unearthed, most of these tablets could not be deciphered as they were written in several unintelligible languages. The complexity of the Boğazköy archives derive from these different languages attested (Kuhrt 1995, 232, Gurney 1990, 97-105). A smaller part written in 'Babylonian', the diplomatic *lingua franca* of that time, could be read immediately. It should be pointed out

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[8] Although the terminology that is used to differentiate between the alphabetic and syllabic writing appears to be somewhat confusing, philologists divide the script into two categories on the basis of the content (Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 22-23) as syllabic and alphabetic systems.

here that what Hittites called Babylonian is now known as Akkadian, the name attributed to the Semitic languages of Babylonia and Assyria. The greater part of the remaining tablets was later proved to belong to an Indo-European language by the Hungarian philologist Bedrich Hrozný. This language was Hittite. This arose the interest of western scholars as it was the earliest written form of Indo-European language known to date. Although the two languages Hittite and Akkadian were used in the official documents, there were tablets written in four other languages. While some of the texts were in Luwian and Palaic, dialects of Indo-European language, the remainder were in Hurrian and Sumerian. The cuneiform texts, deciphered so far, refer to scribes carving on wax covered wooden tablets as well (Alp 2000, 8). Although no wooden tablets have been discovered in the archaeological sites, it is not difficult to imagine that a greater number of Hittite texts existed. However, as wood is known to be a material of limited durability, they all deteriorated albeit they were covered with wax and we do not have any evidence to understand how wide literacy was in the Hittite society. Therefore, it is generally assumed that it was the duty of the professional scripts to record (Bryce 2000, 419; Güterbock 1997a, 10).

Despite the fact that all the clay tablets unearthed in Boğazköy were written in cuneiform, another script dubbed the 'Hittite Hieroglyphs' has to be specified among the written sources of the Hittites. On the monuments found throughout Anatolia and Syria, there appeared an unintelligible script (figure 4), initially named hieroglyphs due to their superficial resemblance to the Egyptian hieroglyphs (Bryce 1998, 422; Kuhrt 1995, 234). Although the discovery of these inscriptions is much earlier than the archaeological findings at Boğazköy, their decipherment was accomplished later than the decipherment of the cuneiform script. While the cuneiform writing is a cultural transfer from Mesopotamia, it has

been shown that the hieroglyphic script was of Anatolian origin (Alp 2000, 14; Popko 1995, 64) and was already used in the seals of the Assyrian colony period (Kuhrt 1995, 234). The hieroglyphic signs are themselves pictograms, the objects that they represent in many cases being clearly recognizable (Gurney 1990, 105), comprising about 400 signs in total, a smaller part being ideograms and the majority being the phonetic signs[9] (Alp 2000, 9).

It is well known that the written sources of the Old Kingdom are much more limited in quantity when compared to the records of the Great Kingdom. Yet, there are Hittite seals inscribed in hieroglyphic script that belong to relatively earlier periods of the Hittites. Nevertheless, the rock carvings and stone monuments that carry hieroglyphic inscriptions are dated to the Great Kingdom and the so-called Neo-Hittite Kingdoms established in the southern-eastern Anatolia after the fall of the Hittites (Gurney 1990, 105; Alp 2000, 8). The Hittite hieroglyph inscriptions that have survived on seals and in stone monuments, 'often as legends accompanying representations of gods and men' (Popko 1995, 64), are verified to be a dialect of Luwian (Alp 2000, 16; Gurney 1990, 106). It is obvious that the cuneiform script was mainly used to record royal documents, while the hieroglyphic writing was more connected with public activities. Thus it is reasonable to think that the personal and royal seals and the hieroglyphic script carved on the public monuments were used more readily for public communication as they contribute to the visual literacy more.

It is assumed that the Hittite kings were not literate themselves, either (Bryce 2000, 419; Güterbock 1997a, 10) and it was the duty of the trained scribes both to write and read the cuneiform texts. At this point the meaning of "literacy" has to be

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[9] See Appendix D for some hieroglyphic signs and their meanings (Alp 2000, 10-13).

scrutinized. Carruthers (1990, 8) states that medieval culture was fundamentally memorial to the same profound degree that modern culture in the west is documentary and it is probably misleading to speak of literary culture as a version of "literacy " at all. Yates (1969) in her treatise on the history of the "art of memory", emphasizes on the importance of the "mnemotechnics" [10] that originated in Greece, passed on to Rome and descended from there to the European tradition. The art of memory was vitally important before the development of printing, that is, when literacy was relatively limited in the time span between the antiquity and the renaissance (Yates 1969, 11-12) and its importance derives form the fact that visible images or emblems worked better than other concepts on the memory (Yates 1969, 358-359). That is why Leibniz in the seventeenth century, had suggested to develop a new mathematical art in which the *notae,* the geometrical figures or shapes, would be used instead of an alphabet and thus they would be readily recognized and universally read (Yates 1969, 366-367).

While Yates emphasizes how the memory system underpinned by signs becomes an important mechanism in mediating the previous knowledge, Carruthers (1998, 9) further emphasizes the possible cognitive uses of the art of memory. According to her, the art of memory is a part of the art of thinking, encouraging the imagination and creativity. The idea that the memory stores, sorts, and retrieves material through the use of some kind of mental image was considered in the eighteenth century and recently reviewed by the cognitive psychologists (Carruthers 1990, 17). The conclusion arrived is that the "auditory memory or "tactile memory" is not distinct from the "visual memory". Once an impression or

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[10] The art of memorizing through a technique of impressing places and images on memory.

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an idea gets into the brain, a phantasm[11], that can be "seen" and "scanned by the "eye of the mind", is produced. The forms incised on a clay, wooden or stone surface symbolize information. They are thus the representations that serve a cognitive purpose and the representation in a memory is verbal rather than pictorial, hence textual (Carruthers 1990, 22; 222). 'Anything that encodes information in order to stimulate the memory to store or retrieve information is "writing" whether it be an alphabet, hieroglyph, ideogram' (Carruthers 1990, 31). That is why any visual representation has to be read aptly.

3.1. Characteristics of the Hittite Society

The cuneiform tablets of Hattusha comprise archival materials cataloguing the tablet collections, school texts for training, financial and economic records ranging from land grants to the contents of the depots, warehouses and temple storerooms, historical narratives, state treaties, letters, a law code, myths and stories, prayers, descriptions of rituals and festivals, and descriptions of oracular techniques and the annals of the Hittite Kings (Hoffner 1990, 1-2; Cross and Leiser 2000, 40; Bryce 2000, 424).

It is perhaps the annals of the Hittite Kings that distinguish the Hittites from their contemporaries, as they are the earliest document that may be classified as 'written history'. A trait of the annals of the Great Hittite kings is that although

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[11] "Phantasma" is defined as mental representation of a real object in *Merriam Websters Collegiate Dictionary,* Deluxe Audio Edition.

propagandist in nature, they are relatively unbiased[12] records of their military campaigns. They, at the same time, give indirect information about the government and the society in the Old Kingdom.

As the clay tablet archives discovered at Hattusha -although religious in nature- mainly describe the state functions in considerable detail it is concluded that the use of cuneiform writing was limited to the royal bureaucracy (Beckman 1995, 529). However, Van de Mieroop's (1999, 16) comment on the common interpretation that cuneiform writing was restricted to official records is completely different. According to him, the administrative archives that were found almost everywhere where cuneiform writing was used predominate in our textual record as the public institutions were commonly the most prominent economical units in a city and the archaeological exploration has concentrated mainly on the monumental buildings.

The Hittite archives reveal that the Hittite king and his family, called the "Great Family", occupied the highest level of the society and there existed a large staff of officials that worked for the palace and the temple. Although the social classes in the Hittite society are not very clear, it is known that a class of craftsmen, peasants, servants attached to the households of wealthier citizens and slaves who were the property of their masters also existed[13]. High or low, there were

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[12] In contrast to their contemporaries, like Egyptians, the annals of Hittite kings were not highly propagandist in nature. Hans Gustav Güterbock (1997c, 171-177) remarks the frankness and the objectivity retained in the annals of the Hittite kings. Trevor Bryce (1998, 425) maintains that 'the annalistic compositions contain little more than bald records of military enterprises, highlighting for posterity the successes of the kings who undertook them' and comments on the relatively honest approach of the Hittite kings. Oliver Robert Gurney (1990, 142) states that the king speaks freely and naturally to his subjects. In contrast, the battle of Kadesh, which ended with the victory of the Hittites, is represented on the walls of the temple of Karnak, Egypt as a great victory of the pharaoh.

[13] For further information on Hittite society see Gurney (1990, 51-64) and Bryce (2002).

many different officials working for the state, the names and duties are documented on the clay tablets, the functions of whose can not be clearly understood by modern definitions. However, this is a clear indication that the Hittite society was socially stratified.

Members of the king's family would rule the city states and function like provincial governors. As Van den Hout (1994, 37) maintains, 'most of the key positions, whether military, administrative or religious, were held by a network consisting of members of the royal family including nephews, cousins and in-laws'. "The Great Ones" or "Men of the First Rank" that followed the family members served the state as counselors, officials or military officers. During the Old Kingdom the Council of Elders, called "panku", comprising the representatives of the local population, would intervene in the governmental process (Gurney 1990, 55-56; Cross and Leiser 2000 41). However, there is not any evidence for the continuation of this institution during the Great Kingdom (Gurney 1990, 55-56). Slaves who had rights and who could own property occupied the lowest layer of the social hierarchy. The evidence for the position of the slaves is sound in the law codes that list the rights and the obligations of the slaves and the citizens at the same time.

The Hittite officials were bound by an oath to the king (Beckman 1995, 539). The officials operating in connection with the central authority received goods from many communities. While the wealth of the central government was improved, foodstuff, livestock, raw materials were redistributed to the locals. It has already been mentioned in the previous chapter that vassals who performed their duties in accordance with the statements mentioned in the sworn treaties ruled the Hittite provinces.

The King was not only the chief priest but also the commander in chief of the army, the supreme judicial authority and as the head of the state he directed the foreign policy. Of these duties he would perform the military and religious ones in person while the others could be delegated to the state officials. He would delegate his military duties only if he had to attend the celebration of a religious festival as the chief priest of the realm.

3.2. The Significance of Religion in the Hittite Society

The cuneiform tablets deciphered to date are the most important source for religious issues in the Hittite society as the majority of the texts are documents of religious nature. They clearly reveal that religion was of great significance for Hittites. Hittites had close relations with both the native settlers and the neighboring countries during their presence in Anatolia. As they became a powerful kingdom and a great civilization they adopted many features from other civilizations that they were in contact with including the script to hieroglyphs, and perhaps the most important, various deities.

Historically, the religions of Anatolia are a part of the general system of ancient religions. Popko (1995, 49) states that the natural forces and manifestations were treated as divine beings. According to him, the world was an entity consisting of many enlivened elements and phenomena such as the earth, water, vegetation, and animal life, the heaven, stars, wind, rain, storm and the like. The result was polytheism in which the particular deities had defined functions. While these defined functions limited their authority, the importance of a particular deity would

be subject to change. The religious texts of the Hittite realm, though incomplete, list the names of the deities but the nature and the function of these divinities are usually not mentioned. Often the name or the epithet of the divine figure provides information about the function of the divine figure. This should also be used with caution because a deity may have more than one name, which can appear interchangeably.

The scholars unanimously accept that the Hittites approached religion with great tolerance. Lehmann (1977, 263) states that they neither imposed their own gods on the Anatolian population nor Hittitized their adopted deities and showed equal respect to both the local and the principal deities. Lehmann further comments that the reason why they addressed themselves as 'the people of a Thousand Gods', is not due to the multiplicity of the gods but due to their respect to the local deities. This cultural interaction is regarded as one of the main causes for gaining such a power for such a considerable period[14].

Gurney maintains that (1990, 109):

> Isolated city communities of Anatolia were gradually welded into a semblance of unity by the genius of the kings of Hattusas but yet preserved to the end their local councils and many of their local rights. In religion also each little community seems to have maintained its independence, for the centralization of power at Hattusas was a civil and military matter. The local shrines remained and that their cults were unimpaired and the policy of the kings seems to have been to enhance rather than to diminish their importance, while at the same time assuming their own person as the supreme high priest of the realm.

Gurney states that, contrary to the contemporary civilizations of the Near East, the mortal kings of the Hittites were not gods themselves but were deified only after their death. However, they were expected to perform the religious activities in person as the chief priests during their reign (1990, 53). It should be remembered

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[14] For the lists of the deities mentioned in the treaties of the Hittites see Appendix B.

that although a great majority of the Hittite cuneiform texts were written in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC they still provide us invaluable information about the state affairs. Some of the texts that are dated to these centuries are already the copies of the previously written tablets. According to these texts the Hittite King was not the owner of the Land of Hatti but a steward appointed by the divine owner (Beckman 1995, 530) so that there could be no dispute about the rule of the king. Nevertheless, Hittite kings were the chief priest of the Hittite realm and for this reason they were at the point of contact between the divinities and humans. As the king represented the Hittite state to the gods he was responsible for all the good and evil deeds taking place in the land of the Hatti.

In the Hittite realm while the state was under the protection of the official cult, the cities were under the protection of the local cult. Gurney states that the local cults with their own traditions and the state religion of the king based on the capital were the two distinct aspects of the Hittite religion (1977, 1). As McMahon maintains, 'official life revolved around the cult' (1991, 1). Although there was a well-developed system of priests whose functions were described in detail, the king as the supreme priest had to visit cult places according to an annual religious calendar. The ceremonies held at these festivals were intended to maintain the state's relationship with its deities. In the corpus of cuneiform tablets, the description of the festivals makes up an important part. This is another important testimony of how prominent the role of religion in the Hittite realm was. The detailed descriptions of the rituals performed during these festivals indicate that they were essentially similar (Gurney 1990, 128). However, while some Hittite festivals were dedicated to the entire pantheon, others were performed for a particular deity (McMahon 1991, 2).

3.3. The Hittite Pantheon

By definition, pantheon[15] consists of the gods and goddesses recognized and served by the official priesthood. Usually the Hittite pantheon is described in its final developed form at the end of the Great Kingdom. However, its historical development has to be considered in order to understand the social context.

The number of cuneiform texts that remain from the Old Hittite period is relatively small. This becomes extremely important in interpreting the religious belief of the Hattians and its influence on the Hittite religious beliefs. Bearing this in mind, it is still obvious that the Hittites adopted the deities of the Hattians similar to their contemporaries, the Luwians and the Palaites, upon their arrival in central Anatolia. This process of the adoption of various deities continued during the Hittite existence and as a result, it is not possible to trace any Indo-European origins in their beliefs (Popko 1995, 67-68). It is mentioned in the records of their conquests that the statues of the gods were brought to Hattusha. Therefore the bringing of divine images from captured cities was a manifestation of territorial expansion and gaining sovereignty over the conquered (Popko 1995, 68; Bryce 2002, 135). Popko (1995, 68) points out that, in old Hittite texts, a Hittite cult carried to the surroundings is not mentioned at all. Whether it reflects a 'conscious politically conditioned religious tolerance' as Akurgal states (Bryce 2002, 136) or simply an instrument -that emerges from their religious beliefs- to ensure their sovereignty over the conquered is problematic and has to be carefully reconsidered. In his annals Hattushili I records statues of gods being brought from

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[15] Etymology of the word derives from Latin *pantheon*, from Greek *pantheion,* temple of all the gods. While one of its meanings is defined as a temple dedicated to all the gods the other meaning is defined as the gods of a people, *especially* the officially recognized gods (*Merriam Websters Collegiate Dictionary,* Deluxe Audio Edition).

conquered Syrian cities whereas Mursili I, when he conquered Babylon, was forced to abandon the statues of Marduk and Šarpanitum in the city of Hana (Popko 1995, 68). The deities remained in their individual identities when transferred to Hittite capital, although they were identical in function and character and name with the gods of other conquered territories or gods already long established in Hittite lands. Thus a plethora of Storm gods, sun gods, Ishtars or Ishtar equivalents was formed, only differentiated by the addition of their local places of origin to their names (Bryce 2002, 135-136). The official pantheon of the Hittites initially formed in this way and apart from this the existence of local pantheons, as well, should not be forgotten.

As already mentioned, Hittite treaties sworn with the foreign powers include a list of deities of both parties. All the local cults of the communities were included in these lists as they were 'witnesses and guarantors of these provisions' (Beckman 1996, 2). As might be anticipated, during the early phase of gaining power in the region, all the local cults were included in the treaties of the Hittites and due to this multiplicity it is difficult to define a Hittite pantheon from these treaties, at this early period, albeit, an example to the later treaties is the one that is sworn between Tudhalia IV and the city state of Tarhuntassa has a similar listing of the deities (Appendix B).

3.4. The Characteristics of Hittite Divinities

Although there are a great variety of Hittite deities either described or depicted in a different manner in the Hittite pantheon, in its widest sense, according to McMahon, they may be grouped in four (1991, 4) as follows:

- deities whose names are written out in the text;

- a deity who is designated as simply god and whose gender is not known;

- deities who are identified by their geographical origin, e.g. deity of Hatti;

- deities who are identified by their epithet, e.g. deity of hunting bag.

Mc Mahon suggests that the presence of such a great variety of divine characters, some of which still remain undefined, stems from the reason that they either protect a person, a king, a single room, a building or the entire state (1991, 51).

Despite the fact that 'even at the height of the Hittite Empire there was no single unitary hierarchy of gods' (Gurney 1977, p.6) the characteristic divinities of the Hittites are the sun god of heaven and the sungoddess, Arinna. In the state treaties either the sun god of heaven or the sun goddess, Arinna, was the first divine figure to be notified. The storm god of heaven and the storm gods of various sites would then follow (Appendix A). Popko (1995, 69-70) however, states that a storm god who is called Taru by the Hattians, Tarhunai by the Hittites, Tarhunt by the Luwians and Ziparwa by the Palaits, usually stood at the head of the official Hittite pantheon. Bryce (2002, 143) also states that beginning from the pre-Hittite times, during the rulership of Pitanna and his son and successor Anitta of Kanesh, the Storm god was honoured as the chief God and the storm-god held the most exalted place among the gods of the Hittites.

In some Hittite studies the name "weather god" is used interchangeably with the storm god. Gurney in his works on the Hittites (1990, 111; 1977, 4) maintains that weather-god Taru is a characteristic divinity of the Hittite pantheon, Taru and Arinna being two Hattian divinities and he does not mention the storm god. The sun goddess of Arinna was called Wurusemu in Hattic (Gurney 1990, 12; Popko 1995, 70) and she was the consort of storm god/weather god, Taru (Popko 1995, 70; Gurney 1990, 112). Güterbock, (1997b, 40) specifies both the weather god and the storm god and mentions that the Hurrian name of the weather god is Teshub. Güterbock (1997a, 11) will later dub the storm god as Teshub as well, despite the fact that the name Teshub is not mentioned in the original text[16]. In most studies while the weather god is not mentioned at all, storm god is usually specified as the principal god and is not given a name (Bryce 2002, 143; Popko 1995, 2; Hoffner 1990; Beckman 1996)[17]. In brief, the Hittite name of the storm god and whether the weather god and the storm god are different characters in the Hittite pantheon still remains obscure.

These interpretations about the arrangement of the Hittite pantheon stand rather controversial, as the listing of the gods in the Hittite treaties is different than what is mentioned. Many different deities, that have a significant place in Hittite religion, are included in the lists of the prayers, although they are excluded from lists of the treaties. The relatively well preserved Hittite prayers reveal that more than half, including the oldest examples are addressed to the solar deities, the sun god of

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[16] Güterbock (1997a) in his article "A View of Hittite Literature" mentions that Muwatalli, in his prayer 'confesses sins of the people to Teshub the storm god, as well as to other deities'. However, Singer (1996) refers to the same text as "Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-god of Lightening' and throughout the text the name Teshub is never mentioned.

[17] Deighton (1982, 110) in her study on the Weather-god in Hittite Anatolia concludes that "weather god" is a misused term and the most acceptable English expression for the term would simply be 'God'.

Arinna, the sun goddess of earth and the sun god of heaven. According to one interpretation, in the Hittite realm the sun had a central function as the one who sees everything (Singer 1996, 149).

Although the list and the order of the gods addressed in Hittite prayers differ from each other they literally address the assembly of gods. Though the assembly of gods is a well-known phenomenon in the religions of the ancient Near East, the prayers normally addressed one god at a time. The Hittite prayers, however, address an assembly of gods and this is what makes them distinctive within the corpus of prayers in the ancient Middle East (Singer 1995, 151).

3.5.   The Hurrian Influence on the Hittite Pantheon

In the rituals of the Old Kingdom various Hattian deities are observed (Gurney 1977, 4-13). A complete list of them all is beyond the scope of this present study. Gurney maintains that the six year annals of Hattushili indicate that an entirely different pantheon existed in north Syria, then, and the booty from his raids to this region included some Hurrian gods (1977, 13). The cult statue of Hebat was taken to Hattusha and this is considered by the scholars as the introduction of a Hurrian deity into the Hittite pantheon for the first time (Hoffner 1998, 170). However, Popko states that with the evidence at hand it is not possible to claim that Hurrian cults were established in the Hittite capital as early as then. The Hittite pantheon at that time consisted of the Hittite–Luwian storm god, the sun goddess of Arinna and the goddess of Mezulla, a Hattian goddess (Hoffner 1998, 171).

Even though the Hurrian influence on the Hittite pantheon is a commonly accepted premise among scholars, it is a paradox that the cults and rituals of the Hurrians do not appear to be a homogeneous system either (Wilhelm 1989, 49). It is probable that the original features of the Hurrian cults and rituals were affected by their Sumerian, Akkadian and Assyrian equivalents. The most important Hurrian goddess is Sawuska who was worshipped as the supreme goddess in the Mitanni kingdom. However in Kizzuwatna Sawuska was deprived of her supreme position by Hebat (Wilhelm 1989, 50-51). Wilhelm (1989, 52) describes the deities worshipped in the Hurrian realm in detail and states that while the west Hurrian, that is, the Kizzuwatnean gods Ninatta and Kulitta were a synthesis of authentic Hurrian tradition, Hebat was never accepted in either the kingdom of Mitanni or in the more eastern Hurrian territory. Another point that has to be stated is that the only source for Hurrian mythology is limited to the cuneiform texts found in Hattusha and there are no other materials available to reconstruct the development of the Hurrian pantheon.

Archi (1990, 1-18, 1992, 7-14; 2002, 21-33), who has studied the formation of various panthea, discusses how the cult is determined by social and institutional relations especially in the ancient cultures. The development of the Hattian-Hittite pantheon constitutes a case where a population, having an urban culture overlapping another urbanized and more sophisticated population and taking over its pantheon (Archi 1990, 6). Thus, when the whole country was unified in one kingdom, all the gods were included and organized hierarchically under a couple at their head, formed by the sun goddess of Arinna and the weather god of Hatti. Archi (2002, 21) remarks that the Hurrian people who came to Northern Syria reorganized their pantheon taking the Akkadian canon as a model. However, the pre-Hurrian deities were included in the pantheon and this is how "She of Halab",

that is, Hebat, an indigenous local deity of the Syria-Anatolian region limited to the west by the Taurus and to the east by the Eurphates, became the spouse of Teshub (Archi 2002, 32). This is why Archi (1992, 14) comments that the Hurrian cultic role was relatively modest in the Kizzuwatna region.

The history of the Hittites in the first half of the fifteenth century, that is, the beginning of the Great Kingdom period is rather ambiguous due to the lack of written evidence. Gurney maintains that the enlargement of the Hittite pantheon occurred shortly after 1400 BC which is observed in the stereotyped treaty lists (1977, 15). While the Palaites had disappeared by then, the Kashkans with whom the Hittites always had problems had settled to the north of the Hatti land. If the lists of the deities are considered as the evidence of the official pantheon, in a treaty with the Kashka people, the Sun-goddess and the storm god are at the head and is followed by the god designated by the word "LAMMA", the name of which is unknown (Popko 1995, 90). McMahon (1991, 3) suggests that the deities presented by this title are the 'tutelary deities', that is, the 'protective deities' and is a demonstration of the continuity of cult representation from the Assyrian trade colony period. Popko (1995, 91) on the contrary states that it is a characteristic feature of the Luwian tradition and as a consequence it may allude the Luwian influence on the Hittite pantheon. A mother goddess, usually addressed as 'Queen', often stood at the head of the local pantheon (Popko 1995, 94). At the same time, Popko mentions that the Hurrian influence on the Hittite pantheon had already started to be effective before the Great Kingdom period (1995, 96).

The reign of Suppiluliuma I about the middle of the fourteenth century marks the culmination of the Great Kingdom, which is the relatively well documented period. Gurney (1977, 16) maintains that during the conquests of Suppiluliuma I the

Hittites imported a mass of Luwian rituals but, the major part of their gods were not integrated in the Hittite pantheon. While the boundaries of the Hittites enlarged to their maximum during the Great Kingdom, increased cultural interactions engendered some changes in the Hittite pantheon. Popko (1995, 110-112) comments that the inclusion of the names of the Hurrian deities in the treaties sworn with the Hurrians and some changes that occurred in some characteristic qualities of the deities is a reflection of the Hurrian influence on the Hittite pantheon. Popko (1995, 112) also states that this is a reflection of the attempts at ordering a pantheon according to functional and geographical criteria. Therefore, if the gods are the witnesses and the guarantors of the treaties and if the inclusion of the local deity is regarded as an insurance to this situation, then it is not surprising that the Hurrian deities were mentioned in the lists of the treaties sworn with the provinces that the Hurrian gods were respected. Then the concept of ordering has to be dealt with more caution.

Gurney (1977, 17) referring to Laroche, maintains that in the thirteenth century when Hattushili III married Puduhepa, the daughter of a Hurrian priest, the Hurrian gods were adopted. It should be stated once more that it was rather the west Hurrian, that is the Kizzuwatnean pantheon that influenced the Hittite world by the arrival of Puduhepa to Hattusha. He states that starting from this time, the sun goddess Arinna of the Hittites was named as Hebat and the storm god, was addressed by his Hurrian name Teshub. Near them stood Sharumma and Allanzu, the son and the daughter of the divine couple. Even though a detailed listing of the deities of the Hurrian pantheon is given by Gurney, the material evidence for this listing is not mentioned. Gurney (1977, 18) also states that although the Hurrian pantheon is confronted in the rituals of the Great Kingdom period and the prayers uttered by Queen Puduhepa, the Hurrian divinities were

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identified with their Hattian and Hittite counterparts by a process of syncretism. The prayer of Puduhepa is the well known and the best example of this syncretism (Pritchard 1969, 393).

> O sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the countries, in the land of Hatti thou bearest the name 'Son- Goddess of Arinna', but in the country thou hast made the land of cedars thou bearest the name 'Hebat.

There are cases where the sun-goddess of Arinna may be juxtaposed as in the festival of Sausaga of Samuha, who is the personal deity of the King Hattushili III (Gurney 1977, 18-19). Samuha is the sister of Hurrian storm-god Teshub and in this festival, Hebat and Sarumma and the whole Hurrian *kaluti*, that is the series of gods, follows the Sun-goddess Arinna and her daughter Mezulla. Despite the suggestion that the Hurrian influence was at its peak during the reign of Hattushili III, a Hattian revival appears to be encouraged (Gurney 1977, 19). Affirming this, Hattusili III proudly prfoclams that Nerik, one of the most important cult centers of Hittite world, which was under the invasion of Kashkeans was recaptured and its Hattian cults were reconstructed. Therefore, the syncretism that is envisaged as an account of the influence of Hurrian culture on the Hittite realm may equally be conceived as a means to overcome the reluctance to accept this influence.

CHAPTER 4

HITTITE ARCHITECTURE: A GENERAL OVERVIEW

Aldo Rossi defines architecture as collective in nature and as a creation inseparable from the civilized life and the society in which it is manifested. As the city grows upon itself with time, it acquires a consciousness and memory. Architecture, which testifies to the tastes and attitudes of generations, public events and private tragedies, new and old facts, is the fixed stage for human events. The archaeological layers of the city then appear as a primordial and eternal fabric of life in an immutable pattern (1999, 21-22). Boyer in *'The City of Collective Memory'* maintains that spectators are not only required to look at the city in formal and functional terms but in figural and interpretive ways as well (1994, 19). Since classical times the city spaces and architectural landscapes have often been the active systematizers of memory and the formation of spaces was used repetitively as a memory prompt for different material. Thus a mental construction is developed in which a set of images is stored in a series of places (Boyer 1994, 133-137). "Public space" in the eighteenth century AD is defined as a honorific place celebrating the power of the king, queen or aristocracy that was 'used to recall and to invigorate their sovereign conduct and responsible actions'

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(Boyer 1994, 7). Analogously, public spaces in the Hittite realm should have been reminiscent of Hittite power. Archaeological research then becomes an important key in understanding space and its connotations for the society in which it is formed.

Similar to their contemporaries, the early excavations at the Hittite sites concentrated mainly on monumental architecture, but the excavations of the Hittite sites since the beginning of the 20th century have proven the existence of both military and domestic architecture, together with religious architecture. The fortifications that had already been built during the Old Hittite Kingdom in Alişar Höyük, Alaca Höyük, Eski Yapar and Hattusha are the representatives of the developed military architecture and there exists written evidence that strengthens these findings (Darga 1992, 27)[18]. Likewise, building monumental religious structures had already started during the Old Kingdom. An important example is the multiroom structure unearthed in İnandıktepe. Although no cult statues were found at the site, it is believed that the remains of the structure belong to a temple building. The evidence that supports this belief is a cuneiform tablet found in Hattusha and which is dated to the reign of Hattushili I. On the tablet, building of temples and bringing the plunder which includes the golden and the silver statues of the gods to those temples are mentioned. Darga reports that according to Özgüç, the statues are missing as they were made of precious materials and were already removed by the inhabitants before the invasion or by the warriors that conquered the Hittite land (Darga 1992, 31).

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[18] It is interesting to observe that there exists a great similarity between the books of Kurt Bittel on the Hittite realm published in German and translated to French (1976a, 1976b) and Darga's book on the art of the Hittites.

The excavations that still continue in Hattusha have revealed a large settlement with temples belonging to different periods, dwellings for families of varied income and a palace complex. Indications of an early fortified settlement date to the end of the Early Bronze Age, towards the end of the third millennium (Neve 1996, 99). The area later became the settlement of Assyrian trade colonies and further enlarged towards the lower city. It was about 1700 BC when the Hittite Prince Anitta of Kussara burnt down the city and put a curse so that the city would never be settled again. However, the area was resettled after 1600 BC, during the Old Hittite Kingdom and was designated as the capital of the Hittite Kingdom. As the Hittites gained power the city enlarged in parallel and it is estimated that it occupied an area of 168 hectares (Naumann 1998, 223) during the Great Kingdom. It was during this period when the palace complex was rebuilt and the fortifications were extended (figure 5). The area never became this large a settlement after the fall of the Hittites.

Expectedly, as the Hittite Kingdom gained power, the architecture of the Hittites showed a significant change. The most magnificent and monumental buildings are dated to the Great Kingdom period. The remains of Hattusha and the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya are the most expressive examples of this monumentality.

4.1. Characteristics of Hittite Architecture

Of the Hittite architecture, only the substructures have remained. The superstructures, generally constructed of non-durable material such as wood and mud brick, have completely diminished. However, from what remains it is clearly

evident that the outstanding trait of Hittite monumental architecture is the usage of large stone blocks (figure 6) as building material, as seen in Alacahöyük, Hattusha, Ortaköy (Sappinuva). The development of masonry and sculpture is regarded as the result of the extensive usage of stone (Darga 1992, 95). Limestone that is relatively easy to form is abundantly found in the vicinity of Boğazköy. The examinations on the rock structures that exist in the area indicate that they were utilized as quarries (Naumann 1998, 39).

Hittites were the most skilled fortress builders of the ancient world, the best example being the city walls of Hattusha (Akurgal, 107). A view from the south side of the fortifications of the Hittite capital is shown in figure 7. The Hittite fortification is a casemate wall (figure 8) with protruding square or rectangular towers. The lower part of the fortification is made of stone blocks whereas the upper part is of alternative mud brick timber-frame construction, which is characteristic of Hittites. Towers flanked the monumental gates of the city walls. Currently admired parabolic corbel vaults used in the construction of the gates are the creation of Hittites (figure 9). In this building technique, each layer of huge limestone blocks were successively laid protruding slightly inward so that they formed a pointed vault and a wedge shaped keystone would be placed at the top. The same construction technique was used for the building of the posterns, the reasons for the construction of which still remain unknown as they allowed a passage to the city through the fortifications (figure 10).

In Hittite architecture the column is nonexistent and pillars are used instead. Another characteristic of the Hittite structures is a lack of symmetry except for the doors or gates. Double doors existed in the temples and their importance is

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mentioned in an exaggerated manner in the tablets related with the rituals (Naumann 1998, 465).

The general plan of Hattusha during the Great Kingdom, when the city reached its maximum limits, is seen in figure 11. It is customary to divide the city into two parts. The lower city was the settlement area during the Old Hittite period (figure 5). The fortifications that surround the lower city were built during this period and the greater part of the excavations are carried out in this region. The district extends from the outer northwestern wall, by today's modern village Boğazkale, to the higher part of the city, Büyükkale, where the royal citadel is established.

Temple I or the Great Temple constructed in this part of the city during the Great Kingdom is a great complex and it is the not only the largest religious structure but it is the largest of all the structures present in Hattusha including the royal residence. The changes in the Hittite capital had already started during the Old Hittite Kingdom but it was by the beginning of Great Kingdom that the great Temple was erected at Büyükkale.

The city was enlarged to the south during the Great Kingdom and reached its maximum size during this time. The individual structures of the Old Kingdom at Büyükkale were replaced by the official buildings, either secular or religious, during this period, too. The important structures present in the upper city are mainly defined as the temple buildings (Seeher 2002). Neve (1999) reports that there were several residential buildings located near the temples. From the evidence at hand, it can be concluded that the fortifications of Hattusha were built for the temples and the residence of the royal family. The significance of religion for the Hittites is thus once more verified.

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4.2. The Hittite Temple

Hittite ritual texts mention an extremely large number of temples. This occurrence is followed through the passages that mention the "house of god(s)" (Güterbock 1975a, p.125). Expectedly, there were temples in most of the towns that are known or mentioned as cult places of gods. There are many temples in Hattusha, the Hittite capital, that belong to different periods the dimensions of which are quite different from each other (figure 12).

The tablet of the festival of "AN.TAH.SUM. plant" which is a relatively well preserved and extensively studied text due to this reason, lists eleven temples: The temples of the Sun, the Palaic god Ziparwa, the storm god, Zababa, Hannu, Tutelery Deity, Stormgod of Aleppo, Mother Goddess, Ashgashepa, Ea, Zitharya and a god whose name is lost in the text. The number of temples in Hattusha that would be visited during this festival only, adds up to twelve (Güterbock 1975a, 124-125). Other than the Great temple, which is the largest temple in Hattusha, twenty-nine temple buildings have been excavated in the lower city, in the temple district of the upper city (figures 11-12).

Each temple displays a different number and arrangement of rooms, although they share an essential common plan. An entrance portal leads into an open courtyard from which an open stoa or portico is reached. One or more antechambers lead to the adyton where the cult statue of the deity was placed. It is still unclear if the temples were housing many deities or each temple housed a single deity as no cult objects have been found in the excavations in Hattusha. Nevertheless, the statue bases excavated in some temple buildings indicate that a cella was present in the temples (Güterbock 1975a, 127). The temple

complexes comprise storehouses, which form an enclosure, an inner courtyard and ritual chambers. Another distinctive character of the temple buildings is the presence of large windows, opened from the external walls but not on the courtyards.

4.3. The Significance of Sculpture

In his book *'The Architecture of the City'*, Rossi with reference to Fustel de Coulanges, maintains that institutions are truly constant elements of historical life and the relation between myth and institution is of equal importance as the institutions itself. Rossi maintains that while myths pass slowly from one place to another new elements are added to the patrimony received from the past but there is a permanent reality, which in some way eludes the action of time. Thus the ritual constitutes a key to the understanding of monuments as the ritual is collective in nature and is an element for preserving myth. Moreover rituals act in the transmissions of ideas in the urban context. Then if the ritual is the permanent and conserving element of myth, then so too is the monument, since it represents the possible ritual form (1999, 24).

The remains of the Hittite Great Kingdom undoubtedly demonstrate that monumental sculpture was the most important artistic activity. At this point the term "artistic activity" has to be reconsidered. Gombrich states that it is not the standard of craftsmanship but the changing ideas and requirements that differ in art. Thus what matters is not whether the sculpture or the painting is beautiful according to recent standards, but whether it 'works'; that is to say whether it has

a meaning for the society it belongs to (1984, 23-24). Still, like the Egyptian pyramids, 'however remote and mysterious' the Hittite structures, tell us much of their own history' (Gombrich 1984, 31). They tell that the Hittites had developed their own monumental architecture in which they used huge monolithic blocks, which are difficult to shape even with modern techniques, as the building material. These blocks, shaped at the quarries were carried from there to the sites the means of which are still a wonder for us. We lack information about the creators of the monumental Hittite sculptures as well. As there is no available written evidence, either on the structure itself or on the cuneiform texts, about the architect or the sculptor, the creator(s) is/are not known. Whether they are the product of a team or a single person, could only be predicted from the different marks produced during carving, only if the marks were not erased during a period of about 3500 years which is not possible with the weathering effects, putting aside the other possible causes.

Darga maintains that the Hittite texts are clear evidence of the importance given to sculpture (1992, 174). As a consequence of the erection of monumental temples during the Great Kingdom period, an official imperial style in sculpture developed both in monumental stone carving and as metal figurines. Hittite sculpture is subservient to architecture. No freestanding statue is found in the excavated Hittite sites. The semi-engaged figures at the city gates of Alacahöyük and Hattusha are novel and their size is equally new. The monoliths on which the statues are carved reach to a size of about three meters. These carved statues are the products of a fine craftsmanship and genuine as they do not resemble any of their contemporaries.

Gombrich maintains that the idea of outdoor sculpture initially served to guard the gates or doors against any intruders and this widespread idea has originated independently in various parts of the world. In this sense a purely decorative aesthetic function cannot be attributed to the Hittite lions (figure 13) carved at the city gates (2000, 140). In later periods, it is shown by written evidence that of the Greek masters' sculptures were closely linked with the shrines. This concept continued during the early Roman times but was trivialized in late Roman times. However, they were still regarded as remnants of the pagan world and for this reason with the rise of Early Christianity hostility to these objects was observed. Following this, not until the end of Middle Ages monumental sculpture was displayed outdoors. It was only during Renaissance, the revival of antiquity, that these statues were demanded as works of art (Gombrich 2000, 141-144).

Information about daily life in the Hittite land is very limited from what remains. One of the main reasons for this is that the Hittites would usually cremate their deceased and onlya few Hittite cemeteries are known (Van den Hout 1994, 54). The graves that are mostly dated to the first half of the second millennium reveal that the burial methods differ considerably among these sites. Moreover, all these graves tend to be sober and no obvious royal tombs have been discovered (Van den Hout 1994, 50-54). Hence, the personal belongings or the objects needed for eternal life, which provide the best information about the ephemeral life, is missing in the Hittite world. The second one is that Hattusha, the Hittite capital, was burnt when the Hittite existence in the area came to an end. Nonetheless, the cuneiform texts are the invaluable source of information although they mainly describe the official life. It should be mentioned here that although a very limited number of cult objects are found in the Hittite temples the description of these in the cuneiform texts is a clear evidence that these object were large in size and made of precious

metal and stones. Queen Puduhepa in her prayer to the sun goddess Arinna, to request her husband to be cured, promises to make a life-sized silver statue of her husband as an expression of her gratitude (De Roos 1995b, 2005). The large statue base found in the Great Temple in Hattusha is a testimony that a colossal statue was present at the site. The document about the achievements of Hattusili I when he returned to Hattusha victoriously from his campaign to the south east, is another evidence of how precious metals were used to decorate the sculptures of the deities (Alp 2000, 66).

Both the small metal figurines and the reliefs of the Hittite realm indicate that sculpture had a religious function (Frankfort 1970, 225). The Hittite kings are depicted in the reliefs as the main priests, not as warriors. Ironically, Egyptian reliefs narrate the war scenes of the Hittite kings. A great number of monumental rock Hittite reliefs which depict the great Hittite kings exist in an area extending from İzmir to the river Euphrates and from the Pontic mountains to the Mediterranean coast. These reliefs are known to exist along the natural road crossings and by the water sources. By following these monuments, it is possible to trace the roads used by the Kings during their military campaigns (Darga 1992, 174). The existing examples of these rock reliefs are in Fraktin, Taşcı, İmamkulu/Şimşekkayası, Hanyeri/Gebzel, Hemite and Sirkeli/Ceyhan. However, the most magnificent of these rock reliefs are the ones present in Yazılıkaya, the Hittite rock sanctuary

CHAPTER 5

YAZILIKAYA: THE OPEN-AIR ROCK SANCTUARY

The observation that all tribes, states and cities have some form of religion has been made ever since Herodotus. Nevertheless, differences in belief and practice are dramatic and religions can be a most serious obstacle for communication between different groups (Burkert 1996, 1). Concerning the dynamics of religion, Burkert (1996, 3-5) also maintains that religion deals with the 'non-obvious, the unseen, that which cannot be verified empirically'. Strangers are usually puzzled by different forms of religious practice but contrary to this non-obvious character, religion manifests itself through interaction and communication which is focused toward the unseen and the contemporary social situation.

The expression of power is 'rarely limited to the pure exercise of brute force and presents a far more complex and mysterious quality than any apparently simple manifestation of it would appear' (Elsner 1998, 53). Elsner further states that as power is a matter of presentation, its cultural currency shapes the creation, manipulation and display of images and thus the state power is often propagated through art. However, the authority has to be aware of the changes in cultural

expectations as the communicative efficacy of the images is important. Neiva (1999, 7) in his critical approach to the theories of historical interpretation of the images, states that many scholars of diverse trends share the same idea that images are semantically powerful because their program of production is shared by their makers and consumers. That is why religion that is an aspect of cultural domain and that has an exceptionally important role in the administrative affairs like all other aspects of the Hittite society will search for its own manifestation in combination with the manifestation of power. Therefore it is not contingent that similar to the Greek and the Roman examples, the temple, the house of the god, was the most impressive building in the ancient Near East (Kramer 1988, 1; Burkert 1988, 29).

It is during the late periods of the Great Kingdom that the Hittite territories had extended to the maximum extent, creating a vast domain. Various cultural identities were present in this domain. The acculturation exposed and amalgamated, and inevitably led to the changes in the cultural expectations during this period. In this respect, the open air rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya stands as a distinguished example for the interrelation of acculturation, religion and power.

The Hittite explorations up to present have revealed that elaborate rock reliefs carved on monolithic stone blocks were usually placed in the city gates. An exception to this and a distinguished example too, is the rock sanctuary at Eflatunpınar. Similar to the structures found at the city walls, monolithic and elaborately carved stone blocks comprise the walls of the sanctuary. However, as already mentioned, monumental reliefs carved on rock outcroppings that exist along the natural road crossings and by the water sources is another

characteristic of the Hittite art. The open air rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya that is about 1.5 km to the northeast of the Hittite capital, is the most outstanding example of the Hittite monuments carved on the natural rock outcroppings (figure 14).

As no literary testimony explaining the precise ritual usage of Yazılıkaya which is dated to the Great Kingdom period, has been discovered yet, it is presumed that the rituals were limited to special occasions in the course of the year (Bittel 1970, 107). Therefore, the great procession of gods together with the reliefs of the Great Kings depicted in Yazılıkaya should possess a meaning which is still ambiguous for us. While the architectural constructions of the Hittites perished after the fall of the Hittite Kingdom, the monumental rock reliefs of Yazılıkaya remained in well preserved condition. Since their discovery at the end of the 19th century by Charles Texier, any visitor to the site is still deeply affected by this structure. As they still speak to us, they should have been a means of communication with the Hittite society then, as well.

Gombrich, in his article on communication titled "The visual image: Its Place in Communication" maintains that the chance of reading of the images correctly is governed by the code, the caption and the context. He states that whereas the caption itself may be misleading, there are cases where the context alone can make the visual image precise without the use of words. However, even in such cases the context has to be supported by prior expectations, otherwise the communication breaks down. Then the information gathered from an image can be irrelevant to the intention of its producer (Gombrich 1996, 44-47).

This is the reason why the context has to be grasped with the help of the written evidence. In this respect, both the cuneiform texts and the hieroglyphic inscriptions continue to supply invaluable information to researchers. As De Roos has pointed out, the description and the interpretation of Yazılıkaya by Texier, Hamilton, Bart and Van Lennep, the early visitors to Hattusha, are quite different than the recent constructions. For example, Texier, initially read the main representation of Yazılıkaya reliefs as the meeting between Amazons and Paphlagonians and could not comment on the nature of the depiction, whether it was historical, political or religious. On the other hand, William J. Hamilton who visited the site in 1835 thought that it was a peace treaty between the kings of Persia and Lydia, while Heinrich Barth who visited the place in 1858 saw the scene as the representation as the peace and marriage treaty between Cyaxares and Alyattes. Evidently, they were looking for the Greek and Roman antiquities. It was Henry J. van Lennep, who, after his visit to the place in 1864, more correctly described the reliefs as the meeting of a man and a woman each followed by their attendants and related this scene to the Egyptian and Assyrian customs (De Roos 1995a, 263-264).

5.1. The Spatial Arrangement of the Yazılıkaya Reliefs

As already stated, the major Hittite religious sanctuary of the Yazılıkaya comprises natural rock outcroppings (figure 15). However, archaeological excavations have revealed that the entrance to the open air sanctuary, was preceded by a man-made architectural complex (Seeher 1999, 121). After passing through these, the visitor would then be led to the two natural chambers

of different size, open to the sky, rocks comprising the walls of the space (figure 16). In the large chamber, a sequence of 66 deities is represented with males and females with one exception in either group. The deities are arranged in such a way that the gods appear on the left and the goddesses on the right to the entering visitor (figure 17). A conventional numbering system is being used by the modern scholars in order to define the relative positions of the deities in the depictions of Yazılıkaya. This numbering system for the reliefs of chamber A is seen in figure 18 (see Appendix E for the drawings of the gods).

Close to the entrance of the main sanctuary, on the left are the twelve unknown gods that are assumed to be the gods of the underworld (figure 19). These are twelve nearly identical male figures wearing short skirts, high pointed hats and they carry swords in their right hands. Three mountain gods (no 13-16) are depicted immediately after the twelve underworld gods on the same side (figure 20). The highly weathered depictions are bearded figures with horned hats and who wear long skirts. As in the other rock reliefs, the deites of the Yazılıkaya sanctuary are identified by the hieroglyphic signs (figure 21) that accompany the reliefs. However, while some of the deities do not carry any signs at all, all of the identification signs accompanying the deities have not been deciphered yet, either. The deities that are depicted next in the sequence are the two mountain gods with their long skirts and pointed hats and five divinities with short skirts and pointed hats (figure 22). These five deities do not carry any identification.

Some of the reliefs of the deities No. 25-33 (figure 23) still remain unidentified, too. These reliefs are at an angle but just opposite the entrance of the sanctuary. In front of the reliefs, the rock is shaped into a low, flat, extended platform that

protrudes towards the central part of the sanctuary. The presence of such a platform with the inspiring depictions of several deities (figure 24) on the carefully flattened surface of the rock (figure 23) impresses any visitor to the sanctuary instantaneously upon entrance. Of the deities depicted, no. 25 is unknown, no. 26 is suggested to be Pishaishapi and no.27 Nergal, the god of the underworld. No. 28 and 29 are bull figures and it is suggested that they represent the Bulls of the Heavens Hurri and Sheri. No. 30 is suggested to be the war god Zababa. No.31 is defined as the god Pirinkir, no. 32, an unknown god that is assumed to be a god of protection. No.33 is the war god Ashtabi.

It is obvious by the size of the platform present that an immense body of rock must have been removed from the rock outcroppings at this part of the sanctuary. Cutting the rocks to such a platform must have been the result of a considerable amount of work. Moreover, the depictions at this part of the sanctuary are the ones that the eye catches immediately when stood in the central part of the space. Therefore the feeling which arouses is that this is a very exceptional space of the sanctuary. The platform might have been used as an altar but it is difficult to make a comment on this point as what remains from the Hittite temples do not provide information about where the altars were exactly placed.

A number of reliefs, facing towards the same side, follow this scene. Of these reliefs no.34-39 are shown in figure 25. The line of the male deities continues up to the relief no. 36. No. 34 is the sun god of heavens and no. 35 is a moon god. The line of male deities is interrupted at reliefs no 36-37 with the introduction of the two female deities, Ninatta and Kulitta (Figure 26). Shaushka, a male alternative of the goddess Ishtar, Ea the god of wisdom completes the line of male deities.

Following this is the central panel where the climactic scene is portrayed (figure 27). This is the point where presumably most sacred is reached. The most sacred is placed in the back at the farthermost corner of the sanctuary. Furthermore, this scene is perceived only if looked attentively. This is because the depictions are carved at a level higher than the remaining ones and they are at the farthermost and deepest location of whole space. The climactic scene that is depicted on this recess portrays the storm god Teshub and the sun goddess Hebat coming across.

It has already been mentioned that in the Hittite temples the entrance led to an open courtyard from which an open stoa or portico was reached. One or more antechambers attached to this portico lead to the adyton where the cult statue of the deity was placed. The open air sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, in this sense, is not any different than the other temples. The most sacred is placed at the farthest point from the entrance and is reached by a procession through the other spaces.

The deities that are depicted up to the climactic scene are all carved at a height that any human can easily see as they are at a height close to eye level. Except the climactic scene, the size of the depictions are more or less close to each other. However, the climactic scene is different in both senses. While the scene is carved at a height close to the upper level of the remaining ones, the scale of the storm god Teshub and Hebat are nearly 1.5 times larger in size than the others. Therefore, any person who enters the sanctuary will perceive that there is a line of the deities that follow each other in a certain order but will deeply be impressed with this relatively elevated scene where the deities are facing each other. The scene is interpreted as the assemblage of all the deities in the house of the weather god, that is, the storm god (Alexander 1986, 17).

While the storm god Teshub is raised on the shoulders of two mountain gods, the sun goddess Hebat stands on the back of a wild cat that stands in turn on four mountain peaks. On the climactic scene, behind the god Teshub, there are two other figures standing on mountain peaks. While the first one, no. 40, is assumed to be the god Kumarbi, the other one depicted just behind Teshub is suggested to be the weather god of Hatti. Behind Hebat comes Sharrumma, the son of the divine pair and Sharrumma is the only male figure along the line of the female deities. He is again standing on a wild cat, standing on mountains. The line of the female deities follows Sharrumma. In the climactic scene, the two female figures that follow him are his sister Alanzu and the granddaughter of Teshub. These two stand together on a double-headed eagle. While the size of Sharumma is close to the deities other than Teshub, the size of the female deities are identical with him. Indeed the name Teshub is not carved in the hieroglyphs of Yazılıkaya sanctuary. The hieroglyph that accompanies the depiction of the deity is the generic name storm god (Alexander 1986, 137; Hawkins 1992, 73); it could be read with a Hurrian name or a parallel in any current language. Most of the names of the other deities are carefully written out. The depicted storm god is specified to be representing Teshub due to the reason that it is accompanied by the goddess Hebat whose name is obvious by the hieroglyphic script accompanying it. Also the relief no 42a that represents the divine calf belongs to Teshub beyond any doubt.

When compared with the male deities, the goddesses in line do not have prominent individual characteristics. They are generally very similarly depicted and like the female figures at the head of their line, they wear curled shoes, full length dresses. In contrast to the male figures whose torsos are depicted frontally, the bodies of the female figures are depicted entirely in profile. The female deity that follows Alanzu and the granddaughter of Teshub, is followed by the goddesss

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Tarru Takitu (No. 46a) whose hieroglyph remains only and the figure itself is severely damaged. No. 47 is the goddess Hutena, No. 48 is identified as Hutellura (figure 28). Their positions are higher than the other goddesses. The deities No. 49-55 are shown in figure 29. No. 49 is identified as the goddess Allatu. No 50-51 are unknown No 52 is the goddess Shalush, No 53 is the goddess Tapkina, wife of the God of wisdom Ea, No. 54 is the goddess Nikkal, wife of the moon god, and the rest is unidentified.

It is clear that like the ancient Greek and Roman realm the deities of the ancient Near East were actually in human form and were subject to the same emotions as the human beings. Thus, there were the gods of both sexes although the sun god as the supreme god stood at the head of the pantheon. It should be mentioned that Hebat who was originally a mother goddess in Syria, (Bryce 2002, 137) was not a solar deity in Hurrian belief. But her prime position alongside with her consort Teshub, as a result of the syncretism, she became a solar deity in the Hittite pantheon. The offsprings of the divine couple Sharrumma was equated with the Storm god of Nerik and Alanzu was associated with the cult center Kummanni. Sharrruma achieved importance in the last decades of the empire as the personal deity of the King Tudhalia IV. Yet, the royal prayer of King Tudhalia IV, found in the corpus of the cuneiform texts of the late Great Kingdom period refers to an oracular investigation which establishes the dissatisfaction of the sun goddess of Arinna with the manner of the festivals and cult calendar (Houwink ten Cate 1992, 106). Thus the syncretism of Hebat and Arinna is once more encountered during the reign of Tudhalia IV who had started a cult reform and gave his orders to the "Commanders of the Border Provinces" to repair and bring back the temples all over the country to their original state (Houwink ten Cate 1992, 101).

While the Storm god has the most important place and stood at the head of the Hittite pantheon as the protector of the land of Hatti, an important part of the Hittite prayers addressed the solar deities (Bryce 2002, 141-143) and there were a number of solar deities of both sexes. Sun goddess of Arinna took her name from the close relations with the city of Arinna, the cultic center of the land of Hatti. From the Old Kingdom times the storm god of Hatti and the sun goddess of Arinna were the paramount couple in the Hittite pantheon. Their offsprings included lesser storm gods, notably those of Nerik and Zippalanda, a daughter Mezzulla, and Telipinu, the vegetation and the grain god (Bryce 2002, 145).

It is startling that at Yazılıkaya, on the right-hand side of the chamber, almost directly opposite to the main group, is a relief of a Hittite great king Tudhalia nearly 3 meters high (figure 30), not connected with the procession of the gods' (Bittel 1970, 95). As mentioned before, the Hittite Kings were not deities themselves, but became deified after their death. Therefore, the depiction of a king within a temple is not anticipated. However, Puduhepa in her prayer to the Sun Goddess Arinna where she asks the goddess to help her husband recover from his illness, promises to make a life size statue of her husband to be placed in the temple of the goddess Lelwani, queen of the underworld, Allani in Hurrian, on the condition that her husband recovers from his illness by the help of the Goddess Arinna (Bryce 2002, 175, cited from Güterbock). Then it may be concluded that it was during the reign of Hattushili III that the Kings' positions in the divine order started to be changed.

The reliefs in the adjoining small chamber, chamber B are different from those found in the large chamber. On the right side of the entrance twelve identical

gods are depicted (figure 31). On the left are three reliefs (figure 31-33). The first one is the cartouche of a great king Tudhalia IV, the second is the Sword-god, and the third one depicts the great king under the protection of his personal deity.

Bittel (1970, 97) states that 'the great procession of the gods at Yazılıkaya consists of single figures and single motifs which become parts of the total design inasmuch as they appear in the rock relief in a meaningful sequence subject to a strict hierarchy'. However, according to him, the reliefs of the small chamber are single motifs neither connected nor arranged in a meaningful order (1970, 102).

Although Alexander (1986, 18) maintains that the textual evidence of the same period reveals that the procession at Yazılıkaya is parallel to the deities listed on the tablets during this period this statement has to be cautiously reconsidered. The diplomatic texts of the same period (see Appendix B) list the traditional Hittite Pantheon. Güterbock (1975b, 275) states that in some texts while the male and female deities are separated, several opposites are paired as divine couples. This is regarded as an indication of the Hittite pantheon during the mid-thirteenth century.

As already mentioned, it was during the period of Hattushili III and his son Tudhaliya IV that Hattusha was rebuilt. Although the reliefs of Yazılıkaya were carved during the reign of Hattushili III and his son Tudhaliya IV during the mid thirteenth century, the location was already used as a sanctuary previously. Entrance buildings were already constructed in the mid-second millennium and Alexander suggests that the space formed by the outcropping rocks was used as an irregularly shaped sanctuary of a temple (1986, 20). The space formed by the

rock enclosure open to sky coincides with the traditional temple construction practice of the Hittites as the cult statue would always receive light from the appropriate apertures built in the temples. What is novel in Yazılıkaya in this period is the representation of a new religious hierarchy in an impressive artistic form.

5.2.   Artistic Significance of Yazılıkaya

As Ridgway maintains (1999, 1), when the etymology of the word political is considered as everything that is related with *polis*, public buildings would represent that *polis*' most permanent and official statements. Consequently, the statements may be influenced by the specific form of the government prevalent at the time, although local traditions, religious considerations, financial resources, intended setting and availability of materials (Ridgway 1999, 1). That is the reason why architecture is commonly accepted as the most political of all visual arts. The concept of public building in the ancient Near East must have been different than the contemporary definition of the word. Obviously the city fortifications were one of the most important military buildings in Hittite times. It is anticipated then, that the elaborate and influential decorations at the city walls were a political statement. The cyclopean masonry used in the structure of the city walls and the Great Temple which is the largest structure in Hattusha is another indication of this political statement. That is again why the rock reliefs found in the Hittite land are regarded as a clear indication of the self-proclamation of the Hittite king in the vicinity of the monument.

Due to the natural sources of stone available around the Hittite settlements, cyclopean masonry was an important characteristic of the Hittite architecture. This durable and strong material was abundantly used for construction of the substructures of the architecture whereas mudbrick was used for the construction of the superstructure. The reliefs carved on the stone foundations are at a relatively low level easily visible to the visitor. In this sense, the Hittite structures are similar to their contemporary Assyrian buildings (Ridgway 1999, 5). It has been shown[19] that for practical purposes of carrying the reliefs carved on stones blocks, they were cut into thin sections by the early researchers and that is why they are regarded as irrelevant to the architectural structure. Ridgway's comment is another appropriate example of how anything when isolated from its context can be misinterpreted. However, it is clear from the city walls of Alacahöyük and Hattusha that the reliefs and the sculptures of the Hittite world was an intrinsic part of the structure as it was in Greek structures (Ridgway 1999, 2). Similar to the Greek architectural sculpture, these cannot be 'removed without physically affecting the structure or seriously weakening its own aesthetic value and content' (Ridgway 1999, 2-3), although neither aesthetic nor the structural purposes were the reason for carving these reliefs. They were obviously produced for the political messages that cannot be disintegrated from the religious messages.

Nevertheless, there is a limitation in reading and decoding these messages. The reading has to be verified with the written sources and the corpus of Hittite cuneiform tablets are not adequate in this sense. Although Yazılıkaya is an outstanding and unique open air sanctuary, no clear textual evidence related with

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[19] Although Ridgway (1999, 5) maintains that the Assyrian reliefs were not a part of the architectural structure, Harmanşah (2003), in his presentation at the Middle East Technical University has clearly verified how the reliefs were sliced into thin sections for the practical purposes of carrying them long distances to Europe and the Unites States.

the usage of this sanctuary has been found until now. It may be due to the reason that this very well preserved example and the building process of it might not have occupied the same importance in the Hittite realm. Yet, the artistic conception of two processions approaching each other to honor the two deities simultaneously, in Yazılıkaya rock sanctuary, is considered as the most important innovation in ancient art (Alexander 1986, 23). Although the idea of such a representation might have originated from the patrons the creation belongs to the artists. The adjustment of the reliefs carved on the rocks is the product of the artistic sensibility. Rock slopes had to be shaped into vertical surfaces before the reliefs were carved (Naumann 1998, 41). The cracks and flaws present had to be considered while carving of the figures and the large gaps between the rocks had to be filled with stone blocks (Alexander 1986, 26) to accomplish the proper arrangement of the procession. However, there is no clear evidence of how the carving was conducted. In his detailed study of Yazılıkaya, Alexander, considering the time required to complete such a task and with reference to the Egyptian depictions, suggests that a teamwork had to be performed (1986, 27)[20].

While trying to interpret the structures and representations that are at mentally at a distance to us, it should be borne in mind that similar to the representations of the modern world to the contemporary perceiver, the iconography of antiquity was familiar to the ancient perceiver. Ridgway (1999, 87) states that no story, be it oral or visual, was ever told in antiquity that was totally unknown to its public and one should not judge the relative obscurity of some of the reliefs from the her/his limited perspective formed by limited knowledge of the ancient narratives. Thus

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[20] For further information on the comparative study with the depictions of Fraktin and cylinder seals, see Alexander (1986, 23-35)

any representation has to be defined within its context which is interconnected with the culture and the program of the era.

5.3. Religious and Political Significance of Yazılıkaya

Mann states that (1986, 10) if the societies represent organized power networks, social stratification becomes the overall creation and distribution of power in society. Similar to their contemporaries in Mesopotamia, there existed a well-defined stratification in the Hittite society and this is the reason why it is sometimes considered as a territorial state. However, the 'origin of the state' is still an important debate raised among the social anthropologists and the historians. Whatever compromise may be reached, the evolution of new forms of dominance mechanisms underlying the elaboration in scale and the integration of territorial political units has to be explained by the power balances (Rowlands and Gledhill 1998, 42-44). For this reason not only the social anthropologists and the historians, but the archaeologists are closely related with the subject, as they are interested in the social and political processes within defined historical contexts.

Material evidence reveals that the stratification of the pre city-state societies was the result of separation of functions within the ruling group and it was this ruling group that gained political control over the extended territories. Rowlands and Gledhill maintain that in early forms of territorial states the centralized political economic control mechanisms were relatively weak. For this reason more effective measures had to be created for recentralization. The exercise of control was achieved by the formation of a more autonomous institutional complex

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which comprised a set of differentiated fractions such as priestly, administrative and military (1998, 43).

Any change in the social organization necessitates the adoption of new social conventions and especially where the capacity for social organization may be limited or the ability to impose obedience by force was underdeveloped, belief systems, rituals of sanctification and sacred propositions would have played a critical role (Knapp 1995, 156). As Knapp rightly maintains, explanations for the rise of social complexity must not only evaluate economic issues such as production, consumption and exchange but also social issues such as status, and organization, political issues such as power and prestige. Knapp in his 'open-ended necessarily simplified scenario that will certainly be modified and refined', further states that (1995, 162):

> The relationship between ideology and power- economic social or political power- is expressed not only in the manner in which the elites or other special interest groups utilize religious ideology to establish, challenge, or change a specific social order, but also in the sense in which power establishes 'religious' personalities, authorises specific religious practices and their insignia, defines what is to be believed and in fact constructs religious ideology.

Thus religious ideology becomes an effective mechanism in the diffusion of the ideological power. This is because, as Michael Mann (1986, 21) states, a religiously centered culture provided a sense of collective normative identity to people who lived in similar conditions over a broad region and offered a particular way of organizing social relations.

Similarly, Benedict Anderson in his book 'Imagined Communities', argues that a religious community is the cultural system in which the symbols of the sacred language linked the individuals together. Thus, religiously imagined communities

had an unselfconscious coherence and they conceived of themselves as cosmically central, through the medium of a sacred language linked to a super terrestrial order of power. Nevertheless, though sacred silent languages were the media through which the great global communities of the past were imagined, the readers of their sacred script were limited (1991, 12-16). This should be the main reason why the monumental temples, rock carvings and the cult statues were produced and distributed throughout the territories of the ancient societies. They spoke to the illiterate and they still speak to us although our reading may be much different than the ancient societies.

All tribes, states and cities have some form of religion and since antiquity philosophers have been interested in religion. As mentioned before, Burkert (1996, 1-7) maintains that while religion deals with what cannot be verified, it manifests itself through interaction and communication; and that is why it is set apart from other forms of symbolic communication, that is from play and art.

Symbols are powerful means used frequently by individuals or groups in expressing their judgments, attitudes or emotions. While religion uses its myths and rituals to express a worldview within its context, symbols help to bring about a common purpose with which a group retains its unity. This is why the artistic creations are powerful communicative symbols in any culture. Symbolic artifacts are not only a mode of expressing the inner consciousness of an artist but a medium in which that consciousness is formed and together with the artifacts. The "ritual" is another symbolic action that has to be studied together with the artifacts in understanding the meaning of symbol (Cooke 1990, 274-311).

Initially anthropological approaches were applied for the study of religion. Sir James Frazer's 'The Golden Bough: The Roots of Folklore and Religion' stands as one of the most influential of these studies[21]. However, the holistic nature of the anthropological approach requires the religion to be considered together with kinship, politics, magic, medicine, and agricultural practices as a whole in order to be contextual. Sociological approaches, however, focus on the religion and society, as religion is one form of social construction. The gods, rituals, values and hierarchies of religious belief and behavior are the subjects of other more powerful forces in social world. Therefore, the quest is to establish and elucidate the relationship between social contexts and beliefs about gods (Northcott 1999, 193-194).

It is obvious by written evidence that religion was of major importance in Hittite society. In explaining the Hittite sovereignty over the area they occupied, the emergence of the palace, the existence of the temples and the kingship in ruling the territory as well as the organization of the power relations with the vassal states have to be considered. What is of equal importance is the change in the order of power relations during the 450 years of Hittite existence the culmination of which is reached in the thirteenth century. This corresponds to the time period when the Hittite pantheon was arranged according to the Hurrian influence. The Yazılıkaya rock sanctuary thus represents the Hittite pantheon under Hurrian influence has to be scrutinized under the light of symbolic meaning in religion and the society.

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[21] See *Approaches to the Study of Religion,* 1999, ed. Peter Connolly. London, New York: Cassell for a brief summary of the different approaches used for the study of religion.

As mentioned before, the Hittite world was a considerably vast domain, comprising different populations and cultures and to create a sense of cohesion in this vast cultural array is their government skill which can be compared to the Roman Empire's 'art of government' (Elsner 1998, 118). It would perhaps be pretentious to talk about a 'Hittitization' process where the people of different cultures would share the ideals of a single culture. Yet, the respect shown to the local identities must have been the possible reason to attain solidarity. The Kaskeans for example had always been the feared forces during the entire Hittite history and peace could never be reached with these people. There is no indication of the respect shown to the cults of the Kaskeans in the Hittite world. Therefore, the respect imparted to the local values and cooperation with the willing communities was an important part of earning the sovereignty at the periphery. However, when the quest of Hurrianization of the Hittite pantheon is scrutinized, could it be interpreted as the periphery's victory over the center that became effective towards the late periods of the Hittite Great Kingdom? If any parallelism can be drawn with the late Roman Empire, (Elsner 1998, 126) this may be considered to be valid and then it may be concluded that there was an increased emphasis on the peripheries. Thus 'these processes gave rise to the need to impress more than one audience at once' (Elsner 1998, 134) and 'goal of unifying divergent identities had succeeded' (Elsner 1998, 138).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As Holliday (1993, 3) maintains, the traditional paradigm of representational art supposes that every work of art has a meaning and the role of the art historian is to read the work, to analyze and clarify its aesthetic complexity and density, and thereby interpret this meaning. Yet, an image becomes a visual narrative only when the intention of such a reading exists. In that sense, the depictions on the walls of the open air rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya are very important examples of visual representation that have already been studied extensively, in the preceding sections. However, any art object alone is not adequate in the efforts to reconstruct the past. Especially the written evidence together with other archeological findings becomes an important tool in this process. The recent methodologies in the study of archaeology, art and architecture have 'raised a number of definitional and functional issues that challenge any historian's positivist view of knowledge or claims to truth of interpretation' (Holliday 1993, 3). That is why contextualization becomes essential in the interpretation of historical evidence.

Amongst the past civilizations of Anatolia, Hittites are worth investigating as they are literally the first known civilization that established a political unity in central Anatolia. This is clearly testified by the written evidence that has reached our time. The Hittites could sustain their sovereignty over an extended territory for a considerable time span and the continuity of their civilization can be traced in the southern and south eastern part of Anatolia long after their fall. The Hittite society was quite heterogeneous, formed by the combination of different peoples and cultures that amalgamated to form the indigenous Hittite culture that is manifested by the architectural remains in their settlements, the cuneiform script tablets discovered in these settlements, monumental rock carvings and the Luwian hieroglyphs present on these monuments. Thus, while it may be possible to mention a "Hittitization" process, this must not be considered as a deliberately coercive operation as the word implies in the modern sense. Despite the threats received form the neighboring countries, sustaining sovereignty for such a long time requires the establishment of a reliable and flexible administrative system. In the constitution of this administrative system an important convention applied by the Hittites, whether intentionally or not, is the adoption of the gods of the territories that were conquered. As it is revealed by the surviving cuneiform tablets, religion was of highest importance in the Hittite society. Hence, the respect shown to the local deities must not only be due to their tolerance towards religion but to ensure their sovereignty on these lands. Once the local deity is respected and he/she continues to protect the city then not only the well being of that territory is assured but a collective cultural identity is formed as well. This can then be interpreted as a passive Hititization process in which the different cultural identities can coexist in a loose framework.

In this context, the rich corpus of cuneiform texts the majority of which are devoted to the religious texts is an invaluable source of information in understanding the *zeitgeist* of the era. Nevertheless, attention has to be paid to their interpretation. The loss of the written sources of perishable material such as wooden tablets and the conflagrations that the Hittite realm had to face during the late period are the main disadvantages encountered in reconstructing the Hittite history. The royal administrative documents supply the information that religion was of major importance in the Hittite realm and the temples of the Hittites were decorated with the statues made of gold and silver embellished with precious stones. However, these statues some of which are mentioned to be of human size, in these texts, have disappeared. Since the architectural remains have also been affected by the conflagrations, the reconstruction of the superstructures of the Hittite architecture is limited to the evidence from the other remaining representational art objects[22]. Therefore, what the temples looked like and what type of objects were enclosed in them are difficult to imagine. The knowledge of the exact number and the kind of deities housed in the Hittite temples is lacking. The open air sanctuary Yazılıkaya then becomes very important as an example of art that has survived in the following centuries. However, the written evidence is coincident neither with the magnificence of this structure nor the symbols or the messages delivered by the depictions of the sanctuary. There is no textual evidence to support the fact that it was the most important sanctuary of the Hittite world. But as Ridgway (1999, 125) argues 'how can anything be concluded on such scant evidence over such a long span of time?' Jones (1997, 139) maintains that 'the idea that the production of archaeological knowledge is contingent not

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[22] The fragment of a Hittite vessel dated to 15th/14th century BC shaped like a fortress tower (Seeher 2002, 57), the depictions on the Bitik vase (Özgüç 1957, 57) and the depictions found on a vase from Acemhöyük (Özgüç 1979, 286) are the important evidence of what the Hittite superstructures once looked like.

only in the political interest and background of the practitioners but also on the socio-historical origins of the paradigms that are used in the description and interpretation of the past'. However, unless the scholars remain conscious of how much is arbitrary and speculative in their reconstructions, then it is possible to reach a sustainable conclusion (Ridgway 1999, 84).

The Yazılıkaya open air rock sanctuary is a unique structure not only in the Hittite realm but among their contemporaries and its successors in Anatolia, too. Therefore, the depictions present in this sanctuary should not be accepted as the verification of the arrangement of the official pantheon to a final order but as a unique example that has survived to date. It is clear by the material evidence present in the sanctuary that the depictions are a representation of the west Hurrian and therefore the Kizzuwatnean religious beliefs. It is revealed that the west Hurrian pantheon had developed in connection with the contemporary religions while the local cult Hebat was kept in her supreme position during this development. However, as discussed before, it is again clear by some other written sources that there exists a syncretism between the couple Teshub and Hebat, that is the deities of the west Hurrian pantheon depicted in the climactic scene of Yazılıkaya, and the storm god and sun goddess of Arinna, that is the principal deities of the Hittite world. Some scholars also mention these names interchangeably without paying much attention to the original script, both hieroglyphic and cuneiform but this practice causes some controversies to arise. If acculturation, that is the cultural transfer among the societies, will be specified and will be ascribed to the code of conduct of power in a society, then, the chosen terminology must be used meticulously. At this point it has to be stated that acculturation is a reversible process and while the Hittites adopted the religions

of the territories they conquered, they carried their rules and regulations to these places and they became a powerful state in the region. Apparently, this is the achievement of the Hittite administration.

An important evidence of the Hurrian influence on the Hittite pantheon is considered as the prayers found in the late Hittite texts. However, the language that was used in the prayers and other religious texts are not explicitly mentioned in the related studies. It is known that the Hattusha archives comprised different languages. Therefore a classification of these religious texts according to language used may be quite helpful to understand the extent of the Hurrian influence.

We tend to focus on what we have, what is best preserved, that therefore becomes all important in our interpretations omitting the possible impact of what is missing (Ridgway 1999, 221-222). Keeping this in mind, another point that has to be stated is that albeit the Hurrian influence has long been considered to have a notable effect in the Hittite culture, less attention is paid to the Luwian influence. The Luwian influence, the evidence of which can easily be traced in the later periods of Anatolia, seems equally important and has to be reconsidered.

The basic argument of the present thesis is that art is usually considered as a monolithic construct, with little change or variation through time despite the basic awareness that this was not so (Ridgway 1999, 144). Therefore, Yazılıkaya, the best surviving example of the Hittite art, whose influences obviously perpetuated in the neo Hittite Kingdoms, was a genuine one whether the depictions of the sanctuary were Hurrian deities or not. Nevertheless, they obviously had a

religious meaning and the Hittite hieroglyphs accompanying the carved reliefs must have been equally important for the ancient perceiver as the ancient perceiver was literate of the hieroglyphs.

FIGURES
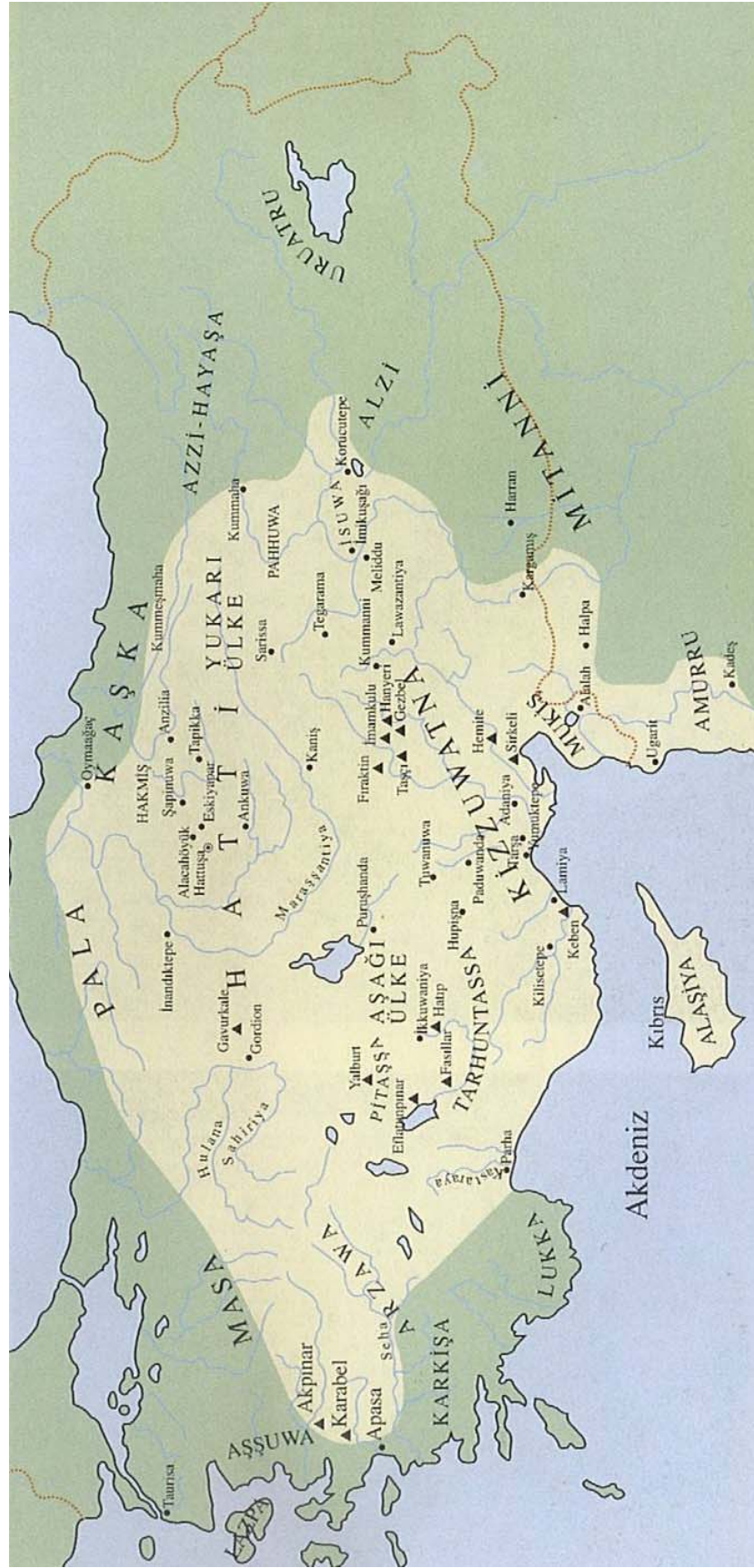
Figure 1. The Hittite Land during the Great Kingdom
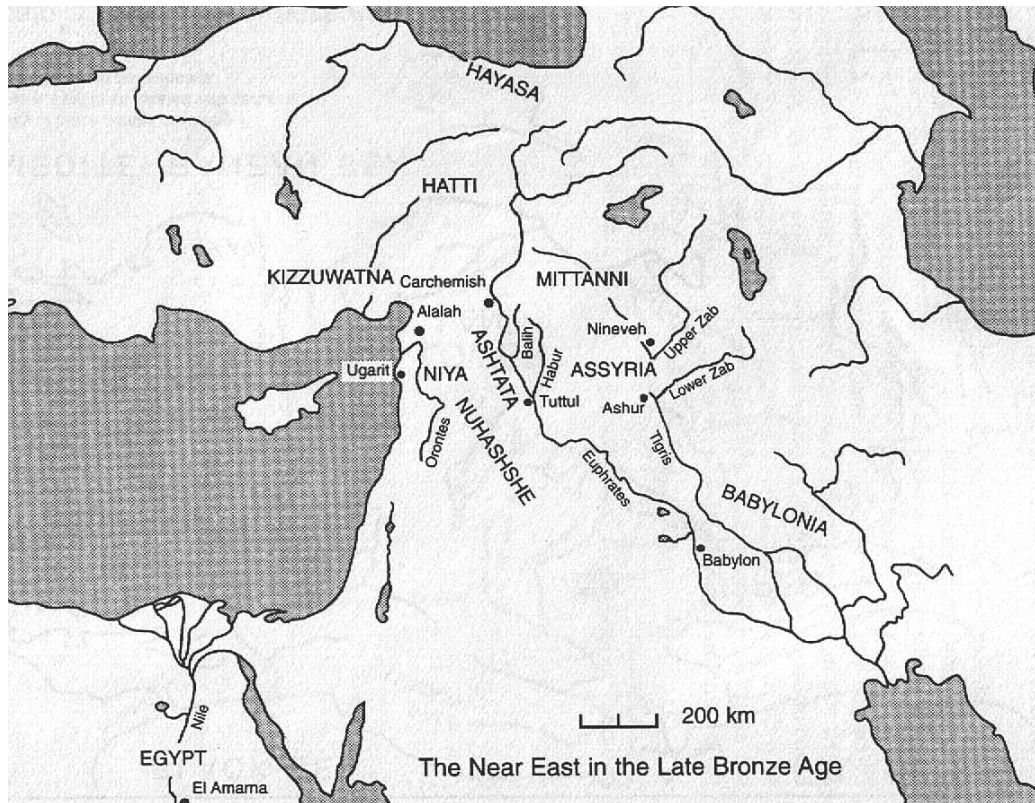
Figure 2. Contemporaries of the Hittites in the Late Bronze Age

Figure 3. Hattusha when Texier discovered the site in 1834

Figure 4. A stone relief from Aslantepe, Malatya (ca.850-800, the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms period) that is being exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations

a) Pre-Hittite times (end of 2nd millennium BC)

b) Assyrian Colony Period (19th-18th cent. BC)

c) Old Hittite Period (16th-15th cent. BC)

d) Early Great Kingdom Period (14th cent. BC)

e) Late Great Kingdom Period (13th cent. BC)

f) Post Hittite times (9th c ent. BC)

Figure 5. The Urban Development of Hattusha

Figure 6. Stone block foundations of Ortaköy (Sappinuva)

Figure 7. Aerial view of the fortifications from the south

Figure 8. Casemate walls of city of Hattusha

Figure 9. A corbelled vault that still survives in Hattusha

Figure 10. Postern (secret passage through the fortifications)
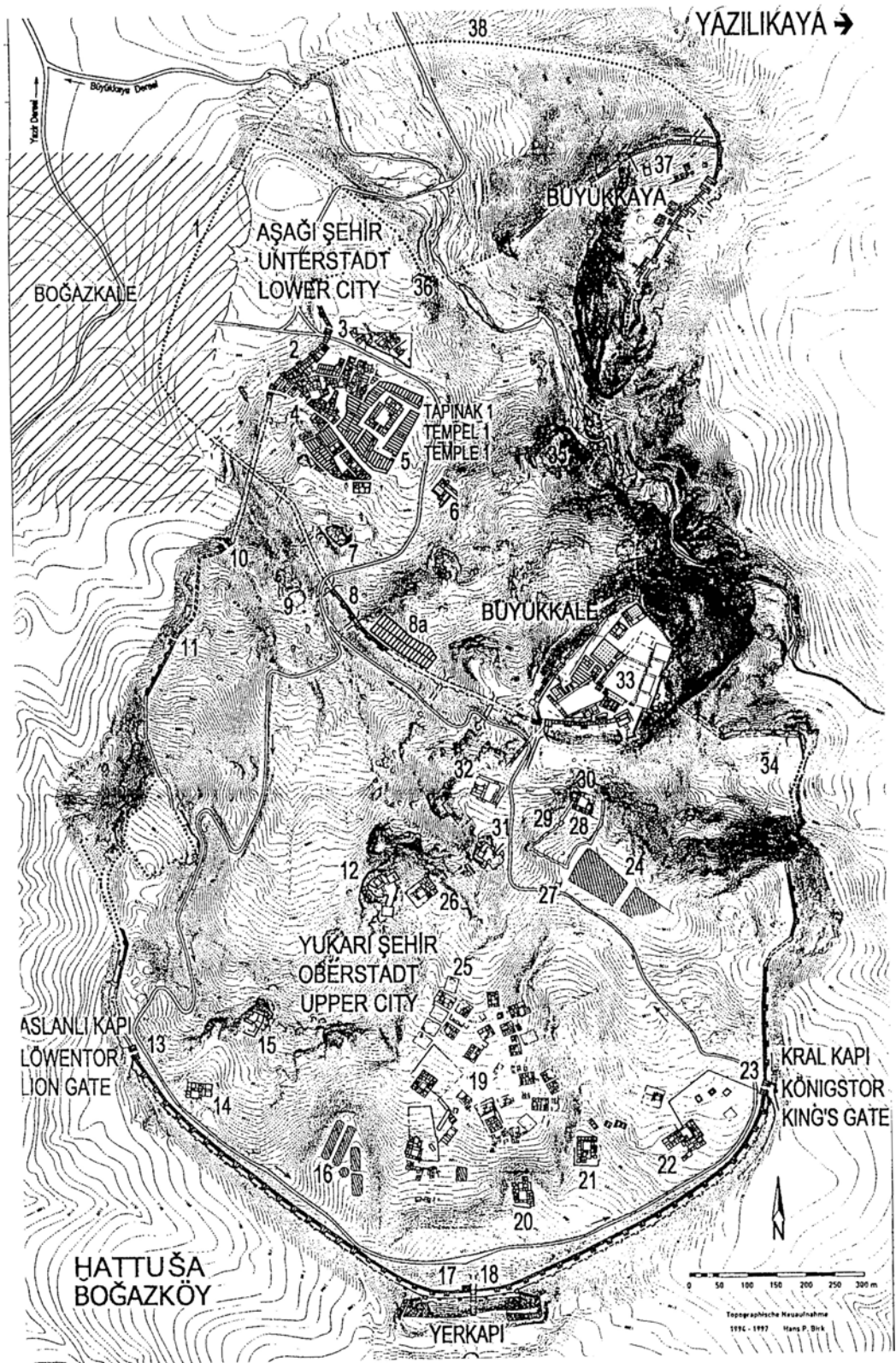
Figure 11. General plan of Hattusha
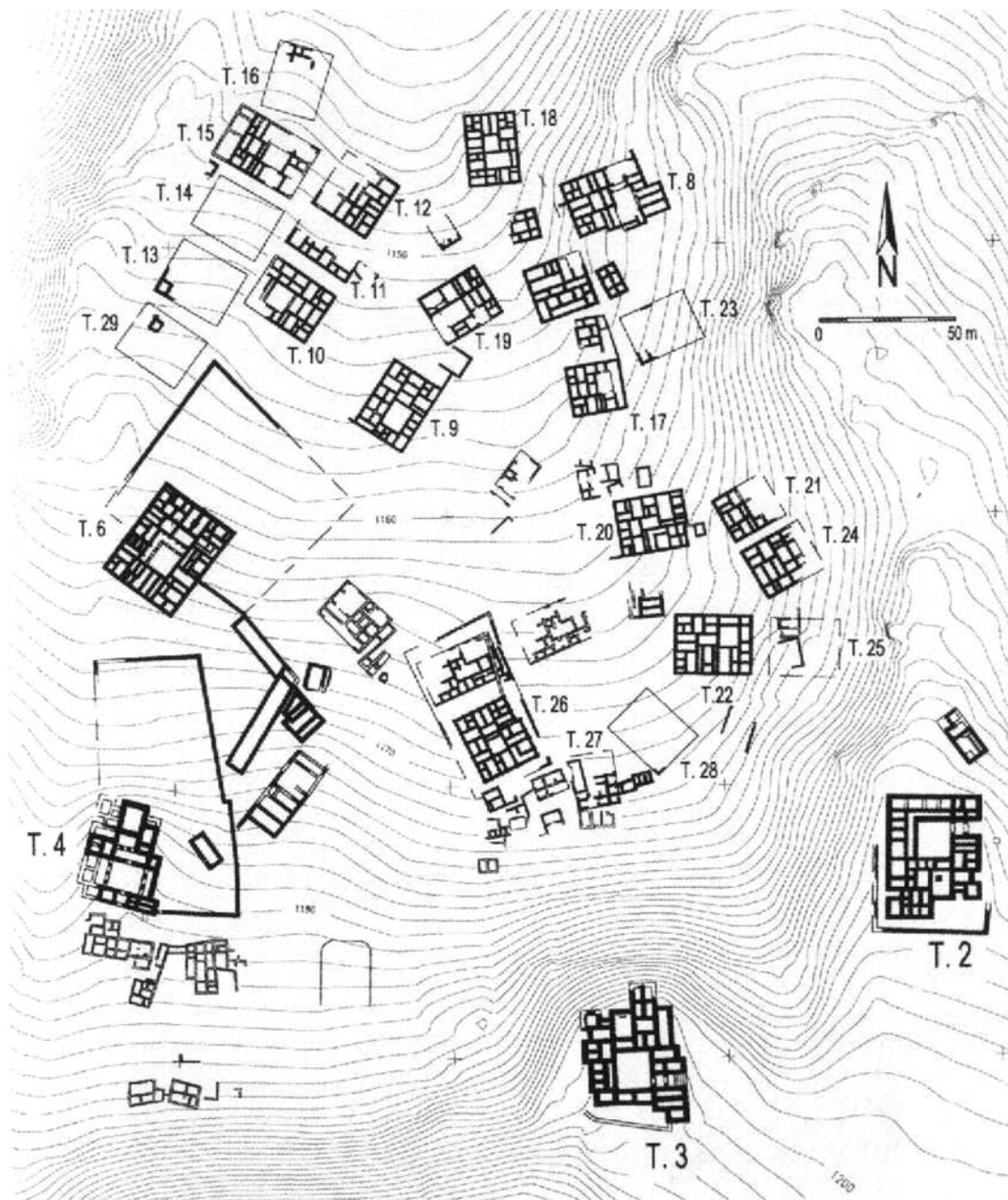
Figure 12. The temple district in the upper city

Figure 13. Lion Gate of Hattusha

Figure 14. Boğazköy map showing the location of Yazılıkaya

Figure 15. A general view of Yazılıkaya rock outcroppings
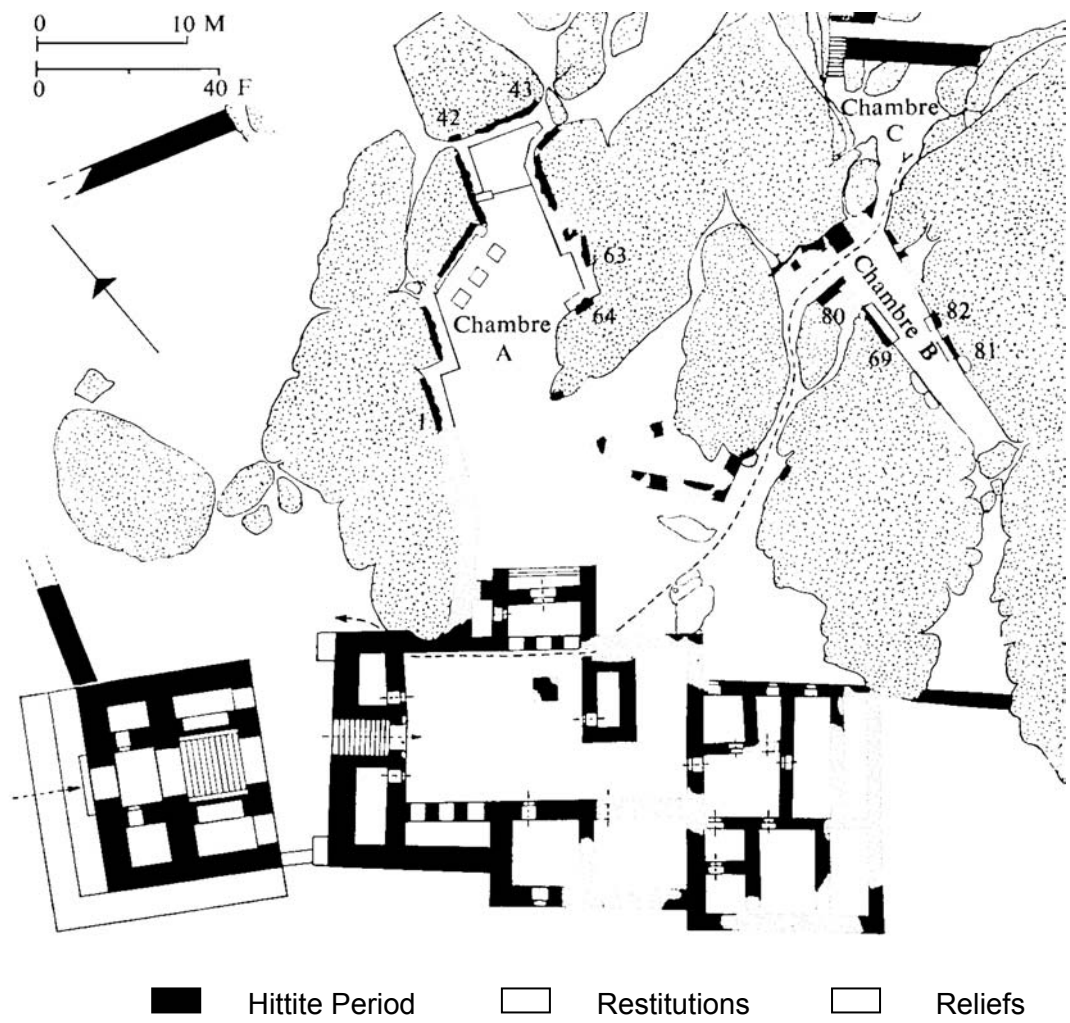
Figure 16. Yazılıkaya, general plan

Figure 17. Yazılıkaya, a view from the entrance of the main chamber
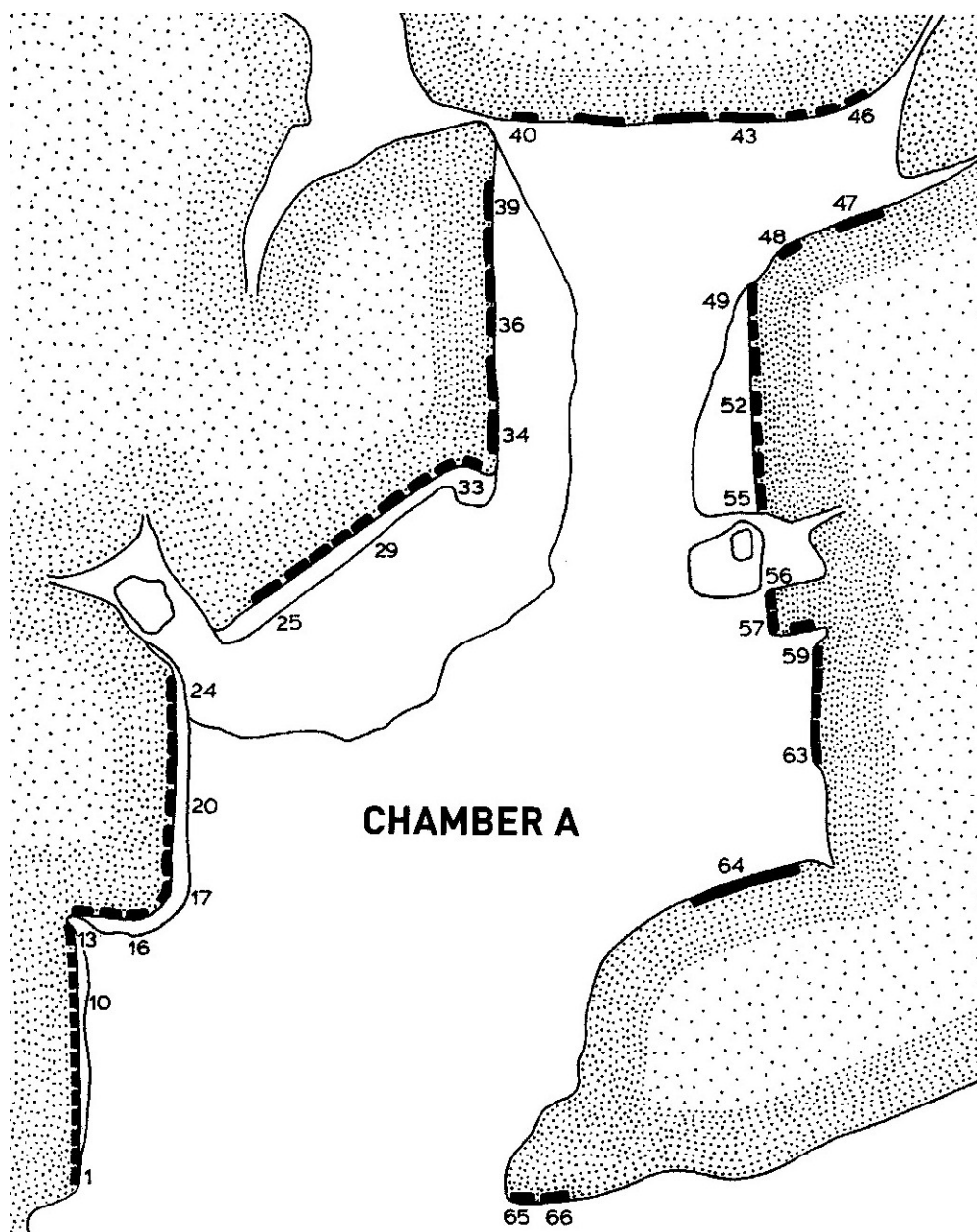
Figure 18. Numbering system of the Yazılıkaya reliefs, Chamber A

Figure 19. Twelve underworld gods of Yazılıkaya

Figure 20. Reliefs of three mountain gods in highly weathered condition

Figure 21. An example of the hieroglyphic signs that accompany the reliefs of Yazılıkaya sanctuary

Figure 22. Two mountain gods followed by five divinities with no identification

Figure 23. The deities no. 25-33

Figure 24. Closer view of the deitites no. 25-33

Figure 25. Deities No. 34-39

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Figure 26. Female deities Ninatta and Kulitta which interrupt the line of the male deities

Figure 27. Yazılıkaya, the climactic scene

Figure 28. Goddesses Hutena and Hutellura
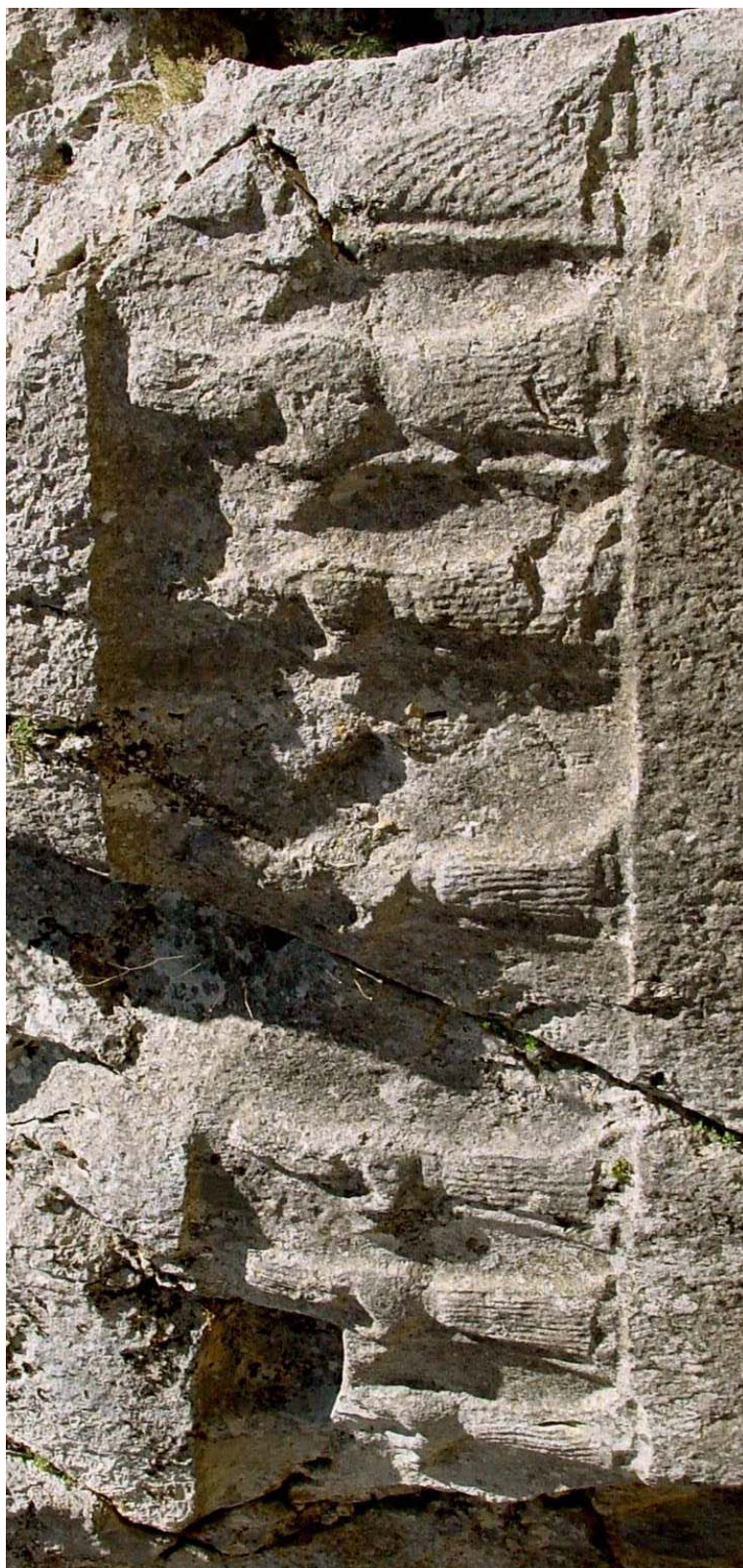
Figure 29. The female deities No. 49-55

Figure 30. Relief of the great king Tudhalia IV

Figure 31. Twelve gods of the underworld in chamber B

Figure 32. Chamber B, cartouche of King Tudhalia IV

Figure 33. Chamber B, Sword God

Figure 34. King Tudhalia under the protection of his personal deity

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

List of the Hittite Kings
Source: Bryce 1999, xiii

Old Kingdom
Labarna	-1650	
Hattusili I	1650-1620	Grandson?
Mursili I	1620-1590	Grandson, adopted son
Hantili I	1590-1560	Brother in law
Zidanta I		Son in law
Ammuna	1560-1525	Son
Huziyya I		Brother in law of Ammunna's daughter in law
Telipinu	1525-1500	Brother in law
Alluwamna		Son in law
Tahurwaili		Interloper
Hantili II	1500-1400	Son of Alluwamna ?
Zidanta II		Son ?
Huzziya II		Son?
Muwatalli I		Interloper

Great Kingdom
Tudhaliya I/II		Grandson of Huzziya II
Arnuwanda I	1400-1360	Son in law, adopted son
Hattusili II ?		Son ?
Tudhaliya III	1360-1344	Son ?
Suppiluliuma I	1344-1322	Son
Arnuwanda II	1322-1321	Son
Mursili II	1321-1295	Brother
Muwatalli II	1295-1272	Son
Urhi-Tesub	1272-1267	Son
Hattusili III	1267-1237	Uncle
Tudhaliya IV	1237-1228	Son
Kurunta	1228-1227	Cousin
Tudhaliya IV	1227-1209	Cousin
Arnuwanda III	1209-1207	Son
Suppiluluima	1207-	Brother

APPENDIX B

Lists of the Deities in the Treaties
Source: Beckman 1996

The names of the deities of both parties are usually listed in the treaties of the Hittites to act as witnesses to the provisions and the oaths. About thirty-five records of such Hittite texts have been discovered. The following tables give the complete list of the divine figures found in some treaties concluded between the Hittites and the vassal countries. The tables are derived form Gary Beckman's (1996) book *Hittite Diplomatic Texts.*

Table 1. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Huqqana of Hayasa

Sun god of heaven
Sun godess of Arinna
Storm god of heaven
Storm god of Hatti
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Arinna
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Sappinuwa
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Saphina
Storm god of Army
Strom god of the market (?)
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Kizzuwatna
Storm god of Pittiyarik
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Lihzina
Storm god of ruin mound
Storm god of Hulasha
Hebat of Uda
Hebat of Kizzuwatna
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Zithariya
Karzi
Hapantalia
Tutelary deity of Karahna
Tutelary deity of countryside
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Aya
Ishtar
Ishtar of countryside
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ishtar, Queen of Heaven
Ninatta
Kulitta
War god
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya
All the deities of the army
Marduk
Allatu
Sun goddess of the earth
Huwassana of Hupisna
Abara of Samuha
Hantitassu of Hurma
Katahha of Ankuwa
Ammamma of Tahurpa
Queen of Katapa
Hallara of Dunna

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The mountain dweller of gods
Mercenary gods
All the deities of Hatti, the deities of the land, the deities of heaven, the deities of the earth, the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the clouds, heaven, the earth, the great sea

Table 2. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Niqmaddu II of Ugarit

The thousand gods beginning with;
Storm god of heaven
Sun god of heaven
Storm god of Hatti
Sun goddess of Arinna
Hebat of Kizzuwatna
Ishtar of Alalah
Nikkal of Nubanni
Storm god of mount Hazzi

Table 3. a. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Aziru of Amurru (Hittite version)

Thousand Gods

Table 3.b. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Aziru of Amurru (Akkadian version)

Thousand Gods
Huwasanna of Hupisna
Tapisuwa of Ishupitta, the lady of Landa
Kuniyawanni of Landa
??? of Kinza, , ,
Mount Lebanon
Mount Shariyana
Mount Pishaisa
Mountain dweller gods
Mercanary gods
All the male and female deities of Hatti
All the male and female deities of the land of Kizzuwatna
All the male and female deities of Amurru
All the primeval deities Nara, Namsara, Minki, Thusi, Ammunki, Ammmizzadu, Allu, Antu, Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil
The mountains, rivers, springs, the great sea, heaven and earth, winds, clouds,

Table 4.a. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mitanni (Divine witnesses of Hatti)

Sun goddess of Arinna who governs the kingship and queenship in Hatti
Sun god, lord of heaven
Storm god, lord of Hatti
Sheri
Hurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Storm god, lord of the market(?)
Storm god, lord of the army
Storm god, lord of help
Storm god of Pittiyarik
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god, lord of ruin mounds
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Lihzina
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Sappinuwa
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Tahaya
Storm god of Kizzuwatna
Storm god of Uda
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Tutelary deity of Karahna
Zitarya
Karzi
Hapantalia
Tutelary deity of the countryside
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Lelwani
Ea
Damkina
Telipinu of Tawinya
Telipinu of Turmitta
Telipinu of Hanhana
Ishtar
Askasepa
Grain deity
Moon god, lord of the oath
Ishara, queen of the oath
Hebat, queen of Heaven
Hebat of Aleppo
Hebat of Uda
Hebat of Kizzuwatna
War god
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Zappana
Hasamili
Hantitassu of Hurma

Abaru of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa
Hallara of Dunna
Huwassana of Hupisna
Lady of Landa
Kuniyavanni of Landa
Mountain- dweller gods
Mercenary gods
All the male and female deities of Hatti
Male and female deities of the land of Kizzuwatna
Deities of the netherworld- Nara, Namsara, Minki, Ammunki, Tuhusi, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ninlil, Belet-ekalli
The mountains, rivers, sea, Eurphates, heaven and Earth, winds, clouds

Table 4. b. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mitanni (divine witnesses of Mitanni)

Storm god, lord of heaven and earth
Moon god
Sun god
Moon god of Harran, heaven and earth
Storm god, Lord of the Kurinnu of Kahat
Deity of Herds of Kurta
Storm god, lord of Uhushuman
Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom
Anu
Antu
Enlil
Ninlil
Mitra gods
Varuna gods
Indra
Nasatya gods
Underground watercourse
Shamanminuhi
Storm god, lord of Washshukkanni
Storm god, lord of temple platform (?) of Irrite
Parthai of Shuta
Nabarbi
Shurihi
Ishtar
Evening star
Shala,
Belet-ekalli
Damkina
Ishara
Mountains and rivers, deities of heaven, deities of earth

Table 5. Treaty between Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) of Hatti and Tette of Nuhashshi

Sun god of heaven
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of Hatti
Sheri
Hurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Storm god of the market(?)
Storm god of the army
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Lihzina
Storm god of ruin mound
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Sahpina
Storm god of Sappinuwa
Storm god of Pittyarik
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Help
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Kizzuwatna
Storm god of Ishupitta
Storm god of Nuhashshi
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Tutelary deity of Karahna
Tutelary deity of the countryside
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Ea
Allatu
Telipinu of Tawinya
Telipinu of Turmitta
Telipinu of Hanhana
Pirwa
Askasepa
Moon god, lord of the oath
Ishara, queen of the oath
Hebat, queen of Heaven
Ishtar
Ishtar of the countryside
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
War god
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Zappana

Hantitassu of Hurma
Abaru of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa
Hallara of Dunna
Huwassana of Hupisna
Lady of Landa
Kuniyavanni of Landa
Mount Lebanon
Mount Shariyana
Mount Pishaisha
Mountain dweller gods
Mercenary gods
Ereshkigal
All the male and female deities of Hatti
All the male and female deities of the land of Kizzuwatna
All the male and female deities of the land of Nuhashshi
All the primeval deities, Nara, Namsara, Minki, Tuhusi, Ammunki, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Antu, Anu, Apantu, Enli, Ninlil

Table 6. Treaty between Mursili II (1321-1295) of Hatti and Tuppi-Teshup of Amurru

The thousand gods
Sun god of heaven
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of heaven
Storm god of Hatti
Sheri
Hurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Storm god of the market(?)
Storm god of the army
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Lihzina
Storm god of ruin mound
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Sahpina
Storm god of Sappinuwa
Storm god of Pittyarik
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Help
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Kizzuwatna
Storm god of Ishupitta
Storm god of Arkata
Storm god of Tunip
Storm god of Aleppo resident in Tunip,
Milku of the land of Amurru
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Zitarya
Karzi
Hapantalia
Tutelary deity of the countryside
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Ea
Allatu
Telipinu of Tawinya
Telipinu of Turmitta
Telipinu of Hanhana
Bunene
Askasepa
Moon god, lord of the oath
Ishara, queen of the oath
Hebat, queen of Heaven
Ishtar
Ishtar of the countryside
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina

Ninatta
Kulitta
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Zappana
Hasamili
Hantitassu of Hurma
Abaru of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa
Hallara of Dunna
Huwassana of Hupisna
Tapisuwa of Ishupitta
Lady of Landa
Kuniyavanni of Landa
Mount Lebanon
Mount Shariyana
Mount Pishaisa
Mountain-dweller gods
Mercenary gods
All the male and female deities of Hatti
All the male and female deities of Amurru
All the primeval deities, Nara, Namsara, Minki, Tuhusi, Ammunki, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Antu, Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil
The mountains, rivers, the springs, the great sea, heaven and earth, winds, clouds

Table 7. Treaty between Mursili II (1321-1295) of Hatti and Niqmepa of Ugarit

Sun god of heaven
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of heaven
Storm god of Hatti
Sheri
Hurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Storm god of the market(?)
Storm god of the army
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Lihzina
Storm god of ruin mound
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Sahpina
Storm god of Sappinuwa
Storm god of Pittyarik
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Help
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Kizzuwatna
Storm god of Ishupitta
Storm god of Ugarit
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Zitarya
Karzi
Hapantalia
Tutelary deity of Karahna
Tutelary deity of the countryside
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Ea
Allatu
Telipinu of Turmitta
Telipinu of Tawinya
Telipinu of Hanhana
Bunene
Pirwa
Askasepa
Moon god, lord of the oath
Ishara, queen of the oath
Hebat, queen of Heaven
Ishtar
Ishtar of the countryside
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya

War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Zappana
Hantitassu of Hurma
Abara of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa
Hallara of Dunna
Huwassana of Hupisna
Tapisuwa of Ishupitta
Lady of Landa
Kuniyavanni of Landa
Mount Lebanon
Mount Shariyana
Mount Pishaisa
Mountain-dweller gods
Mercenary gods,
Ereshkigal
All the male and female deities of Hatti
All the male and female deities of the land of Ugarit
All the primeval deities, Nara, Namsara, Minki, Tuhusi, Ammunki, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Antu, Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil
The mountains, rivers, the springs, the great sea, heaven and earth, winds, clouds

Table 8. Treaty between Mursili II (1321-1295) of Hatti and Manapa-Tarhunta of the Land of the Seha River

Thousand gods
Sun god of heaven
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of heaven
The powerful Storm god [….]
Sheri
Hurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Storm god of the market(?)
Storm god of the army
Storm god of Pittyarik
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of ruin mound
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Kumanni
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Sappinuva
Storm god of Saphina
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Help
Storm god of Zippalanda
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Zitarya
Karzi
Hapantalia
Tutelary deity of Karahna
Tutelary deity of the countryside
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Allatu
Enki
Telipinu
Pirwa
Moon god, lord of the oath
Hebat, great queen
Ishtar
Ishtar of the countryside
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
Ishara, queen of the oath
War god
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri, Zappana, Hantitassu of Hurma, Abara of Samuha, Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa

Hallara of Dunna
Huwassana of Hupisna
Mountain-dweller gods
All the mercenary gods of Hatti
All the male and female deities of Hatti
Sun goddess of earth
All the primeval deities, Nara, Namsara, Minki, Ammunki, Tuhusi, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Kumarbi, Antu, Anu, Enlil, Ninlil
The mountains, rivers, the springs, the great sea, winds, rivers, clouds

Table 9. Treaty between Muvatalli II (1295-1272) of Hatti and Alaksandu of Wilusa

Sun god of heaven, king of the lands, shepherd of humankind
Sun goddess of Arinna, queen of the lands
Personal storm god of lightning of my majesty
Storm god of heaven
The powerful Storm god [king of the lands]
Storm god of Hatti, king of the lands
Storm god of lightning
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of the market
Storm god of Arinna
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Sappinuva
Storm god of Saphina
Storm god of Hurma
Storm god of Sarissa
Storm god of Lihzina
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Help
Sheri
Hurri
Mount Nanni
Mount Hazzi
Hebat, queen of heaven
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti,
Karzi
Hapantalia
Tutelary deity of Karahna
Tutelary deity of hunting bag
Allatu
Moon god, lord of the oath
Ishtar
Ishtar of the countryside
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
Ishara, queen of the oath
War god
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Zappana
Hantitassu of Hurma
Abara of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa
Hallara of Dunna

Huwassana of Hupisna
Mountain-dweller gods
All the mercenary gods of Hatti
All the male and female deities
All the primeval deities, Nara, Namsara, Minki, Tuhusi, Ammunki, Ammizzadu, Alalu, Kumarbi, Enlil, Ninlil
Mount Hulla
Mount Zaliyanu
Mount Taha
The mountains, rivers, the springs of Hatti, the great sea, heaven and earth, winds, clouds
All the deities of the land of Wilusa; the storm god of the army, appaluina, male deities, female deities, mountains, rivers, springs and the underground watercourse of the land of Wilusa

Table 10. Treaty between Hattushili III (1267-1237) of Hatti and Ulmi-Teshup of Tarhuntassa

Storm god of lightning
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of Hatti
Storm god of Nerik
Ishtar of Samuha
Ishtar of Lawazantiya
Thousand gods of Hatti
Sun god of heaven
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of heaven
Storm god of Hatti
Storm god of the army
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Sappinuva
Powerful storm god
Pihaimmi storm god
Storm god of lightning
Lulutassi
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Ayala
Karzi
Hapantaliya
Sharumma
Zithariya
Hebat, queen of heaven
Ishtar
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
Nikkal
Ishara
Moon god, lord of the oaths
Deity of Arusna
War god
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Zappana
Hantitassu of Hurma
Abara of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Queen of Katapa
Ammama of Tahurpa
Hallara of Dunna
Huwassana of Hupisna
Mountain-dweller gods

Mercenary gods
Male deities
Female deities
The great sea, mountains, rivers, the springs of Hatti, and the land of Tarhuntassa

Table 11. Treaty between Tudhalia IV (1227-1209) of Hatti and Kurunta of Tarhuntassa

Thousand gods
Sun god of heaven
Sun goddess of Arinna
Storm god of heaven
Storm god of Hatti
Storm god of the army
Storm god of Hisashapa
Storm god of Zippalanda
Storm god of Nerik
Storm god of Aleppo
Storm god of Uda
Storm god of Kizzuwatna
Storm god of Samuha
Storm god of Sapinuwa
Powerful storm god
Storm god of lightning
Lulutassi
Tutelary deity
Tutelary deity of Hatti
Ayala
Karzi
Hapantaliya
Tutelary deity of the countryside
Tutelary deity of the hunting bag
Zithariya
Sharumma
Hebat of Uda
Hebat of Kizzuwatna
Ishtar of Samuha
Ishtar of the countryside
Ishtar of Lawazantiya
Ishtar of Nineveh
Ishtar of Hattarina
Ninatta
Kulitta
Moon god, lord of the oaths
Nikkal, queen of the oaths
Ishara
Deity of Arusna
War god
War god of Hatti
War god of Illaya
War god of Arziya,
Yarri
Ammama of Tahurpa
Zappana
Hantitassu of Hurma
Abara of Samuha
Katahha of Ankuwa
Huwassana of Hupisna
Hallara of Dunna
Lelwani
Mountain dweller gods

Mercenary gods
Male deities
Female deities
Heaven, earth, great sea, mountains, rivers, springs of Hatti, and the land of Tarhuntassa

APPENDIX C

An example of Cuneiform Script
Source: Alp 2002, 77
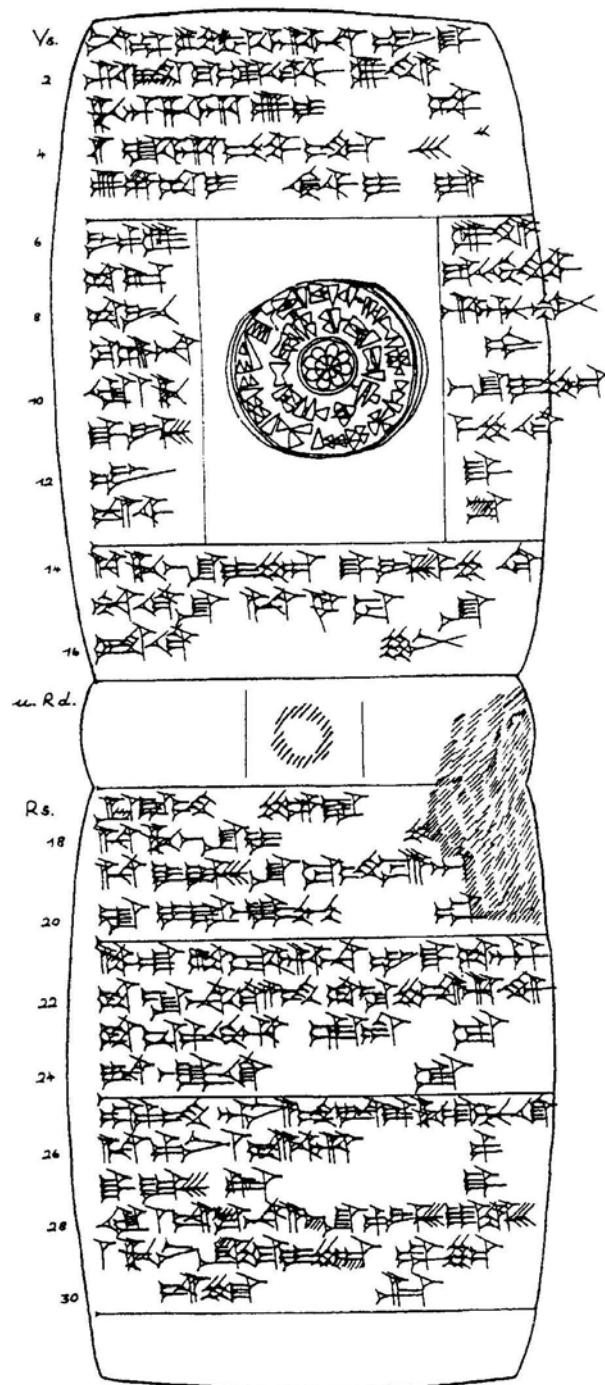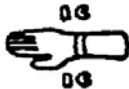
APPENDIX D

The meaning of some hieroglyphic signs
Source: Alp 2000, 10-13

God	
Great	
King	
Great king	
Great queen	
Son of the king, prince	
City	
Country	
Hero	
Citadel	
Mountain	

Sacred Mountain	
River	
Earth	
Sky	
Storm god	
Storm god of the sky	
Sun	
Sun god	
Man	
Woman	
Son	
Daughter	
Love, lover	
Conflict	
Favor	
Wine, wineyard	
Me	

Script, tablet	
Master	
Priest	
Chariot rider	
Life	
Sharumma	
Tuthalia	
Suppiluliuma	
Murshili	
Hattushili	
Uri-Teshub(Murshili II)	
Malnigalalal	
Danuhepa	
Puduhepa	

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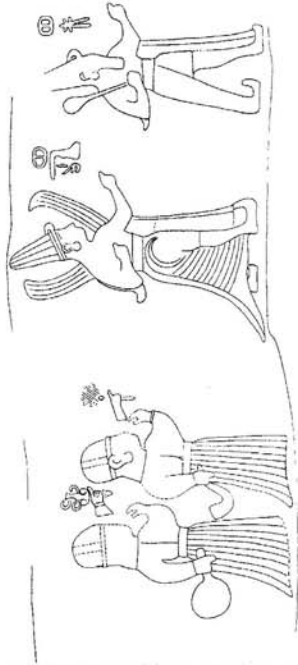
APPENDIX E

Drawings of the Deities depicted at Yazılıkaya
Source: Seeher 2002, 134-139
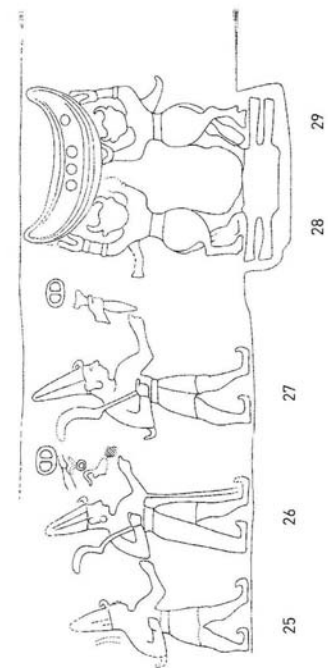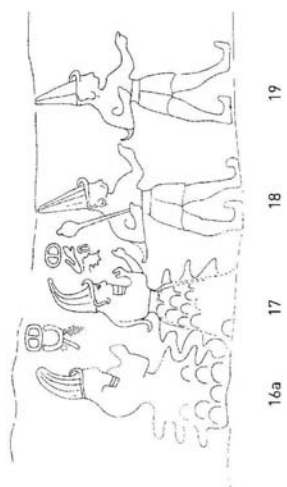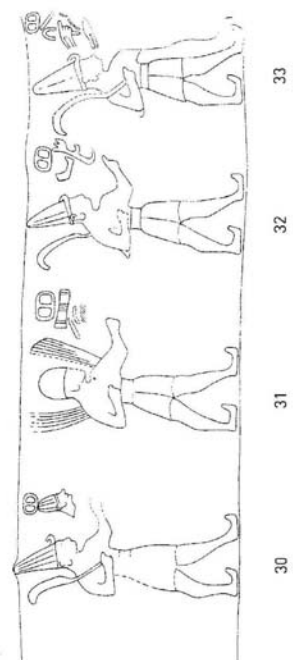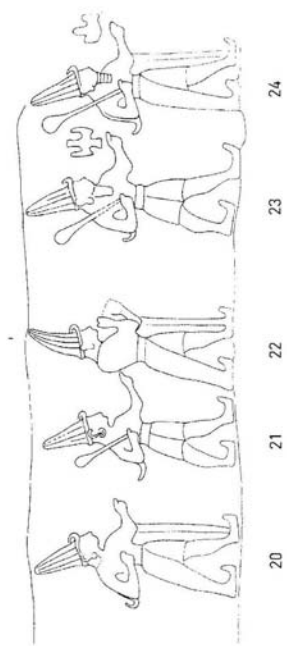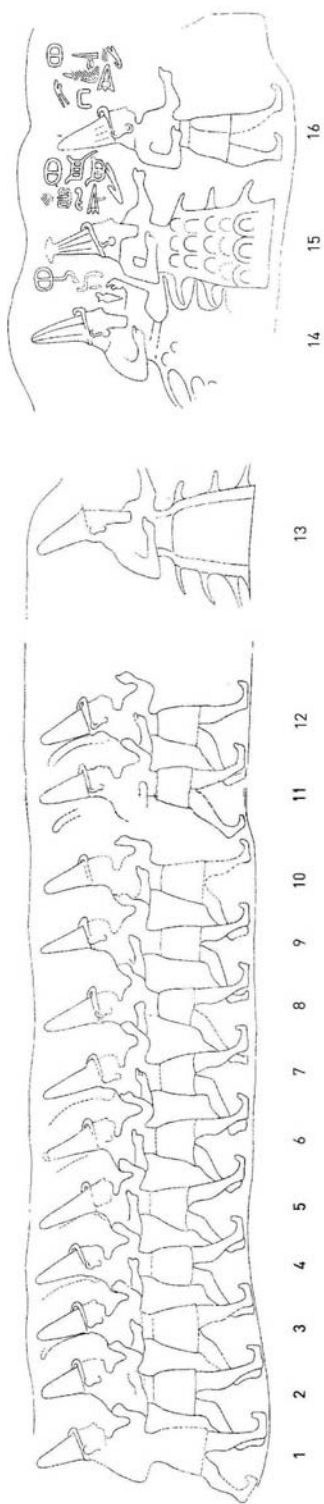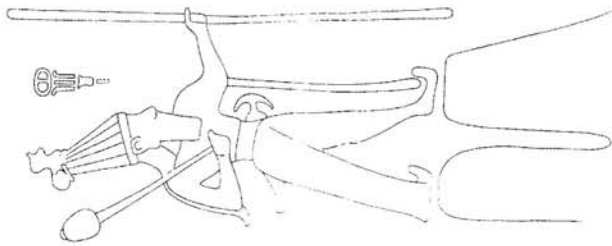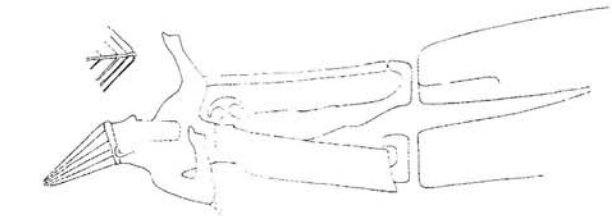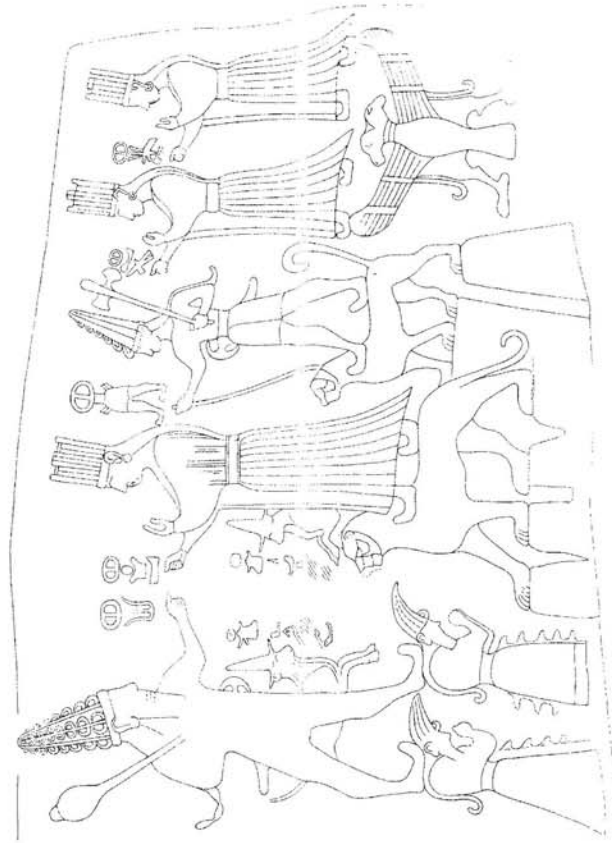
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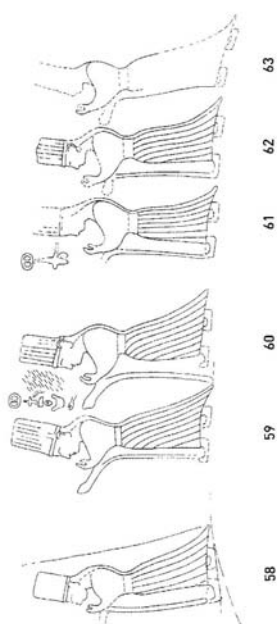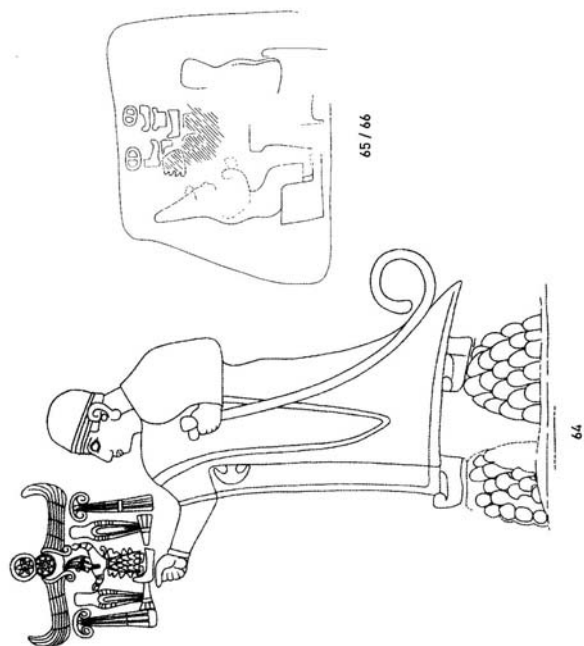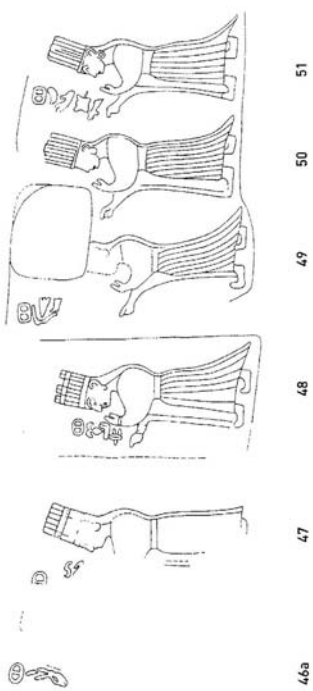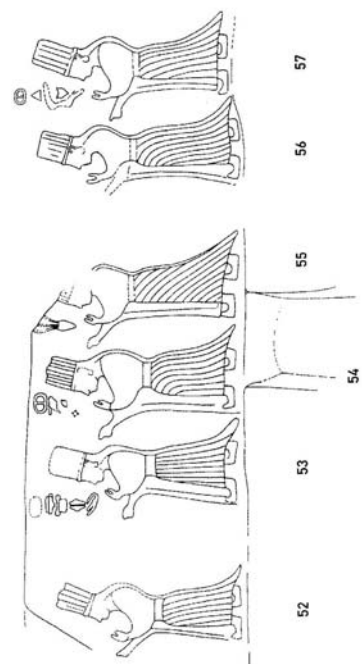Akurgal , E., 2001, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey,* İstanbul: Net Turistik Yayınlar San. ve Tic. A.Ş.

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