

OLD HITTITE POLYCHROME RELIEF VASES
AND THE ASSERTION OF KINGSHIP IN 16TH CENTURY BCE ANATOLIA

A Master's Thesis

by

THOMAS MOORE

Department of Archaeology
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara

July 2015

To Anne Marie

OLD HITTITE POLYCHROME RELIEF VASES
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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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THOMAS MOORE

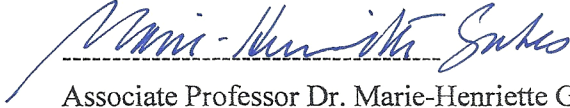
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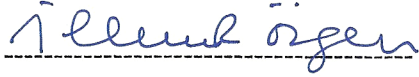
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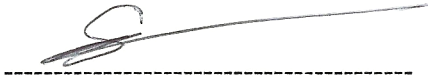
Associate Professor Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology.



Associate Professor Dr. İlknur Özgen
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology.



Assistant Professor Dr. Selim Adalı
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Professor Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

OLD HITTITE POLYCHROME RELIEF VASES AND THE ASSERTION OF KINGSHIP IN 16TH CENTURY BCE ANATOLIA

Moore, Thomas
M.A., Department of Archaeology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates

July 2015

The Old Hittite polychrome relief-decorated vases have attracted scholarly interest since the first substantial fragment was discovered at Bitik in the 1940s. Academics have concurred that the vases illustrate cult practice, but have differed as to whether the figures portray the king or the gods, both, or neither. The publishing in 2008 of a second nearly complete vase now permits a programmatic comparison between it and the famous İnandiktepe vase (published 1988). This thesis studies the vases' decorative program and contends that the relief vases represent centralized monumental art. In contrast with iconography of the preceding and later periods, the vases portray gods without attributes. Similarly, the vases' reliefs depict an anonymous king who engages alongside others in cult activities. Rank is de-emphasized. The focus on solidarity within the ruling

group recalls the major historical document of the period, the *Edict of Telepinu*. Material evidence also links the vases to the network of royal storehouses, listed in the second part of the *Edict*. This political requirement of solidarity evident in the vases may have arisen from the exigencies of supporting chariotry, a new form of warfare.

Keywords: Old Hittite, Relief Ceramic, Central Anatolia, Storm God, Cult Practice, King, İnandıktepe, Hüseyindede, Boğazköy, Bitik, Eskişehir, Alacahöyük, Telepinu, *Reliefkeramik*, *Trichterrandtopf*, *Vexiervase*

ÖZET

ESKİ HİTİT ÇOKRENKLİ KABARTMALI VAZOLARI VE M.Ö. 16 Y.Y. ANADOLU'DA KRALIYET BEYANI

Moore. Thomas
Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates

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Eski Hitit çok renkli kabartmalı vazoları Bitik'te 1940 larda ilk önemli parçanın keşfedildiğinden beri akademisyenlerden ilgisini çekmiştir. Akademisyenler vazoların kült icraatının bir göstergesi olduğunu kabul ediyor ancak vazolardaki figürler konusunda ayrışmaktadırlar. Bazen kral, bazen tanrı, bazen de ikisi bir arada figür edildiğini kabul ederken bazıları akademisyenlerde hiçbirini kabul etmemektedir. İnandıktepe de yayınlanan ilk vazo (1988 yayınlanmış) dan sonra 2008'te ikinci vazo yayınlanabilmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu iki vazo ile ilgili bir karşılaştırma yapabilmek mümkün olabilmıştır. Bu tez deki

iddiamız vazoların üzerindeki anıtsal göstergelerin bir merkezden alınan kararlar yapıldığı ve de bu şekilde üretildiği üzerinedir. Önceki ve sonraki dönemlerin ikonografisine karşılık, bu iki vazo ve diğerleri özelliksiz tanrıları göstermektedir. Vazoların üzerindeki figürler anonim kralı ve yanında insanları gösterirken yanında kült icraatları (dini inanışları sembolize eder) yapan insanları da gösterir. Bu da rütbesi fazla vurgulanmamış, dayanışma gösteren bir hükümet grubu, Telepinu'nun Fermanını hatırlatır. Ayrıca, bu vazolar materyal delil ile Ferman'ın ikinci parça listelenmiş olan asil haznelere bağlanır. Bu dayanışmanın siyasal gereksinimi olan savaş arabası, yeni bir savaş formunu destekliğinden meydana çıkmış olabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eski Hitit, Kabartmalı Seramik, Orta Anadolu, Fırtına Tanrısı, Kült İcraatı, Kral, İnandiktepe, Hüseyindede, Boğazköy, Bitik, Eski yapar, Alacahöyük, Telepinu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper marks the end of three years' study at Bilkent University's Archaeology Department, 2012-2015. In my view, the modern re-creation of the Ancient Near East represents one of the great accomplishments of scholars working in the humanities. Their achievements measure up to the age's brilliant works of engineering and scientific discoveries. Prominent among the achievements are the recovery of the long-dead languages, cultures, and polities of second millennium BCE Anatolia.

This thesis represents not so much an addition to the scholarship of Bronze Age Anatolia as an admiring look at one small part of it. I feel lucky to have undertaken my studies in Turkey. In that regard, I would like to express my admiration for the Dođramacı family, whose civic-minded vision led to the establishment of Bilkent University and continues to guide it today. I deeply appreciate the University's providing this excellent program on scholarship.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The İnandıktepe-Hüseyindede group (IHG) of cult vases

The Old Hittite polychrome relief-decorated vases are a class of monumental ceramic dated to the 16th century BCE¹ (Mielke 2006a). They are large, four-handled jars that display decorations in four friezes and a bull's-head libation mechanism in the inner rim. Excavators have recovered numerous sherds of the distinctive vases across north-central Anatolia, as well as two nearly complete vases. The most famous example is the stunning İnandıktepe vase (Özgüç 1988), with representations of 50 figures in its four decorative friezes (Figure 1). The recent recovery of a second nearly complete vase from Hüseyindede (Yıldırım 2008) has established the strong programmatic similarities between the vases' decorative schemes, even though

¹ This thesis adopts Yakar's dating scheme, using the Middle Chronology for absolute dates and placing the transition from Middle Bronze Age (MBA) IV to Late Bronze Age (LBA) Ia in central Anatolia around 1500 BCE, or approximately the end of the reign of Telepinu (2011: Table 4.7).

each vase depicts a distinct ceremony (Figure 2). This paper terms this class of vases the İnandıktepe-Hüseyindede group (IHG).

Interpreting the vases' decorative scenes has proved contentious. Scholars agree that the figures depicted on the IHG vases are engaged in the cult activities of entertainment, offering, and sacrifice. The near-lack of badges of rank or attributes for the figures on the vases, however, has encouraged differing opinions as to who is depicted in the friezes. In particular, scholars disagree on whether the king or the gods appear. Perhaps for that reason, few scholars have attempted to put the IHG vases in a wider context than simply Hittite official cult practice and religion.

The most curious aspect of the IHG vessels' iconography is that they depict gods without attributes, an approach at odds with the glyptic of the preceding period or subsequent Hittite art. In my reading of the vases, the gods appear in various forms: larger-than-life male figures (Figure 3), as a statue of a bull (Figure 4), smaller-than-life female figures (Figure 5), and as a stool carried by a priestess (Figure 6). The bull imagery and the stool evoke the Old Hittite ideology of the king, who rules the land as the steward of the Storm God, usually depicted as a bull, and is supported by the Throne Goddess Halmasuit, who was never depicted anthropomorphically.

As Schachner notes, the vases provide the first image of the king known in Anatolian art: as such, the vases represent a centrally sanctioned standardized imagery (2012b). This paper argues that the IHG vases served as a tool to build ties of loyalty to the king, thus supporting the palace economy. In the frieze depictions, the anonymous king dresses similarly to the other cult

celebrants, who are exclusively male in the key offering and sacrifice scenes inside the temple (Figure 7). The king is distinguished by his lead position in procession and offering scenes. The display of male solidarity defined by proximity to the king closely resembles the core group described in the *Edict of Telepinu* (CTH 19), the major historical document of late 16th century BCE Anatolia (Güterbock 1954).

The excavated remains of İnandıktepe Level IV (Figure 8) and Hüseyindede (Figure 9), with their rural settings and large storage jars, evoke the network of regional grain storehouses described the second half of the *Edict of Telepinu*. One attractive scenario is that the vases were used in cult visits of the king to sites across central Anatolia, creating a social landscape that helped establish and define the archaic state. At a later period, the *Festrituale* document how the king traveled extensively through the Hittite core area in the Spring and Fall. Cult feasting served, among other goals, to encourage transfers of agricultural surplus to the king's storehouses. By hosting feasts, the king established bonds of personal loyalty and reciprocal obligation with regional landowners.

This political need for solidarity may have arisen from the turbulent 16th century BCE, in which archaic states of the Ancient Near East scrambled to meet the needs of chariotry, a new form of warfare. Through land grants, granaries, and the construction of reservoirs the king sought to support a new class that could invest in the breeding and training of the chariot horses.

As demonstrated by other forms of relief ceramics recovered in Old Hittite contexts, the iconographic convention of depicting gods without

attributes was not long-lasting. By 1400 BCE, relief ceramics as a class had fallen out of cult use. The political phase represented by the IHG vases passed: later Hittite art did not depict an anonymous king engaged with peers in cult activity. Instead he stood alone with the gods, dressed as a god himself.

1.2 Methodology

In Chapter 2, this paper will survey the sites where excavators have recovered sherds of IHG vases. I will review find contexts to examine, where possible, stratification, associated ceramics, and links to architectural remains and to wider settlement patterns. This review has the goal of establishing dating and, however broadly, an urbanistic and economic context. I will then examine the common themes that arise in the decoration of the vases and sherds.

In Chapter 3, I will first establish that polychrome relief-decorated vases were an uncommon, short-lived class of ceramic. In form, however, Anatolian ceramics showed little change over hundreds of years. Accordingly, I will put the IHG vases in the context of the funnel-rim vases (*Trichterrandtöpfe*), attested widely during the second millennium BCE. To show this, I will draw from Assyrian Trading Period-era examples and glyptic, as well as Hittite-era finds.

In the second section of Chapter 3, I will review academic interpretations of the cult vases' decorative program. Thereafter, I will provide my reading of the decorative friezes, based largely on the programmatic commonalities revealed by comparisons of the two substantially

complete vases and the Bitik fragment. In suggesting a reading of the vases, I will make comparisons with other Hittite art, notably the orthostat friezes at Alacahöyük.

The final section of Chapter 3 presents eight relief vases that resemble the IHG vases but represent variant types. All come from sites where IHG vases have been recovered. One of the vessels bears strong similarities to the IHG but is almost certainly earlier in date. Two of the vessels were found as part of the inventory associated with the İnandıktepe and Hüseyindede IHG vases. Another three are also contemporary, or nearly so, to the IHG vases. I will assert that these variants hint at different approaches of the center to establish a standardized iconography for the official cult. Finally, two of the vases are subsequent to the IHG vases, helping date this short-lived ceramic form.

In Chapter 4, I will draw from the find-contexts of the IHG vases to contend that the vases represent an effort from a not fully dominant center to establish a network across Anatolia's diverse landscape, represented by older settlements with indigenous elites (Alaca, Alişar, Eskiypar), new rural settlements (İnandıktepe, Hüseyindede), and new cities created by the center (Kuşaklı/Sarissa). Citing archaeological evidence of grain storage and hydraulic works dating from this period, as well as the textual evidence of the *Edict of Telepinu*, I will argue that the official cult activities depicted on the vases were linked to central claims on local agrarian surpluses. Specifically, I will show that the archaeology of some IHG finds is suggestive of the royal storehouses listed in the second part of the *Edict of Telepinu*. For example, the

İnandıktepe land deed, found near the relief vase, names as beneficiary a royal storehouse official, while the excavated building itself contains a cylindrical storage silo. Finally, I will cite the later *Festritual* evidence to assert that the find-distribution of IHG vase sherds provides a material record of the king's cult travel. Linking the vases to political needs of the time, I will contend that the king was seeking solidarity with the members of a decentralized landed class in order to meet the new demands of chariot warfare.

Study of the IHG vessels provides insight into how the ruler extended his authority across a historically divided social landscape: the vases record one phase of the development of Hittite kingship.

CHAPTER 2

OLD HITTITE POLYCHROME RELIEF VESSELS AND SHERDS

The corpus of Old Hittite polychrome relief vessels consists of two substantially complete vases, another that is sufficiently complete to indicate the vessels' common decorative scheme, and a few dozen smaller sherds found at sites across North Central Anatolia. The sherds typically show parts of only one or two figures. What is striking from these disparate examples is how they present a fully formed and unified style. The representation of both human figures and the cult activity that they engage in varies in detail, but never in essence.

For the first time in North Central Anatolia there is presented a standardized—and idealized -- image of how society should engage in cult. The vases themselves are of fine workmanship and substantial size, bearing the indices of monumental state-sponsored art. These vessels reflect one stage of the development of the Hittite state. Figure 10 provides a map of the distribution of the find-sites of vases and sherds of this distinctive relief pottery. This chapter will first describe the three substantially intact vessels, then it will turn to examples of sherds.

2.1 The substantially intact vessels

The three substantially intact vessels, published in 1957, 1988, and 2006, establish that the İnandıktepe-Hüseyindede group (IHG) of polychrome relief vessels shares not just a common style of portrayal but also a common programmatic approach. The magnificent İnandıktepe A vase (2.1.2) with its 50 human figures remains the most complicated and significant vase (Özgüç 1988). The publication in 2008 of the Hüseyindede A vase (Yıldırım 2008; 2.1.3), however, has helped elucidate the common decorative scheme of the IHG vases. These elements include the contrast between the mixed-sex, open air activities of the top frieze and the exclusively male, indoor scenes on the on the third frieze, which depict the culminating sacrifices and libations. The vases' second frieze serves as a transition and highlights the importance of the building as a focus of cult. (The bottom friezes of the İnandıktepe and Hüseyindede vases depict different subjects, a point discussed further in this section and in 2.2.8). Other striking shared elements include the absence of strong distinctions of rank among human figures and the portrayal of anthropomorphic deities without attributes, this latter feature marking a discontinuity from both the preceding Assyrian Trading Period and subsequent Hittite art.

2.1.1 The Bitik Vase

Villagers at Bitik, a settlement 42 kilometers north-west of Ankara, discovered around 1940-1941 fragments of a large polychrome relief vase

while digging earth from a local settlement mound (höyük) (Figure 11). The then-head of the Ankara Museum, Remzi Oğuz Arık, arranged emergency excavations in 1942. He found no further sherds, but did unearth evidence of second millennium occupation of the site. Fifteen years later, Tahsin Özgüç published the vase (1957).

The remains of the vase consist of one large piece, formed from conjoined fragments, and four non-contiguous sherds.² The vase is made of red-slipped and polished ceramic. It shows parts of three handles, so most likely originally had four vertical handles. The surface of the vase is divided into three registers or friezes, divided by two painted strips above and below the middle register. The strips show a cross-hatched design painted in red and black on a cream surface. The images on the friezes consist mainly of human figures, a structure, and a bull.

In total, the surviving fragments illustrate 15 human figures. Four of the figures are complete or substantially so. The figures appear in profile, evenly spaced along the registers. Thirteen of the 15 (87%) are standing. Twelve of the 15 (80%) are facing to the right. Of the six preserved standing figures that show feet, all have both feet planted on the register line, the left foot placed in front. In aggregate, the well-spaced, vertical figures, aligned along registers and (largely) facing in one direction create the impression of a solemn, ritual procession. Adding to this effect, the faces of the figures are uniform. They show a large almond-shaped eye over a prominent nose, with a

² Özgüç mentioned three unassociated sherds in his article (1957: 63, Pl. IVb, VIb), but he then described and illustrated a fourth when he published the İnandıktepe vase (1988: 105, Pl. 65, 4).

mouth neither frowning nor smiling. The hairstyles are similar as well, with longish black hair swept over the ear and extending to the nape of the neck.

The figures' gender is hard to discern, although dress provides some clues. The fragments, however, show the clothes of only six of the figures. In the top preserved frieze, there are three figures and each has a different style of dress (Figure 12). Judging from relative size, it seems the larger seated person, who wears a long dark robe, is a man. He wears an earring that is cream-colored, perhaps to indicate gold or silver. The shorter seated person, wearing a long white robe with hood, seems to be a woman, indicated both by her smaller size and fuller mouth. The feet of the two seated people appear disproportionately small, not different in size from the hands of the man. Finally, the much taller person standing to the right is preserved only from the waist down. The figure wears a long white robe with a belt at the waist and shoes upturned at the toe. Judging from the figure's narrow waist, she seems to be a woman.

The middle frieze shows just one kind of dress, a short white tunic with a triangular undergarment extending down the back of the thigh (Figure 13). This is the most common form of dress on the vase fragments, with five of the eight known costumes. The figures on this level all are men. The figures wear elaborate shoes, perhaps sandals. Three figures show this dress, two on the large piece and one a fragment. The two complete figures in Figure 13 wear earrings. Also wearing earrings are the person in Fragment A (Figure

14), who likely is from the middle frieze,³ and the cymbals player from Fragment B, who is in the bottom frieze (Figure 15). All of their earrings show the same red wash as is used for skin color, in distinction to the cream earrings of the person in the register above.

Turning to attributes, the seated man on the top frieze has a cup in his left hand (Figure 12). It is tinted with cream, in the same fashion as his earring, creating the impression that the cup is metal, perhaps silver or gold. In the middle frieze, it seems that all the procession figures bear an offering or object. From the left, two men bear jars: the one carries a pilgrim flask on his back, the other holds a cooking pot at chest level (Figure 13). Both ceramic shapes are well attested in both the Assyrian Trading Period (20th to 18th centuries BCE) and the later Old Hittite period, reflecting the continuity of central Anatolian ceramics from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (Schoop 2009). To the right, beyond the handle join, appear two men's heads. They carry crooked sticks over their shoulders. Another offering-bearer from the middle frieze is depicted in Fragment B (Figure 15); he clearly is carrying something on his back.

As for the bottom register, directly below the first two offering-bearers are preserved the heads of two men facing each other, holding what Özgüç terms daggers in their upraised hand (1957: 63) (bottom of Figure 11). The posture seems to be more of dance than combat (see 2.1.2.4). This conclusion

³ Figures in this pose in the two complete vases usually are found on the third frieze, corresponding to the middle frieze of the Bitik fragment. In the İnandıktepe vase, the one person in that pose is on the same frieze. Four of the five figures in that pose on the Hüseyindede vase are found on the third frieze.

is corroborated by the cymbals player in Fragment B, who may be accompanying the dancers with the clash of cymbals (Figure 15).

The following table summarizes the gender of the figures:

Table 1: Bitik vase, left-right orientation and gender of figures.

FRIEZE	# FIGURES/FACING L OR R	GENDER
Top	2-R 1-L	1-man 2-women
Middle	8-R	8-men
Bottom	2-R 2-L	4-men
TOTAL	12-R 3-L	13-men 2-women
Percentages	80% - R 20%-L	87% - men 13%- women

The two important non-human elements illustrated in the Bitik friezes are the mud-brick structure in the top frieze and the bull from the middle frieze of Fragment C (Figure 16). The structure is of alternating cream and red vertical courses of mud brick, as indicated by the grooves marking the ceramic. Given the disparity between the brick sizes and the size of the two figures sitting in the window, it seems that the structure is presented relatively smaller: it is sized to fit the frieze, rather than to match the proportions of the human figures. The structure represents a temple: see discussion in Section 2.2.3.2.

The bull on fragment C (Figure 16) evokes one of the distinctive elements of the IHG vases, the four bull's-head spouts that are connected by ducts to a basin on the inner rim (Figure 17); these are missing in the case of the partial Bitik vase. The symbolism of the bull indicates the vessel was used in the cult of the Storm God, who sat with the female Sun Deity at the head of the Anatolian pantheon (Beckman 2004b: 311-313). Here, the bull appears small. It is located on the equivalent of the third register of the IHG vases, as shown by the painted band below the register and the handle stub. In this frieze, offerings are brought to the god. As such, the depicted bull recalls the sacrificed bull on the same register of the İnandiktepe vase (2.1.2.4), or the similar bull from Kabaklı (Kırşehir) (2.2.5).

2.1.2 The İnandiktepe A vase

In late 1965, near the village of İnandık, some 109 kilometers along the road from Ankara to Çankiri, a bulldozer excavating fill from a hillside exposed sherds of polychrome relief pottery. In 1966-1967, Raci Temizer,⁴ then-head of the Ankara Museum, led emergency excavations that exposed the foundations of a 30-room structure dating to the Hittite period (1988: xxxi) (Figure 8). In addition to finding the almost-intact relief vase (Figure 1), Temizer recovered an associated ceramic assemblage of 49 vases, an Old Hittite royal land deed (Figure 18), a ceramic shrine model, and three bull statuettes. Tahsin Özgüç published the finds in 1988.

⁴ With the assistance of Tahsin Özgüç, Kemal Balkan, Mahmut Akok and others (1988: xxix).

Made of a fine red fabric, covered with a polished red slip, the vase is 82 cm high and 51 cm wide (Özgüç 1988: 84). In shape, it is a funnel-rim vase (3.1), with a round bottom, large oval body, four vertical handles at the shoulder, and a flaring top. The neck, shoulders and belly of the vase are covered with four decorative friezes, featuring figures colored in cream, red, and black. The tallest frieze, which is located between the handles, is separated from the friezes above and below by two painted bands. Inside the rim is a small rectangular basin that has three egresses: a bull's-head spout at the center of the basin and two ducts that lead around the inner rim to three other bull's-head spouts (Figure 17).

Following its discovery, the İnandık vase immediately drew comparisons with the Bitik vase fragments (2.1.1), found 110 kms to the west (Mellink 1967: 160). While different in detail, the two vases share common compositional concepts, as well as a common style of representation. Despite evident continuity from the preceding Karum period, the new iconography and stylistic approach mark a clear break from the past. The İnandıktepe vase's rich associated finds date the vase to mid- to late-16th century BCE.⁵ To all appearances, these monumental vases are part of a centrally sanctioned artistic style that was appearing for the first time in the Anatolian plateau (Schachner 2012b: 130-131).

⁵ Dating is discussed more fully later in this section.

2.1.2.1 The Vessel's Inner Rim

One of the most distinctive elements of the vase is its libation mechanism on the inner rim. Four bull's-head spouts⁶ are designed to drain fluid poured into the rectangular basin perched on the rim's edge (Figure 17). Such a mechanism implies some form of intimate ceremony focused on the spectacle created by the chief celebrant pouring wine (or other beverage) from a pitcher into the libation basin, with other participants looking on. The vase itself contains an image of the celebrant using a pitcher for libations (Figure 19) and such a theme is common in later Hittite art (e.g., Figure 20). The side of the vase facing the chief celebrant therefore must be the side where the basin is located. Indeed, most of the scenes of greatest cult importance are found on this side, as will be demonstrated.

2.1.2.2 The First (top) Frieze

The top frieze measures 10.5 cm high and depicts figures of both genders engaged in music-making, acrobatics, and – astonishingly – a sex act (Figure 21). In all, there are 11 figures, six women and five men. The figures on this frieze show the same left-to-right movement as on the Bitik vase. Seven of the figures are facing right, while one is facing to the left. As for the remaining three, one of the gymnasts faces upwards, while the male sex-partner is looking back (left) and upwards and the female sex-partner is facing downwards. Similar to the Bitik vase, the heads appear in profile and all

⁶ Only three are preserved. The head at the right of the basin is a copy.

figures, men and women, share the same hairstyle. The longish black hair is swept behind the ears and extends to the nape of the neck. The dress, as well, repeats two styles seen in the Bitik vase: the short white tunic with long sleeves and projecting triangular undergarment, worn by the men, and the long white robe belted at the waist, worn predominantly by women. In addition, the two acrobats wear another form of dress, a tight-fitting short tunic with long sleeves and no projecting undergarment (Figure 22). The left-hand acrobat's clothes show decoration (embroidered?) at the bottom hem, the neck and as bands on the sleeves.

Musical instruments are the main attributes held by the figures in this register (Figures 23). There is one lyre and one lute, both played by right-facing men. Four women clash the cymbals, two facing the acrobats and two facing the lute-player on either side. The sex scene and acrobats jumping serve as the two focal points of the frieze. The sex scene (Figure 24) is located below and to the left of the rectangular basin on the inner rim, where the chief celebrant would perform a libation. Further, the sex scene is placed directly above the intimate scene on frieze two and above the sacrifice of a bull in the third frieze.

2.1.2.3 The Second Frieze

The second frieze measures 13 cm high. It depicts a procession of eight people of both genders going towards a painted building (Figure 25). As in the Bitik vase, the building is presented in miniature and is decorated with

painted vertical bands of alternating color. Three figures are visible on the building, their small size proportioned to give a sense of scale (Figure 26).⁷ To the right of the building, and thus presumably inside it, there are an altar and a large jar. Just beyond is a bed-like piece of furniture with two people on it (Figure 24). The intimacy of this interior scene contrasts with the public procession outside and its musical accompaniment. It is noteworthy that the bed⁸ appears directly under the sex-scene in the frieze above.

In total, 13 people are depicted on the second frieze. There are eight men and five women.⁹¹⁰ As in the top frieze, movement of the figures to the right is strong, with ten of the figures facing rightwards and only three facing left. The use of the left-facing figures seems to be employed to create distinct scenes. Two figures standing on the temple face left, presumably to see the on-coming procession. And the two people on the bed-throne face each other¹¹, demarcating an intimate scene. Unlike the intimate scene in the Bitik vase, however, these two figures are likely women.

⁷ Taracha interprets the small figures as statues on an altar (2009: 69), noting the traditional small size of Hittite cult statues (e.g. Gurney 1977: 26). I do not agree with this interpretation. Moreover, the later *Festrituale* mention cult activities taking place on the roofs of temples (Miller 2004: 285, 287, citing CTH 481)).

⁸ Or platform, or throne: see Section 3.3.2.

⁹ Gender, however, is particularly difficult to determine for the middle figure on the temple.

¹⁰ It is possible that the person holding the stool (see 2.2.4) has been incorrectly restored as a man; only the figure's hands and the top of the head are original. The corresponding figure holding a stool in the procession of the Hüseyindede A vase is a woman wearing a black dress (Yıldırım 2009: 242).

¹¹ Only the bottom-half of the left-hand figure survives. Its left side, however, has a long vertical black line, which is shown on the backside of some women's long robes, e.g. the cymbals player on the frieze above (Figure 23).

Five of the 13 figures on the second frieze carry musical instruments. Again, the instruments are allocated by gender: three women play the cymbals, while one man plays the lyre and another the lute. The front of the procession is led by two male figures that hold curved swords, which extend through the register line above into the top-most frieze (Figure 26). Following them is the lute player and directly behind is the much-damaged figure holding a stool or a miniature throne, perhaps for a god (2.2.4). Immediately behind are two hooded figures with long robes (Figure 27). The first of the two carries a crooked stick over his shoulder, reminding of the two figures in the Bitik vase middle register¹² that also carry crooked sticks, although in that vase their heads are uncovered (see 2.2.6). At the tail of the procession are two female cymbals-players, dressed in the same long skirt as the women from the frieze above, but displaying a design at the top of the skirt.¹³

2.1.2.4 The Third Frieze

The third frieze is the tallest, at 13.5 cm¹⁴, and is divided into four sections by the vase's vertical handles (Figure 28). It is distinguished from the other registers by being framed above and below by cream-painted strips. The

¹² This would correspond to the third register of the İnandık vase and, in my view represents a procession inside the temple (3.3.4).

¹³ An orthostat frieze from Zincirli, dated at least 600 years later, shows a male cymbals player wearing a long belted robe with the same feature, apparently made of rope, and with a similar hem at the bottom (Bittel 1976: 37).

¹⁴ Özgüç mistakenly states that the second frieze (which he denotes as the third) is the tallest and longest (1988: 89, 101). His own measurements, however, indicate the third frieze is taller (1988: 88) and the jar's maximum diameter at the handles means that the third frieze is also the longest. The third frieze also depicts the most figures.

top-most strip measures 3.5 cm high and has a zig-zag design with colored triangles. The bottom strip is 3 cm high and features a cross-hatched design, similar to that of the two painted bands that flank the middle register in the Bitik vase (Figure 11). The four sections of the third frieze each have four figures, with the exception of the badly damaged scene of offering-bearers carrying two altars, which apparently has three¹⁵. Thus in total there are 13 figures; 12 of them¹⁶ are males wearing the short white tunic with the projecting triangular undergarment. The exception is a figure that has a long white gown and is seated on a stool, facing left (Figure 3). He is much taller than the other figures. In fact, if he stood up, he would not fit between the registers: in that regard, he recalls the seated god of the Schimmel vase (Figure 30). He is also the only figure in frieze 3 whose feet are not touching the ground.

This third frieze can be divided into two halves, using the approach that participants in a cult ceremony would not see the depictions as a continuous frieze, but rather view the vase from one location. As a circular solid, half of the vase would be visible from one any one point. The most privileged vantage was that of the chief celebrant, who doubtlessly poured a libation into the rectangular basin on the inner rim of the vase, as mentioned above. Seen from his¹⁷ perspective, the half of the vase that appears includes both the libation scene and the bull sacrifice scene (Figure 29). Fittingly, both

¹⁵ It is tempting to think that the missing pieces on this part of the vase represent a place where a figure once was.

¹⁶ The figure between the sacrificial bull and the bull statue is represented only by a hand holding a knife, but is included as one of the males.

¹⁷ Assumed to be a man, as the celebrants on this frieze appear as men.

of these scenes have prominent images of the chief celebrant, in one libating and, in the other, toasting the sacrifice.

Those placed directly opposite the chief celebrant would see the two frieze segments representing the procession. Thus the views mirror the roles and ranks of the participants, with the chief celebrant and those beside him (presumably of higher rank) seeing the acts of libation and sacrifice, while the other participants would see the procession inside the temple (Figure 31).

The procession inside the temple comprises seven figures. All are men, all face right, with their left foot forward and both feet on the ground. The artist's evident goal is to create a sense of solemnity and of unison. The two men behind the first figure wear long robes, perhaps the same two men in long robes in the procession to the temple in the frieze above. In the safe confines of the temple, however, they are no longer following two sword-bearers, but stand near the head of the procession. Behind them are three men carrying objects. The first, who appears to be a boy by virtue of his shorter stature, carries in his right hand what might be a rhyton. The following two carry altars at chest-level. These appear identical in shape and similar in decoration to the altars used in the second, third and bottom friezes, although in relation to the figures holding them, the altars here appear smaller. That discrepancy in size raises questions about the size of the figures seated on stools and the bed-throne. The end of the procession is badly damaged and the final figure has been restored as holding his hands in a raised prayer position.¹⁸

¹⁸ In my view, it is more likely that there are two figures at the end of the procession and that both bring offerings. In the Bitik vase, the preserved two men in the middle frieze represent

The tallest figure in the procession is the person leading (Figure 31). His posture of left hand forward and up and right arm crooked downwards and back is unique on the vase (see 2.2.7). With his right arm, he guides the first robed figure forwards. He wears the short tunic with the projecting triangular undergarment¹⁹ and an earring that is tinted cream color, presumably to represent gold or silver. His clothing, however, is distinguished by a patterned black and white armband, similarly patterned cuffs, and two converging diagonal stripes from his right shoulder to his left midsection. Comparison with the figure on the Schimmel rhyton (Figure 20), whose portrayal in silver shows finer detail than relief ceramics, indicates what garment is likely intended. The diagonal line may represent a shawl and the vertical line marks the front opening of the garment. Therefore, the person leading the procession bears the same marks of high status as the person libating to the gods in the Schimmel rhyton.

After the offering procession, there follow two scenes of sacrifice and libation, each with four figures. By its nature, the sacrifice scene is the most dramatic (Figure 32). In front of a statue of a bull on a pedestal, two men slaughter a bound bull. The vase here is damaged and both human figures are partial. Of the right-hand figure, only a hand and a knife are visible. To their left, stands a tall figure holding his hands in front of his face, in a position of worship. Similar to the figure leading the offering procession, he is the tallest

the final figures of the offering procession and both carry offerings. Similarly, in the Hüseyindede vase the final two figures in the procession in the third frieze both lead animal offerings.

¹⁹ Only the top half of the figure is original, but this recreation of the dress makes sense.

and wears a cream-colored earring. In his right hand is a cup. At the back, further to the left of the scene, a harpist plays.

The bull on the pedestal recalls the bull's-head spouts of the libation mechanism on the vessel's rim. This sacrifice scene therefore represents a central theme of the vase, the culmination of the two solemn processions on the second and third friezes. The bull is a standard Anatolian Bronze Age representation of the Storm God, linked through Old Hittite political ideology to kingship (3.3.4). Temizer's excavations of İnandıktepe recovered three ceramic bull statues (Özgüç 1988: Pl. I, 60-62). Such representations are well known from earlier Assyrian Trading Period cylinder seals.²⁰ At Alacahöyük's Sphinx Gate, the image of the Hittite king worshipping the statue of the bull represents one of the most striking panels (Figure 33).

On the third frieze of the İnandıktepe vase, an act of libation represents the final scene (Figure 34). It features four figures, three standing and one seated. The seated figure, mentioned above, is large, so large that he could not fit in the register if he stood. He sits on a stool behind an altar and holds his hands in front of his face. He wears a long robe and his feet do not touch the register below. In his right hand is a flat cream-colored cup, evidently made of metal. Facing him is a tall standing figure with a cream-colored earring. This figure appears to be the chief celebrant and appears identical to the man who leads the procession on this frieze, as well as offers the cup to the statue of the bull in the previous scene. The same chief celebrant thus appears three times in this frieze. In this scene, he holds in his right hand a beaked pitcher

²⁰ The bull figure often appears on the so-called Old Assyrian style seals, e.g. Özgüç 2003: Fig 342).

(*Schnabelkanne*). This form of ceramic is well known from Old Hittite contexts²¹ and was part of the inventory recovered from the storerooms at İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988:78). Behind the tall figure is a harpist playing. A boy is helping him hold the harp as he plays.

2.1.2.5 The Fourth (bottom) Frieze

Directly beneath the third frieze's scenes of sacrifice and libation, on to the vase's privileged side with the libation basin on the rim, the bottom register shows food preparation (Figure 35). On the other half of the vase, the bottom register shows one scene of music and dancing and another scene of drinking involving two large seated figures separated by an altar. Note that the bottom register bears the most damage and is missing the most pieces (see Appendix One). Of the 11 figures, seven face to the right. All but one of the figures appear to be males.

The exception is the woman wearing a long belted robe, mixing beer or wine (Figure 36). While the *Festritual* texts frequently mention wine and beer in relation to cult activities (Alp 2000), archaeological evidence also exists for brewing beer in a Hittite temple: excavators at Kuşaklı/Sarissa uncovered a brewery in Building C, the large temple near the center of the walled city (A. Müller-Karpe 1999: 97).

The food preparation scenes represent the only part of the vase in which objects outnumber people. The standing person mixing beer or wine

²¹ Özgüç provides examples (1988: 78).

shares a space with four large pots. Two kneeling people tend to five cooking vessels (Figure 37). Depicted is an institutional, not a domestic, setting. Turning to archaeological evidence from this time, the ceramic inventory of İnandıktepe Level IV included two complete cooking vessels identical to those in Figure 27 (Özgüç 1988: 81; Pl. 30, 3,4). Later ceramic evidence from Boğazköy (Temples 7 and 19) and Kuşaklı (North Terrace Temple) shows that such cooking vessels made up four to nine percent of the total ceramic inventory recovered from large temples (V. Müller-Karpe 2006: Fig. 7, 8).

The bottom frieze's heavily restored dancing scene is located directly under the acrobats on the top frieze, as if contrasting the solemn indoor steps of the two men in long robes with the festive outdoor jumps and flips of the men in short tunics. The two men are accompanied by a two-person harp, a courtly instrument that is almost inconceivable in the rustic country house setting of İnandıktepe (Figure 38).

In the last of the scenes, a harpist plays behind two very large seated figures.²² In the manner of the figure receiving the libation on the third frieze (Figure 34), they are too tall to stand inside the frieze. They sit on stools with their feet not touching the register below them (Figure 39). The right-hand figure carries a shallow cup in his right hand, in the same manner as the seated figure in the Schimmel rhyton (Figure 30). Between the two figures stand a large jar and an altar. This juxtaposition recalls the jar and altar beside the bed-throne, seen in the second frieze.

²² Note that this part of the vase is missing pieces and has undergone successive restorations (see Appendix One). For example, the heads of the two seated figures are largely re-created.

The following chart provides an overview of vase figures:

Table 2: İnandiktepe vase, left-right orientation and gender.

Frieze	Number of figures	Male	Female	Percent facing right
1 (top)	11	5	6	64%
2	13	9	4	77%
3	15	15	0	80%
4 (bottom)	11	10	1	64%
TOTAL	50	39	11	75%

2.1.3 The Hüseyindede A vase

In 1997, while conducting surface surveys, archaeologists from the Çorum Museum discovered sherds of Old Hittite relief vases on the side of a hill called Hüseyindede, some 45 km north-east of Boğazköy. The sherds had come to the surface as a result of illicit diggings. Enquiry in nearby villages brought forth a few additional matching sherds. The following summer, Tayfun Yıldırım and Tunç Sipahi led a recovery excavation which revealed settlement remains consisting of a large square building and one half-dozen houses built down the hillside (Figure 9). The large building, along with the settlement, had been destroyed by fire in ancient times and not rebuilt. In one small room of the large building, the excavators recovered over 30 vessels, placed in a line along one of the walls. Some of these had clear cult use,

including the remains of the Hüseyindede A vase (Figure 2) and the Hüseyindede B vase (3.4.3) and two other partial relief vessels.

The Hüseyindede A vase was recovered three-quarters complete and published in 2008 (Yıldırım). In many ways, the Hüseyindede A vase resembles the İnandıktepe A vase. Both are red-slipped funnel rim vases about 50 cm wide, although the Hüseyindede vase is slightly taller at 86 cm, compared to İnandıktepe's 82 cm. Both have four vertical handles, as well as the libation mechanism with four bull's-head spouts on the inner rim, emphasizing a connection with the bull cult. Both vases are decorated with four friezes, with mostly human figures depicted in reliefs colored with cream, red and black. These figures are shown in profile in the same evenly spaced, vertical style that includes a predominance of standing figures facing to the right.

2.1.3.1 Hüseyindede A vase compared to Bitik and İnandıktepe A vases

Despite the similarities, significant elements differ from the İnandıktepe A vase. Most notably, the Hüseyindede vase has 27 human figures, as opposed to 50 in the İnandıktepe vase. As if to counterbalance, the Hüseyindede friezes depict nine animals, compared with only two in the İnandıktepe vase, including the statue of the bull. Another difference is that the Hüseyindede vase lacks the painted band below the third frieze that is found on the İnandıktepe vase. In that vase, the bottom of the handles joins the jar in the bottom-most painted strip. In contrast, the Hüseyindede vase

handles join the jar in the bottom frieze, effectively segmenting that frieze into four parts, as well as the frieze above.

Another striking difference is shown in the character of the top and bottom friezes of the two vases. The top frieze of the Hüseyindede vase has as its two focuses the arrival of two figures sitting at the back of an ox-drawn wagon²³, counterbalanced by two women dancing to music. The İnandiktepe vase's top register features two very different focal points, two jumping acrobats and a public sex act. In its bottom frieze, the Hüseyindede vase provides a simple and bold depiction of two opposing pairs of rampant bulls, while the busy İnandiktepe vase shows scenes of dancing, food preparation, and feasting.

Considering the three vases together, the partial Bitik vase resembles more closely the İnandiktepe vase, while the Hüseyindede vase is distinctive (2.2.7). On its middle frieze, Bitik's four offering bearers placed between a pair of handles match the denser spacing of the İnandiktepe vase. Bitik's only depicted animal is the bull on sherd b, corresponding to the third frieze, recalling the bulls on the same frieze of the İnandiktepe vase (2.2.5). Bitik also shares with the İnandiktepe vase the feature of decorated painted bands both above and below the third frieze. Its handle bottoms also join the jars from the lower painted strip, leaving the fourth register continuous and unbroken. Lastly, the two opposing men holding daggers from the bottom

²³ Showing that this was not an isolated theme, relief vase fragments of similar depictions of ox-wagons have been recovered at Boğazköy (Boehmer 1983: 36-42, Pl. XVI, 50) and Alişar (Gorny: 2001) (2.2.1).

Bitik frieze seem to be dancers. As such, they echo the two opposing dancers on the bottom frieze of the İnandiktepe vase.

2.1.3.2 The First (top) Frieze

To consider the friezes in detail, the Hüseyindede vase's top frieze shows nine people out-of-doors, including five musicians and dancers (Figure 40). Six of these figures face right, as do the two oxen, giving the frieze a strong sense of movement. Consistent with the gender-based allocation of musical instruments found in the İnandiktepe vase, two men play the lute, while the cymbals player is a woman. The Hüseyindede vase also has two female dancers. Approaching behind the musicians and dancers is a wagon pulled by two oxen and led by a man in fancy dress. He wears the long sleeved tunic with short hem and protruding triangular undergarment that the majority of men on the relief vases wear. He also sports arm bands, cuffs, and a kerchief at the neck. This dress recalls that of the person leading the procession of the third frieze of the İnandiktepe A vase. He holds in his left hand a small cream-colored object, perhaps a bottle.

At the back of the cart two figures in long garments sit on a platform (Figure 41). Judging from their narrow waists, they are women. The left-hand figure is badly damaged. The right-hand figure is hooded, distinguishing her from the other figures in the frieze, which are uncovered. They are noticeably smaller than the other figures. This effect does not seem an attempt to show distance (as was the case in the figures on top of the temple in the İnandiktepe

vase), since the man, the oxen, and the cart are all in the same scale as the other figures on the register. Behind the ox wagon there is a walking man, who carries on his back a ceramic jar held with a strap. He recalls the figure from the middle frieze of the Bitik vase.

2.1.3.3 The Second Frieze

The second Hüseyindede frieze hews much more closely to the İnandiktepe model than does the top frieze. It represents an outdoors procession to a temple, with an intimate scene on a bed-throne depicted inside (Figure 42). The two processions are remarkably similar. Both are led by two sword-bearers, holding the swords vertically in front of their faces (Figure 43). Both feature a person holding with two hands a stool or throne (Figure 6; 2.2.4), immediately followed by two hooded figures in long white robes. The back of both processions feature two musicians. In total, the Hüseyindede procession depicts five men and two women, all facing right. The İnandiktepe vase has one more male, the difference being the insertion of a lyre player between the sword-bearers and the stool-bearer.

The two temples are similar, consisting of a tall rectangle that fills the height of the frieze, with six vertical incised bands painted in alternating colors of red/black, cream and brown (2.2.3.2). The columns of the Hüseyindede vase are scored to create the effect of mud bricks. They rest on a cream colored base that may represent the stone foundation frequently used in Anatolian buildings of the time. The Hüseyindede example differs in that it is

topped with hour-glass elements above each of the vertical rows, while the İnandıktepe vase's temple has a flat cream-colored roof.

As with the İnandıktepe vase, the bed-throne is located directly under the rectangular libation basin on the inner rim of the vessel, giving it a privileged position *vis-à-vis* the chief celebrant of the cult. Both vases feature an altar between the temple and throne-bed, although the Hüseyindede vase lacks the large storage jar that was placed to the left of the bed-throne in the İnandıktepe vase. A new element here is the presence of the left-facing man in a position of worship, to the right of the bed-throne (Figure 5). The worshipping figure wears the same short tunic that the musician and the sword-bearers wear on this frieze. That person's relative size shows that the two figures on the bed-throne are considerably smaller, recalling the two figures at the back of the ox wagon in the frieze above. The dress of these two sets of smaller figures both display the same contrast of one predominantly white and one predominantly black.

2.1.3.4 The Third Frieze

The third Hüseyindede frieze depicts a procession within the temple and the presentation of a libation at an altar with a god-like figure seated behind (Figure 44). This frieze shows eight males, seven facing right. The procession features four men and three animals. It is led by a man wearing a diadem²⁴ with a visible diagonal hem on his short tunic (Figure 7; see 2.2.7),

²⁴ The chief celebrant in the Schimmel silver rhyton also wears a diadem (Figure 20). Similarly, so does the hunter depicted in the Hittite-style gold and silver relief plaque for a

similar to the comparable İnandıktepe scene (Figure 31). He leads by the arm the man following him. The other three men, all wearing the same short tunic with projecting triangular undergarment, lead animals: a ram, a stag, and a poorly preserved quadruped. Owing to the Hittite convention that one usually sacrificed animals of the same gender as the god, this offering seems intended for a male god (Haas 1994: 647).

The libation scene is damaged with only the tops of the two key figures preserved, as well as the top of the altar between them (Figure 45). The man wearing a diadem makes the libation or drinks from a cup – the scene is too damaged to determine which. Because of the diadem, he must be the same figure who was leading the procession. Beyond the altar, the right-hand figure is seated and has his hands raised, as in the libation scene of the İnandıktepe vase (Figure 34). In similar fashion, a harpist plays behind.

2.1.3.5 The Fourth Frieze

The Hüseyindede vase's bottom register depicts two opposing pairs of bulls. The four bulls recall the four bull's-head spouts at the top of the vase, emphasizing the link to the Storm God. These bulls are powerfully built, with a large hump of muscle at the front shoulder (Figure 46). Their heads are lowered in aggressive stance and their virility is emphasized. They contrast dramatically with the placid, thin bulls with long necks found on the third

quiver, recovered in the Royal Tomb at Qatna, N. Syria, and dated to the 15th/14th century BCE (Plate 92). Using a diadem to denote a person of high distinction was an old Anatolian tradition: Koşay excavated a gold diadem in Tomb H at Alacahöyük, dated to the EBIII (1951: 158, Pl. 141) (Plate 93).

register of the Bitik and Kabaklı vases (see 2.2.5). Of the friezes, the bottom one differs the most from the İnandıktepe A example, which shows 11 figures engaged in music, dance, food preparation, and feasting.

2.2 Sherds of the relief vases

The many sherds of the relief vases found across North-Central Anatolia and, beyond that, south-east to Elbistan at the Taurus passes, demonstrate the center's desire to spread imagery of official cult throughout the Hittite core area. Following are locations where sherds of the IHG vessels have been recovered:

Alacahöyük (3.4.5)

Alişar Höyük (2.2.1)

Amasya Museum sherd (2.2.2)

Bitik (2.1.1)

Boğazköy (2.2.3)

Eskiyapar (2.2.4)

Hüseyindede (2.1.3)

İnandıktepe (2.1.2)

Kabaklı (Kırşehir) (2.2.5)

Karahöyük (Elbistan) (2.2.6)

Kuşaklı (2.2.7)

Maşathöyük. (Özgüç 1982: Pl. 87,1).

Further afield, excavators have recovered sherds in Hittite levels that bear superficial similarity to the IHG. In Porsuk, the excavators found in the Late Bronze level (Niveau V) a relief sherd that depicts a sitting bovine. Dupré considered, without finally deciding, whether it was similar to the Kabaklı relief sherd (2.2.5) (1983: 177, Pl. 40). From the drawing, the Porsuk animal does not have the diagnostic register under its feet, nor do its legs show the detailing typical of the IHG.

At Tell Atchana/Alalah Level VI excavators found sherds with red wash that they consider are “Old Hittite relief-decorated” (Yener and Akar 2013: 265, 266, Figure 2). There are, however, no traces of human figures or animals on the sherds. Instead, the pictured sherds show ridges and polychrome decoration that do not, judging from the illustration, correspond to the IHG vases. On current evidence, it seems likely that the IHG relief vessels are a phenomenon of the Hittite heartland, with the one outlier from Karahöyük (Elbistan).

2.2.1 Sherds from Alişar: the wagon and the ideology of kingship

Excavations from 1927-1932 at Alişar Höyük, a large mound located 70 kilometers south-east of Boğazköy/Hattuša, recovered from Hittite levels some 23 relief sherds. Many of these display the polychrome relief and figurative style of the IHG vases (Gorney 2001). For example, Figure 47 above shows seven relief sherds found during the 1930-1932 seasons. The sherds display familiar IHG elements: musicians, altar bases, a wagon, people

in profile walking on registers. Archaeological evidence indicates that this site flourished in the Old Hittite period, with early examples of casemate walls, but following a destruction level, continued on only as a much reduced settlement during the Hittite Empire period (Seeher 2011: 381).

In the 1990s, Gorney mapped the find sites of the 17 relief sherds that have a known provenance (2001: 176) (Figure 48). They show a heavy concentration around two structures built on the south terrace of the mound. This clustering may indicate that the relief vases were stored in the same location. Von der Osten termed the largest structure the Mansion. It consisted of ten or so rooms built in an agglutinative fashion and connected across a courtyard to more rooms, perhaps an outbuilding (Figure 2; Gorney 2001: Fig 10.6). In form it recalls the larger manor house at İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988: Plan 2). Gorney suggests that, given the likely link between the relief sherds and Hittite cult, this density of sherds suggests the presence of a religious structure in that area (2001: 183). In light, however, of the strong similarity of the Manor's architecture with the buildings linked to the finds at both Hüseyindede and İnandıktepe, it may well be that the sherds originated from the Mansion.

Of the sherds in Figure 1, perhaps the most interesting is the one showing the wagon wheel fragment (Figure 49). It bears close similarities to the wagon in the top register of the Hüseyindede A vase. Both wagons have distinctive five-piece wooden wheels built around a wide cross beam in the center. Clay models of such wheels have been found in Boğazköy/Hattuša (Boehmer 1983: 36-39, figs. 25, 26). The sides of both wagons are formed by

vertical slats pointed at the top so that they resemble pickets. Both wagons show a figure in a cream colored robe seated at the back. Gorney found a join to the piece portrayed in Figure 1 (d 29997a) among the unpublished sherds from Alişar stored at the University of Chicago (2001: 177). His join further increases the similarity to the Hüseyindede wagon (Figure 41).

While only the heads remain of the draft animals, the three horns visible make clear that the Hüseyindede A vase's wagon is being pulled by two oxen (Figure 50). Similarly, a sherd from Alişar shows the hind legs of two oxen hitched to a wagon (Boehmer 1983: 40; Gorney 2001: 180) (Figure 51).²⁵ Gorney asserts (2001) that the Alişar relief sherds in Figure 2 show a transport of the gods, providing an earlier version of the much later two wheeled conveyance pulled by bulls shown in the Malatya relief (see, e.g., Boehmer 1983: 40, Fig 27a). Supporting this view, perhaps, are the large bull-shaped cult vessels found at İnandıktepe and Boğazköy, which have harnesses traced on their heads (Özgüç 88: Pl. 60, 61)²⁶. They show sacred bulls ready either to plow or pull a wagon or chariot²⁷, presumably in the service of the gods.

In the IHG vases, however, humans – not the gods -- are the main actors. The vases' iconography provides a counterpart to the later *Festritual*

²⁵ The sherd of the two oxen in Figure 4 was found distant from the sherd of the wagon in Figure 2, indicating that they are from separate vases (Gorney 2001: 180).

²⁶ The large bull's-head jar from Kültepe Kaneš Level 1b shows a nose ring and harness as well (Figure 72): Most Hittite bull's-head rhyta also show harnesses. Exceptions to this convention are the bull's-head spouts on the inner rim of the vases and the four rampant bulls on the bottom register of the Hüseyindede A vase.

²⁷ Empire seals (Schachner 2013: Fig. 19) and the Malatya orthostat show bulls pulling the Storm God's chariot, but in the realm of mortals chariots were exclusively pulled by horses (van den Hout 2004: 486).

texts, as the vessels depict stages of cult activity. Just as the *Festrituale* mention music, acrobatics, processions, and offerings, they also mention travel of the king and images of the gods. Accordingly, it is not surprising to see depictions of transport on the relief vases. One of the Zippalanda texts provides the following choreography for the king:

LUGAL-*uš-kan* ^{GIŠ}*hu-u-lu-ga-an-na-az kat-ta*

u-iz-zi ta-aš-kan ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*ni ti-ja-zi*

ta-aš ^{URU}*An-ku-wa[-aš] pa-iz-zi*

“The king gets out of the coach, boards the chariot, and goes to Ankuwa.” (KUB XX 96 III 19-21, as translated by Popko (1994: 192-193)).

What is striking about this passage is that one type of vehicle, ^{GIŠ}*huluganni*, translated here as “coach”, is used in a cult context, while another ^{GIŠ}GIGIR, translated here as “chariot”, is used for travel between the settlements of Zippalanda and Ankuwa. Presumably one is seen as more fitting for a cult context, while the other is faster and more comfortable. On the latter, Littauer and Crouwel (1979: 64-65) state that the Old Hittite use of the Sumerogram ^{GIŠ}GIGIR is exclusively for war chariots drawn by equids²⁸. As for the ^{GIŠ}*huluganni*, Littauer and Crouwel state that the use of ^{GIŠ}*huluganni* goes back to Old Assyrian times and it means a vehicle to sit in.

²⁸ See footnote 24 above.

They note the term is frequently used in relation to cult travel of the king, and unfortunately is not illustrated (1979: 95 fn. 89). In the Old Hittite myth of the throne-goddess Halmasuit, she brought from the sea the *huluganni* wagon that symbolized the cult duties of the king (Popko 1995: 71). In light of this myth and the later *Festritual* texts, it could well be that the Alişar sherds and the Hüseyindede A ox wagon depict a royal *haluganni* wagon engaged in cult visits (see Gorney 2001: 181 fn. 17).

2.2.2. The Amasya Museum fragment: dogs and purification

The Amasya Museum displays two joined sherds of red-slipped relief ceramic (Figure 52). There is no provenance listed. The fragment depicts a figure in a long black robe with a red belt carrying a puppy with its right hand. In style and size of the figure, the sherd belongs to the IHG. In content, it provides an example of diversity of ritual displayed in the cannon of IHG ceramics, in which each vase displays unique features.

The figure's long dress and narrow waist indicate this fragment depicts a woman. She faces right with her left arm forward and her right arm back. Her posture, together with the carrying of an animal, recall the three offering bearers presenting animals of the Hüseyindede A vase's third frieze, depicting the procession within the temple. Two considerations, however, distinguish this fragment from the Hüseyindede example and militate against this image coming from the third frieze. First, a puppy is not a fit animal for a Hittite temple offering; it would not be allowed inside a temple for fear of pollution.

Second, the offerings presented in the third friezes of the IHG vases are all carried or led by men, not women.

The uncleanliness of dogs is expressed in the *Instructions to Temple Personnel* (CTH 264; Miller 2013: 244), which prohibit dogs from the temple kitchen. A cook that fed the deities with utensils touched by a dog or pig faced the punishment of being forced to eat feces and drink urine (CTH 264 iii 66ff, cited in Miller 2011: 9). Consistent with the dog's lowly status, the figure's manner of holding the puppy by its hind legs does not match the dignified leading of sacrificial animals portrayed in the third frieze of the Hüseyindede A vase. Puppies do feature in a variety of Hittite ritual, many having to do with acts of witchcraft to overcome sickness. Puppies were also offered as a purification sacrifice to the Underworld gods, sometimes being dropped down wells (Collins 1990: 218; Collins 2004: 56).

Between the alternatives of healing witchcraft and purification ritual, the latter seems more likely as the role of the puppy in the relief vase fragment. In light of the *Festritual* texts' mentioning of purification actions prior to engaging in cult activity, this could well be the case. In a suggestive example, one of the *Festritual* documents that lays out requirements for the KI.LAM Festival specifies that storeroom keeper (AGRIG) should provide "one small dog" (KBo XXI 82 IV 14, cited in Singer 1984: 108).

As for the cult role of women, according to Hittite texts, women engaged in both magic and purification ceremonies (e.g. Schwemer 2013: 444). The role of the woman here indicates that this scene likely was placed

on the second frieze of the vase.²⁹ In that register in the Hüseyindede vase A, for example, a woman in a similar long black dress carried an stool or miniature throne in the procession to the temple (Figure 6).³⁰ That woman's position in the procession, directly after the front two sword-bearers, shows that she plays an important cult role. The black dress may indicate this importance. In this case, one can speculate that the purification ceremony with the puppy took place prior to the third frieze's presentation of offerings to the gods inside the temple, which forms the centerpoint of the activity represented on the IHG vases.

2.2.3 Sherds from Boğazköy/Hattuša

The Hittite capital was the center of official cult, as shown by the thousands of fragments of the later *Festritual* texts recovered there. In the case of the IHG vases, while there are significant finds at Boğazköy/Hattuša, they remain rare. It must be recognized that relief ceramics are always scarce in Hittite contexts. In his compendium of relief pottery recovered during the 43 excavation seasons conducted at Boğazköy from 1906 to 1978, Boehmer catalogued a total of 124 relief fragments (1983), mostly small sherds found in refuse contexts. Of these, my judgment is that 19 definitely belong to the

²⁹ While a profile drawing of the sherd could help indicate from which part of the jar the sherd originated, to my knowledge the sherd is unpublished.

³⁰ As regards the İnandıktepe A vase, Yıldırım notes that Özgüç restored the partial figure of the person immediately behind the sword-bearers on the second frieze, which survived only as part of the head and the hands, as a male in a white robe. In light of the evidence from the Hüseyindede A vase, however, the figure may well have been a woman in a black dress (2009: 242).

IHG³¹, while another five might belong to this category.³² Thus, they comprise only 15 to 20 percent of recovered relief sherds in Boehmer's sample.

These low numbers of finds and typically small fragments highlight the fact that Boğazköy/Hattuša has failed to provide many finds of complete vessels (but see 3.4.7 and 3.1), in part due to a scarcity of closed and well-preserved contexts like those at İnandıktepe, Hüseyindede, and Eskiypar. Evidence of the dominance of the center as regards cult vessels -- and IHG vessels in particular -- comes not from sheer numbers but from diversity.³³

As regards relief ceramics, Boğazköy/Hattuša unquestionably provides evidence of the greatest range of figural types in contrast to other sites with relief vessels. To take just one narrow example, vehicle wheels in relief ceramic: the capital provides illustrations of four-spoked wheels (1983: sherd 48)³⁴, six-spoked wheels (1983: sherd 49), eight-spoked wheels (1983: 40, Fig. 28), three-piece cross-beam wheels (*Querbalkenrad*) (sherd 47), and five-piece cross-beam wheels (1983: 38-39, Fig. 25, 26). Finds from no other site can match this typological range. This diversity is evident in Boğazköy/Hattuša's sheer variety of relief wares: brown slipped monochrome, cream slipped monochrome, grey slipped monochrome, red slipped monochrome. Similarly, the 24 sherds in the style of the IHG

³¹ According to Boehmer's classification these are: 11-13, 16-20, 26-28, 51, 53, 55, 65, 73-75.

³² These are: 10, 14, 25, 37, 49.

³³ To make an analogy from another context: in human genetics, greatest diversity is found in the region (Africa) having the largest population for the longest time.

³⁴ References in this sentence are to Boehmer (1983).

introduce striking elements not seen in the vases elsewhere. Figures 53 and 54 below illustrate two examples.

2.2.3.1 Boğazköy/Hattuša – sherd of an eagle’s claw

The first sherd depicts what Boehmer considers to be an eagle’s claw (1983: 40) (Figure 53). The sherd is 6.7 cm high, 8.4 cm wide, and clearly belongs to the IHG by virtue of its red-brown wash, register line, and painted band underneath the register. The presence of the band situates this sherd in the third frieze, depicting the offerings within the temple. Referring to the *Festrituale*, Beckman says that eagles and falcons appear as offerings infrequently already in Old Kingdom texts (2004a: 108). There are no other depictions of birds in the IHG corpus. In view of the size of the claw, the eagle almost certainly would be depicted larger-than-life. Perhaps the eagle is represented larger on the same principle that the bulls on the Bitik (2.1.1) and Kabaklı (2.2.5) sherds are smaller-than-life: the figures are proportioned more to fit the height of the frieze than meet naturalistic criteria.

The second sherd portrays crossed feet and measures 4.0 cm high and 4.6 cm wide (Figure 54). Boehmer considered that it represented dancers (1983: 29). This appears to be a well-founded inference, given the dance scenes appearing on the bottom and top friezes of the IHG vases. The anomaly presented by this sherd is that *chevauchement*, or the overlapping of figures, hardly ever happens in the evenly spaced, vertical, and Apollonian world of the IHG relief figures. In fact, the only other example comes from

the third frieze of the Hüseyindede vase, in which the first offering bearer stands behind the ram he is leading.³⁵

2.2.3.2 Boğazköy/Hattuša – building sherd: temple building and the king

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The depicted sherd shows three vertical bands of what appears to be a mud brick building (Figure 55). The sherd was found in Hattuša's Lower City in a refuse context; it measures 7.1 cm high, 6.5 cm wide, and has a wall thickness of 1.3 cm (Boehmer 1983: 35). By comparison, İnandiktepe A's wall thickness is 1.2 cm (Özgüç 1988: 84).

With its vertical bands and incised markings that represent mud bricks, the sherd is similar to the structures seen on the second friezes of the Bitik (Figure 11) and Hüseyindede A (Figure 43) vases³⁶. Similarly, traces of brown slip on the bottom of the middle column of the sherd show that the structure had a polychrome decoration. As seen in Figure 55, the gap between the vertical bands seems more pronounced than in the IHG vases, although this appearance partly may be due to the low-angle lighting.

If expanded to the size of the IHG vases' structures, which have either five or six vertical bands, the building represented on the sherd would

³⁵ Possibly a third example comes from the damaged figure engaged in slaughtering the bull in the İnandiktepe vase, but the poor preservation of this part of the vase makes that determination difficult.

³⁶ The İnandiktepe A vase has vertical color bands but no horizontal incised markings to represent bricks.

approximate their scale. The following table provides the dimensions of the mud brick structures that appear on the three IHG vases. It also provides two estimates for the full width³⁷ of the structure represented by the sherd, in the alternate cases that it represents either a five-band or a six band structure similar to that attested on the IHG vases (Table 4).

Table 3: Comparative sizes of structures depicted on the IHG vases.

Vase	Height	Width	5 vertical rows	6 vertical rows
İnandıktepe A	9.7	9.0		X
Hüseyindede A ³⁸	14.4	8.8		X
Bitik	8.9	8.5	X	
<i>Lower City 5</i>	--	<i>10.8</i>	<i>X</i>	
<i>Lower City 6</i>	--	<i>13.0</i>		<i>X</i>

The second friezes of the İnandıktepe and Hüseyindede vases show that this building is the destination of a solemn procession accompanied by musicians. As noted in Section 2.1.3.4, this depiction of the structure is placed on the privileged side of the vase, directly under the rectangular libation basin used by chief celebrant. Owing to the cult focus of the procession, it seems

³⁷ Note that a likely height of the building depicted in the sherd is not possible to estimate.

³⁸ My estimate. The excavator does not provide a specific measurement for the structure, but does record that the height of this frieze is 16 cm (Yıldırım 2009: 241).

the structure represents a temple.³⁹ Certainly the two publishers of the three IHG vases reached that same conclusion (Özgüç 1957: 64; Özgüç 1988: 90; Yıldırım 2008: 843).

The vases' prominent depiction of the temple provides an important indicator of state sponsorship. Schachner states that Hattuša's 16th century BCE expansion from a Middle Bronze Age Anatolian city to the capital of a new state involved building of new temple structures. These temples display a new architecture, representing a new form of cult and a new socio-economic ordering (Schachner 2006, 2009a, 2012a). Later textual evidence indicates that the building of temples was a privilege of the king (Beckman 2010: 71; *Construction Rituals* (CTH 413- 415); Torri and Görke 2013: 287-288). This state-led building program must have represented one of the defining elements of the time.

As regards the IHG vases, there is a natural inclination to link the depictions on the vases with the find-sites. That approach poses problems. In the case of the Hüseyindede A vase, for example, it is hard to reconcile the depicted procession to a temple with the modest archaeological remains (Figure 9). Excavations there show a utilitarian building that dominated a modest rural settlement. Similarly, the two-person harp on the İnandıktepe A vase seems lavish for its find location. More likely, the vases' depiction of official cult is idealized, portraying the capacities of the capital, rather than those of the rustic spots to which the vessels were dispatched.

³⁹ The contrary view is best represented by those scholars who argue that the vases represent a private wedding ceremony, notably Yakar 2000 and Collins 2007 .

2.2.4 Eskiypar B sherds: the stool as image of the Goddess Halmasuit

Eskiypar is a nine hectare mound located 21 km from Boğazköy. It has been settled since at least the 3rd millennium BCE. Following the spectacular 1968 find by villagers of an intact cult vase (3.4.1), Temizer excavated the site (1988: xxviii; Sipahi 2013: 240). In his last two seasons (1981-1982), Temizer recovered an extensive group of cult vessels from a white-washed room, part of large Old Hittite-level building destroyed by fire (1988: xxviii-xxix). The inventory included sherds from six relief vessels (3.4.6), three of them belonging to the IHG (Özgüç 1988: 117). The most complete IHG-type vase from the cult room, here termed Eskiypar B,⁴⁰ consisted of nine sherds (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 70, 71, 72, 1). All bear the same excavation number, Esy 25-181 (Özgüç 1988: 117-118).

The nine Eskiypar B sherds belong to a vase similar to the İnandıktepe A vase, with its preponderance of human figures. The sherds reveal parallels to scenes on the top and bottom registers of the İnandıktepe A vase. They depict parts of ten figures, three of which wear open-fronted long robes⁴¹, three wear belted long robes.⁴² An additional figure wears a short robe with projecting triangular undergarment⁴³ and another wears the short

⁴⁰ Eskiypar A and C vases are described in section 3.4.

⁴¹ Özgüç 1988: Pl. 70,1; 70, 3; 71,2.

⁴² Özgüç 1988: Pl 70, 4; 71, 4.

⁴³ Özgüç 1988: Pl. 71, 1

tunic of an acrobat⁴⁴. For two of the figures it not possible to tell what they are wearing⁴⁵.

The bent leg of the acrobat in sherd A (4 cm high, 3.9 cm wide) (Figure 56), presents in mirror-image the jumping acrobat in the top frieze of the İnandıktepe vase (Figure 22). Similarly, the two opposing figures in long robes in Eskiyyapar B, sherd B (10.5 cm high, 8.5 cm wide) (Figure 57) recall the heavily restored scene from the bottom frieze of the İnandıktepe vase (Figure 58). Note however, that the dress is different: in the Eskiyyapar B scene, the two dancers wear long robes belted at the waist, whereas in the İnandıktepe scene, the dancers wear an open-fronted long robe. The Bitik vase also shows two opposing figures, apparently dancing, in its bottom register (2.1.1).

One benefit of the shared decorative program of the IHG vases is that scenes from one vase can help explain another. For example, Eskiyyapar B, sherd C (10 cm high and 8 cm wide) shows a person in a long robe sitting on a stool (Figure 59). The stool resembles the object being carried to the temple in the procession in the second frieze of the Hüseyindede A vase (Fig. 6) and helps define its likely use. Comparison of this sherd casts doubt on Hüseyindede excavators' suggestion that the object is "a portable metal brazier or hearth" (Yıldırım 2008: 843). A similar object is carried in the procession to the temple in the İnandıktepe vase's second frieze (Figure 27, right hand

⁴⁴ Özgüç 1988: Pl. 71, 3.

⁴⁵ Özgüç 1988: Pl. 70, 2.

figure); it too is likely a stool. In 3.3.4, I contend that this stool, borne by a priestess, is the Goddess Halmasuit.

Identifying the figure on the stool in sherd C poses difficulties.

According to the decorative program of the IHG vases, it seems that only gods are depicted sitting down. Such is especially the case for leftward-facing figures, who receive seated the third frieze's rightward-directed offering procession. In the case of sherd C, the seated figure has its hands raised in prayer. Although these features argue for the figure of a deity, the lack of a pictorial context prevents any stronger assertion.

Section 2.2.5 Sherd from Kabaklı (Kırşehir): the bull as offering

This large sherd was found in Kabaklı (Kırşehir), some 60 kilometers south of Boğazköy/Hattuša. On two friezes, it shows parts of three human figures standing in profile and facing right, together with a bull (Figure 60). A cream-colored painted strip decorated with a dark-painted hooked motif separates the two registers. Similar strips placed between the third register and the bottom register are found on the Bitik and İnandıktepe A vases. As a result, it seems that the sherd's top register corresponds to the IHG vases' third register, which depicts the temple offering procession. As for the bottom frieze, the cymbals player recalls the other cymbals player in the bottom frieze

of Bitik fragment B (2.1.1). On the bottom frieze, the right-hand figure is wearing a pointed hat, according to Özgüç (1988: 100).⁴⁶

The Kabaklı bull has a thin body, long neck, and long thin tail. Two forelegs of a similar thin bull appear on Bitik fragment C (Figure 16), which also in the temple offering procession. The portrayal of the bulls recalls the two large bull-vessels found 200 kilometers distant at İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 60, 61), as well as the pair found at Büyükkale (Schachner 2013: 553, Fig. 22). By contrast, the virile, rampant bulls portrayed on the bottom frieze of the Hüseyindede A vase (2.1.3.5) seem much closer in spirit to the Anatolian Storm God, bringer of thunder and rains.

Section 2.2.6 Karahöyük (Elbistan) sherd: image of the king

Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç excavating in 1947 at Karahöyük, Elbistan, 400 kilometers south-east of Boğazköy/Hattuša, uncovered a sherd of a polychrome relief vessel (Figure 61). Measuring 8 cm wide and 12 cm high⁴⁷, the sherd consists of a grey fabric covered with a thick, polished red slip. It depicts a right-facing figure carrying in his right hand a short crooked stick and his left hand a beaked pitcher⁴⁸ (T. Özgüç and N. Özgüç 1949: 87). The figure wears a cream-colored short tunic with a triangular undergarment

⁴⁶ If true, this would be unique among IHG vases. The quality of the photograph, however, does not permit detailed study.

⁴⁷ My estimate, based on the scale provided.

⁴⁸ This is not clearly visible on the photograph, but the excavator describes the vessel depicted.

projecting in back, the most common garment-type on the IHG vases. Owing to its find context, underneath the floor of a Hittite Empire period house, the excavators concluded that the sherd dates from the Old Hittite period (T. Özgüç and N. Özgüç 1949: 88).

The figure's tunic displays two diagonal grooves that narrow as they pass from the right shoulder across the chest of the figure. Similar grooves are found on the tunics of figures that lead the processions on the third frieze of both the İnandiktepe A⁴⁹ and Hüseyindede A vases (Figures 31 and 7), whereas the dress of most figures in the short tunic lacks this feature. In this case, there is also a groove from the waist on the right side to the front left edge of the tunic, which is not seen elsewhere in the IHG vases. As discussed in Section 2.1.2.4, a very similar costume is worn by the chief celebrant depicted on the Schimmel stag-shaped rhyton.

The crooked staff or lituus held in this figure's hand also presents a novel element, given that this is the only example from the IHG vases that we have of a figure wearing the short tunic with projecting undergarment that carries a stick. Crooked staffs are known from the processions to the temple in the second frieze of the İnandiktepe A and Hüseyindede A vases, where the figures in long robes carry them. Further, they are carried over the shoulder of the two partial figures in the middle frieze of the Bitik fragment (corresponding to the third frieze in the complete vases).

⁴⁹ Only the top part of this figure is original. The right hand and the figure below the waist is restored.

In Hittite art, while carrying the staff does not seem to be the monopoly of the king (Ambos and Krauskopf 2010), the staff does seem to mark important figures and is subject to its own protocol. In particular, the later *Festritual* texts specify when the king should carry his distinctive crooked stick. To cite two examples: in one of the Zippalanda festivals, the court official is directed to pass the king his lituus after the king washes and before he gets in the coach (KUB XX 96 III 7-8, translated in Popko (1994: 192-193)); and in the afternoon of the 16th day of the AN.TAH.SUM festival (CTH 612), the king and queen sit on their thrones and a palace servant brings in the lituus and places it at the king's right (Gurney 1977: 32). Returning to the figure depicted in the sherd, his posture holding a vessel up in one hand and the lituus down in the other recalls the offering scene from the left side of the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Höyük (Figure 33). In all likelihood, this sherd comes from the offering scene inside the temple, typically found on third frieze of an IHG vase, and depicts the chief celebrant presenting a libation.

2.2.7. The relief sherds from Kuşaklı/Sarissa: dating the IHG vases

Excavators at Kuşaklı/Sarissa, located near Sivas, some 210 kms east of Hattusa, discovered six sherds that they designated as belonging to the IHG (Mielke 2006b: 151, Pl. 81). These were found as small pieces in scattered locations on the site's western slope. The left-hand sherd in Figure 62 is red-slipped and measures 4.6 cm wide and 5 cm high. It depicts a four-legged animal. The right-hand sherd is light-brown and measures 5.1 cm wide and

6.1 cm high. It shows a hoof resting on a register line. Both depicted animals recall those brought as offerings on the Hüseyindede A vase's third frieze.

Neither sherd was found in a secure context: one was picked up off the surface, the other found in an ancient refuse heap. In fact, of the six relief sherds recovered, only one, sherd 5, was found in a building context (Mielke 2006b: Table 81). It was found in a house at 0.90 m depth, indicating a date of deposition early after the foundation of the city, which itself is well-dated to the last quarter of the 16th century BCE (Mielke 2006a). Mielke dates the sherds to the early period primarily by their similarity in fabric and style to the İnandıktepe vase. He also relies on Boehmer's stylistic insight (1983) that the quality of relief vessels' fabric diminishes dramatically following the end of the Old Hittite period (Mielke 2006b: 151).

As a new city founded by the Hittite state in the late 16th century BCE, Kuşaklı/Sarissa provides an illuminating case study for the spread of the IHG ceramics (Figure 63). Distant from the capital, its features a circular wall, double-chambered gates, ponds, and grain storage. The urban design displays a strong element of state planning. Notably, its temples are strikingly similar in plan to those of the capital (Schachner 2006: 161, Fig. 5). Statistical comparison of the various types of ceramics retrieved from within the temples (admittedly reflecting the data set of a later period) showed that they closely replicated temple inventories in the capital (V. Müller-Karpe 2006). Both temple design and ceramic distribution indicate that the center implanted official cult in Kuşaklı/Sarissa in the same directive fashion as it directed the city's town plan.

Regarding the relief vases, two observations are salient. First, Kuşaklı produced only six sherds of IHG style relief pottery among the tens of thousands of sherds recovered during the excavation, indicating the overall scarcity of the IHG vessels in Hittite contexts. Part of this scarcity may owe to the fact that the socio-political phase that saw the manufacture and spread of the relief vases was short-lived and coincided with the foundation of the city (see discussion below). Second, Kuşaklı's relief ceramic is all of the IHG type. It displays none of the rich diversity of relief cult vases seen at Boğazköy/Hattusa or Eskişehir. These two sites provide examples in various hues of monochrome relief vases, including vases depicting gods with attributes. Innovation in cult vessels was taking place at the center, not the periphery.

Four of the six Kuşaklı sherds show parts of animals and two of them show parts of human figures. In that regard, the original vases⁵⁰ appear to be closer to the Hüseyindede A vase with its higher proportion of animals than the İnandıktepe A vase, which is dominated by images of people. Depictions of animal offerings better reflected Kuşaklı/Sarissa's circumstances. With its altitude of 1600 meters, the town's short growing season meant that the local economy was based on pastoral activities. In this environment, the İnandıktepe A vase's symbolic ceramic containers of grain (or beer) placed by the altars could not apply. Instead, livestock gifts were presented at Kuşaklı/Sarissa's temples.

⁵⁰ Mielke considers that the six sherds come from six different vases (1996b: 151).

Mielke contends that the lowest excavation level of Kuşaklı/Sarissa coincides with Level IV of İnandıktepe (2006a), linking the dating of the relief sherds in both sites. In the case of Sarissa, excavators have dated the city's foundation by scientific methods to the last quarter of the 16th century, providing the earliest date for which these ritual vases could have been introduced.

Previous to dating of the Kuşaklı/Sarissa sherds, the dating of virtually all other recovered IHG material depended by analogy on the İnandıktepe A vase. For example, Boehmer ties the dating of "Old Hittite" relief ceramics found in Boğazköy to the İnandıktepe A vase, which he claimed (incorrectly) is "absolutely securely" dated to around the time of Hattusili I (1983: 21).

What makes İnandıktepe unique is the closed context provided by the building's destruction by fire, combined with the royal land deed found in the same context as the ceramic inventory (Figure 18). The deed and its anonymous Tabarna seal provide documentary evidence and serve as a *terminus post quem*, a date after which the destruction level must have occurred.

Earlier, Kemal Balkan had dated the royal land deed to the time of Hattusili I (1973), on the basis of the witness list, which listed names also present in *The Palace Chronicles* (CTH 8). Wilhelm, drawing on new information, demonstrated that a witness' name and title in the İnandıktepe deed coincided with one on the Sarissa royal land deed found in Boğazköy/Hattusa. In light of this and the royal seal, Wilhelm dated the

İnandıktepe land deed to the reign of Huzziya I or perhaps Ammuna (2005: 276).

Mielke's comparison of the two sites helps provide a likely time for the diffusion of the IHG vases. Mielke notes that the early period in Kuşaklı/Sarissa is short-lived and limited to the lowest level after the city's foundation. He adds that the introduction of an intrusive ceramic used in cult contexts, Red Lustrous Wheel Made Ware (RLWMW), already present both in the İnandıktepe Level IV inventory (Özgüç 1988: 27, 1) and the earliest levels of Kuşaklı/Sarissa, points to incipient cult change in both locations (Mielke 2006b: 263-264). By the end of the 15th century, the time of the Boğazköy/Hattusa South Pond finds, RLWMW was to dominate other cult wares (Seeher 2007; 3.4.8).

Given the center's demonstrably strong control over official cult, it is hardly imaginable that the IHG vases would remain in service once cult practice had changed. Above all, the egalitarian picture of the chief celebrant portrayed on the vases contradicts the iconography of later Hittite art, in which the chief celebrant bears attributes of the gods themselves. Available evidence indicates that the socio-political phase of the Hittite state that sponsored the cult usage of the IHG vases was well-defined and not long lasting. To localize this in absolute dates, this likely period of use of the IHG vases seems confined to the last half of the 16th century.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE VASES

3.1. Typological Description

The IHG vases are unique by virtue of their decoration, their libation mechanism on the inner rim and their fine workmanship. Their shape, however, represents a common ceramic form of second millennium BCE Anatolia, attested from the late Assyrian Trading Period⁵¹ and continuing until the end of the Hittite Empire (A. Müller-Karpe 1988: 83; Mielke 2006b: 96). The vessels' shape is characterized by its funnel-shaped opening, its tall neck, its egg-shaped body with (generally) four handles on the shoulder, and a rounded bottom. Mielke has termed this class of ceramics “funnel-rim vases” (*Trichterrandtöpfe*) (2006b: 96).

The rim diameter of this class of vases varies from 19 to 42 centimeters (A. Müller-Karpe 1988: 83), with the IHG vases measuring at the top of this range. The funnel-rim vessels are tall, but determining the average height requires recovery of substantially complete jars, a challenge in light of the paucity of Hittite closed contexts. Perhaps the best sample comes from the stunning find of 65 largely complete vessels in Room 4 of House 4 of

⁵¹ N. Özgüç states that this form of vessel is only found at Kültepe/Kaneš Karum Level II (1965: 56).

Boğazköy's Lower City; some 30 of recovered vessels were funnel-rim jars (Seidl 1975). The excavators dated the finds to Lower City Level 2, corresponding to the early Empire period. None of the Room 4 vessels bore relief or painted decoration. Three were handleless, varying in height from 50 to 58 cm (Seidl 1975: numbers 17-19; Cf. 3.4.3 and Özgüç 1988: Pl. 34, 1). Twenty-two had two handles; they varied in height from 43 to 53 cm (Seidl 1975: numbers 20-42). Four were four-handled⁵² funnel-rim vases, varying in height from 55 to 60 cm (Seidl 1975: numbers 43-46). One of the largest, 60 cm tall, has a capacity of 36 liters. Elsewhere, excavators recovered nearly complete, undecorated funnel-rim jars⁵³ at Alişar (two-handled; Figure 64) and Alacahöyük (four-handled; Figure 65); they measure 50-55 cm high⁵⁴. Highlighting their special, cult function, the IHG vases are substantially larger, measuring over 80 cm high, and therefore must have fluid capacities in excess of 40 liters.

In excavations of Hittite sites, the funnel-rim shape has proved a common form of ceramic jar. In his study of the ceramics of two excavations of Empire-period levels in Boğazköy/Hattuša's Upper City, A. Müller-Karpe recorded that six to seven percent of all ceramic vessels (*Töpfe*) recovered had this shape (1988: 82). Mielke, in his work on the ceramics of the West Slope of Kuşaklı/Sarissa, documented that funnel-rim vases represented 5.3 percent

⁵² The handles of the non-IHG funnel-rim vases are less than half the size of the relief-decorated vases and more circular in profile.

⁵³ These two examples quite likely date from earlier than the Room 4 jars, but lack of clear stratigraphy in the excavations and detailed provenance in the reports prevent a more definite assertion.

⁵⁴ Author's calculation.

of all ceramic vessels (*Gefäße*) recovered and 35 percent of all jars (*Töpfe*) (2006b: 94). While noting that the vessel form continues through the Empire period, Mielke states that funnel-rim vessels appear more frequently in the older levels of Kuşaklı/Sarissa (2006b: 96).

The funnel-rim vessel was made in the full range of fabrics, from coarse plain-surface (*tongrundig grob*) to red- and white-slipped. In Mielke's statistical analysis of funnel-rim jars of Kuşaklı/Sarissa's West Slope, he found almost 98 percent of sherds to be of medium plain-surface (*tongrundig mittel*) ware. Slipped jars accounted for two percent of the sample total. As for red-slipped vessels in particular, the group to which the IHG vases belong, they made up only 0.64 percent (2006b: 94, Table 8). Mielke states that slips and painted decoration on these vases are found relatively more frequently up to the Middle Hittite period. Thereafter, the wares become almost exclusively plain (2006b: 96).

The Alişar vase (Figure 64), with its suggestive pattern of breaks along three horizontal levels, provides a view of how the funnel-rim vases were fabricated. It seems that the potter formed by hand the bodies of these large vases in at least four separate pieces, then joined them together on the wheel.

3.2 Function of the Vessels

Cylinder seals from Level II of the Karum of Kültepe/Kaneš⁵⁵ show deities sitting next to funnel-rim vases, apparently drinking from them by

⁵⁵ Seals number 4, 25, 46, 74 and 80 in N. Özgüç 1965: see p. 11, Fig. 4 and p. 56.

means of long straws. In the Mesopotamian tradition, similar representations portray the drinking of beer. N. Özgüç notes that the deities seated by the jars almost invariably hold a drinking cup (1965: 56).⁵⁶

In the Hittite Old Kingdom period, the reliefs on the İnandiktepe A vase depict funnel-rim vases in three contexts. The long straws so evident in the Karum Level II seals do not appear. In the vase's fourth frieze, both of the two figures in long robes seated on either side of the jar and altar hold shallow cups in their hands (Figure 39). The fourth frieze also shows a female attendant using a long pole to mix the contents of a funnel rim vase (Figure 36). Lastly, on the second frieze, there is a funnel-rim vase to the left of the throne-bed in the intimate scene inside the temple (Figure 1). The first two images indicate that the funnel-rim vases were used to contain liquids, most likely the wine and beer so prominent in the *Festrituale* texts (Alp 2000). A. Müller-Karpe suggests that the many pitchers found in association with the funnel-rim vases at House 4 of Boğazköy's Lower City indicate the use of this vessel shape to hold liquids (A. Müller-Karpe 2006b: 83). As for the IHG vessels, the link with liquids is even more evident, owing to the libation mechanism on the inner rim of the vessels.

⁵⁶ In light of the continuity between the Assyrian Trading Period and the Old Hittite period, it is worth noting Nimet Özgüç's observation that it is difficult in some Level II seals to differentiate the worshippers from deities (1965: 73). Such is even more the case with the IHG relief friezes, as the deities do not bear attributes.

3.3 Decorative program of the relief vases

Scholars have expressed a diversity of views on the IHG vases' decorative program: some see gods depicted but not the king; some see the king but no gods; others see both. Most agree that the vases represent cult practice, although a minority argues instead for a marriage ceremony. The earlier interpretation of the depicted cult as a Mesopotamian-style sacred marriage ceremony became less persuasive following the 2008 publishing of the Hüseyindede A vase.

3.3.1 Decorative program: views of the excavators

Tahsin Özgüç provided the first analysis of the decorative scheme of an IHG vase with his publication of the Bitik fragment in 1957. He recognized that the fragment came from a funnel-rim vase (1957: Fig. 11). Even though the vase was partial, Özgüç established the cult nature of the vase, interpreting the central frieze as portraying an offering procession. He also highlighted the cult importance of the playing of instruments and dancing, both in the main fragment and the noncontiguous sherds. Music consistently features in the in *Festritual* texts as an important part of cult and thus provides a link between the texts and the IHG friezes (Gurney 1977: 34; de Martino 1997). With few modifications⁵⁷, scholars have accepted Özgüç's identification of the cult role of the vessels.

⁵⁷ See views of Hoffman, Yakar and Collins below.

Chief among the interpretive challenges that Özgüç faced was determining whether gods appear on the reliefs, given the figures' lack of conspicuous attributes (1957: 65). A related difficulty lay in determining the gender of the figures portrayed, as neither the figures' hairstyle nor costume provides clear guidance (1957: 65). After noting these points, Özgüç concluded that gods of both sexes, as well as mortals, do indeed appear on the vases. In his view, the focus of the decorative scheme of the Bitik fragment was a sacred marriage⁵⁸ between the chief celebrant and a priestess representing a goddess (1957: 65).

In Özgüç's reading, the vase's key scene is that of the man sitting with the veiled woman in the alcove in the topmost preserved frieze (Figure 12). Perhaps his interpretation was influenced by the partial state of the Bitik vase, which preserved best the intimate scene at top. Notably, the Bitik fragment does not include any of the libation or dramatic sacrifice scenes that mark the culmination of the offering procession in the third frieze of the two complete vases.⁵⁹ One influence of Özgüç's interpretation is the tendency to read the registers on the vase from the bottom upwards.

⁵⁸ This practice is attested in Mesopotamian religion: see Cooper (1975, 1993) for reviews of the evidence and literature. Pongratz-Leister 2008 provides a political interpretation and updated references.

⁵⁹ One sherd of the Bitik vase, Fragment A (Figure 14) shows a figure in a similar pose to the chief celebrant who leads the offering procession and makes the libation in the two complete vases. As a sherd, however, it lacks the programmatic context that would permit definite conclusions about its function in the original frieze.

Thirty-one years later, Özgüç published the İnandıktepe vase, the first IHG vessel recovered substantially intact (1988).⁶⁰ In his analysis, Özgüç highlighted the intimate scene of two figures on the bed, located on the second register from the top of the İnandıktepe vase⁶¹, as the culminating scene of the vase (Figure 24).⁶² This scene corresponds in position to the intimate scene in the topmost preserved frieze of the Bitik vase, which Özgüç had found to be that vase's focal image in 1957. Interestingly, he remarks that the small size of the figures on the bed may indicate that they are statues (1988: 101). In his Bitik article, he had noted that the two figures sitting in the alcove were smaller in size than those standing (1957: 65), but drew no further conclusions.

To bolster his argument on frieze two's primacy, Özgüç interprets as deities many of the figures participating in the procession to the building. For example, the two lead figures with swords he identifies as sword gods (Figure 26; 1988: 101).⁶³ He also terms frieze two the "tallest" and the "longest" (1988: 89, 101), even though the third frieze occupies a wider part of the vase, depicts more figures, and measures 0.5 cm taller. Turning to other scenes on the vase, Özgüç identifies as deities the figure receiving the libation on the third frieze from the top (Figure 3), the statue of the bull on the same

⁶⁰ His work remains central to the study of the IHG vases: this paper relies heavily on Özgüç's measurements and observations, as well as his careful collation of related material from other Anatolian sites.

⁶¹ Which I call frieze two and Özgüç terms frieze three (he counts from the bottom).

⁶² Gurney states that in the *Festritual* texts the king's "drinking the gods" is always the central act of cult (1977: 34). Özgüç, however, does not identify the king in the vases.

⁶³ In my view, this approach ignores considerable *Festritual* evidence that the bodyguards preceded the king in his visits to temples (e.g. KUB XX 96 Vs. III 10-11').

frieze(Figure 4), and the two figures sitting opposite each other in the bottom frieze(Figure 39).⁶⁴

As for the top frieze, with its scenes of music and dance, he interprets it as a depiction of the common people (1988: 103). In that sense, the sex act is a profane, but also symbolic, act that refers to the sacred marriage that takes place inside the temple, depicted in the frieze below. In my view, Özgüç's social interpretation of the top register overlooks the cult importance of entertaining the gods and attracting them to the festivals that humans celebrate in their honor. This need to attract the gods to the activities of mankind explains the music and sports competitions linked to the *Festrituale* and descriptions of popular cult in the later texts (Gurney 1977: 34; Ünal 1997).

Lastly, Özgüç shies from providing a socio-political explanation for the vases. At one point, however, he notes that these vases are “monumental” (1988: 103). At another, he marvels that cult participants on the vases all wear the same dress, even though they are engaged in distinct cult activities in an area stretching from Elbistan to Bitik (1988: 100). From such observations, one might argue that these monumental ceramics with standardized iconography represent a central policy to establish official cult across the state's territory (cf. Schachner 2012b: 135-136). Tellingly, however, Özgüç concludes that not enough evidence exists to determine if the king is depicted on the İnandiktepe vase (1988: 101).

The 1997 discovery of the second substantially complete IHG relief vase (Figure 2) has provided a key for determining the programmatic

⁶⁴ These last interpretations correspond with my own.

commonalities of the vases' decoration. The excavator, Tayfun Yıldırım, has published two articles on the Hüseyindede A vase (2008, 2009). In these articles, he draws attention to the strong programmatic similarities of the relief decoration of the newly found vase and the İnandiktepe vase. Yıldırım agrees with Özgüç that the vase should be read from the bottom to the top. He also agrees that the most important scene is that of the two figures on the bed-throne in the second frieze (Figure 5; 2009: 242). The better state of preservation of those figures in the Hüseyindede A vase allows Yıldırım to conclude that both are female, which help interpret the badly damaged figures on the İnandiktepe vase (2009: 242). He notes (without venturing his own views) the varying interpretations of scholars: Özgüç and Haas (3.3.2) favor sacred marriage, while Popko (3.3.2) rejects it and suggests that the bed is a throne for the royal couple (2008: 844). Yıldırım speculates that the two female figures on the bed-throne may be the same as those depicted on the wagon in the top frieze (Figure 33). He interprets the musicians and dancers in the top frieze as celebrating what has transpired in the intimate scene in the frieze below.

Yıldırım draws attention to the figure with the diadem on the third frieze (Figure 7). He suggests that person may be a deity of minor rank or the chief priest, leading the king or a priest to meet the seated deity (2008: 242), in the form of the presentation scenes known from Old Babylonian glyptic. The libation scene that follows on the third frieze was badly damaged; Yıldırım says it was restored on the basis of the other vases (2009: 241).

3.3.2 Decorative program: views of Hittite religion specialists

In the mid-1990s, two important overviews of Hittite religion by Haas (1994) and Popko (1995) appeared in print. Both works address the cult significance of the IHG vases. Haas accepts Özgüç's view that the İnandıktepe represents a *Festritual* (1994: 523). He also agrees with Özgüç that the vase should be read from bottom to top. In Haas' view, however, the focus of the vase is not the scene on the bed on the second register, as Özgüç argued, but rather the sex-scene on the top register (Figure 24). He says that such a scene fits within the *Festritual* descriptions of feasts for the New Year, with the pair re-enacting the myths of Hupasiya and Inara, or, more likely, Telepinu and Hatepuna (1994: 524).

Haas interprets the relief-decorated vases as the exact counterpart of the *Festritual* texts. These texts provide guidance on the required movements of the king, as chief celebrant of the official cult, and the specific material requirements for offerings and music and other entertainments. Haas' view of official cult was that it provides a ideal vision of Hittite society: it reflects a tautly organized, comprehensive State that only the king represents. From the texts, he finds cult ceremony heavily ritualized, stiffly executed, and lacking both spontaneity and ecstatic moments (Haas: 680). Certainly such a description applies to the vertical, evenly spaced and almost impassive figures of the relief vases.

Equating the vases to the ritual texts, Haas does not interpret the figures on the vases as representing gods: gods do not appear in the texts. Haas' approach, however, ignores the striking differences between the two

media. The representations on the IHG vases are idealized, while the the texts are literal. For example, the text for the Telepinu ritual celebrated in Kasha and Hanhana⁶⁵ calls for slaughter of 1000 sheep and 50 cattle (Haas: 649), while the İnandiktepe vase illustrates the slaughter of just one bull (Figure 32). The vase scenes thus are only indicative of the key episodes of cult practice. Another objection is that Haas ignores the distinct audiences of the vases and the tablets: the first is a group of cult celebrants gathered around a decorated jar containing 40 liters of intoxicating liquid, the second is the small group of temple officials responsible for managing cult ceremony.

As the king is central to the *Festritual* texts, Haas has no difficulty in finding the king in the vases' representations. The result is an inversion of Özgüç: where he saw many gods and no kings, Haas sees images of the king and no gods. Haas agrees with Özgüç on the identification of the key scenes, including the two figures sitting facing each other on the bottom frieze, the acts of libation and sacrifice, the bed-scene, and the sex-act. Further, Haas sees the building on the second frieze as a temple and situates the intimate scene to the right of the temple as taking place in the temple's sanctuary (1994: 134). As noted above, he agrees that a man and woman are represented on the bed, and identifies them as the royal couple (1994: 524).

Popko agrees that the IHG vases represent Hittite religious life. He doubts, however, Özgüç's and Haas's view that the vases represent sacred marriage, saying that this act is not attested in Anatolian tradition (1995: 80). For Popko, the most important frieze of the İnandiktepe vase is the third one,

⁶⁵ Possibly modern İnandiktepe (Özgüç 1988: 114-116), but see Matthews and Glatz (2009: 68), who place Hanhana elsewhere in the same region.

which represents offerings in front of the statue of a bull and to a seated “goddess” (Figure 32; 1995: 80). As for the two figures on the bed, Popko wonders if the bed is not Halmasuit, the sacred throne. Like Haas, he views the figures on the bed-throne as the royal couple. Turning to the two figures seated opposite each other in the bottom frieze of the İnandıktepe vase (Figure 39), Popko notes that there is nothing to indicate that they could be gods (1995: 80).

More recently, Piotr Taracha has published an overview of Anatolian religion of the second millennium BCE, in which he describes the IHG vases as “perfect” illustrations of Hittite cult practice (2009). Taracha advocates reading the vases from top to the bottom. On the İnandıktepe vase, while Özgüç, Haas and Popko see the structure in the second frieze as a temple, Taracha interprets it as an altar with three miniature standing figures of gods on it⁶⁶ (Figure 26; 2009: 69). He agrees with Popko that the bed-like object on the second frieze is a throne, but does not venture to specify the nature or gender of the two figures on it. He also agrees with Popko that the third frieze may represent a seated goddess receiving a libation, as well as “a bull-shaped figure of a god.” Taracha sees the Hüseyindede A vase as “very similar.” He notes that it involves a procession to a temple that contains a throne, followed by offerings to a seated deity in the frieze below.

⁶⁶ This is almost certainly wrong. For example one of the three small figures on the “altar” is a lute player. in the Eskiyaşar C vase (3.4.6), which shows gods with explicit attributes, the lute player appears as a human and is depicted in the same style and pose as on the IHG vases.

3.3.3 Decorative program: views of other Hittite scholars

In contrast to the majority view, three scholars have stated that the IHG vases likely commemorate wedding ceremonies of local notables (Hoffner 1995: 558; Yakar 2000: 35⁶⁷; Collins 2007: 124). Taracha states flatly that he does not agree with this interpretation (2009: 63 fn. 328). He is right: in the diverse society of that time, local private patronage is an unlikely source for the uniform size, style and iconography of the IHG vases found across the Anatolian heartland. To provide an analogy from two centuries earlier, the Kaneš cylinder seals show the results of decentralized patronage. Without even considering their wildly varied iconography, the seals were made of an array of materials: gold, silver, bronze, hematite, steatite, lapis-lazuli, rock-crystal, bone, and clay (Özgüç 2003: 282). The marriage hypothesis does not survive scrutiny.

Sedat Alp suggests that there may be a link between the Hittite Festival of Procreation (EZEN *haššumaš*) and the scenes depicted on the İnandıktepe vase friezes (2000). This festival is related to the first sexual experience of the prince (see Güterbock 1969). The same tablet also mentions the sacred prostitute (^{MUNUS}KAR.KID). Alp says that if there were a way to establish a connection the text and the vase's depictions, then the two people engaging in sex could be the prince and the prostitute (2000: 13). In reading the İnandıktepe vase, Alp provides the useful observation that the six separate appearances of the lyre player divide the activities of the registers into distinct scenes.

⁶⁷ Yakar asserts that the majority of participants depicted in the vases are servants or slaves, even though he notes their clothing shows no indications of rank (2000: 35).

3.3.4 Decorative program: my interpretation

The IHG vases are standardized, monumental works of art. Each vessel's decoration is unique, but all vases share a common, fully developed pictorial style, presenting human figures engaging in cult activity according to a fixed decorative program. The vases' central theme is the king⁶⁸ and his associates worshipping gods (Schachner 2012b: 135-136) (Figures 94, 95). The gods portrayed in the vase reliefs are both female and male and appear in varied forms: as smaller anthropomorphic statues⁶⁹, a large theriomorphic statue⁷⁰, larger-than-life anthropomorphic figures⁷¹, and probably as a sacred throne⁷² (see Güterbock 1983; Collins 2005; Taracha 2009: 60).

The decorative program of the IHG vases is structured by two pairs of oppositions: outdoors/indoors and mixed sex/single sex. Outdoors the two

⁶⁸ The king appears either leading the cult group or in intimate scenes with gods. He appears in three places in the İnandiktepe vase, all on the third frieze: as the chief celebrant in the two offering scenes and at the head of the offering procession. In the Hüseyindede vase, the king appears in four places: leading the wagon on the top frieze, praying towards the bed-throne on the second frieze, and twice on the third frieze, both leading the offering procession and making the libation to the god. In the Bitik fragment,, the king appears once, sitting in the top preserved frieze in the alcove with the female goddess. At times the king can be determined by his unique dress, the short cloak with projecting triangular undergarment that shows a diagonal hem at the chest (see 2.2.6). At times the king also wears a diadem (see 2.1.3).

⁶⁹ As seen on the bed-throne in both İnandiktepe and Hüseyindede vases' second frieze, sitting at the back of the wagon on the Hüseyindede vase's first frieze, sitting in the alcove of the Bitik fragment's top frieze.

⁷⁰ As seen in the İnandiktepe third frieze.

⁷¹ As seen receiving the libation on the İnandiktepe vase's third frieze, the two figures seated opposite each other on that vase's bottom frieze, and receiving the libation on the Hüseyindede's third frieze.

⁷² Carried as part of the procession to the temple in both vases' second frieze.

sexes mingle freely. Indoors they are separated. The top frieze and most of the second frieze of the vases depicts the outdoors. One-quarter of the second frieze and the entire third frieze depicts the indoors. The temple building on frieze two of the IHG vases is the mediating structure between outdoors and indoors. Indoors, the temple provides the segregated spaces for single-sex worship. The indoor scene on the second frieze is reserved for women; the procession offerings in the temple in the third frieze are exclusively male. Only the male chief celebrant can enter the female space inside the temple, as shown by the scene where he prays to the bed-altar on the second frieze of the Hüseyindede A vase or in the scene in the alcove of the Bitik vase's top preserved register.

The movement of the depicted cult episodes is from outdoors to indoors, from group scene to intimate scene, culminating in the offering scene of the chief celebrant to the god on the third frieze.⁷³ Accordingly, the vases are to be read from left to right and from top to bottom⁷⁴. For example, in the top frieze of the Hüseyindede vase, the wagon arriving with the two female deities is followed in the second frieze by an intimate, indoor scene with the same two gods. Reflecting the underlying duality of the vases, their most important scenes on the vases are presented on the middle two friezes, which are the tallest and those most visible to cult participants. Notably, the intimate scenes in both second and third friezes are presented in the vases'

⁷³ What Gurney said of the *Festrituale* texts applies to the IHG: "...the central act of ritual, always performed by the king, is called literally 'drinking the god'" (1977: 34). This is the act the king performs in the third frieze of the IHG vases.

⁷⁴ The fourth frieze is discussed at the end of this section.

most privileged position, underneath the rectangular libation basin on the inner rim.

Support for both this top-to-bottom reading and the duality of worship can be drawn from the orthostat friezes at Alaca Höyük's Sphinx Gate.⁷⁵ The Gate's left side shows a left-to-right progression from musicians/acrobats to an offering procession with animals to an intimate libation scene with the king making an offering in front of a god in the form of a bull-statue (Figure 68). That progression represents in abridged form the progression from the top frieze to the offering scene in the third frieze of both of the complete IHG vases. The gate's right side shows a shorter, less elaborate procession to a seated goddess (Figure 69). This side seems to be the counterpart of the intimate scene on the vases' second frieze. The Sphinx Gate's division between left and right sides, illustrating worship of a male deity and a female deity, thus provides an analogue to the vases' division between the intimate scenes of the second and third friezes.

As shown by the bull's-head spouts on the rim (Figure 17), the IHG vases are intended to celebrate the cult of the Storm God, typically depicted as a bull (Gurney 1977: 25; Taracha 2009: 60). The centrality of the bull theme is emphasized by the four powerful bulls in the bottom register of the Hüseyindede A vase, serving as a coda to the interconnected libation spouts on the inner rim. In the İnandıktepe vase, the "bull-shaped figure of a god" (Taracha 2009: 69) and the bull sacrifice on the third frieze also serve as links to the Storm God (2.2.5). Fragment C of the Bitik vase (Figure 16) shows the

⁷⁵ The date of Alaca Höyük gate is unknown. Schachner suggests on stylistic grounds that it dates from the 15th century BCE, or even the late 16th century BCE (2013: 538).

front legs of a bull, presumably being led for sacrifice, from a location on the vase corresponding to the original vase's third frieze.

Standardized, monumental works of art celebrating the Storm God provide a strong sense of central state sponsorship. A statement of Old Hittite political ideology defines the link between the Storm God and the king:

The land belongs to the Storm God, heaven and earth with the people belong to the Storm God. And he made the Labarna, the king, his deputy and gave him the whole land of Hattusa. The Labarna shall govern the whole land! (*The Monarchy and Divine Right* (CTH 821, ll. 1-4); Güterbock 1954: 16; Beckman 1995b: 530, 2002: 41; Taracha 2009: 47).

Accepting the centrality of royal ideology to the vases' decorative program helps understand its iconography. For example, temple structures are a feature of the IHG vases (2.2.3.2). According to the later texts, building temples was a royal monopoly (Torri and Görke 2013). Therefore, the vases' portrayal of temples and the use of temples to segregate sexes and thus order society all serve to underline the power of the crown.

Further, the second friezes of both complete vases show a woman⁷⁶ holding a stool behind the sword-bearers who lead the outdoor procession to the temple (Figure 6). Her gender is important: the later *Festritual* texts specify that priestesses are charged with the cult of female deities (Taracha 2009: 66). It is thus possible to see here in the raised stool an image of

⁷⁶ I agree with Yıldıırım that this figure is incorrectly restored as a man in the İnandıktepe vase (2009: 242).

Halmasuit, the throne goddess, who played an important role in the mythology of the king (Popko 1995: 71). A sherd from an Eskiypar IHG vase shows a figure in a long robe sitting on a stool of the same shape (2.2.4). Another visual link to Halmasuit is the wagon portrayed on the top frieze of the Hüseyindede vase and known from sherds from Boğazköy and Alişar (2.2.1). Legend holds that the goddess Halmasuit brought from the sea the wagon that symbolizes the cult duties of the king (Popko 1995: 71). This cult link to Halmasuit would help explain why the man leading the wagon is dressed in a fashion similar to that of the person leading the offering procession on the third frieze: both figures represent the king.

The royal connection helps define the nature of the cult participants portrayed in the vases. In my view, every figure exists and is defined by virtue of her or his relation to the king. For that reason, the top frieze does not consist of a scene of the ‘common people,’ as Özgüç argued (1988: 103; 3.3.1). Instead, the musicians and the acrobats are all members of the royal household or temple personnel (see Haas 1994: 678). Notably, it is unlikely that small rural settlements like those of Hüseyinede or İnandıktepe possessed skilled acrobats with special costumes or musicians capable of playing the two-person harp.⁷⁷ As for the male cult participants, the distinctive short white tunic with its projecting triangular undergarment, unknown from other Hittite art, serves not only to underline the solidarity of the group, it also sets them apart from others. In addition to the royal family, later *Festritual* texts almost always list cult participants as senior royal officials: the Commander of

⁷⁷ In my view, It is likely that the vases represent cult in the capital or other major cities, but that does not change the point about the vases being an image of the royal household.

the Palace Guard, the Principal Page, the Steward, the Kitchen Master, and so on. As Haas notes, this is the same closed world as seen in the land deeds (CTH 222) and in the *Edict of Telepinu* (CTH 19) (1994: 679).⁷⁸

The bottom friezes of the İnandıktepe and Hüseyindede vases are distinct from each other, not sharing the commonalities evident in their top three friezes. In both vases, the bottom frieze is narrower and thus relatively less conspicuous than the middle two friezes. As the vases themselves are less than one meter high, cult participants must have looked downwards to see the friezes. This downwards view gives decorative prominence to the libation mechanism at the top, as well as the second and third friezes, both of which are tilted backwards due to the shape of the funnel-rim vase (see Figure 67). By contrast, the bottom frieze is at a harder-to-see vertical (Hüseyindede) or even downwards-facing (İnandıktepe) angle.

One link between the two bottom friezes of the vases is that both reprise themes seen in the upper friezes. In the top frieze of the İnandıktepe vase, the tumbling of the two acrobats attended by musicians of both sexes finds its echo in the bottom frieze's dance of two men⁷⁹ with male musicians. The two gods sitting on either side of a jar and an altar on the bottom frieze of the İnandıktepe vase recall the two goddesses⁸⁰ on the bed-throne with the jar and altar beside them in the second frieze. Turning to the Hüseyindede vase, not only do its four bulls symbolize the Storm God and refer to the spouts on

⁷⁸ Chapter 4 below will discuss the socio-political function of the vases.

⁷⁹ Facing pairs of male dancers are also seen in the Bitik vase's bottom register and the Eskiypar fragments (2.2.4).

⁸⁰ Or priestess attending to a statue of a goddess – this scene is difficult to understand.

the inner rim, they also provide a link to the procession of male⁸¹ offering animals on the vase's third frieze. One explanation for the contrast between the İnandık vase's storage- jars-with gods and the Hüseyindede vase's livestock-and-bull-deities may be that they show two sides of Anatolia's agrarian economy, cereal cultivation and pastoralism (2.2.7).⁸²

Section 3.4: Comparative Vessels

The IHG were not the only class of cult vases in use during the Old Kingdom. As shown by the eight examples in this section, the late 16th and 15th centuries BCE were a time of diversity in Hittite cult ceramics. Most of these examples, however, display strong stylistic similarities to the IHG vases, including the funnel-rim shape. They can be considered variants. Compared to the variants, the IHG vases are better attested and found over a wider geographic area. From available evidence, the diversity of vessels arose primarily in a core area comprising Boğazköy, Eskiypar, Alacahöyük, and Alişar. The final vase discussed below, 3.4.8, is not funnel-shaped in form. It was deposited around 1400 BCE, a time when an imported ceramic, Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware (RLWMW), had displaced the IHG ceramics and much of Old Kingdom cult assemblage (Schoop 2009: 154-156).

⁸¹ The sex of the stag and ram is evident, but the last animal is too damaged to identify. Nevertheless, Haas states that the sex of the offering animal usually matched the sex of the deity being celebrated (1994: 647).

⁸² Chapter 4 below will discuss the link between official cult and economic management.

Section 3.4.1. Eskiyapar A: Monochrome relief vase with bull's-head spouts on inner rim

The remarkably well-preserved Eskiyapar vase (Figure 70) differs from the IHG vases by its squat and more rounded shape, measuring 55 cm high, and 46 cm wide. It lacks polychrome friezes, but shares the IHG's focus on the bull cult, including its distinctive bull's-head libation mechanism. The mechanism makes more dramatic and more central the act of offering wine (surely the grainy beer of the time would clog the spouts). By creating this point of focus, it highlights the role of the chief celebrant.

Illicit diggers found the vase in 1968, prior to any formal excavations at the site (Mellink 1968; Temizer 1988: xxviii). The nearly intact funnel-rim jar has four vertical handles and features relief images of sitting bulls, placed on the shoulder and aligned along a register. The modeling of the bulls, with their projecting heads and relatively small bodies, matches closely the standing bulls of a four-handled pot from Kültepe/Kaneš (Figure 71). Below the sitting bulls is impressed the so-called *signe royal*, already attested in Karum Ib (e.g., Figure 72), but with a slightly different style⁸³.

Given its shape and bull's-head spouts, the vase likely served a cult function similar to the IHG vases. While such a bull's-head libation mechanism has not been recovered from Assyrian Trading Period levels, the earliest recorded use of the ceramic tubing connected to ram's-head spouts

⁸³ The Karum Ib *signe royal* consists of a square cross inscribed in a circle, with a double curved element appearing in each of the quadrants. The element is arranged so as to create opposing trident shapes along one axis, either the vertical or the horizontal. This contrasts with the stamp on the Eskiyapar vase, in which the curved elements are not aligned along the axes, rather they are oriented lengthwise between the ends of the inscribed cross.

dates to Karum Level 1b (Figure 73). Excavators found this bowl placed in front of a stele inside a Karum house, indicating cult use (Özgüç 2003: 228).

Lack of context makes dating of the Eskiypar vase difficult, although Özgüç argues on stylistic grounds that it follows the Karum period, but precedes the IHG vases (1982: 153). During the 1981-1982 seasons at Eskiypar, Raci Temizer recovered fragments of an additional six relief cult vases (Özgüç 1988: 117-122; see 3.4.6 below) as well another 25 largely intact vessels from three storage rooms of a building destroyed by fire (Özgüç 1999b). These rooms were located on Level VI's lowest sub-level, which Temizer deemed earliest Old Hittite (Özgüç 1999b: 6)⁸⁴. With its brown-slipped, burnished finish identical to much of the Level IV inventory, the Eskiypar A vase likely originated from this context (Özgüç 1988: 117).

3.4.2: İnandıktepe B: White-slipped, four handled funnel-rim vase with painted images.

İnandıktepe B is a white-slipped funnel-rim vase with four vertical handles and poorly preserved painted decoration (Figure 74). In size, it is slightly larger than the two vessels of the IHG, measuring 87 cm high and 53 cm at its widest. It was found among the 49 vessels that Raci Temizer recovered in the basement store rooms at İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988: 83). Its white-slip, large size, and lack of a libation mechanism recalls the later Boğazköy B vase (3.4.7).

⁸⁴ While Eskiypar's current excavator has endorsed Temizer's stratification of the mound (Sipahi 2013: 241; 244 fig.9b), others are more skeptical: see Mielke 2007: 162, fig. 2, e.g., in which the site's stratigraphy is marked with question marks.

The vase's cult role is suggested by the poorly preserved winged sun disks painted on its shoulder, as well as ankh signs painted on the handles. Özgüç claims that this decoration provides the earliest image of the winged disk in Hittite art (1988: 83, n. 36). The Eskiypar C vase (3.4.6), likely later in date from this vase and the IHG vases,⁸⁵ also may show a winged disk (Özgüç 1988: 120, Pl. 75, 2).

The İnandıktepe B and Eskiypar C vases may attest to attempts to the link royal ideology through art to the Sun Deity. At an earlier date, the *Annals of Hattusili I* (CTH 4) describe the king's offerings of booty from conquests in North Syria to the temple of the Sun Deity of Arinna, as well as to Arinna's daughter Mezzulla (Kuhrt 1995: 241).

3.4.3: Hüseyindede B: White-slipped, handleless funnel-rim vase with bichrome relief band.

This smaller Hüseyindede vase is a white-slipped, handleless funnel-rim vase, measuring 52 cm high (Figure 75). It bears a single bichrome relief frieze. This frieze shares iconography and themes with the top relief bands of the IHG vases: namely, a depiction of music, dance, and gymnastics (Figure 76). Excavators found this vase in 1997 in a storeroom of a square building that dominated a small rural settlement. It was one of 37 vases found in this context, including the larger Hüseyindede A vase (2.1.3) (Yıldırım 2000).

⁸⁵ While found in the same context as the Eskiypar A and B vases, it displays the iconography of later Hittite art (3.4.6).

While the smaller Hüseyindede vase displays the general funnel-rim shape, it is just over half the height (52 cm.) and lacks the four vertical handles and the libation mechanism on the inner rim characteristic of the IHG vases. Another difference is that the vase has a cream-white slip, distinct from the brown-red slip that characterizes the IHG. The coloration of the decoration band is bichrome white and red (discolored by fire), rather than the red-brown-cream-black polychrome of the larger vases.

In form and size, Hüseyindede B resembles a handleless jar discovered with the Level IV cult inventory in İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 34, 1). This jar was brown slipped and also measured 52 cm high. The excavator noted the excellent technique with which this jar was made (Özgüç 1988: 82), indicating its possible cult purpose. This coincidence of shorter, handleless funnel-rim jars found together with the taller four-frieze vases found in Hüseyindede and İnandıktepe may indicate that the larger and smaller jars had supporting roles in cult performance.

The vase's decoration shares iconography and compositional approach with the larger, four-register vessels. Not only does the decoration band's placement at the top of the vase correspond to the location of similar musical and acrobatic scenes featured in the IHG vases, so do the number and type of participants. The vase portrays 13 human figures of both genders, generally evenly spaced and in profile. In similar fashion, the two larger vases feature 11 (İnandıktepe A) and nine (Hüseyindede A) men and women.

Both this and the IHG vases feature male lute players wearing the short white garment with a triangular undergarment. All three show female cymbals

players in profile, wearing long tunics cinched with a belt at the waist. Similarly, the acrobats in this vase and the İnandiktepe A vase wear short, tight tunics and leap in remarkably similar fashion. On the level of representation, the common style shared in depictions of figures, costume and musical instruments all argue that this vase should be classified with the IHG vases (Sipahi 2001). At a more general level, the Hüseyindede vase bears the characteristics of the same court-sponsored cult practices as the larger relief vases.

The excavator emphasizes that the vase's depiction of an acrobat arching himself over the back of a bull is unique to Hittite art (Sipahi 2000). Uniqueness, however, is not surprising: each of the substantially complete relief cult vases differs significantly in detail, as each likely represented a distinct cult festival. For example, the explicit sex scene on the top register of the İnandık vase is not found in other Hittite imagery, nor indicated in texts. In this case, there is a possible link of the depicted bull-jumping to later texts describing cult activity (Güterbock 2003). Perhaps the key point here is that the bull-jumping scene shares the IHG vases' focus on the bull cult (Figure 77).

3.4.4: Boğazköy A: Red-slipped relief vase with frieze bands in the style of IHG.

The Boğazköy A vase consists of a half-dozen large sherds, mostly contiguous, that come from the bottom part of a large red-slipped relief vase

with decorative friezes (Boehmer 1983: 22-23, Pl. VI) (Figure 78). The vase's estimated dimensions are 65 cm high and 36 cm wide (Boehmer 1983: 26, n. 10), smaller than the IHG⁸⁶. The sherds appear to have come from a four-handled pot with at least three frieze bands (Boehmer 1983: 22).

Parts of six human figures appear on the sherds. Boehmer claims that some fragments show traces of white coloring, although color is difficult to discern. This relative lack of color gives the sherds a different character from the many polychrome sherds recovered elsewhere. Because of its similarity in iconography and fabric to the İnandık A vase, Boehmer dated these fragments to the Old Hittite period (1983: 21)⁸⁷.

In comparing with the IHG vases, some details of form recall the Hüseyindede A vase more than İnandıktepe A: the handles attach to the vase in the lowest (fourth) register, while only a thin projecting ridge divides that register from the third register above it. By contrast, the bottom parts of the İnandık A vase's handles attach into a painted strip that divides the bottom two registers.

As for the figures depicted, the style is that of the IHG vases, with well-spaced, vertical figures shown largely in profile and aligned along registers. In one difference of costume, the figures with the long robes wear shoes that are upturned at the toe, something not seen in the IHG vases. A

⁸⁶ It is not clear how much confidence can be given to this estimation, given the small fraction of the vase recovered. Notably, the double curve of a funnel-rim vase (the most likely shape) cannot be ascertained from sherds only originating at the bottom of the vase.

⁸⁷ Note that Boehmer relied on Balkan's (1973) dating of the İnandık land deed to Hattusili's reign, which had led to an early dating for the ceramic finds there. In 2005, however, Wilhelm revised the dating of the land deed to around the time of Telepinu, the late 16th century BCE (see 2.2.7).

non-contiguous sherd from the same vase shows the top part of a lute player looking left and while holding the neck of the lute to the right (Figure 79). This pose is not found in the IHG vases, but resembles the two lutists in the smaller Hüseyindede B vase (Figure 76) or the lutist in the later Eskiypar C vase (Figure 82). The lute player belongs on the bottom register, as shown by indications of the base of a handle on the sherd. On the register above appear the bare legs of a man. Most likely, that figure is wearing the short tunic with projecting undergarment tail that is so prominent on the IHG vases (Figure 79).⁸⁸

The fragmentary state of the vase makes it difficult to determine how closely its composition matches that of the IHG vases. All figures seem to be men, consistent with the IHG vases' practice of showing males on their bottom two registers. There are no animal representations, nor do the six figures seem to represent a king or gods. Further, with three of its figures facing left and three facing right, the fragment lacks the strong left-to-right flow of the IHG vases. On balance, this vase seems to be contemporary to, but different from, the IHG vases.

3.4.5 Alacahöyük: two funnel-rim vases with libation spouts but no friezes

Alacahöyük is a small settlement located 20 kilometers north-east of Boğazköy/Hattuša that has a large palace complex and unique monumental

⁸⁸ As in the IHG vases, the figure in the short tunic does not wear upturned shoes.

gate. While texts have only recently been found there,⁸⁹ scholars have long designated it as a “cult city” (e.g. Mielke 2011b: 1042). Similarly, finds of relief ceramics have been relatively few, but they show a high level of diversity, as is also apparent in nearby Eskiypar and Boğazköy.

Koşay’s 1937-1939 excavations at Alacahöyük, recovered two jar fragments that display the distinctive shape and libation mechanisms of the IHG vases (Figures 80, 81). Neither, however, indicates the presence of decorative friezes. The fragments were recovered in Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement levels. Sharing the IHG vessels’ distinctive bull’s-head spouts, the fragments must come from cult vessels dedicated to the Storm God.

The two Alaca vase fragments are funnel-rim vases proportioned like the IHG vases, as opposed to the squatter Eskiypar A vase. For example, in both Alaca fragments, the bull’s-head spouts rise above the rim of the vase (Figure 81), as in the IHG vases. In addition, the smoothly modeled bulls’-heads spouts of the larger fragment resemble those of the İnandıktepe A vase.

On the smaller of the two fragments (Figure 81), the ceramic is slipped in black and highly polished.⁹⁰ That color and the rosette design of seven circles incised on the outer surface of the vase present two features not found in the IHG vases.

⁸⁹ The Alacahöyük website (alacahoyukkazisi.com) shows a cuneiform tablet fragment under “Fotoğrafları 2013.” It appears to be from the Hittite period.

⁹⁰ More apparent in Özgüç’s better-quality image of one sherd of this fragment (1988: Pl. 77, 3).

Besides these fragments, one example of an IHG vase has been recovered at Alacahöyük, a sherd depicting a female cymbals player (Özgüç 1993: Pl. 81, 1). The excavator found it in Level 3b, which he assigned to the early Middle Hittite period (Özgüç 1993: 476). At the same level, excavators also founded a white-slipped relief vase depicting 17 figures and two temples. It lacked the libation mechanism characteristic of the IHG vases and also found in the two fragments discussed in this section. Similar to the Eskiypar C vase (3.4.6), the figures included deities with attributes, including a pointed cap with horns (Özgüç 1993: 482).

3.4.6.: Eskiypar C: Gray-slipped monochrome relief vase found in “Old Hittite” context.

Eskiypar C consists of eight fragments⁹¹ of a large grey-slipped funnel-rim vase that features friezes with gray monochrome representations of gods-with-attributes, animals, and worshippers. Raci Temizer recovered this relief vase with five others, including IHG vases, during his 1981-1982 excavations at Eskiypar. Excavators have recovered fragments of similar gray ware at Alacahöyük (Özgüç 1988: 119) and Boğazköy (Boehmer 1983: 35, Pl. XIV 44, 45).

The shape of the jar, the style of the relief representations, and the use of registers all support a dating contemporary or nearly so to the IHG. Changes to stylistic conventions, notably the abandon of the strict division of

⁹¹ Seven sherds were first reported by Özgüç (1988: 119-120). Subsequently, he published an eighth (1999c: 29).

the registers, suggest that the vase was made subsequent to the IHG (Strupler 2012: 10). Indeed, the representation of gods with attributes, as shown by the god standing on the back of the stag (Strupler 2012: sherd E) (Figure 82), marks a different iconographic approach.

Elements of continuity remain strong, however. For example, the stag in this sherd is appears almost identical⁹² to the one being led in the offering procession on the third frieze of the Hüseyindede A vase (Figure 83). Four of Eskiypar C's surviving sherds provide partial images of six people.⁹³ Generally, the people are shown in the same vertical and spaced style, arranged along registers, as in the IHG vases. For example, the lute player in Figure 86 resembles other left-facing lute players, such as seen in the Boğazköy A vase (Figure 79) or the Hüseyindede B vase (Figure 76). As in the latter example, the triangular undergarment is visible on the outside of the lute-player's left thigh.⁹⁴ A novelty, however, is that a shawl appears to extend from the lute player's right shoulder to his hip.

The bull, symbol of the Storm God, is presented in a new and more naturalistic way⁹⁵, shown with fine detail in the hooves and tail, even portrayed with a dewlap hanging at the neck (Strupler 2012: sherd A) (Figure 84). Özgüç draws attention to two elements in sherd A: a wavy line

⁹² Despite its similar stance in profile, the stag in the Schimmel rhyton (Figure 88) is different, with large ears and spiky horns.

⁹³ Illustrated in Özgüç 1988: Pl. 74, 1 (Figure 82); 74, 2; 76, 3; 77, 1.

⁹⁴ Özgüç claims that the triangular undergarment does not appear in the Eskiypar B sherds (1988: 121), but the lute player's is clearly visible (Figure 82).

⁹⁵ A second sitting bull figure (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 75, 1; Strupler 2012: sherd C) portrayed facing in the other direction may indicate that the vase had two opposing pairs of bulls, as in the Hüseyindede A vase's bottom frieze.

immediately under the left part of the register line and the interruption of the register line to the right by what he sees as a winged disk (1988: 120) (see 3.4.2). While this relief vase clearly invokes the bull cult, as seen in the IHG vases, it introduces further elements.

A radical change from IHG conventions is that Eskiypar C depicts a large god with attributes, including a conical cap with horns (Figures 85, 86). The great size of the god is emphasized, with the god shown breaking through the register line. The god's short kilt and muscular thighs, combined with the pose so that the left leg is fully extended, displaying a carefully modeled kneecap. Such a pose and presentation was to become a standard convention in Hittite art. For example, the god standing on the stag in Figure 86 appears to be a direct quotation of the Warrior God statue from Hattusa's King's Gate (Figure 87)⁹⁶ or the Schimmel Rhyton (Figure 88). This style of representation therefore suggests a dating of the gray relief vase subsequent to the IHG. Moreover, the identical modeling in the cult vessels to that of Hattusa's sculpture indicates the role of the relief vases in propagating a standard imagery linked to the capital's monumental art.

3.4.7: Boğazköy B: White-slipped funnel-rim vase, dated mid-15th century BCE.

Boğazköy B is a funnel-rim vase with four vertical handles made of a fine white polished fabric (Figure 89). Its decoration consists of a crenellation

⁹⁶ Based largely on the evidence of the recently discovered Kayalıpınar stele, Schachner argues that the Warrior God statue likely dates from the Middle Kingdom, i.e. earlier than previously thought (2011: 208; 2013: 539).

on the upper rim, similar to vases from the early Empire period (Schachner 2008: 132 fn. 64). Standing at 1.08 m, it is taller than the IHG vases.

Schachner, excavating during 2007-2008 in an area of Boğazköy's Upper City south of Sarikale, unearthed the remains of a square building measuring 23 meters on each side, consisting of roughly 25 rooms (2008: 129-132; 2009b: 31-39; 2015). A cuneiform tablet fragment identified the likely occupant of the building as the chief bodyguard of the king. Schachner also found sealings, including from a land deed, of the 15th century BCE kings Tahurwaili and Tuthaliya I (2009b: 35; 2010: 162).

In two storerooms at the south-east corner of the house, Schachner uncovered an inventory of more than 80 vessels that included the Boğazköy B vase, as well as a spectacular white polished, 1.9 m high pot with a bull's-head spout (Figure 89). The rest of the inventory consists of eating and serving dishes in reddish-brown Hittite standard ware (Schachner 2009b: 36), which Müller-Karpe in his work on Boğazköy Upper City pottery designated as Ware A 1 a (1988: 16). Schachner contends that this structure is the residence of a senior official of the Middle Kingdom or very early Empire, who used the ceramics to entertain guests and so strengthen his social networks (Schachner 2009b: 35-39, 2015: 200).

The combination of a bull's-head jug and funnel-rim vase recalls the İnandıktepe inventory (Schachner 2015: 196), which also featured a bull's-head jug (Figure 90). A comparison of the two bull's-head jugs reveals continuity of form, both displaying two body handles, one neck handle, and a bull's-head spout. The İnandık example, however, is almost half as tall, at

1.03 m (Özgüç 1988: 79; Schachner 2009b: 36-37). An example from Kültepe/Kaneš Karum Ib shows that this form of bull's-head jug was roughly 400 years old (Figure 72) by the time of the Boğazköy jug. The Boğazköy B vase and its related inventory provide material evidence linking the bull's cult to funnel-rim vases at the threshold of the Empire period.

3.4.8: Boğazköy C: Relief vessel with Storm God of Aleppo, dated ca. 1400 BCE.

Boğazköy C consists of 43 fragments of a relief vase with images of gods. The fabric is gray-white, slipped red-brown on the outside surfaces. The intact pot measured ca. 60-70 cm high and 30 cm wide (Seeher 2007: 708). In fabric, shape, and iconography, the vase has little relation to the earlier IHG vases.⁹⁷ In date, it is among the later recorded Hittite ceramic cult relief vessels. Its decoration and find context both attest to increasing religious influence in Boğazköy from the south-east.

Seeher, in excavating the South Ponds of Boğazköy's Upper City, found what he determined was an intentional, one-time deposit of cult pottery. The deposit included broken fragments of 150 Red Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware (RLWMW), a distinctive imported pottery that has been recovered in later contexts throughout Boğazköy/Hattusa. The sherds came from both small and large libation arms and spindle bottles (Seeher 2007: 707). Mixed in were the distinctive sherds of the Boğazköy C vase. Employing

⁹⁷ Seeher avers that the light fabric is not uncommon in Boğazköy/Hattusa wares and also claims that the fragments of the Bitik relief vase display a similar fabric (2007: 715, n. 6). In the end, however, he declines to determine whether the vase was imported or local.

radiocarbon dating on the associated organic materials, Seeher and Schoop dated the deposit to ca. 1400 BCE (Seeher 2007: 707).

The decoration of the Boğazköy C vase represents a storm god, sphinxes, and figures that may be mountain gods. Unlike the IHG vases, the vase does not depict cult practice with human worshippers. The pointed caps and wings of two sphinxes (Figure 91) display a fantastic approach that is alien to the stylized, human-centered images of the IHG vases. Comparing the details of the largest god's cap with the later reliefs at the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo, Seeher identified this god as the Storm God of Aleppo (2007: 712).

The important story here, however, is told by the RLWMW sherds found in association with the Boğazköy C vessel. The hundreds of carefully deposited sherds of libation arms and spindle bottles mark a change of cult practice. This ware originated to the south of the Hittite heartland and was to become ubiquitous in Hattusa, where it has been found in almost all excavation areas (Mielke 2007: 156; Schoop 2009: 154). According to Boehmer, there is no evidence that formal relief compositions on Hittite ceramics continued after the 15th century (1983: 53). Subsequent Hittite relief ceramics were limited to depictions of animals (Seeher 2007: 715).

CHAPTER 4

THE RELIEF VASES IN THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

4.1 Establishing a social landscape: IHG vases and cult travel

As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, the decoration of the IHG presents an anomaly in the iconographic continuum that stretches from the earlier Karum-period glyptic to the later art of the Hittite Empire: images of gods without attributes. At the same time, the IHG vases also present the first images of an anonymous king.⁹⁸ In the vases, rank between humans is hard to discern, as is gender: group solidarity is emphasized. The variant ceramics found with IHG vase sherds illustrate the multiplicity of relief cult vessels in use in this period. Nonetheless, of these relief ceramics the IHG vases are the best attested in the material record. The Boğazköy B (3.4.7) and

⁹⁸ In an interesting parallel, the IHG vases appear at the time of the anonymous Tabarna seals, seen on land grant deeds. Only three representations of Hittite kings named by inscriptions have survived; all are dated much later, to the 13th century BCE (Strommenger 1975).

C (3.4.8) vases demonstrate that the use of the IHG cult vases ended during the 15th century BCE, as official cult practice changed.

With its uncertain king lists and many dark periods, the Hittite state in the 16th -15th centuries BCE seems to have been a frail construction, subject to turmoil from inside and out. The uniform style of the IHG vases and the vases' wide geographical spread may indicate the imposition of a relatively stable political phase within this period. The fires that eventually destroyed the large buildings at İnandıktepe, Hüseyindede⁹⁹, Eskiyyapar, and Alişar, however, suggest that the stability was not long-lasting.

The decoration of IHG vases conveys a political vision of an ideal society engaged in cult practice. The vision is distinct from that seen in later Hittite art: in the vases, social differences are deemphasized and the gods are depicted as accessible to humans, or at least the chief celebrant. The friezes display the lords and temple staff acting under the direction of an anonymous king.

The vases' political vision resembles that of the major historical document of this time¹⁰⁰, the *Edict of Telepinu* (CTH 19; see Liverani 1977). At the *Edict*'s outset, the core social grouping is defined in three closely paralleled (and fully stereotyped) passages that describe in ideal terms the

⁹⁹ Glatz, Matthews, and Schachner contend that since Bitik, Boğazköy, İnandıktepe and Hüseyindede lie near Hittite-Kashka border, the IHG finds there may signify that cult was used as a "structuring factor in the Hittite-Kashka dialectic" (2009: 112). As shown in Figure 10, however, the IHG find spots are distributed throughout the Hittite heartland, not just along the Hittite-Kaska frontier.

¹⁰⁰ Yakar dates Telepinu's reign to 1525-1500 BCE (2011: Fig. 4.7)

reigns of the three great kings who founded Hittite rule. The passages list six elements to the group, starting with the king. Here is the first iteration:

Once Labarna was Great King, and his sons, his brothers, his male in-laws, the men of his clan, and his soldiers were collected around him in harmony. (*Edict of Telepinu* (CTH 19), Vs. I, 1 ll. 2-4; Hoffmann 1984: 12-13.)

The *Edict*'s listing of the king's men recalls Güterbock's assessment that Hittite society was characterized by an "Überlagerung," in which a conquering group was superimposed over the local population (1954: 17; Gurney 1954: 68-69). The maleness of the group is striking. Removing any doubts that women are excluded, the two nouns for in-laws and clan (*gaena*, *haššannaša*) both are preceded with the Akkadogram LÚ^{MEŠ}, specifying males (CTH 19, Vs. I, 1 l. 3). In my view, this group of king's men listed in the *Edict* is the same group of males that appears in the IHG vases' third frieze, with their near-identical costumes and minimal badges of rank. In a broad way, this group solidarity is also reflected by the political institution of *pankuš*, a sovereign assembly of officials mentioned in the *Edict* and other Old Hittite documents. Just as the IHG vases ceased being used during the 15th century BCE, so does the *pankuš* disappear from Hittite records after Telepinu (Gurney 1954: 69; Liverani 2014: 266). The political vision of the vases can

therefore be termed exclusivist, focused on establishing authority within the ruling group.¹⁰¹

At the broadest level, the vases served as a marker of feasting ritual¹⁰², providing a symbolically differentiated vessel that helped distinguish cult ritual from everyday activity (Dietler 2011: 185). As Dietler has noted, feasting rituals exist to create and maintain social relations. They are extremely important in establishing group solidarity (Dietler 2011: 182). At the same time, cult feasting also serves to create and define differences in status.¹⁰³ As shown by the lead role of the chief celebrant, the king, cult practice itself is a form of public, asymmetric and reciprocal activity in which the power to command is accepted as legitimate by another (see Smith 2003: 26). Therefore, by meeting in a building sponsored by the king, allowing the king to lead the cult, and by feasting with him, the king's men were accepting their own position in the hierarchy and conferring on the king the legitimacy to lead the state.

¹⁰¹ I cannot agree with Schachner that the IHG vessels were directed at "ordinary people" to strengthen social ties under the rule of the king (2013: 537). That view of the archaic state as including all residents of a territory is not reflected in the contemporary royal land deeds (CTH 222-225), which assign households, in the manner of serfs, with the land.

¹⁰² Neither the cult vessels nor the later *Festrituale* depict human participation in the feast, presumably as the focus of both is on meeting cult obligations to the gods. In later times, changes to cult practice were ratified by oracle inquiry, demonstrating that festivals were done solely for the gods' benefit (Houwink ten Cate 1986: 103). For the human participants, of course, the feast following the sacrifices and libations was likely the most significant part of the ceremony.

¹⁰³ Dietler has noted that gender is one of the most common categorical distinctions made through feasting-related practices (2011: 185).

The cult vases also served economic goals.¹⁰⁴ From the king's vantage, hosting the feast can be viewed as a specialized type of gift exchange that establishes reciprocal obligations between host and guests (Dietler 2011: 183). As shown by abundant archaeological evidence of official grain storage facilities (Mielke 2011a: 176), Anatolia's palace-based economy depended on delivery of agricultural surpluses to decentralized store houses.

The damaged second half of the *Edict of Telepinu* lays out a system of provincial administration, listing at least 60 settlements with granaries and another 35 settlements with storehouses for mixed fodder (CTH 19 Rs. III s. 37-38; Hoffmann 1984: 40-45; Singer 1984: 103-104). The storehouses were administered by a royal official, the storekeeper (^{LÚ}AGRIG), who collected and stored the products due to the palace. Many of these "houses of the seal" must have been quite modest, as they do not reappear in other Hittite texts.¹⁰⁵ In that regard, the square building at Hüseyindede (Figure 9) seems a possible example, as does the İnandıktepe Level IV (Figure 8) manor house.

Circumstantial links exist between the IHG vases and the storehouse/AGRIG economic system. The clearest link was provided by the discovery of a land deed¹⁰⁶ in a *pithos* near the İnandıktepe vase (Balkan

¹⁰⁴ As noted above (3.3), the bottom friezes of the IHG vases, with their virile bulls (Hüseyindede) or storeroom and kitchen (İnandıktepe), may refer to Anatolia's agricultural economy.

¹⁰⁵ The determinative URU used in naming the storehouses seems to apply to small rural settlements as well as towns and cities (Mielke 2011: 154, 2013: 256).

¹⁰⁶ Royal land deeds are attested over the period of one century, from the mid-16th century BCE to mid-15th century BCE. At least 91 have been discovered, all distinctive pillow-shaped tablets, prominently bearing the seal of the king, and written in Akkadian (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 5-7, 33-35).

1973) (Figure 18). The İnandıktepe land deed names as beneficiary an AGRIG. The deed itself is marked with a prominent, anonymous seal of the king, providing an interesting parallel to the anonymous king of the IHG vases. Comparing the witness list on the İnandıktepe deed to other deeds, Wilhelm has shown that this deed dates from the rule of Telepinu or just before (2005; see Mielke 2006a: 260-265).

The IHG vases therefore help provide an archaeological perspective to political formation. The network of 16th-15th century BCE storehouses across Anatolia had as their counterparts large storage structures in the cities of Boğazköy/Hattuša, Alacahöyük, Kaman Kalehöyük, and Kuşaklı/Sarissa (Mielke 2011a: 176). Mielke argues that the cylindrical structure at İnandıktepe that Özgüç terms a refuse pit (1988: 74) is another example of a grain silo (2011a: 176).

This storage network attests to the formation of a social landscape across central Anatolia (cf. Smith 2003: 24-25). The later *Festritual* texts document extensive cult travels of the king, primarily in Spring and Fall. These well-developed itineraries must reflect earlier patterns of royal travel, ostensibly cult-based, but surely motivated by the imperative to secure resources and reaffirm personal loyalties¹⁰⁷. Within the context of this royal circuit, it is an attractive scenario that the IHG vases were presented by the king to local officials following cult use. The vases no doubt served as a year-round reminder of the royal visits. In turn, they likely provided a powerful tool for the AGRIG and other officials to use in entertaining local free men.

¹⁰⁷ As indicated by the later Hittite loyalty oaths (CTH 251-275), invariably directed personally to the sovereign.

During the course of the 15th century, the IHG vases and other fine ceramics derived from the Assyrian Trading Period were replaced in cult use by imported spindle bottles and libation arms made of RLWMW (3.4.8), as well as vessels of precious metal. The kings stopped issuing land deeds. After Telepinu, there is no mention of the *pankuš* assembly as a sovereign body. Even the official title of AGRIG fell out of administrative use, only to live on with a limited cult role in the *Festrituale*.¹⁰⁸ The king in later times stood alone as sovereign; he was no longer one of a band of brothers, as seen on the IHG vases.

4.2 Areas for further study

4.2.1 Eskiypar C vase: reversion to older iconography

The rejection of the IHG's portrayal of gods-without-attributes took place already in the Old Kingdom, as shown by the Eskiypar C grey-slipped (3.4.6) and Alacahöyük white-slipped relief vases (3.4.5). Both were found at the same levels as the IHG vases. The Eskiypar C's close affinity with other (later?) monumental Hittite art alerts us to the significance of this shift: it throws light on the development of standardized imagery used by the Hittite state to communicate with its constituencies. It could be that the diverse relief ceramics of the Hittite core area capture some of the distinct phases that

¹⁰⁸ Interestingly, Güterbock showed that the AGRIG of the *Festrituale* often represented their cities by supplying the festivals from storehouses inside Hattuša itself, a practice no doubt reflecting changes to cult that occurred in the Empire period (1961).

led up to establishing the standardized imagery. Strupler has provided a useful start in re-examining two of these vases (2012). Further studies of this class of artifact likely could lead to new insights on the turbulent 15th century BCE.

4.2.2 Gender studies: authority and gender distinctions

To date, gender-focused discussion of Hittite material has touched narrow topics, such as the *Tawananna* or the Old Lady of the Kizzuwatna magic rituals. Gender is undeniably important, however: Old Kingdom documents, including the decorations of the IHG vases, the *Edict of Telepinu*, and the land deeds demonstrate that the archaic state secured power and legitimacy in part through imposing gender-based distinctions. This male-centeredness seems to go beyond culturally inherited gender roles. For example, later textual accounts of popular religious practices (e.g. KUB XXV 23 i 8 ff., cited in Gurney 1977: 27) do not describe the gender segregation that can be observed on the IHG friezes.¹⁰⁹ An example of gender-based politics affecting official cult may be reflected in the eventual domination of the male Sun Deity over the female Sun Deity during the Empire period, as typified by the image of Tudhaliya IV in Yazılıkaya dressed exactly like the male Sun Deity (Beckman 2002: 40). A synthetic and diachronic view of gender as displayed in Hittite artifacts and texts could well provide insights on how the Hittite regime(s) exploited gender distinctions.

¹⁰⁹ Although the descriptions are summary and the actual practice could have elements of gender distinction that go unmentioned.

4.3 Final thoughts: the archaic state and war

The many sherds of IHG vases scattered across Central Anatolia do not present us with reminders of riotous country weddings of 3600 years ago, as some would argue (3.3.3). More persuasive is Schachner's view that the vases and their decoration represent a centralized means of representation (*Bildverständnis*) that marks the beginning of the unification of religious and political power in the region (Schachner 2012b: 136). The royal ideology is portrayed by the prominent bulls depicted on the vases, representing the Storm God, as well as the priestess holding a raised stool, representing the Throne Goddess. The royal patronage of cult is evident in the depiction on the IHG vases of the festively colored mud-brick temples, as well as the cult statues. Temples and cult statues represent innovation: traditional Anatolian folk cult took place primarily out-of-doors, with the gods represented by aniconic *huwasi* stones (Gurney 1977: 25-27).

Schachner contends that the construction of grain silos and ponds in Boğazköy/Hattuša, Kuşaklı/Sarissa, and other Hittite sites marked important state-led changes to Anatolia's agrarian economy in the 16th century BCE (2009a). A clue as to the nature of this new economy comes from Kuşaklı, where excavators found a large horse stables located by an artificial pond dated to this period (Müller-Karpe 2006). Seeking to explain the relative "dark period" throughout the Ancient Near East in the 16th century BCE, Liverani contends that the adoption of horse chariotry presented a difficult moment of political transition (2014: 273). No longer could the king simply muster men for war. The new form of warfare required a decentralized,

landed class with the means to invest in training, raising, and breeding.¹¹⁰ It could well be that the Hittite system of land deeds, royal store houses, new infrastructure, and even some newly established royal cities, reflects thoroughgoing reforms to establish and fund such a class. The new policy was reflected in the ritual and art of the IHG relief vases, denoting solidarity under the clear authority of the king.

¹¹⁰ Training chariot horses was neither quick nor easy. In his analysis of the late 15th century BCE Kikkuli text (CTH 284-286), Starke notes that chariot horses would have needed to train for three years prior starting the program set out in the tablets (1995: 29).

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APPENDIX

DISTORTED IMAGES: RESTORATIONS OF THE İNANDIKTEPE A AND HÜSEYİNDEDE A VASES

Excavators recovered most, but not all, of the İnandiktepe A vase (Figure 94). Illustrations of the vase reveal that it underwent at least three restorations between discovery in 1965 and publication in 1988. Özgüç comments that the İnandık finds were “gradually repaired and restored” at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (1988: xii). At various points in his text, Özgüç mentions the original state of the decorative reliefs, as well as some of the restoration decisions that he made (e.g., 1988: 84-92). The plates themselves illustrate, albeit partially, the changes that the vase underwent at the hands of the restorer during this time.

In what seems the first major restoration, two illustrations show the fill used to complete the vase as unpainted, whitish clay, with only the horizontal banding of the registers reconstructed to replicate the original plastic detail on the vase (Figure 96; Özgüç 1988: Pl. 58, 2).

Subsequently, the restorer colored the whitish fill to mimic the vase's original red wash, but did not attempt to complete the figures, or did so only notionally, as in the case of the right-hand harpist's legs in Figure 98. Images from that stage of restoration graphically show how damaged was much of the vase's bottom register (Figures 98 and 100). In interpreting the friezes, Özgüç decided that two scenes on the bottom register depicted gods, the two dancers and the two seated figures.

In a third stage of repair, restorers reconstructed many of the damaged figures. In the dancing scene on the bottom frieze, the left-hand dancer received hands, while the right-hand dancer received a head almost double the size of that of his dance partner, as well as a body and feet (Figure 99). In addition, the right-hand harpist received new legs and feet. In the scene of the seated gods, the right-hand figure received a body and head, while the left-hand one received a head (Fig. 100; Özgüç 1988: 86). In both of these reconstructions, the large heads placed on the reconstructed figures give the impression that the restorer wanted to make these figures appear more god-like.

Curiously, there is no evidence of such heavy-handed restoration to the other two badly damaged scenes in the bottom frieze, that of the worker apparently preparing beer and that of the cook preparing a meal. The relatively unrestored scenes of workers may indicate the restorer's lesser interest in the non-divine figures.

Elsewhere on the vase, what was earlier left blank is now filled in. Not only has the fill been repainted to match closely the original decoration, but

the restorers have also added missing body parts. For example, in the offering procession in the third frieze, the end figure has received a head and hands, which are in a prayer position (Figure 97; see Özgüç 1988: 89). This reconstruction may be wrong, as the three other figures depicted in the procession all bear offerings. Further, the Bitik vase shows the two end figures of the procession both bearing offerings: one carries a pilgrim flask on his back, the other carries a jar at chest-level. Such restorers' decisions affect interpretations: Sedat Alp says that this figure is "probably in prayer" (Alp 2000: 21).

In another example, restorers chose to portray as a man the heavily damaged figure holding a stool in the vase's second frieze. In the same frieze of the Hüseyindede vase (discovered after the restoration), a woman wearing a long black robe carries the stool. It is therefore likely that the restoration is wrong (see Yıldırım 2009: 242). Given the possible link of the stool to the ideology of the king (3.3.4), the restorer's decision can have great impact on interpretations.

The Hüseyindede A vase was found three-quarters complete (Figures 95 and 2). In similar fashion to the İnandıktepe A vase, restorers decided to reconstruct many of the missing areas. Two areas, in particular, have seen major restoration, the upper bodies of the figures in the procession in the second register (Figure 102), and the offering/libation scene on the third register (Figure 45). It seems the restorers used the example of the figures from the İnandıktepe A vase for their reconstruction. Accordingly, this reconstruction can only be regarded as plausible, not definitive.

FIGURES



Figure 1: İnandıktepe A vase (Özgüç 1988: Plate F).



Figure 2: Hüseyindede A vase (Wikicommons)



Figure 3: İnandiktepe A vase, third frieze, seated god (D. Osseman).



Figure 4: İnandiktepe A vase, third frieze, bull statue (D. Osseman).



Figure 5: Hüseyindede A vase, second frieze, female gods on bed-throne (author).



Figure 6: Hüseyindede A, second frieze, priestess carrying stool to temple (author).



Figure 7: Hüseyindede A, third frieze, figure leading procession (author).

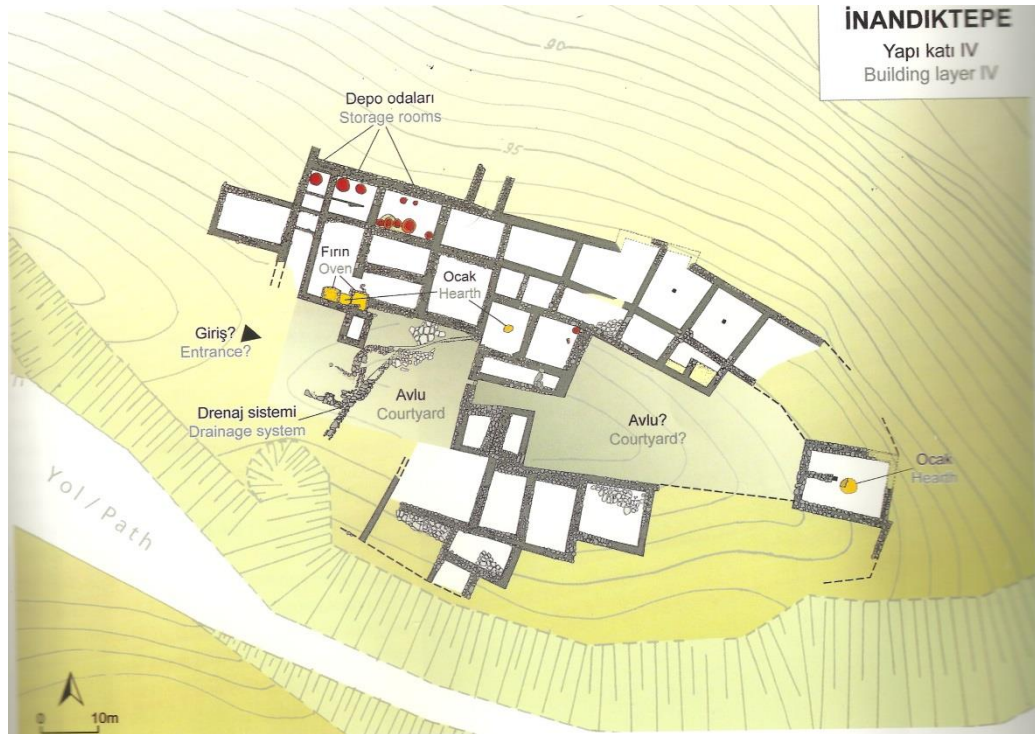


Figure 8: İnandiktepe, plan of Level IV (Mielke 2013b: 215, Fig. 8).



Figure 9: Hüseyindede, find site at center right (Yıldırım 2013: 228, Fig. 1).



Figure 10: Central Anatolia, distribution of IHG relief vessel sherds (Wikimedia Commons, adapted by C. Moore).



Figure 11: Bitik vase (D. Osseman).

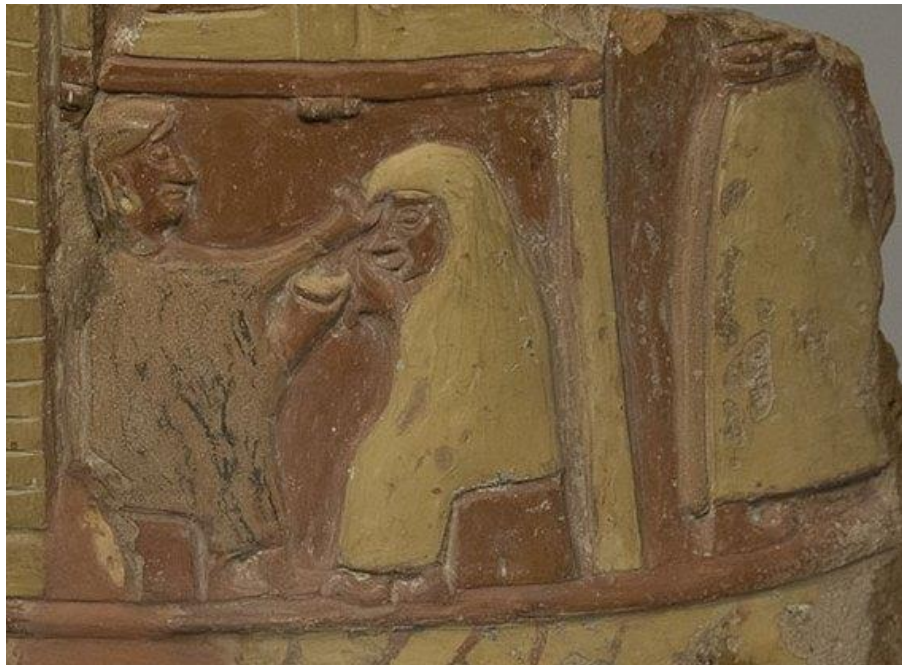


Figure 12: Bitik vase, detail of top register (D. Osseman).



Figure 13: Bitik vase, middle frieze, offering bearers (D. Osseman).



Figure 14: Bitik vase, fragment A (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 69, 3).



Figure 15: Bitik vase, fragment B (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 69, 1).

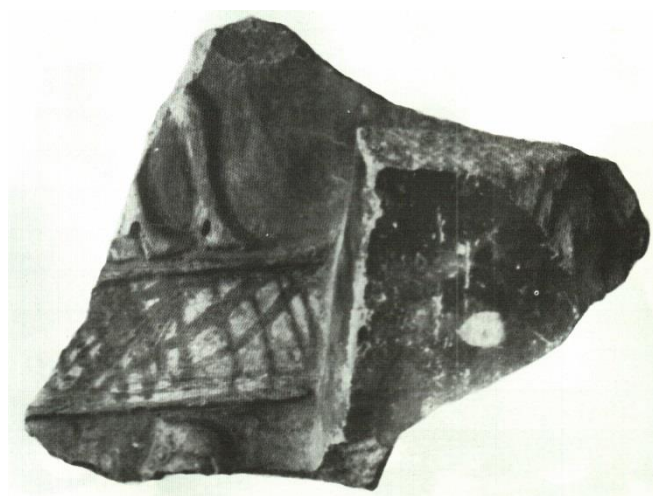


Figure 16: Bitik vase, fragment C (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 69, 4).



Figure 17: İnandiktepe A vase, detail of bull's-head spouts and basin on inner rim (author).



Figure 18: İnandiktepe, royal land deed (Hethitologie Portal Mainz).



Figure 19: İnandiktepe A vase, third frieze, libation scene (D. Osseman).

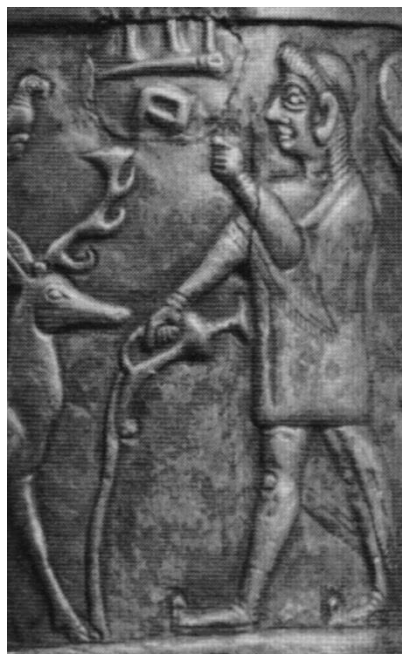


Figure 20: Schimmel silver rhyton in shape of a stag, man offering libation (Bittel 1976:: Figure 3).



Figure 21: İnandıktepe A vase, drawing of top frieze (Özgüç 1988: 175).



Figure 22: İnandıktepe A vase, top frieze, acrobats (author).



Figure 23: İnandıktepe A vase. top frieze, acrobat, cymbals player, lute player (author).

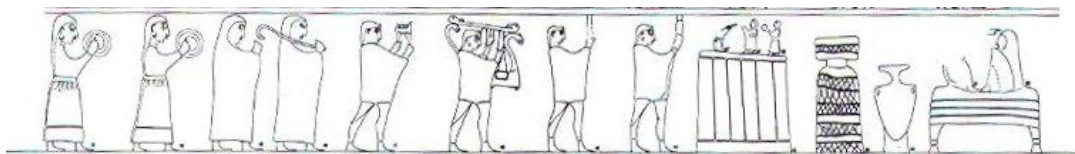




Figure 26: İnandıktepe A vase, frieze 2: sword-bearer, temple, altar, vase (D. Osseman).



Figure 27: İnandıktepe A vase, frieze 2, procession to temple (author).

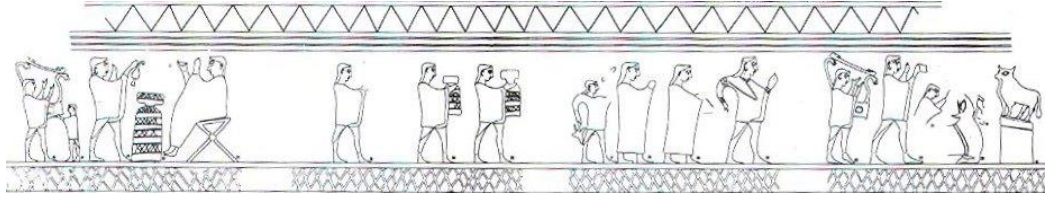


Figure 28: İnandıktepe A vase, frieze 3 (Özgüç 1988: 176).



Figure 29: İnandıktepe A vase, view from under the libation basin (author).



Figure 30: Schimmel silver rhyton in shape of a stag, detail of seated god (Bittel 1976: Fig. 4 a)



Figure 31: Ġnandiktepe A vase, third frieze, head of procession (D. Osseman).



Figure 32: Ġnandiktepe A, third frieze, sacrifice scene (D. Osseman).



Figure 33: Alacahöyük, orthostat frieze to left of Sphinx Gate (author).



Figure 34: İnandıktepe A vase, third frieze, libation scene (D. Osseman).

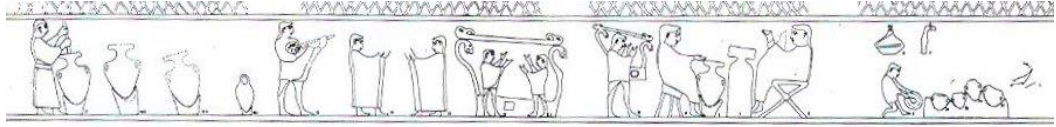


Figure 35: İnandıktepe A vase, frieze 4 (Özgüç 1988: 176).



Figure 36: İnandıktepe A vase, bottom frieze, figure mixing beer (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 45, 2).



Figure 37: İnandıktepe A vase, bottom frieze, detail of cooking (D. Osseman).



Figure 38: İnandıktepe A vase, bottom frieze, two-person harp (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 43, 2).



Figure 39: İnandıktepe A vase, fourth frieze, scene with two seated figures (D. Osseman).





Figure 43: Hüseyindede A vase, second frieze, procession and temple (author).

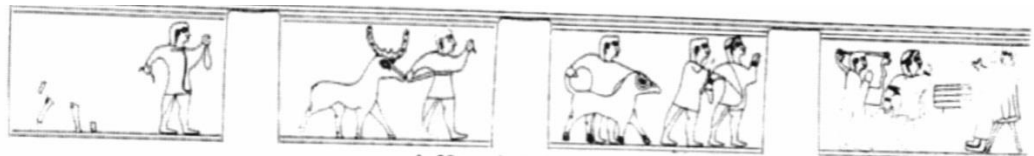


Figure 44: Hüseyindede A, third frieze (Yıldırım 2008, Fig. 4, 1).



Figure 45: Hüseyindede A vase, frieze 3, libation scene (Wikicommons).



Figure 46: Hüseyindede A vase, bottom register, rampant bull (author).

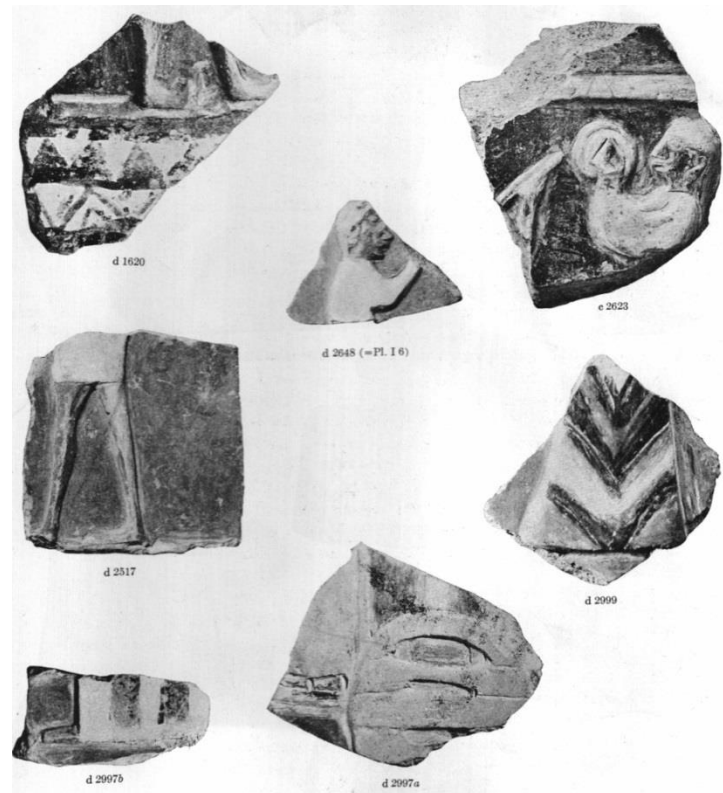


Figure 47: Alişar, polychrome relief sherds from 1930-32 seasons (von der Osten 1937: Fig. 155).

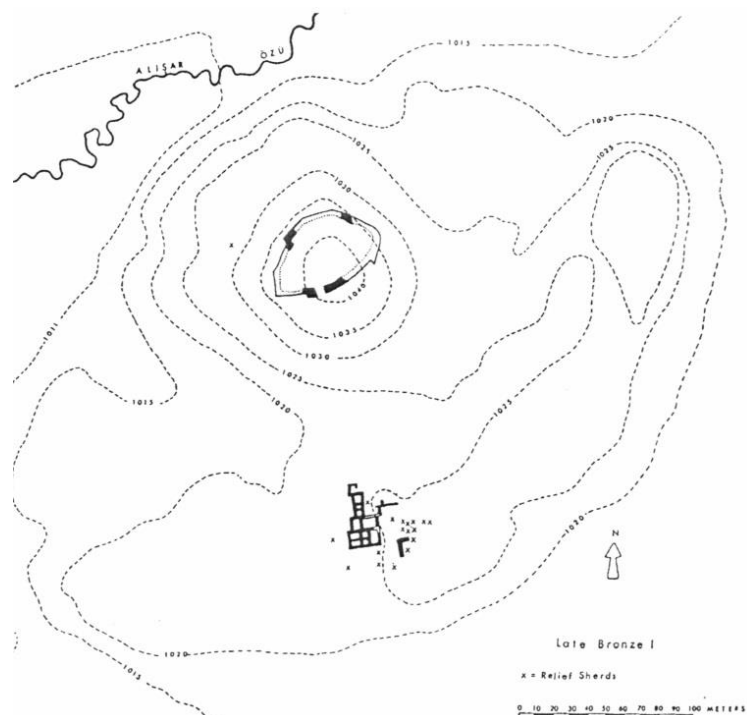


Figure 48: Alişar, distribution of relief sherds (Gorney 2001: 181, Fig. 10.5).

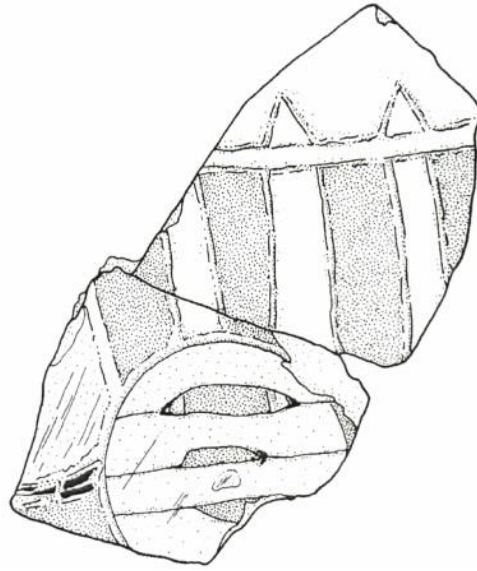


Figure 49 Alişar, joined sherds showing wagon (Gorney 2001: Fig. 10.2).



Figure 50: Hüseyindede A, top frieze, two yoked oxen (author).

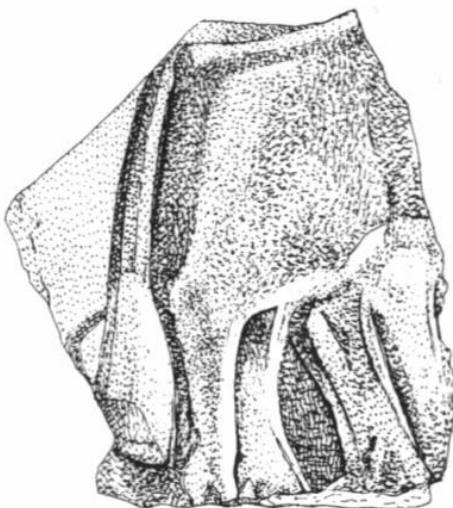


Figure 51 Alişar, relief sherd of two bulls side-by-side (Boehmer 1983: 40, Fig. 29).



Figure 52: Woman carrying puppy, Amasya Museum (author).



Figure 53: Boğazköy/Hattuša, IHG sherd, eagle's claw (Boehmer 1983: sherd 53).



Figure 54 Boğazköy/Hattuša, IHG sherd, overlapping feet (Boehmer 1983: sherd 27).

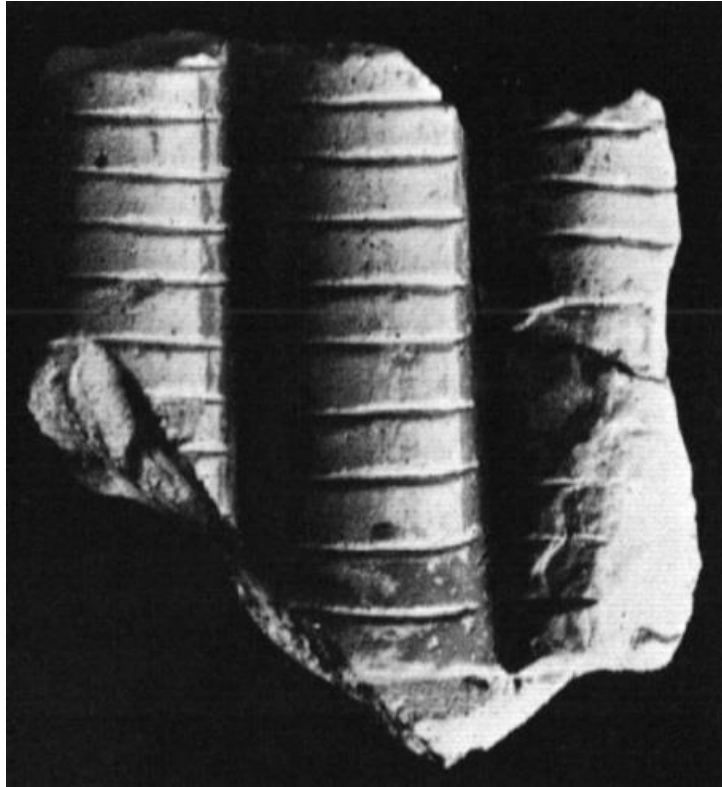


Figure 55: Boğazköy/Hattuša, building from a relief vase (Boehmer 1983, sherd 35).



Figure 56: Eskişehir B vase, sherd A, acrobat (Özgüç 1988, Pl. 71, 3),

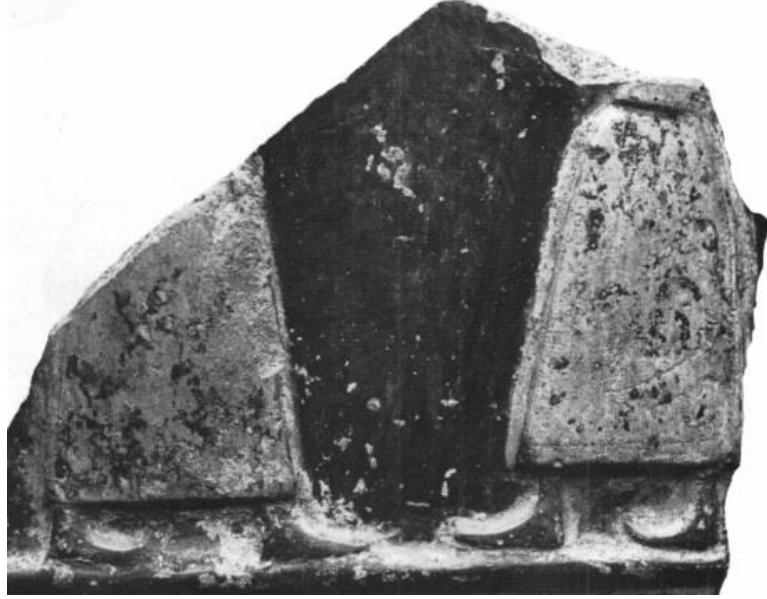


Figure 57: Eskiypar B vase, sherd B, opposed figures (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 70, 3).



Figure 58: İnanditepe A vase, bottom frieze, opposed figures, extensively restored (author).



Figure 59: Eskiypar B, sherd C, figure on stool (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 70, 3).



Figure 60: Kabaklı (Kırşehir), fragment of polychrome relief vase (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 68,2).



Figure 61: Karahöyük, near Elbistan, relief sherd (T. Özgüç and N. Özgüç 1949: Pl. 47,2).

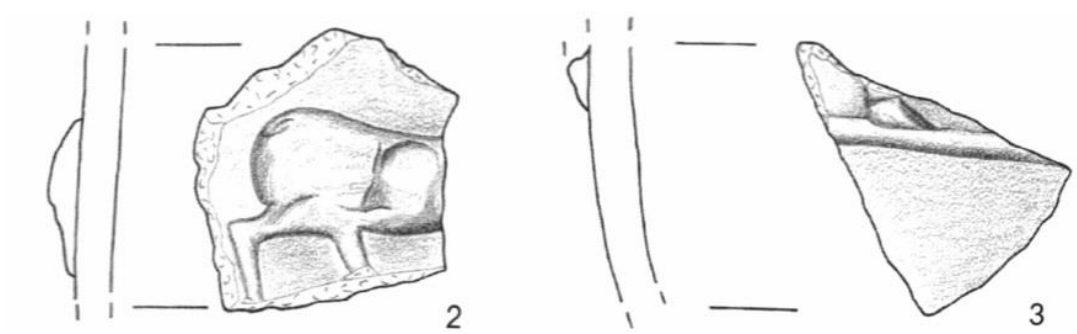


Figure 62: Kuşaklı/Sarissa, fragments of polychrome relief vases (Mielke 2006b: Pl. 81).



Figure 63: Kuşaklı/Sarissa, late 16th century BCE planned city (Wikicommons).



Figure 64 Alishar, two-handle funnel-rim vase (von der Osten 1937: Fig. 195, e1436).

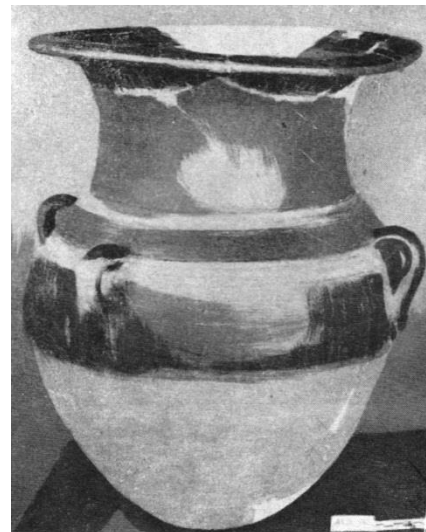


Figure 65: Alacahöyük, four-handle funnel-rim vase, partially slipped in red (Koşay 1951: Pl. 57, 2).



Figure 66: Kültepe/Kaneš Karum Level II, cylinder seal with god seated by a funnel-rim vase (N. Özgüç 1965: seal 80).



Figure 67: Hüseyindede A vase, downward view from libation basin side (Yıldırım 2013: Fig. 8c).



Figure 68: Alacahöyük, left frieze, partial (author).



Figure 69: Alacahöyük, Sphinx Gate, modern copy of right frieze (author).



Figure 70: Eskiypar A vase (author).



Figure 71: Kültepe/Kaneš Karum Ib vase with bulls (author).



Figure 72: Pot with bull spout and *signe royal* stamps, Kültepe/Kaneš, Karum Ib (J.Turner).



Figure 73: Sculptural bowl with ceramic tubing connecting lion's and ram's head spouts, Kültepe/Kaneš, Karum Ib (J. Turner).



Figure 74: İnandıktepe B painted vase (Özgüç 1988, Pl. 35, 1 a).



Figure 75: Hüseyindede B vase (Wikicommons).



Figure 76: Hüseyindede B relief band (Yıldırım 2008, Fig. 6, 8)



Figure77: Bull leaping, Hüseyindede B vase (author).



Figure 78: Boğazköy A vase, joined pieces (C. Gates).



Figure 79: Boğazköy A vase (Boehmer 1983, Table VI, 10f).



Figure 80: Alacahöyük, top of funnel-rim vase with bulls'-head libation mechanism (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 77, 2).

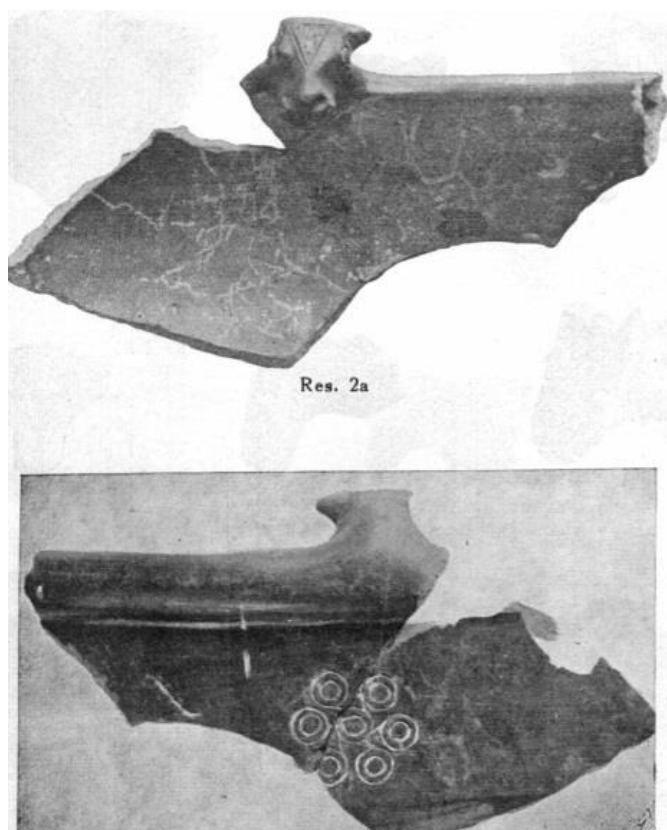


Figure 81: Alacahöyük, fragment of jar with bull's head libation mechanism (Koşay 1951: 70, 2).



Figure 82: Eskiypar C vase, lute player, sherd H (Strupler 2012) (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 74, 1).



Figure 83: Hüseyindede A vase, stag on third frieze (author).



Figure 84: Eskiypar C vase, sitting bull, sherd A (Strupler 2012)(author).



Figure 85: Eskiypar C vase, head of god, sherd C (Strupler 2012) (Özgüç 1999c, Pl. 14).



Figure 86: Eskiypar C vase, god on stag, sherd E (Strupler 2012) (author).



Figure 87: Warrior God from Hattusa's Kings Gate, detail (author).

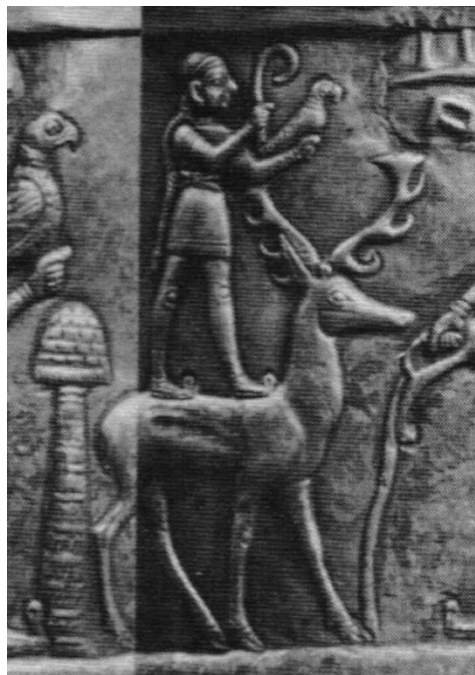


Figure 88: Schimmel silver rhyton in shape of a stag, detail (Bittel 1976: Fig.3)



Figure 89: Boğazköy/Hattusa, ceramic inventory from manor house near Sarıkale (Schachner 2012a: minute 46).



Figure 90: İnandıktepe, bull's-head jug (author).

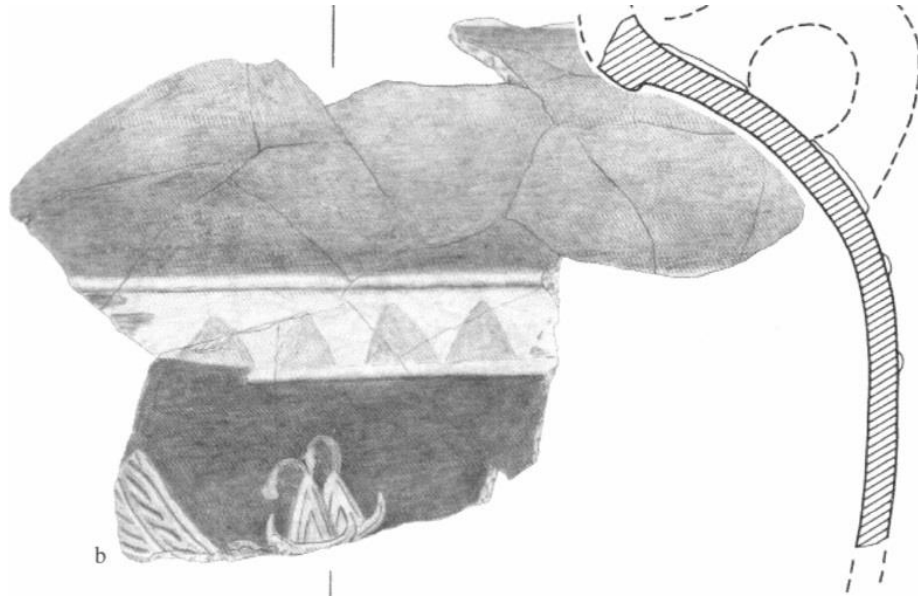


Figure 91: Boğazköy C vase, sherds with sphinxes (Seeher 2007: 719, Fig. 7 b).



Figure 92: Qatna, Royal Tomb, center chamber, gold and silver relief plaque for a quiver (Aruz, Benzel, Evans 2008: 225, Fig. 76).

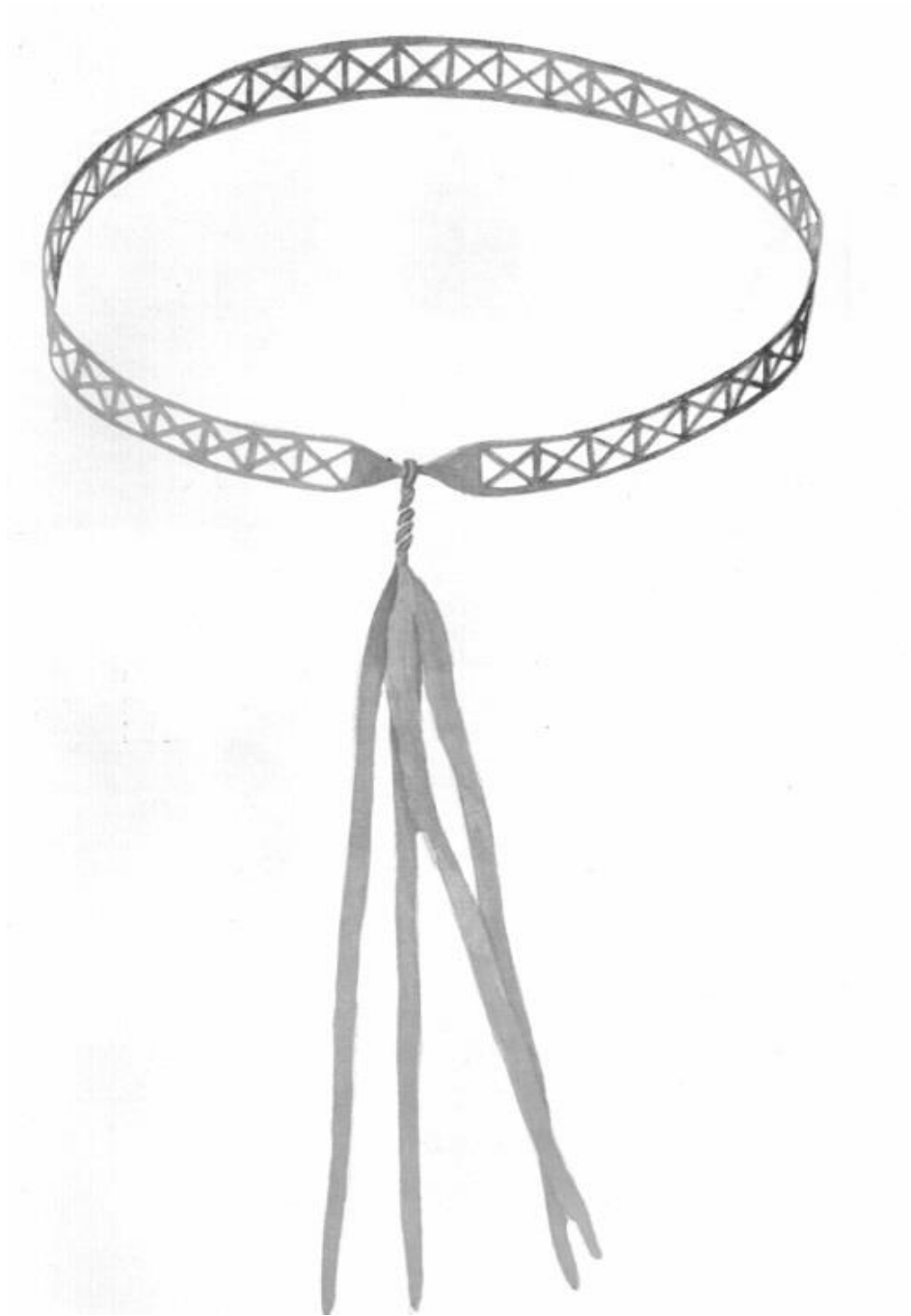


Figure 93: Alacahöyük, Tomb H (EB III), gold diadem (Koşay 1951: Pl. 141).

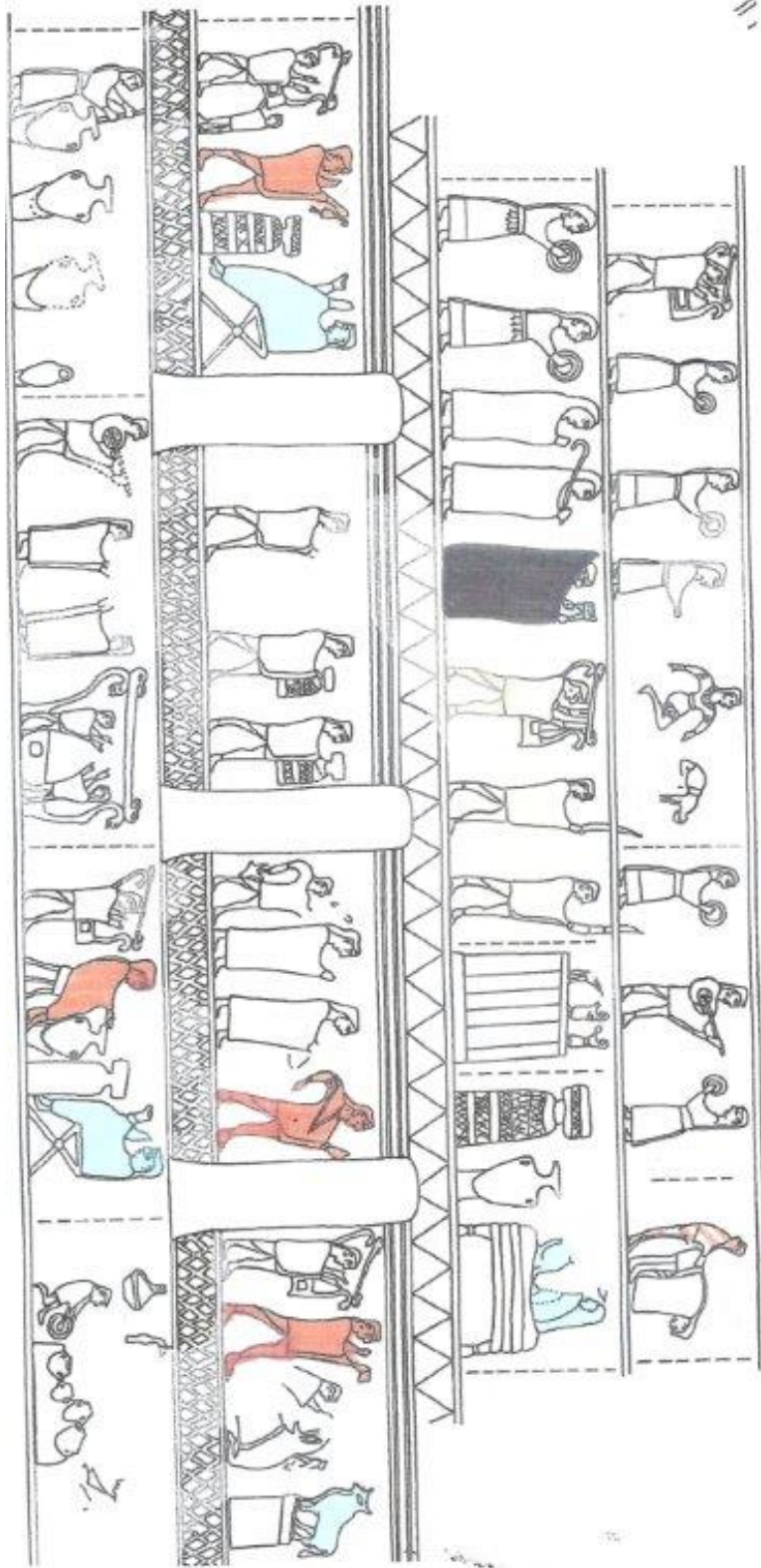


Figure 94: İnandıktepe A vase, decorative scheme, gods in blue, king in orange (N. Yılmaz, M-H. Gates).

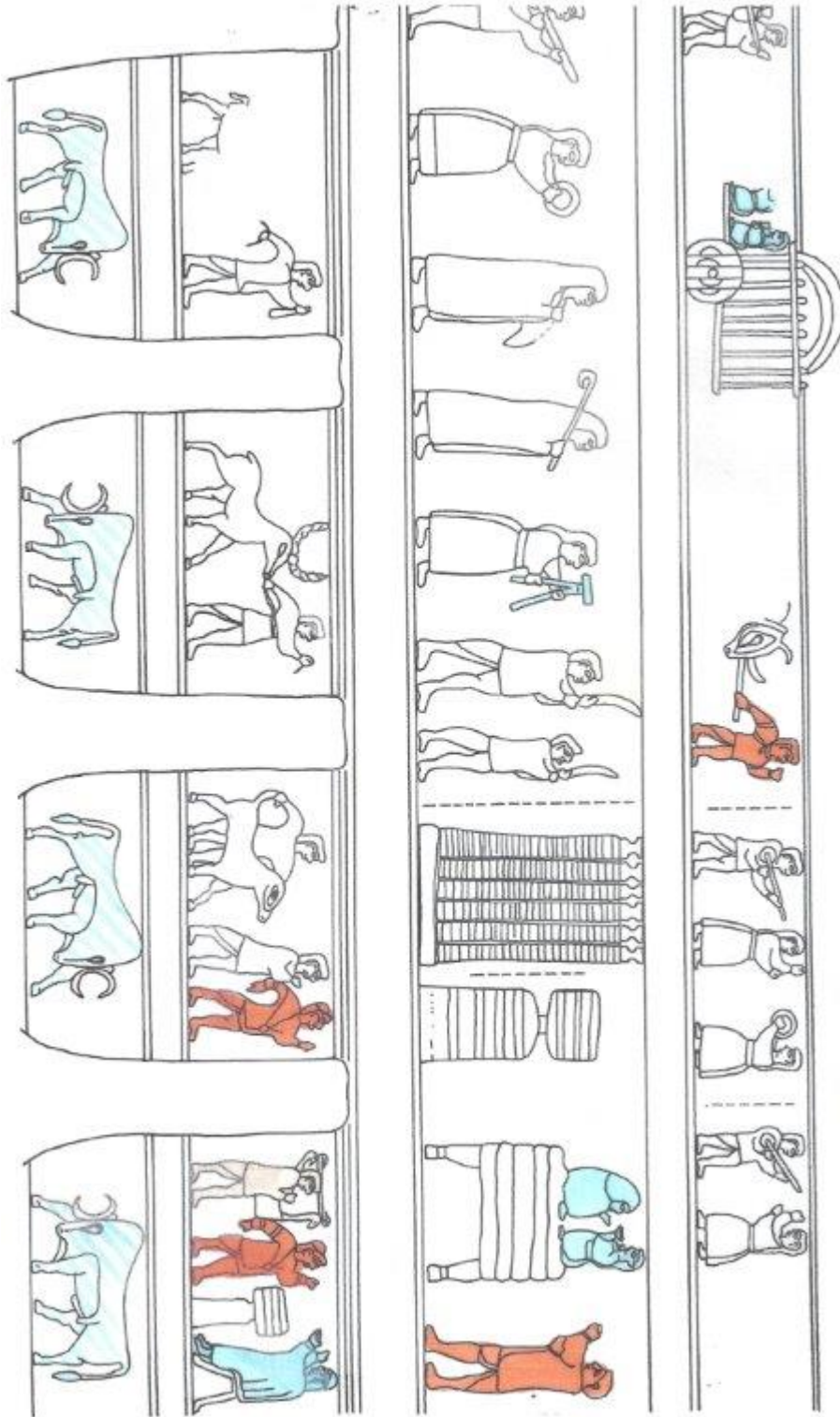


Figure 95: Hüseyindede A vase, decorative scheme, gods in blue, king in orange (N. Yılmaz, M-H. Gates).

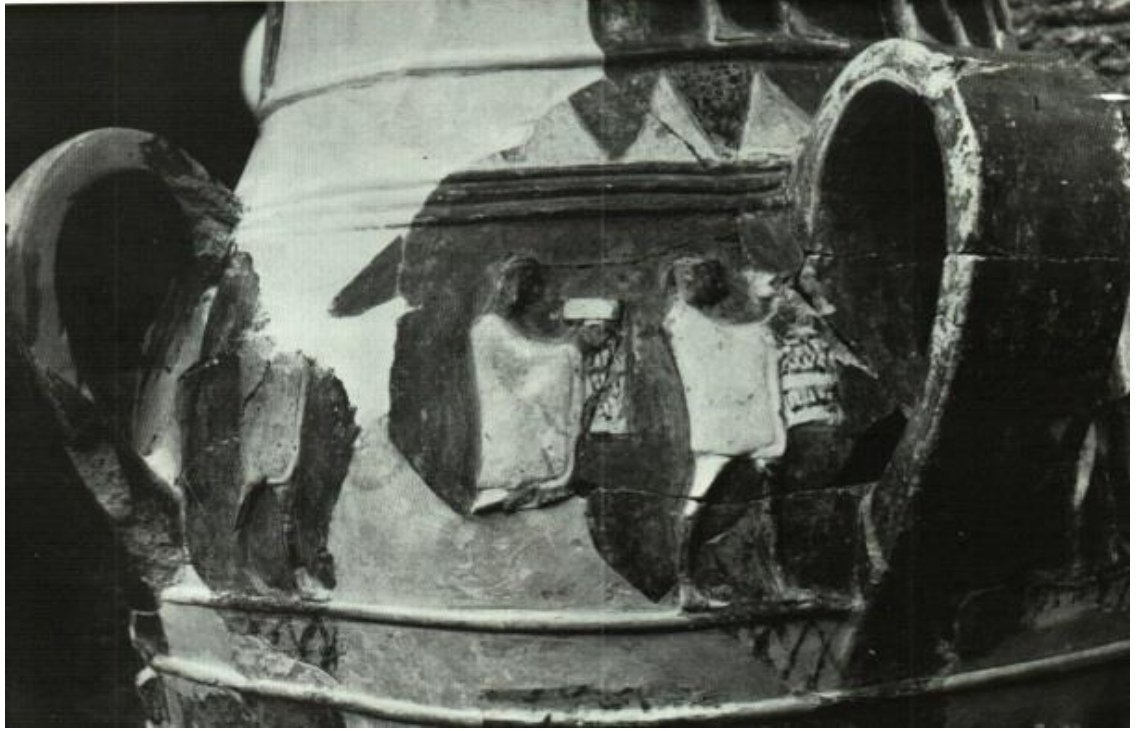


Figure 96: İnandıktepe A vase, second frieze, end of offering procession, first restoration (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 57, 2)



Figure 97: İnandıktepe A vase, second frieze, end of offering procession, as of December 2014 (author).



Figure 98: İnandıktepe A vase, fourth frieze, dancers and harp, early restoration (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 58).



Figure 99: İnandıktepe A vase, fourth frieze, dancers and harp, later restoration (Özgüç 1988: Pl. F).



Figure 100: İnandıktepe A vase, fourth frieze, seated gods, early restoration (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 79,2)



Figure 101: Fourth frieze, seated gods, later restoration (Özgüç 1988: Pl. 42, 2).



Figure 102: Hüseyindede A vase, second frieze, procession (author).