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THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

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SHANGHAI

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SECTION XV: MESOPOTAMIA AND THE NEAR EAST
FASCICLE TWELVE



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Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C

By
Maurits N. Van Loon

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Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>AAAO</i>	FRANKFORT, H., <i>The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient</i> , Harmondsworth 1954.
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> .
<i>AG</i>	ÖZGÜÇ, N., <i>The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe</i> (TTKY V:22), Ankara 1965.
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> .
<i>ALF</i>	EMRE, K., <i>Anatolian Lead Figurines and their Stone Moulds</i> (TTKY VI: 14), Ankara 1971.
<i>Der Alte Orient</i>	ORTHMANN, W., ed., <i>Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14: Der Alte Orient</i> , Berlin 1975.
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> .
<i>Ancient Art</i>	MUSCARELLA, O. W., ed., <i>Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection</i> , Mainz 1974.
<i>ANET³</i>	PRITCHARD, J. B., ed., <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , 3rd ed., Princeton 1969.
<i>BAK</i>	BOEHMER, R. M. & H. HAUPTMANN, eds., <i>Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel</i> , Mainz 1983.
<i>CANES I</i>	PORADA, E., ed., <i>Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library</i> , Washington 1948.
<i>Les Hittites</i>	BITTEL, K., <i>Les Hittites</i> (L'Univers des Formes), Paris 1976.
<i>HFY</i>	BITTEL, K., et al., <i>Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya</i> , Berlin 1975.
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i> .
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> .
<i>JKF</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung</i> .
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> .
<i>KAF</i>	HROUDA, B., <i>Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes</i> , Bonn 1965.
<i>Kleinasion</i>	GOETZE, A., <i>Kleinasion</i> (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III. 1.3.3.1, 2nd ed.), Munich 1957.
<i>MAW</i>	KRAMER, S. N., ed., <i>Mythologies of the Ancient World</i> , Garden City, N.Y. 1961.
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> .
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> .
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> .
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Melanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i> .
<i>MVAeG</i>	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft.
<i>NDH</i>	LAROCHE, E., <i>Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites</i> , Paris 1947.
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications.
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung</i> .
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie</i> .
<i>RHA</i>	<i>Revue Hittite et Asiatique</i> .
<i>RLA</i>	EBELING, E., et al., eds., <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> , Berlin 1928–.
<i>SAOC</i>	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.
<i>TAD</i>	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i> .
<i>TTKY</i>	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari.
<i>Ugaritica III</i>	SCHAEFFER, C. F. A., <i>Ugaritica III</i> (Mission de Ras Shamra 8), Paris 1956.
<i>WVDOG</i>	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> .
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> .

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Introduction

Colony Period (ca. 1925–1725 B.C.)

Two types of divine images are found in Anatolian houses at the end of the third millennium B.C.: alabaster 'idols'¹ and lead figurines, cast in stone molds which have been recovered from smelting shops or storerooms. The lead figurines were kept in the house; one was found on a kitchen floor. By the beginning of the second millennium, the stone 'idols' had gone out of fashion. The more naturalistic lead figurines, that in the late third millennium had been limited to images of the naked goddess supporting her breasts, remained popular and became more varied. Examples from the Karum Kanesh (Kültepe) IV-III period (ca. 2000–1925 B.C.; pl. Ia) display a triad consisting of the naked goddess supporting her breasts, her bearded consort and, between them, a daughter, naked like her mother, but holding on to her parents.² The father's pointed headdress, by comparison with later Anatolian images of the gods, confirms that this triad is divine and not human. In the earlier second millennium the gods' pointed caps are shown horizontally ridged on clay as well as on lead figurines. This may be a simplification of the multiple pairs of horns shown on Mesopotamian deities. We will show evidence below that a naked goddess usually accompanies the thunder god and apparently causes the rain to fall. Here, however, the only distinctive attribute of the god is a crescent pendant hanging from his double necklace. One wonders if it might indicate that he is the moon god. The pendant is absent from an otherwise almost identical lead triad excavated at Acmhöyük.³ Only the position of the struts connecting the figures is slightly different on the Acmhöyük figurine.⁴ On pl. Ia the details are somewhat clearer. We can see that the god's braids are looped around to the nape of his neck, and that his legs are shown in profile, with the border of his kilt running diagonally from left thigh to right waist. His left hand touches his wife's left shoulder; his right arm is to be thought reaching behind her right shoulder.

During the Karum Kanesh II-I or Assyrian Trading Colony period (ca. 1925–1725 B.C.) every house had its own protective deity; letters frequently mention 'your god, our god'. This evidence makes it plausible that the lead figurines represent the god or gods under whose protection the inhabitants had placed themselves.⁵ Since their backs are flat, they must have been propped up and exposed frontally somewhere in the house. According to an interesting suggestion of Kutlu Emre's, a tiny grill found at Acmhöyük might represent a miniature altar. Some figurines were apparently cast in one piece with such a miniature altar, which could be folded into position by bending the soft lead (pl. IId).

¹ Nimet Özgüç in *Bulleten* 81 (1957), pp. 71–80.

² *ALF*, pp. 131–133.

³ *ALF*, pl. III: 3.

⁴ At waist level the god is connected to the goddess by what is usually described as a strut. Representation of his phallus, however, would be quite in keeping with the explicit indication of sex on the female figures.

⁵ *ALF*, p. 154.



When one tries to identify iconographical types with deities mentioned in texts from the trading colonies, however, the evidence is often insufficient or contradictory. Even within one iconographical type conflicting versions may appear on contemporary monuments. The 'mistress of animals', probably an age-old deity native to Anatolia,⁶ is shown seated on and peacefully surrounded by animals on Colony Period seals (pl. IXb-c), but standing, armed and lifting killed game on a figurine mold of the same period (pl. Id).

The master of animals or god of the chase, regularly shown bare-headed⁷ and armed only with a crook on colony period seals (pl. VIIIb), appears with tall pointed cap and dagger on a mold from Kanesh.⁸ The base for the figures on both of these molds is composed of two quadrupeds set head to head. In between is the pouring channel for the lead. On the figurine the soft lead quadrupeds could then be bent down and back to form a double-animal pedestal; other figurines were cast with a grill pedestal (cf. pl. IId). Although the large semicircular headgear relates her to the lead figurines of goddesses (pls. Ie, IIa, IIIa-b), the mistress of animals on the mold (pl. Id) represents a completely different style, more simplified even than that of the third-millennium molds. Her right hand has become a hook, from which a hare (?) hangs down, while her left hand is merged with a bird (?) she is holding up. Another bird seems attached to her left elbow. Falcon and hare are regularly held by the god of the chase on seals (pls. VIa, IXa). The other example we have included from the earlier half of the Assyrian Colony Period is the lead figurine of a goddess supporting her breasts (pl. Ie). While the gesture, suggesting a mother about to feed her child, is age-old and well represented among third-millennium figurines, the headgear is new. Although limited to a semicircle in the Colony Period, it is probably related to the full circle rendered three-dimensionally on seated goddesses of the Empire Period (pl. XLd). Since it is relatively flat, it looks like a large beret in side view (pl. IXc). Despite the three-dimensional rendering of breasts and navel, the lead goddess is apparently clothed. Hems are clearly visible on the shoulders, and pleats below the waist.

Lead figurines from the later half of the Colony Period display much greater variety. One type (pl. Ib), represented at Hattusa, the later Hittite capital, as well as at Kanesh, shows a bearded god shouldering a curved weapon. It seems to consist of a long, sinuous handle with a crescent-shaped blade, but without the fenestrations one sees on halberds of this period (cf. pl. IIa). It is probably a forerunner of the all-metal scimitar of the later second millennium B.C. The latter is shown on Empire Period reliefs in the hands of gods connected with war, hunting or death; apparently it was the knife with which a life was cut short. The lead god wears a wide belt with semicircular endings. Copper examples of these have been found. His dress has hatched borders on his left upper arm, down the front and along the bottom, suggesting he wore a kilt (sign of militance) and a wrap (token of dignity).

Alishar, another central Anatolian site with levels of the Colony Period, has yielded a mold from which lead figurines of a triad could be cast (pl. Ic). Here god, goddess and child all wear the same long dress. The god is armed with a short spear. Although the Syrian thunder god sometimes holds a spear with the point down (pl. Vc) and the spear

⁶ See, e.g., the seated goddess flanked by leonine animals from Çatalhöyük in the preceding fascicle.

⁷ Except on pl. IXa.

⁸ *ALF*, pl. IV: 2.

stands for lightning on later Syrian reliefs,⁹ there are too few links to lay this connection. Short spears are also carried by the Syrian god Amurru (?) who shoulders a gazelle-shaped crook on similar molds, not illustrated here.¹⁰

Kanesh itself has yielded another mold in the same style, but showing two daughters, one carried by the mother and one old enough to stand between her parents (pl. IIa). In addition to the short spear, the father shoulders an axe of which the blade is rendered by three parallel strokes; a fenestrated axe or halberd is probably intended. Although the connection with the thunder god remains tenuous, one is reminded of the later 'holy family' at Yazilikaya (pl. XXXI), which includes the thunder god's daughter and granddaughter.

The lead figurine of a winged deity (pl. IIb) comes from samal* in the Syro-Anatolian border region. The large, rounded facial features and pronounced smile seem characteristic of Syria rather than Anatolia. The horizontally ridged cap, surmounted by a pompon, has the tips of two horns curving up in front. Kutlu Emre has drawn attention to the fact that the ringlets surrounding the face normally occur on females. Another possibly female feature is the vertically pleated bodice which envelops the torso, including the upper arms. In contradiction to this is the large, clearly indicated beard. One might think of a 'bearded lady' representing the bisexual deity of war and love (cf. p. XXIXc), were it not that a mold has been discovered at Kanesh displaying a bearded winged god (with prominent nipples) next to the goddess supporting her breasts.¹¹ The samal* figure's right hand holds a small vessel; the left fist is raised with the thumb on top in a gesture of greeting or blessing that we here see for the first time. Large, sickle-shaped wings emerge from the shoulders. One might mistake the prongs extending sideways and upward from the base for another pair of wings. From a drawing made shortly after its excavation,¹² it is clear that the deity's skirt was complete at the time of finding, and the base had broken along an irregular line below the hem. Subsequently, the broken base was regularized by cutting away a low triangle. Originally, it must have looked like pl. IIc, a mold of similar design that was found at Kanesh in a room containing crucibles, a blow pipe and 520 grams of lead. As explained above, the grill that was cast in one piece with the figurine may have been bent forward and its legs bent downward in order to form a pedestal that could also serve as a miniature altar. A third image of a winged, bearded deity is shown on pl. IIc. It does clearly have two more wings emerging from the base of its skirt. In addition, two birds fly up from its knees, while a third one is perched on its head. Here is another trait commonly associated with the goddess of love, both on roughly contemporary Syrian molds and seals and on later Anatolian reliefs.¹³

Another mold from Kanesh has a unique design in which a small god is shown in profile on a long-eared, hoofed animal behind the familiar breast-cupping goddess (pl. IIIa). Although one might be reminded of the later supreme goddess with her calf and her son at Yazilikaya (pl. XXXI), bovines are usually distinguished by clearly marked horns on

⁹ See, e.g., the lightning god relief from Ugarit, Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II* (Paris, 1949), pl. 23.

¹⁰ *ALF*, pl. VI: 5, VII: 2.

¹¹ *ALF*, pl. VIII: 1.

¹² *ALF*, pl. VIII: 2a.

¹³ E.g., Paolo Matthiae, *Ebla: Un impero ritrovato* (Turin, 1977), pls. 95, 99; *CANES I*, nos. 945–946, 968; Malatya relief: *Les Hittites*, fig. 278.

Colony Period seals (pls. Vc, VIIb, VIIa–b), whereas the one hornless ungulate on these seals, with moderately long ears, carries a side-saddle or standing rider.¹⁴ It therefore, more likely, represents a donkey or mule and may serve as a mount for the god (and goddess?) Pirwa.¹⁵ Perhaps it is not too bold to connect the appearance of a donkey-riding god in the Colony Period, in Syria¹⁶ as well as in Anatolia, with the importance of donkey-borne trade in those times.

Two lead figurines from Alishar show us a single goddess, one naked and broad-hipped, with hands cupping her breasts (pl. IIIb), the other clothed and slender, with hands placed at the waist, perhaps in an attitude of prayer (pl. IIIc).¹⁷ A mold from Kanesh shows a naked goddess with conical headgear and spiral curls framing her face in an attitude that hints at the possible significance of many other naked goddesses (pl. IIIId). She has removed her garment, the hems of which fall down from her spread hands, and displays her nudity. She is framed by two notched semicircles to which wings are attached below, while birds fly up by her hands (cf. pl. IIc). The scene is crowned by a winged sun (?) disk. One is forcibly reminded of contemporary Anatolian (pl. IXc) and slightly later Syrian seals¹⁸ on which the consort of the thunder god unveils herself in or near the winged gate which may represent the rainbow, while rain falls from the sky. Many years ago Georges Contenau, in a monograph on the naked goddess in Mesopotamia, showed that she is actually labeled as Shala, the thunder god's wife, on some Old Babylonian seals.¹⁹ In later Anatolian theology, her Hurrian and Hittite counterpart Salus was apparently paired with the grain god Kumarbi,²⁰ which makes sense if she called forth the rain. It will be noted that on pl. IIIId the goddess herself has no wings.

Later iconography suggests that deities with wings represent major celestial bodies (cf. pl. XXIXa). Therefore the naked goddess from Karahöyük (pl. IVa) can hardly be other than the planet Venus that calls man to love at dusk or to war at dawn. In contrast to all the lead figurines we have seen thus far, this statuette presents bold curves both in outline and modeling, such as one also finds on Syrian seals toward 1750 B.C.²¹ Her horns of divinity describe a double curve in the Mesopotamian tradition. The die caster has not eschewed the difficulty of foreshortening the base of the wings, so that they fit logically onto the goddesses' shoulders. By contrast the ivory naked goddess from Kanesh (pl. IVb) seems a clumsy work of art, in spite of its boldly three-dimensional treatment. She wears the turban or beret of the Anatolian goddesses (see discussion of pl. Id, above) and sup-

¹⁴ *AG*, pls. XXVI: 77, I: 1.

¹⁵ *AG*, pp. 67–69; Heinrich Otten in *JKF* 2 (1952/53), pp. 62–73; Emmanuel Laroche, *NDH*, p. 87.

¹⁶ At Selenkahiye clay figurines of a god sitting side-saddle on a donkey occurred in Phase V, ca. 2000–1900, Maurits van Loon in *Le temple et le culte: Compte rendu de la 20e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Istanbul, 1975), pl. VI: 8.

¹⁷ A clothed female with hands placed at the waist in what may be an attitude of prayer is another common type among clay figurines from Selenkahiye and elsewhere in Syria, *ibid.*, pl. VI: 7, left. She may be compared to the praying goddess so common on Mesopotamian seals of this period.

¹⁸ *CANES* I, nos. 937–943, 967 and, especially, 944; Hans H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs Agnes B. Brett* (OIP 37, Chicago, 1936), no. 90.

¹⁹ Georges Contenau, *La déesse nue babylonienne* (Paris, 1914), pp. 114–118, figs. 14, 20, 21; for the later periods Contenau assumes a merger of several goddesses with Ishtar, p. 123. Shala's titles include "lady of bright features", "of the dew", "irrigator" and "lady of the mountain," K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Studia Orientalia 7, Helsinki, 1938), p. 453.

²⁰ Emmanuel Laroche in *RHA* 35 (1977), p. 213.

²¹ Edith Porada in Edith Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), p. 17.

ports her breasts, which seem small in proportion to the huge thighs. In part, the awkward effect is due to the difficulty of representing a seated figure frontally. The pubic triangle is made of other material, inlaid and painted red. That the statuette was made in a Syro-Anatolian milieu is suggested by its material (elephants existed in Syria at the time)²² as well as by the greatly enlarged facial features and pronounced smile.

The casting of lead figurines from molds was a native Anatolian custom. As third-millennium examples from Troy, Izmir and Akhisar show,²³ it probably came to Central Anatolia from the west in Early Bronze Age III. The rolling of cylinder seals on clay, on the other hand, is a Mesopotamian custom that came along with the writing of clay tablets from the south and the east. Most of the sealed tablets have been found in the houses of Assyrian merchants in their *Karum* (colony) at Kanesh and it is not surprising that many of the seals they used came from Assyria, Babylonia or Syria, especially in the later half of the Colony Period.²⁴ Within this cosmopolitan assemblage of seal impressions a native Anatolian group can be distinguished on the basis of style (linear engraving, herringbone striations on garments and animals) and composition (figures surrounded by a wealth of associated motifs). It is best represented in the earlier half of the Colony Period (*ca.* 1925–1825 B.C.). In one archive of a native trader 60 out of 85 seal impressions belonged to this group, whereas in the archive of an Assyrian trader only 40 out of several hundreds had these native features.²⁵ The native roots of this cylinder seal group are also demonstrated by the occurrence of similar motifs on Colony Period stamp seals (pl. Xa–b). The stamp had been the native Anatolian sealing device and outlived the foreign cylinder seal, lasting into the first millennium B.C.

In spite of many distinctively native features it is hard to disentangle Anatolian from foreign elements even in the 'Anatolian' group of Colony Period seals. To a certain extent the seals may reflect the enrichment of Anatolian religion with Mesopotamian and Syrian elements that actually took place during the early second millennium. In the later second millennium Hittite iconography, while retaining many of the Mesopotamian-derived concepts, was to translate these into a distinctively Anatolian idiom. Nimet Özgüç has drawn attention to the fact that human worshippers, so common on contemporary Mesopotamian seals, are rare on Anatolian seals.²⁶ Such prominent Mesopotamian and Syro-Mesopotamian gods as the sun god with his saw stepping on his lion, Amurru, god of the western steppe on his gazelle and the lightning god stepping on his lion-eagle seem to pay homage to the seated war god on pl. Va, instead of being worshipped themselves. The recipient of homage on this seal is the one that seems to be the chief god of Kanesh, to judge by scenes like pls. IXb–c: he shoulders an axe and lifts a goblet, while his table is laden with flat bread. His seat is carried by a lion and a goat. As the bearded god with axe, lions and goats intervenes on the battlefield (P. VIIIa), Nimet Özgüç interprets him as the war god,²⁷ whose Hittite name may be Yarri.²⁸ On many Anatolian seals such

²² Richard D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pp. 164–166.

²³ *ALF*, pls. I: 1, I: 3, III: 1.

²⁴ Nimet Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (TTKY V: 25, Ankara, 1968); *CANES I*, pp. 107–115.

²⁵ *AG*, p. 45.

²⁶ *AG*, p. 47.

²⁷ *AG*, p. 66.

²⁸ *Kleinasien*, p. 134, note 10.

Mesopotamian demigods as the bull-man holding a standard (pl. Va), the hero taming a lion (pls. Vb, VIa, VIIa–b, VIIIb) or the hero with flowing vase serve as terminal or filler (pls. Vb–c, IXb).

Just as the lion-tamer impersonates strength and courage, so the aquarius motif symbolizes abundance, especially of water, and seems particularly appropriate in the presence of the god of subterranean water on pl. Vb, of thunder, lightning and rain on pl. Vc, and also of the nature goddess on pl. IXb. The seated person on pl. Vb can be recognized as the water god Ea because his seat and feet are supported, as in Mesopotamia, by two goat-fish. Whereas the gods on pl. Va wear the expected pointed caps, with or without the horns of divinity, Ea wears the rounded fur (?) cap reserved for kings in Mesopotamia. The garment with fringes all over, on the other hand, is reserved for gods in Mesopotamia.²⁹ For this reason Nimet Özgüç is inclined to see gods even in those figures with flounced robes that seem to perform the duties of worshippers, such as those that lift their hands in prayer over fire altars and tables laden with joints of meat and pastry (pl. Vb). Her view is supported by pl. Vc, which shows a comparable figure with horned pointed cap. We yet have to discuss the most curious feature of this and many other seals from Kanesh and related sites, not only of the Anatolian group but also of the Old Assyrian, Provincial Babylonian and Syro-Cappadocian groups: it is the bull with a cone on its back (often crowned by a bird) that is the recipient of worship and must therefore stand for a god. We will see below that the various local thunder gods were often worshiped in the guise of a bull statue or statuette even in the later second millennium. That a statue is here intended appears clearly from pl. VIIIb, where the bull stands on a pedestal supported by two bull-men and sticks out human hands to grasp the offerings set on the table. It might be tempting to see in the cone a symbol for Mount Erciyas (ancient Argaeus), the extinct volcano that towers above the plain of Kanesh, were it not that mountains are normally rendered by a scale pattern (cf. pl. XIIIc).

From later texts we know that many towns had their own thunder-and-lightning gods, also called storm or weather gods in modern translation. It is therefore not surprising to find more than one thunder-and-lightning god on the same seal (pls. Vc, IXa, IXc). I am calling 'lightning god' the one who is associated with lightning fork (pls. Va, Vc) and/or spear³⁰ (pls. Vc, VIa, IXa) or whip (pl. IXc). He often rides on the Mesopotamian lion-eagle (pls. Va, Vc),³¹ and it is this feature especially that indicates his Syro-Mesopotamian origin. For this reason Nimet Özgüç calls him Adad, as opposed to his native Anatolian companion that I am calling 'thunder god.' The latter has a lower headgear and rides on a bull that he holds by a rein (pl. Vc, VIIIb, IXa, IXc). Occasionally he shoulders an axe (pl. VIIIb) that may, however, be carried by the lightning god as well (pls. VIa, VIIa). Note that the lightning god also often rides on a bull (pls. VIIa, IXa, IXc, Xa). The lightning god is the center of a mythological cycle of which we only get glimpses on earlier Mesopotamian and contemporary Syrian seals.³² It involves the killing of a bull

²⁹ Rainer M. Boehmer in *RLA* 3 (1957–71), pp. 466–468.

³⁰ See note 9.

³¹ Also called lion-griffin; he has an eagle's tail and eagle's wings, carved as parallel diagonal or curving strokes.

³² Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 124–129, 269–271. For a partly different interpretation, see Elizabeth Williams-Forte in L. Gorelick & E. Williams-Forte, eds., *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (Malibu 1983), pp. 24–30.

(pl. VIb)³³ and/or the disrobing of the god's consort (pls. Vc, VIb, IXc),³⁴ which causes the rain to fall, either from the lion-eagle's lowered head (pls. Va, Vc)³⁵ or, in parallel strokes, from the sky onto the earth, represented by a rectangle (pls. VIIa, IXa, IXc, Xa).³⁶ The locale of this scene is the winged gate (undoubtedly representing the rainbow),³⁷ always shown in side view on Anatolian seals as a gatepost with attached wing and ropes (pls. VIa, VIIa, IXa, IXc). On pl. Xa it continues over the scene as an arc from which rain falls onto the rectangular earth (note that the earth is represented by a rectangle with crossbars on the later relief of pl. XXVIIb). On pl. VIa the gate exceptionally rests on the back of a goat-fish, the animal of the water god, and the lightning spear is left hanging from the gate's wing (this may also be the case on pl. IXa). The wing's feathers are carved as parallel diagonal curves.

On pl. Vc the recipient of worship rests his feet on a lion that seems to have eaten a goat; its head is left over. Since lion and goat are the animals of the war god and since he is often the goal of a divine procession, Nimet Özgüç is undoubtedly right in considering him the war god.³⁸ The sun-and-moon emblem—as she has also shown—is prominent on many other seals that demonstrably show non-astral deities; in divine processions it floats in front of the thunder god and even appears on his horned rounded cap (pls. VIa, IXc).

The third god that appears on pl. VIa is the god of the chase, recognizable by the crook over his shoulder, the falcon on his hand and the hare he carries. He is usually shown in a hornless rounded cap (pls. VIa, VIIIb), but on pl. IXa he wears a horned pointed cap. His identity there is proven by the stag that serves as his mount. On seals not shown here, the god with crook, falcon and rounded cap rides on a stag.³⁹ He corresponds to the later description of a god who protects the fields (see below) and is probably to be thought as a nature god who, if favorably disposed, will provide the hunter with game.

The possible significance of breast-cupping goddess and bull-stabbing god on pl. VIb has been discussed above. It is doubtful whether the five large dots could in this case stand for the rain which usually accompanies such scenes. The appearance of the water god Ea with his two-faced vizier Usmu is certainly appropriate in this context. Ea has water emanating from his shoulders and forming a wavy arch over him.

Plate VIIa is important because it clearly shows an enigmatic cult object regularly used in the Colony Period. In the main scene, below the pitcher from which the worshipper is filling the god's beaker, we see a small globular jar such as held by the hero with flowing vase and other water-dispensing deities and, left of this, a tube with a rounded protuberance halfway down. Nimet Özgüç has called it the elixir vase, because it is sometimes physically connected to the globular jar.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that it may have been a pipette with which liquid was transferred from a larger to a smaller vessel.⁴¹

³³ Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIIe, a Mesopotamian seal of ca. 2250 B.C.

³⁴ Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIVd, Text fig. 86, Syrian seals of ca. 1600 B.C.

³⁵ Cf. Frankfurt, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIIa, a Mesopotamian seal of ca. 2250 B.C.

³⁶ For various other renderings of rain in this context, see Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIIa, e, XLIV i.

³⁷ Shown as an arched guilloche or water motif on *CANES I*, no. 944 E.

³⁸ *AG*, p. 76.

³⁹ *AG*, pls. XXI: 64, XXIII: 69.

⁴⁰ *AG*, pls. VIII: 22, IX: 26, XX: 59.

⁴¹ Edith Porada, *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1947), p. 34 suggested the jar is a measuring vessel and the "tube" a rod with a measuring line wound around it—appropriate symbols for the god of sun and justice.

It must have been made of perishable material, as excavations have failed to produce such objects to date. On pl. VIIb we see another characteristic vessel, of which pottery examples have been found in Karum Kanesh level II (ca. 1925–1825): the two-handled beer jar; two drinking reeds have been stuck into it.

Plate VIIIa shows us the war god shouldering an axe and surrounded by lion and goats, on the location of his main activities: the battle field. In the upper register a kneeling archer is surrounded by headless corpses; in the lower, a spearman is about to kill a victim. In his left hand he carries the severed head of another victim. Although not marked as a god, the spearman might be compared to the description of a second war god (see discussion of pl. XXVIIIa). Animal heads may be left over from the lion's victims; vultures are feeding on human and animal remains. Obviously violent death in one form or the other is the god's concern. The hunting god is often shown kneeling, as on pl. VIIIb. Among the various types of animals that illustrate his mastery of nature are crab, lizard and bearded sphinx.

Plates IXb and IXc seem to show the chief deities of central Anatolia in the Colony Period. While the war god, here seated and receiving libations, has been mentioned before, we now see that his consort is even more elaborately treated. Her seat—in the shape of a goat on pl. IXc—rests on two leonine creatures. These elements together apparently make up her statue, because on pl. IXc they in turn rest on a pedestal supported by two human-headed bulls. A closely related seal shows a third register underneath, consisting of a rectangle (the earth?) flanked by lambs.⁴² A lamb is perched on her hand in pl. IXb. Among the panoply of animals surrounding her on pl. IXc are many birds, a tree and a female (?) sphinx. Birds seem perched on her beret in pls. IXb and IXc (?). On account of her lion throne, especially, one is reminded of the age-old Anatolian goddess seated between two leonine creatures, who was worshipped into Roman times as Cybele.⁴³ Sheep were offered to Kubabat at Kanesh in the Colony Period.⁴⁴ Beside the pitchers, beakers and beer jar, two types of altars are seen on pls. IXb-c: 'fruit stands', of which pottery examples have been found, carrying flat bread and buns, and probably foldable wooden or basketry tables, on which doughnuts and poultry are visible.

Two stamp seal impressions of the later Colony Period from Acemhöyük are shown on pl. Xa-b. The first has been mentioned above in discussing lightning god and winged gate. Plate Xb is unique in showing an obelisk-like column as object of worship. Its conic finial might be compared to the cone on the bull (pls. Vb, VIIb). In contemporary Syria obelisks occasionally occur in temple precincts,⁴⁵ but do not themselves seem to be objects of worship. From the later second millennium, however, there is ample textual evidence for standing stones serving as divine images (see below). Here the seated lady holding a plant may represent the goddess herself. Two bulls' heads are attached to the obelisk and a third one, detached, is seen above.

⁴² *AG*, p. 27, fig. 6.

⁴³ Emmanuel Laroche in *Elements orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Vendôme, 1960), pp. 113–128.

⁴⁴ Hans Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (AFO Beiheft 13/14, Graz, 1961), pp. 27–28. The Anatolian deities most often mentioned in the Old Assyrian merchants' letters are the god Ana (13 ×) and the goddess Kubabat (4 ×).

⁴⁵ Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II*, pp. 644–652, 878, pls. 21–32.



Fig. 1.

Impression of seal from Aydin, 1700–1600. After L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux II* (Musée du Louvre), p. 195, no. A 927.

Old Hittite Period (ca. 1700–1400 B.C.).

Few objects dating from this period have a bearing on iconography. Plate Xd shows what is probably a foundation figurine, if one may compare him with earlier Mesopotamian figurines of kings ending in pegs and much earlier ones of deities similarly terminated below.⁴⁶ The idea was to nail to the earth, with divine protection, the building one was about to build. About his identity we can tell no more than that he belongs to the young, militant type of god, with bare chest and wide belt, that was best suited to protect a building against evildoers (cf. pl. XXIV).

The statuette from Dövklek (pl. Xc) can be more readily identified because of his posture, which is that of a whole series of Syrian bronzes showing a smiting god.⁴⁷ 'The smiter' is a possible etymology for both the Syrian name, Reshef, and the Hurrian name, Tesub, of the lightning god. Occasionally the spear that he wields is preserved on the bronzes; it is regularly shown on reliefs and seals (pl. XIa). That it represents the lightning is sometimes made clear by flames issuing from it.⁴⁸ On pl. XIa he is smiting an enemy, who is then cremated by mourners. The corpse has a conical cap, such as found (made of gold or silver) in graves at Kanesh.⁴⁹ Below the bier is food (symbolized by bull's head and sheep's head) and drink (symbolized by a jar) for the life hereafter. Next comes a downpour that I would connect to the disrobing goddess on the left. The water, with a swimmer in it, continues into the subterranean domain of the water god, where it is

⁴⁶ Subhi A. Rashid in *RLA* 3 (1957–71), pp. 655–661; Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New Haven, 1968.

⁴⁷ Dominique Collon in *Levant* 4 (1972), pp. 111–134; Ora Negbi, *Canaanite Gods in Metal* (Tel Aviv, 1976), pp. 29–41; Helga Seeden, *The Standing Armed Figurines of the Levant* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde I: 1), München, 1980.

⁴⁸ See note 9.

⁴⁹ Tahsin Özgüç in *Belleten* 19 (1955), pp. 71–72. Evidence of cremation on a wooden bier was also found at Kanesh, Tahsin Özgüç *1948 Ausgrabungen in Kültepe* (TTKY V:10, Ankara, 1950), pp. 163–164.