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KT 49 b



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## Alişar Höyük in the Late Second Millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Ronald L. Gorny (Chicago)

### 1. Introduction

Sixty-one years have elapsed since the cessation of excavations at Alişar Höyük in central Turkey (Fig. 1). It seemed appropriate, therefore, in view of the wide range of comparative materials which have come to light in recent years, that

<sup>1</sup> The results of the Alişar excavations are published by the Oriental Institute in two forms. Preliminary reports appear in the Oriental Institute Communications monographs (OIC) while final reports were published as part of the Oriental Institute Publications series. See H. H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor*, Oriental Institute Communications 2, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927; *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor* 1927-28, Oriental Institute Communications 6, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929; *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor* 1929, Oriental Institute Communications 8, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930; *The Alişar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930-32*, Oriental Institute Publications 28, Part 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937; *The Alişar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930-32*, Part 2 Oriental Institute Publications 29, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937; *Explorations in Central Anatolia: Season of 1926*, Oriental Institute Publications 5 (Researches in Anatolia 1), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. H. H. von der Osten and E. F. Schmidt, *The Alişar Höyük: Season of 1927* Part 1, Oriental Institute Publications 6, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930; *The Alişar Hüyük Season of 1927*, Part 2, Oriental Institute Publications 7, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932; H. H. von der Osten, R. A. Martin, and J. A. Morrison, *Discoveries in Anatolia 1930-31*, Oriental Institute Communications 14, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933; E. Schmidt, *Anatolia through the Ages: Discoveries at Alişar Mound 1927-29*, Oriental Institute Communications 11, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931; *The Alişar Hüyük Seasons of 1928 and 1929*, Part 1, Oriental Institute Publications 19, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932; and I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alişar and Vicinity* (Oriental Institute Publications 27), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935. Other significant investigations were undertaken by Sylvia Ann Meluzin, *A Re-examination of Alişar Höyük in the Light of Recent Evidence*, Masters Thesis, University of Chicago, 1969; Ahmet Ünal, "Nochmals zur Geschichte und Lage der Hethitischen Stadt Amkuwa," *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 24 (1984), pp. 87-107; and Ronald L. Gorny, *Alişar Höyük in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990.

a reassessment of the site's cultural development be undertaken. The following paper presents one aspect of this project, a task that began simply enough as a graduate student's project for Helene Kantor in 1980. In theoretical terms, the idea of this paper is to present a synthesis of evidence related to the identification and dating of the late second millennium remains at Alişar Höyük. In more practical terms, however, it offers a rationale for the resumption of work at Alişar, a project that began in earnest during the summer of 1993.<sup>2</sup>

Alişar Höyük is a medium-sized mound situated approximately 47 kilometers southeast of present-day Yozgat and is nestled in the fertile and well-settled Delice-Kanak Su basin. Located almost halfway between the two major centers of Anatolia's Bronze Age culture, Hattuša (mod. *Boğazköy*) and Kaniš (mod. *Kültepe*), Alişar is one of the largest sites in the basin and von der Osten understood it to be the capital of the surrounding region.<sup>3</sup> The mound was originally excavated from 1927 to 1932 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago under the direction of Hans Henning von der Osten and represented the first attempt at stratigraphic excavation in central Anatolia. The settlement remains uncovered by von der Osten stretch across what was originally a 30 meter high mound surrounded by a 5 – 8 meter high terrace that is defined by the remains of a fortification wall that encircled the approximately 18 hectare area of the site (Fig. 2). The citadel measures 245 x 145 meters while the terrace is 520 x 350 meters.<sup>4</sup>

Alişar is one of the critical sites on the Anatolian plateau because of its long cultural sequence, a circumstance that means sooner or later, everyone interested in understanding the cultural development of early Anatolia is obliged to come to grips with this puzzling site. In spite of the six years of work that von der Osten invested in Alişar, much work remains to be done. One must tackle, for instance, the task of accurately assessing the dates of the Iron Age "Phrygian" occupation, a project that is taking on fresh significance as the ongoing excavations at the Phrygian capitol of Gordion begin to yield interesting new results.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, based on comparisons with Thrace and the Balkans, it now seems that Alişar can boast a sequence of occupation dating back to at least the Middle Chalcolithic period.<sup>6</sup> Clearly, in addition to the main thrust of our current emphasis on the Late Bronze (LB), a great deal of invaluable information awaits us on either side of the second millennium.

<sup>2</sup> Ronald L. Gorny, "The 1993 Season at Alişar Höyük," *Anatolica* (Forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> OIP 6, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> While Alişar's 18 hectares may not seem large by Mesopotamian standards, it is larger than the 10 hectare site of Maşat which Özgüç considers to be a large central Anatolian settlement (See T. Özgüç, *Excavations at Maşat Höyük and Investigations in its Vicinity*. Ankara, TTKB, 1978, p. 51).

<sup>5</sup> R. Henrickson, "Politics, Economics, and Ceramic Continuity at Gordion in the Late Second and First Millennia B.C.," in *Social and Cultural Contexts of New Ceramic Technologies*, ed. W. D. Kingery. Ceramics and Civilization VI, Westerville, OH: American Ceramic Society, forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup> Mehmet Özdoğan "An Interim Report on the Excavations at Yarımburgaz and Toptepe in Eastern Thrace," *Anatolica* 17 (1991): 61-66.

Von der Osten's initial excavations showed that Alişar was settled throughout the first half of the second millennium, and indeed, that this settlement probably had deep roots in the culture of the preceding middle-late third millennium. By the onset of the second millennium, Alişar had become at least marginally involved in the Old Assyrian Colony trade network as is attested by the Old Assyrian tablets found in scattered areas of the site.<sup>7</sup> Nimet Özgüç later demonstrated that occupation continued into the Old Hittite period as proved by both Old Hittite pottery and seals.<sup>8</sup> One question that von der Osten was unable to resolve because of the premature curtailment of the excavation, however, was whether the mound remained occupied during the Hittite Empire Period or LB II (ca. 1400-1200). The remainder of this paper will offer a brief, and by no means complete, rationale for, not only the continued occupation of Alişar in the LB II, but its identification with the Hittite city of Ankuwa. In order to help frame the issues, however, we must return briefly to the documents found in the Old Assyrian Colony settlement.

## 2. Literary Materials

The discovery of cuneiform tablets written in the Old Assyrian script at Alişar offered the first clues about the settlement's role in second millennium Anatolia. The tablets, most of which were distributed between several hoards uncovered in Level 10cT,<sup>9</sup> are especially interesting because of the appearance on them of the personal name "Anitta the prince" who is probably the same person mentioned in the Hittite Anitta-text,<sup>10</sup> as well as the presence of the place name Amkuwa.<sup>11</sup> The latter may be especially revealing since the frequent occurrence of the place name led various scholars to conclude that Amkuwa was the older variant of the later Hittite name Ankuwa, and that this was the second millennium name of Alişar Höyük. The problem with such a conclusion, however, was that Ankuwa was known from later Hittite texts to have been occupied in the LB II.<sup>12</sup> The Hittite King Hattušili III (approx. 1289-1265 B.C.) and his wife Puduhepa were especially fond of the city and apparently spent much time there.<sup>13</sup> Their great concern for the city is shown in a poignant text where they beseech the goddess Kataḫḫa and the stormgod of Zippalanta to save Ankuwa from a catastrophic fire which was threatening to engulf the city.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately we do not know the outcome of that fire. Was it saved in part or did this event spell the end of Hittite

<sup>7</sup> Gelb, OIP 27.

<sup>8</sup> See N. Özgüç, "Alişar Eti Buluntularının Tarihlenmesi," *Arkeoloji Araştırmaları* II, Ankara, 1945, pp. 73-90.

<sup>9</sup> OIP 27, p. 8; OIP 29, p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> See Gelb, OIP 27, pp. 9 and 13 (Gelb texts 1 and 49); E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (= STBoT 18), Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974.

<sup>11</sup> OIP 27, p. 8-9.

<sup>12</sup> See A. Ünal, *SMEA* 24 (1984): 97-103; Gorny diss., pp. 412-421.

<sup>13</sup> For dates of Hittite kings and chronology see R. Gorny, "Hittite Chronology," in *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989): 88-89, chart on p. 64. Chronological considerations based on the Low Chronology.

<sup>14</sup> KUB 15 1 rev. III 17-21; Ünal, *SMEA* 24 (1984): 101, n. 76.

Ankuwa? The actual outcome is of more than casual interest because any site equated with Ankuwa, including Alişar, would be expected to show evidence of, not only the LB II period, but the remains of such a conflagration.

Much to von der Osten's chagrin, however, little in the way of either LB II material remains or evidence of a destruction was readily apparent in the ruins of Alişar. The failure to find such evidence at Alişar has been a stumbling block for many investigative scholars who have come to believe that Alişar experienced an 'occupational' gap through the critical last part of the late second millennium and that the site would be, therefore, an unsuitable candidate for Ankuwa.<sup>15</sup> I am of the opinion, however, that various materials which could have corroborated a LB II settlement were misunderstood or ignored and that with a careful eye, one might still be able to glean valuable information from von der Osten's materials. With that in mind we will focus on three categories of archaeological investigation that might yield insights relevant to our study. These topics include ceramics, glyptic, and architecture.

### 3. Ceramics

The first clear ceramic indication that Alişar has passed into the Late Bronze Age (1600-1175) is the frequent appearance at Alişar of a ware known from Boğazköy as "Goldglimmerware."<sup>16</sup> This ware displays many forms common to the late kârum period, but with a thin translucent slip than seems to be an imitation of worked gold (Fig. 3). A further ceramic indicator of the Old Hittite period lies in the numerous fragments of Old Hittite relief ware that came to light at Alişar (Fig. 4). Either monochrome or polychrome in nature, these intriguing pieces display an assortment of humans and animals involved in activities that tantalize us with incomplete "photographs" of Hittite worship. Most of the relief ware at Alişar is dated to the Old Hittite period on the basis of parallels from Bitik and İnandık.<sup>17</sup> One piece, stands out, however, in the way it was executed (Fig. 5). The sherd which depicts a stag with back-turned head and bulging pupils is important because it represents a style datable to the beginning of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the LB II period.<sup>18</sup>

A sidelight to the discussion on the Alişar's relief sherds concerns their provenience. While exact findspots are never mentioned, locations are noted within 10 x 10 m grid squares and by plotting these general points on a map of the site it becomes clear that most of the relief sherds were found associated with a structure known as the "mansion" (Fig. 6). If this style of pottery can be associated with the

<sup>15</sup> See A. Ünal, *SMEA* 24 (1984): 105; also see O. R. Gurney "Anatolia c. 1750-1600 B. C.," in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Volume II, Part 1, ed. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger, 3rd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge at the University Press, 1973, p. 234; and Meluzin, Thesis, 1969.

<sup>16</sup> Neve, *Büyükkale*, p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> See R.M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1983.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

cult as has been suggested,<sup>19</sup> we may have an indication that the "mansion" played a role in the Alişar cult during the Old Hittite period.

In the past, the lack of good comparative materials has made it especially difficult to track the development of Hittite pottery after the Old Hittite or LB I period. The LB II has traditionally been the most poorly attested phase of the second millennium in Anatolia. The continuity of LB pottery with that of the earlier periods, coupled with the lack of clear Empire period assemblages, has hindered our ability to understand the ceramics of Alişar.<sup>20</sup> Recent work at other sites, however, has provided new LB II materials and, not only permitted a refinement of the Hittite Empire period ceramic corpus,<sup>21</sup> but has provided ample reasons to reconsider older interpretations of the Alişar stratigraphic sequence.

The most commonly mentioned Late Bronze ceramic evidence from Alişar is the presence of the so-called "Libation-arms" found throughout the Near East in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>22</sup> At Boğazköy and Maşat, for instance, they occur in levels dating to the final stages of the Hittite Empire and are used to date levels with no other indicators.<sup>23</sup> The Alişar examples most likely date to the LB II period too. Curiously, the "Libation-arms" found at Boğazköy are normally associated with the so-called Syrian flask or spindle bottle,<sup>24</sup> and while there are no complete examples of the spindle bottle at Alişar, two fragments were discovered in the Oriental Institute which Peter Neve noted on his visit to Chicago as being exactly like their counterparts at Boğazköy.<sup>25</sup>

A number of jars with pointed bases found in the ruins of the "Mansion" may also be significant. These vessels were originally included among the Iron Age ceramics,<sup>26</sup> but I believe, as Mellink has suggested, that these vessels are attributed incorrectly to that period.<sup>27</sup> The larger of these jars (55-90 cm.) seem to have parallels in similar pieces from temple 8 in the upper city of Boğazköy which dates to the 2nd half of the thirteenth century. What appear to be earlier examples with more rounded bases also appear in the Lower City (level 2) and Büyükkale (level III), İnandık, and Alaca Höyük. The smaller of the vessels (25-45 cm.) are

<sup>19</sup> T. Özgüç *Inandıktepe: An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, series 5, no. 43, pp. 100-106.

<sup>20</sup> F. Fischer, *Die Hethitischen Keramik von Boğazköy*, Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann., 1963, p. 38; P. Neve, "Ein althethitischer Sammelfund aus der Unterstadt," *Boğazköy VI: Funde aus den Grabungen bis 1979*, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> The most notable of these come from the Upper City at Boğazköy; for an overview of the recent work in central Anatolia see Gorny diss., pp. 19-31.

<sup>22</sup> OIP 29, pp. 165 and 190 (see especially p. 166, fig. 207, c1276 and c1277).

<sup>23</sup> Neve, *AA* (1987): 390.

<sup>24</sup> Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, p. 170.

<sup>25</sup> Personal Communication with Peter Neve; cf. Gorny diss. Pl. 47, ASC nos. 395 and 396.

<sup>26</sup> OIP 29, Figs 416, d1279, d2361, and d2150; Fig. 417, e2263 and e1566.

<sup>27</sup> M. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, Philadelphia: University Museum, 1956, p. 24; for discussion of these vessels see Gorny diss., pp. 263-272.

paralleled by examples from Tarsus,<sup>28</sup> Korucutepe,<sup>29</sup> and Norşuntepe<sup>30</sup> which also date to the thirteenth century.

Other ceramics which date to the LB II can be identified on the basis of both ware and form. Included here are various pieces of Hittite white-slipped ware (Müller-Karpe ware D) which displays a fine pinkish-orange interior fabric (Figs. 7-8).<sup>31</sup> Although this distinctive ware never dominated the ceramic repertoire at Boğazköy it did appear in the temples of the Upper City with percentages ranging between 1-2% (though it is more abundant in the houses and workstations of the area).<sup>32</sup> White wares seems to have a similar range at Alişar though the lack of secure contexts prohibit an accurate appraisal of its distribution at this point.<sup>33</sup> Another key element of the late Hittite Empire period repertoire, the broad-rimmed platter,<sup>34</sup> was also found at Alişar in 1993 (Fig. 9).<sup>35</sup> Four sherds which closely parallel examples from Boğazköy were found in the 1993 site survey and provide welcomed evidence of a 13th century occupation.<sup>36</sup> In addition, fragments of several "pilgrim flasks," as well as other Empire period sherds were also found (Fig. 9).<sup>37</sup>

In sum, the Alişar ceramic repertoire suggests that subsequent to the Old Hittite attestations of "goldglimmerware" and relief ware, the *terminus ante quem* for the LB II can be set by materials such as the pilgrim's flasks, pointed-base jars, libation-arm fragments, spindle bottle, and relief stag at no earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century. The presence of white ware and the broad-

<sup>28</sup> H. Goldman, *Tarsus II*, Text, 214, nos. 1191 and 1192; Plates, fig. 322, nos. 1191 and 1192.

<sup>29</sup> E. E. Griffin, "The Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery," in M. van Loon, *Korucutepe 3*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980, p. 75, pl. 16H and 17F.

<sup>30</sup> A. Murray, *III Arasırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, pp. 275, 278.

<sup>31</sup> See A. Müller-Karpe, *Hethitische Töpferei der Oberstadt von Hattuša: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis spät-großreichzeitlicher Keramik und Töpferbetriebe*, Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1988.

<sup>32</sup> White-ware reaches its greatest popularity in the period of Upper City 3 (ca. 1240-1220). See Müller-Karpe, *Hethitische Töpferei*, pp. 20-22; also Hermann Parzinger and Rosa Sanz, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša: Hethitische Keramik aus dem Zentralen Tempelviertel* (= Boğazköy-Hattuša 15). Berlin: Gebr. Mann. Verlag, 1992, p. 45. Note the difference in numbering the Upper City levels between Parzinger and Sanz (p. 1, n. 3) who follow Neve (1982) and Müller-Karpe who continues to use the pre-1982 system.

<sup>33</sup> Various pieces were found among the pottery in the basement of the Oriental Institute and more examples were found in the 1993 site survey.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Müller-Karpe, *Hethitische Töpferei*, pp. 127-131, Pl. 42-43; Parzinger and Sanz, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša*: pp. 55-56 and p. 61, figs 32 and 33.

<sup>35</sup> Platter (especially form J2) are particularly abundant in Upper City 3 and still very common in Upper City 2 (Parzinger and Sanz, 1992, p. 60-61, Fig 35). Alişar examples were found in the 1993 site survey and fit nicely into this range.

<sup>36</sup> R. Gorny, *Anatolica* (forthcoming 1994).

<sup>37</sup> Gorny diss, Chapter IV, pp. 231-310, also see Pl. 46, no. 359 and Pl. 43, no. 357.

rimmed platters, however, significantly affect this chronological scheme and suggests a *terminus post quem* closer to the mid-late thirteenth century.

#### 4. Glyptics

A Kassite seal found on the floor of the "mansion" is not without significance (Fig. 10). Although this seal was largely ignored by von der Osten, it stylistically fits into a period that can be dated no earlier than 1400 B.C., *though it could be later*.<sup>38</sup> This would establish a high date for what is probably the last phase of the "mansion" (10aT) and bring us within range of the chronological parameters necessary for an identification of Alişar with the site with Ankuwa.

Another type of seal that is more productive for the purposes of our study, however, is the biconvex seal. As I have previously shown, this particular glyptic provides clear evidence for the settlement of Alişar during the LB II period.<sup>39</sup> In the final report for the seasons 1930-1932 these seals were included with the "Post-Hittite/Phrygian materials because of their apparent presence in layers with predominately Phrygian pottery."<sup>40</sup> Knowing the mixed nature of Alişar's depositional record, however, it seems clear that these seals were survivals from the earlier Hittite Empire period, a belief that has been borne out by recent discoveries.

Whereas the Alişar biconvex seals have somewhat uncertain proveniences, more recent excavations have produced biconvex seals from reliable stratigraphic contexts.<sup>41</sup> In central Turkey the seals have been found in clear LB II contexts at Boğazköy (Temple I and the Upper City), Alaca Höyük, Maşat Höyük, and Eskiyapar. In the Syro-Anatolian borderlands biconvex seals are found in LB II levels at Imikuşağı, Tille, and Lidar on the lower Euphrates, as well as Norşuntepe, Tepecik, and Korucutepe in the Keban dam region. They are also known from the Late Bronze levels at Ras Shamra and at Alalakh.

Some biconvex seals, however, were found in allegedly Iron-Age levels at sites such as Arslantepe-Malatya, Carchemish, and Hama, so in light of our previous statement, these seals need to be explained. In each case, the seals come from mixed deposits with no clear tie to the Iron Age. Once again, as at Alişar, the most likely explanation is that these examples are simply LB survivals that have somehow intruded upon later levels.<sup>42</sup> It is conceivable that some of the seals were manufactured after the traditional date for the end of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1200), but this fact need not impinge upon the integrity of the seal's place in the LB glyptic tradition for it is probably indicative of a short-lived continuation of LB glyptic practices in peripheral areas where social-political continuity with the

<sup>38</sup> Gelb, OIP 29, Fig. 154, d1622; also see Gorny diss., pp. 366-369.

<sup>39</sup> R. Gorny, "The Biconvex Seals of Alişar Höyük," *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993): 163-191.

<sup>40</sup> OIP 29, p. 289; R. Gorny, *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993): 163-191.

<sup>41</sup> Gorny, *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993): 172.

<sup>42</sup> Gorny, *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993): 177-178.



plateau is now known to have occurred under the aegis of surviving Hittite dynasts.<sup>43</sup>

Since there is no evidence of a vital post-Hittite occupation of Alişar (or any of the other major sites in the area) it must be presumed that these seals came either from the LB II Hittite levels or the Phrygian period. It is significant, in this respect, that the seals all come from areas with very mixed settlement remains. In the Phrygian city, the one area where investigators would expect to find such seals if they were of Phrygian origin, there is not one example. The sum of this evidence is a strong indication that the biconvex seals are LB II in date and suggestive of Late Bronze II settlements at the sites where they are found. I believe that this is especially true of sites in central Anatolia, but it also applies to the more easterly Syro-Hittite sites, even though the possibility exists that a continuity of Hittite culture in peripheral areas of the Empire may have permitted them to be used there somewhat longer than on the plateau. At Alişar however, they are surely representative of the LB II.<sup>44</sup>

### 5. Architecture

The presence of Late Bronze seals and pottery at Alişar leaves us with an interesting dilemma. Where did these materials come from? What, if any, architecture can be associated with the remains? For some possible insights we can take a second look at the results of von der Osten's excavations on both the citadel and the terrace.

The citadel mound presents us with a confusing situation. Level 6M seems to represent the transition from the third to the second millennium because of the first appearance of monochrome wheel-made wares along side the previously attested "Intermediate" ware.<sup>45</sup> Level 5M is generally dated to the beginning of the second millennium by virtue of its relatively equal proportion of Cappadocian and monochrome wheel-made wares.<sup>46</sup> Level 4M, on the other hand, is attributed to the Iron Age because of the abundance of associated "Phrygian" period remains. No architectural remains were found between 5M and 4M, spawning the belief in a hiatus which spanned the last half of the second millennium.

It should be cautioned, however, that excavations on the citadel mound were carried below the level 4 Post-Hittite/Phrygian period in only four areas and it is

<sup>43</sup> Gorny, *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993):185-187.

<sup>44</sup> As a footnote to this discussion I might add that another axled seal, this one parabolic in shape, was found during the 1993 season (Gorny, *Anatolica*, forthcoming). The new seal is of note because it is paralleled by one found at Boğazköy which is dated to the thirteenth century (cf. R. M. Boehmer and H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy* (= Boğazköy-Hattuša 14), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987, pp. 72-73 and plate 28, no. 228).

<sup>45</sup> Orthmann, *Ist. Forsch.* 24, p. 15; Özgüç, *Belleten* 19 (1955): 459; T. Özgüç, "New Observations on the Relationship of Kültepe with Southeast Anatolia and North Syria during the Third Millennium B.C.," in *Ancient Anatolia*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 31-53; Meluzin thesis, 1969, pp. 77-81; Gorny diss. p. 150, Table 5 and p. 159.

<sup>46</sup> K. Emre, *Anatolia* 10 (1963): 87; Gorny diss. pp. 160-168 and p. 150, Table 5.

conceivable that later remains could still be buried somewhere on the summit. In light of this it is important to note that level 4 does not immediately follow level 5. In the areas where excavators penetrated beneath the Iron Age occupation, they encountered a two-meter-thick refuse layer lying between levels 4M and 5M. This unnumbered layer apparently stretches across the entire citadel mound and may still be found to hold important clues to the second millennium Hittite occupation.

The extensive level of debris stretching across the citadel probably results from a major renovation of the citadel that was undertaken subsequent to the last Hittite occupation. From the accompanying finds it is clear that this remodeling was done during the so-called "Phrygian" or Iron Age period. To accomplish this work, it appears that the Iron Age occupants used intact sections of the citadel wall while gutting the interior of the mound and filling where necessary to create a suitable base upon which to raise their new structures. If, indeed, the still-standing citadel wall was reused, it could mean that reoccupation occurred at Alişar earlier than commonly thought and that, perhaps, evidence of this early Iron Age occupation will be found in the form of twelfth century gray wares similar to those recently discovered at Gordion.<sup>47</sup>

An Iron Age renovation, in any case, would have required the inhabitants to deal with debris from the preceding Hittite town, especially if that settlement was heavily damaged in a fire such as the one mentioned in the Hittite text. One way in which the Iron Age builders may have addressed the problem of accumulated debris was simply to cover the old remains with soil. The topographic map of Alişar shows that on both the east and the west sides of the mound there are broad depressions in the terrace and I suspect that soil was removed from these points and transported to the top of the citadel to be used as fill and leveling materials in the construction of the "Phrygian" city. The two meter thick refuse layer noted by von der Osten may be partly the result of such a project and with any luck, the new excavations will find significant Hittite materials preserved in this puzzling layer.

On the terrace the situation is not dissimilar to what is found on the citadel. While there was always clear evidence in the lower city from both the Old Assyrian and Old Hittite period settlements, it has been assumed generally that there was nothing there that could be dated to the LB II. Naumann, in fact, speculated that the circuit wall had already gone out of use by the 15th century and that the site had ceased to exist.<sup>48</sup> Without spending an inordinate amount of time on detailing the history of the terrace, it should be recalled that levels 11T and 10T were each said to have been made up of least three sublevels which were designated a-c respectively. There are also, however, several unnumbered sublevels noted by the excavator, one of which is definitely situated above 10a. In short, the stratigraphic situation is not as clear-cut as is often implied. While much remains to be sorted out, it appears that new importance should be accorded to the

<sup>47</sup> R. Henrikson, "Politics, Economics, and Ceramic Continuity at Gordion in the Late Second and First Millennia B.C.," in *Social and Cultural Contexts of New Ceramic Technologies*, ed. W. D. Kingery. Ceramics and Civilization VI, Westerville, OH: American Ceramic Society, forthcoming.

<sup>48</sup> Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*, p. 252; Gorny diss. 210.

"mansion," the construction phase of which (10bT) must be placed somewhere in the Old Hittite Kingdom period.<sup>49</sup> This means that level 10aT in the mansion, as well as the unnumbered levels on the terrace could be dated still later, though just how late is still unclear, the main clue being the Kassite seal found on the "mansion" floor.

The south terrace gate provides a further point for conjecture. The large structure, situated along the southern edge of the terrace, seems out of character when compared with other aspects of the site's MB defenses (Fig. 11). What makes this gate so intriguing is the fact that, not only is it larger than any of the other Alişar gates, but it appeared to display no connection with the terrace circuit walls and is actually well inside the hypothetical line of the MB defenses.<sup>50</sup> The gate itself was said by the excavator to be contemporary with the 10b level of the so-called "mansion".<sup>51</sup> It may be significant that the gate is, not only, of nearly the exact size and design as the Upper City gates at Boğazköy which are dated to the 13th century (Fig. 11),<sup>52</sup> but that a hieroglyphic seal impression of Old Hittite style (probably dated to around 1400 B.C.) was found under the gate.<sup>53</sup> Stratigraphically the gate should be later than the seal and we might infer that LB II builders were responsible for the construction of the gate, and by implication, the "mansion" too. Naumann believed the south terrace gate to be an older prototype of those at Boğazköy and based on comparisons with other gate systems in Anatolia, it seems reasonable to date the south terrace gate at Alişar sometime between the final use of the terrace walls (ca. 15th century) and the construction of the Boğazköy gates (13th century), presumably not more than a century or so earlier, a date that would place us in the 14th century and bring us reasonably close to the LB II and the era of the Hittite Empire.

Several other factors, however, must also be taken into consideration. Evidence provided by the "Goldglimmerware" (above) is of note. A vessel made of the distinctive ware was found by von der Osten on the eastern terrace in pit 18. This

<sup>49</sup> Gorny diss., pp. 355-364.

<sup>50</sup> See OIP 29, Plate 13 for von der Osten's proposed wall line. Observations at the end of the 1993 season, however, raised the possibility that a wall composed of mudbrick without stone foundations may have once been situated in this elevated area of the terrace. If this turns out to be true, one of two things may have occurred in this part of the terrace. Either the 11T and 10T wall did not encircle the base of the mound in this area as previously assumed, but climbed up the terrace and ringed the highest part of the terrace instead. This would have permitted the terrace to serve as a further defensive measure in what was a very vulnerable part of the mound. On the other hand, the gate and possible wall could be of a completely different date from the rest of the fortification system. In the later case, the wall and the gate most likely would date to the Hittite Empire period. Remote sensing and test trenches should help to illuminate this situation during the coming season.

<sup>51</sup> OIP 29, p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> von der Osten, OIC 14, pp. 13, Figs. 8-10; Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*, pp. 275, 277; Gorny diss. p. 376.

<sup>53</sup> OIP 29, p. 227, seal c1456; also OIP 27, p. 74, seal c1456. Dating based on comparisons in Boehmer and Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, 1987, pp. 33-60; Gorny diss. pp. 377-378.

pit was one of four contemporary pits in Plot II that were dug after the main defenses went out of use as is attested by pits 15 and 16 which were dug into the top level of the city fortification wall.<sup>54</sup> The attribution of this ware to the Old Hittite Kingdom period provides a stratigraphic indication that the MB wall had gone out of use by the Old Hittite period (Fig. 12). One might also go so far as to infer from a very enigmatic Hittite text dating to the early period of Hattuša's consolidation of power that the wall had come down as the result of a revolt against the capitol,<sup>55</sup> an observation that would not be out of line with Naumann's chronological assessment, but one that is not without problems.

If the terrace walls had gone out of use by the fifteenth century, what type of settlement would we have found on the mound at Alişar during the Hittite period? What, if any, was the relationship between the terrace walls and the south terrace gate? Were the Hittites rebuilding the fortification walls (perhaps after the fire mentioned by Hattušili III) with the southwest terrace gate constituting the first element of that project? If so, such a proposal would suggest the site had remained unfortified during much of the LB I and LB II periods. Does this mean that Alişar was something of a palace-fortress complex during this period, an outpost with only the top of the citadel fortified?<sup>56</sup> These questions have no answers at the current time, but are among those we hope to address in coming seasons. For now, there are still no architectural elements that can be convincingly associated with the last phase of the Late Bronze Age.

## 6. Conclusions

What conclusions can we draw from all this evidence? In the first place, we can confirm the traditional view that Alişar was the site of a respectable kārūm period settlement whose occupation probably extended as far back as the beginning of the third millennium. Secondly, based on the evidence of the comparative materials, we can say with little doubt that Alişar experienced a high point in its settlement during the Old Assyrian kārūm Ib period, but continued to function in some capacity during the Old Hittite period. Furthermore, ceramic and glyptic evidence demonstrates that the dates for Alişar's settlement can be lowered without much difficulty into at least the early fourteenth century. The discovery of Hittite platters push this date even lower. Finally, the presence of biconvex seals at Alişar strongly hints at a LB II settlement of some kind that existed into the thirteenth century. Taken together, this evidence would not rule out the occupation of Alişar

<sup>54</sup> OIP 6, p. 122 (for contemporaneity of pits) and Fig. 234, p. 265, no. 1411 (for bowl); also see Gorny diss., pp. 364-365.

<sup>55</sup> Gorny Diss., pp. 426-428.

<sup>56</sup> Such a theory is consistent with other evidence from Late Bronze Age Anatolia where heavily fortified cites appear to have gone out of style in favor of undefended palace-fortress complexes. A case in point is the important administrative complex at Maşat which, even though situated along the vulnerable northern border, was found to be unfortified (See T. Özgüç, *Maşat II: A Hittite Centre Northeast of Boğazköy*. Ankara, TTKB, 1982, p. 89). In fact, outside of Boğazköy, there is little evidence for fortified towns in central Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age.

as late as the reign of Hattušili III and Puduhepa in the LB II. The actual *terminus post quem* for such a level is still unclear but the conjunction of biconvex seals, libation-arm fragments, a spindle bottle, and broad rimmed platters suggest a settlement contemporary with the Upper City levels 3 and 2 at Boğazköy (ca. 1240-1200).<sup>57</sup>

In summary, the archaeological evidence, as it now stands, seems to closely reflect what one would expect at the city of Ankuwa, even down to the remains of burned wood scattered across the mound in this period. If indeed, the final phase of the "mansion" and the south terrace gate can be dated to the last part of the LB period, the evidence of fire in the "mansion" is more instructive and may be evidence of the catastrophe that threatened the existence of Ankuwa.<sup>58</sup> The literary evidence is also in line with the archaeological findings. It seems to me, therefore, that the parallel development of Alişar and Ankuwa, as seen in both the archaeological and literary sources, is too close to be a coincidence. The fact that the patterns fit so closely would appear to be sufficient reason to support the equation. Beyond this, our 1993 regional survey reinforced the idea that Alişar represents the best choice for the type of regional center one would expect for Ankuwa from the Old Assyrian and Hittite texts. I would suggest, therefore, that after playing a minor, though still undefined role in the Old Assyrian trade system, Ankuwa maintained itself, perhaps because of its strategic location and the incorporation of its cults, as a royal outpost in the Old Hittite period and continued to function as a relatively low-key imperial center into the LB II. The names of individuals who might be Hittite functionaries appearing on the rather numerous biconvex seals may be another indication of this role.<sup>59</sup> The time of its final demise is unclear, but the small finds suggest its end was not far removed from that of Boğazköy. In conclusion I believe that the literature and the archaeological sources provide sufficient reason to conclude that the Hittite name of Alişar Höyük was Ankuwa. Those who remain unconvinced, however, can take comfort in the fact that, as a result of our renewed excavations, definitive evidence may yet come to light that will end the six decades of speculation offered by observers such as myself.

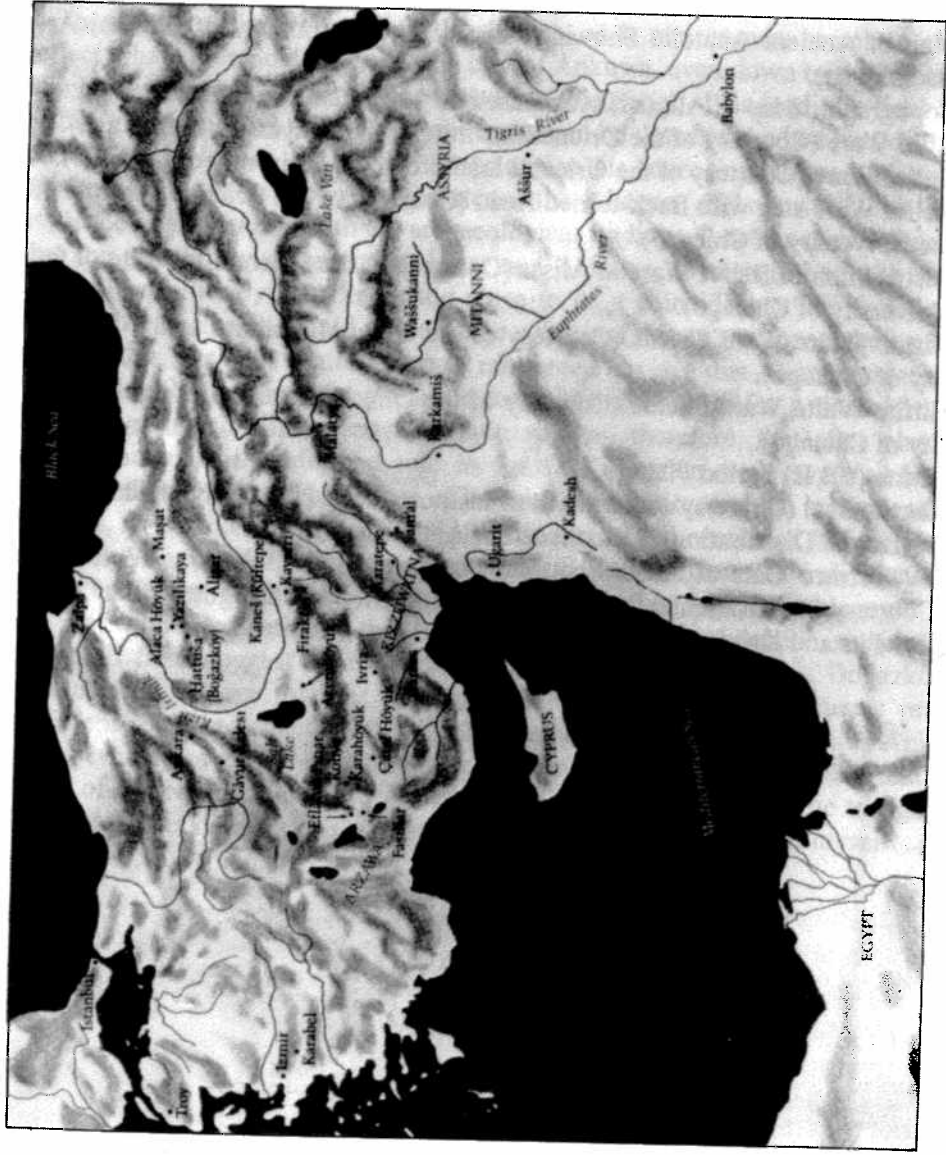
<sup>57</sup> Parzinger and Sanz, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša*, p. 73.

<sup>58</sup> For evidence of fire in the Mansion area of Alişar, see OIP 29, p. 19, Figs. 12-13 where the burned roof is found on the floor of the building and Pl. 17 where burned materials are found on the walls of the "mansion" in two areas (dark areas on southern wall and north wall of most northerly paved room).

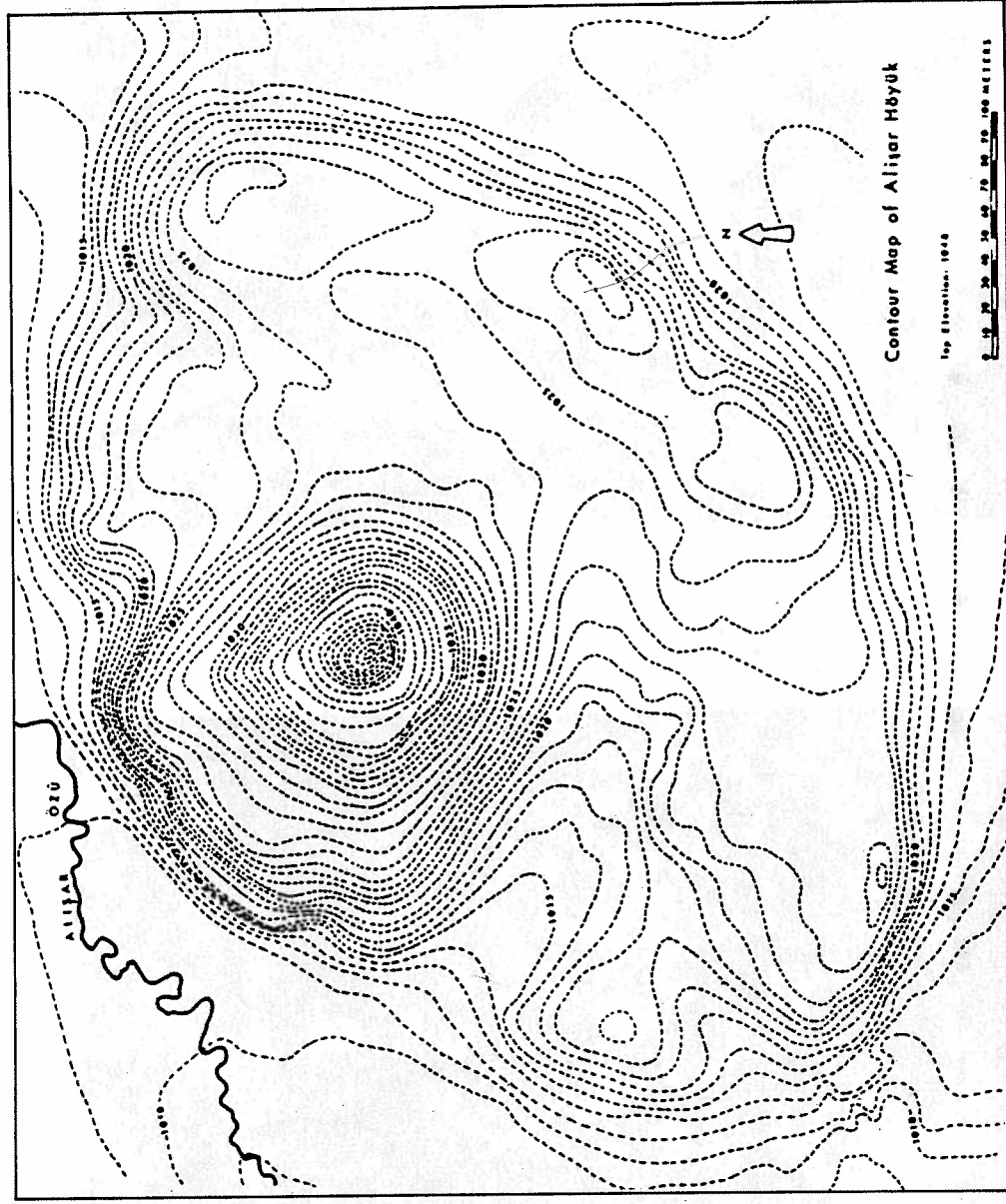
<sup>59</sup> See Gorny diss. pp. 348-350.

## LIST OF THE FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Map of Ancient Anatolia Showing Alişar Höyük (Courtesy of Biblical Archaeologist).
2. Topographic Map of Alişar Höyük Based on 1927-32 Excavations.
3. Gold Ware (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
4. Relief Ware (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
5. Relief Ware stag with Back-turned Head (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
6. Distribution of Relief Ware at Alişar (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
7. Hittite White Ware Sherds (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
8. Hittite White Ware Sherds (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
9. Hittite (LB II) Period Platters.
10. Kassite Seal (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
- 10b. Horizontal Distribution of Biconvex Seals at Alişar Höyük.
11. SW Terrace Gate at Alişar (bottom) compared with Boğazköy West Gate (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
12. LB I Pits and Known Distribution of Gold Ware.



1. Map of Ancient Anatolia Showing Alişar Höyük

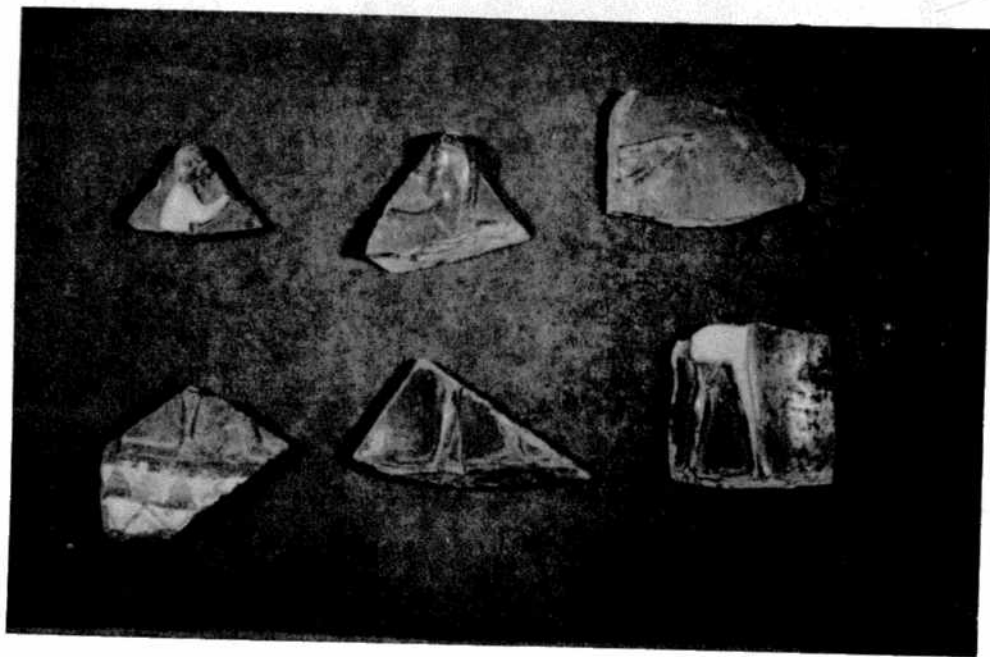


2. Topographic Map of Alişar Mound.





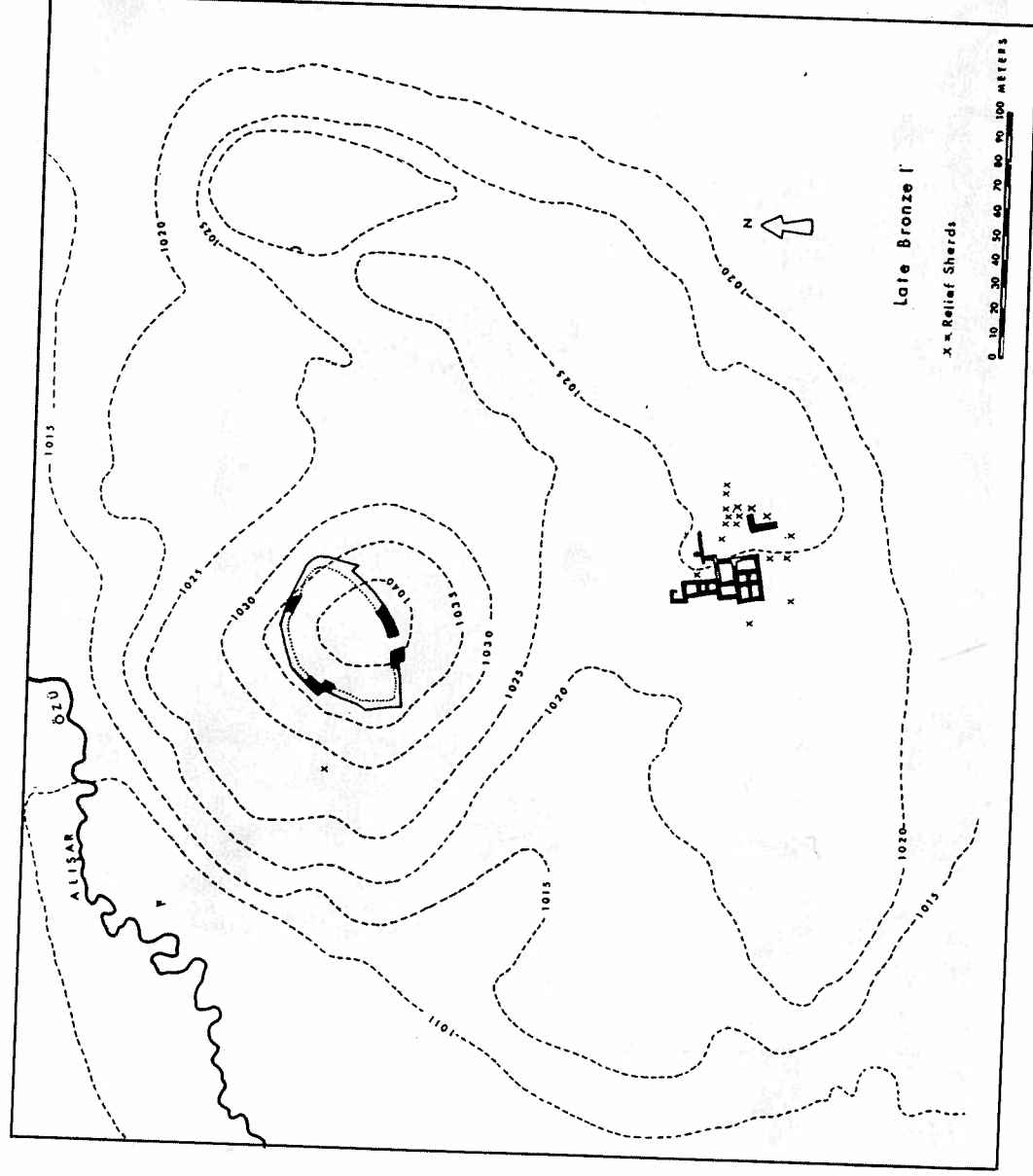
3. Gold Ware (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).



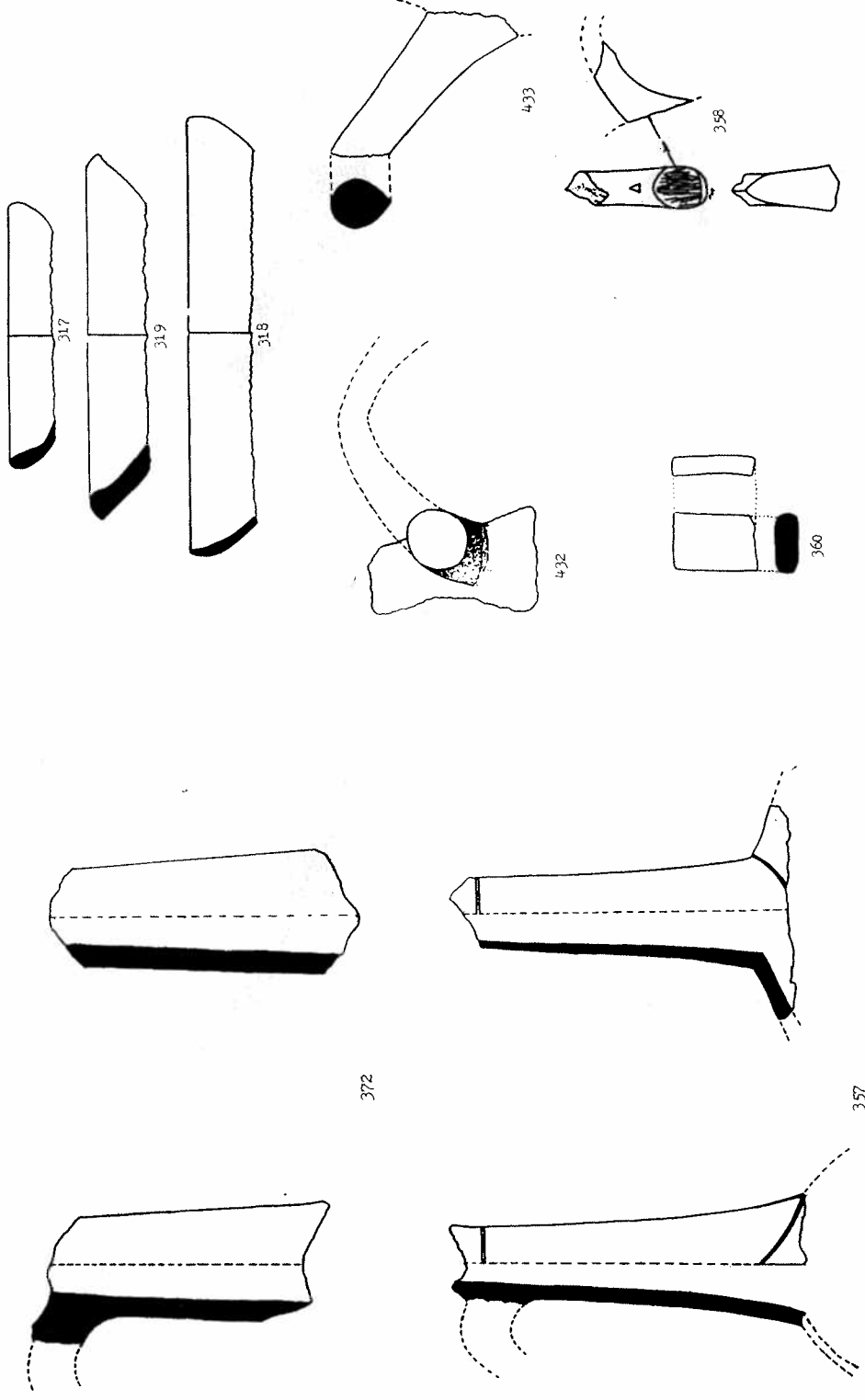
4. Relief Ware (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).



5. Relief Ware Stag with Back-turned Head (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

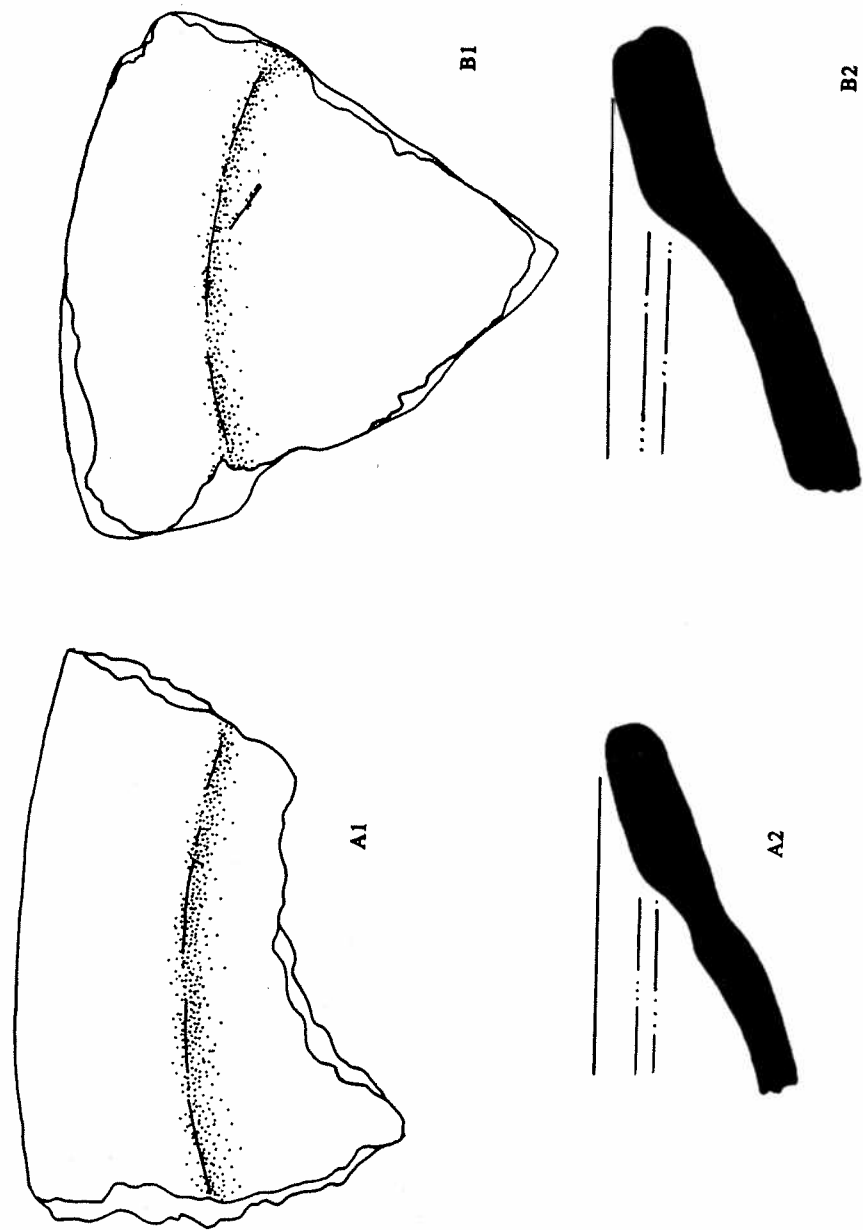


6. Distribution of Relief Sherds at Alışar Höyük.

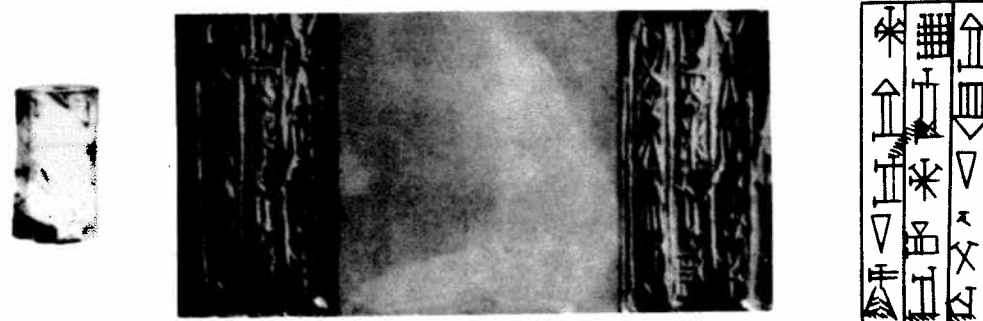


7. Hittite Ware Sherds (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

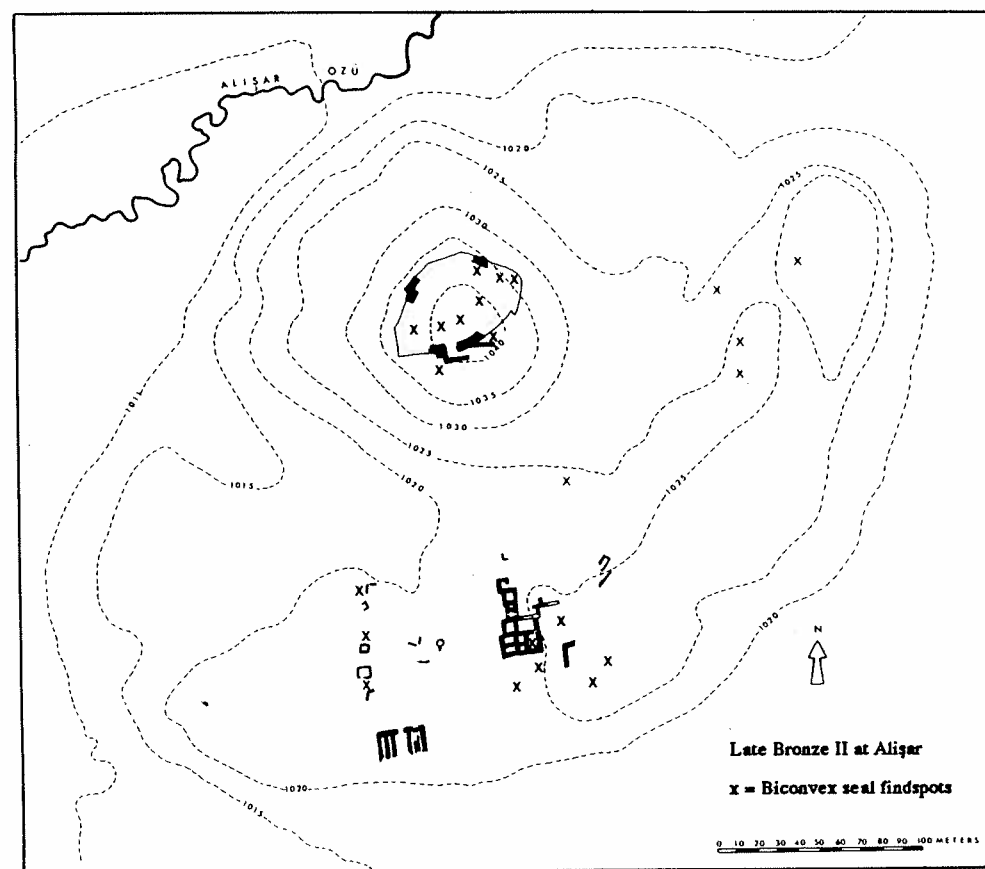
8. Hittite Ware Sherds (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)



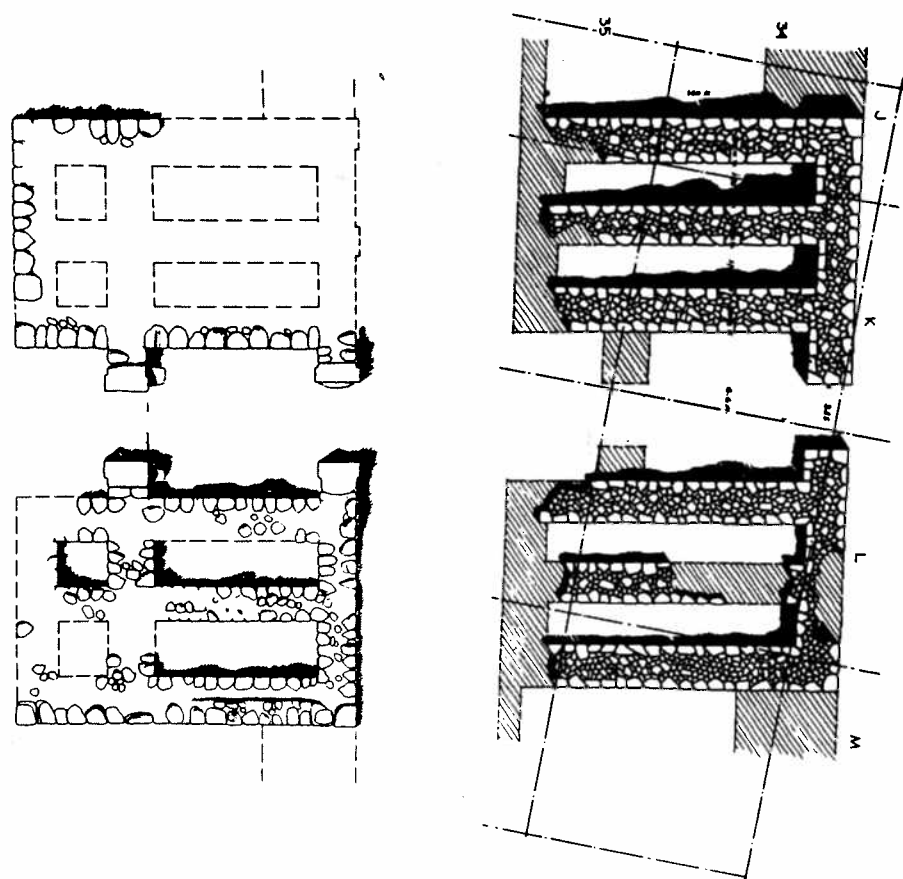
9. Hittite Period Platters



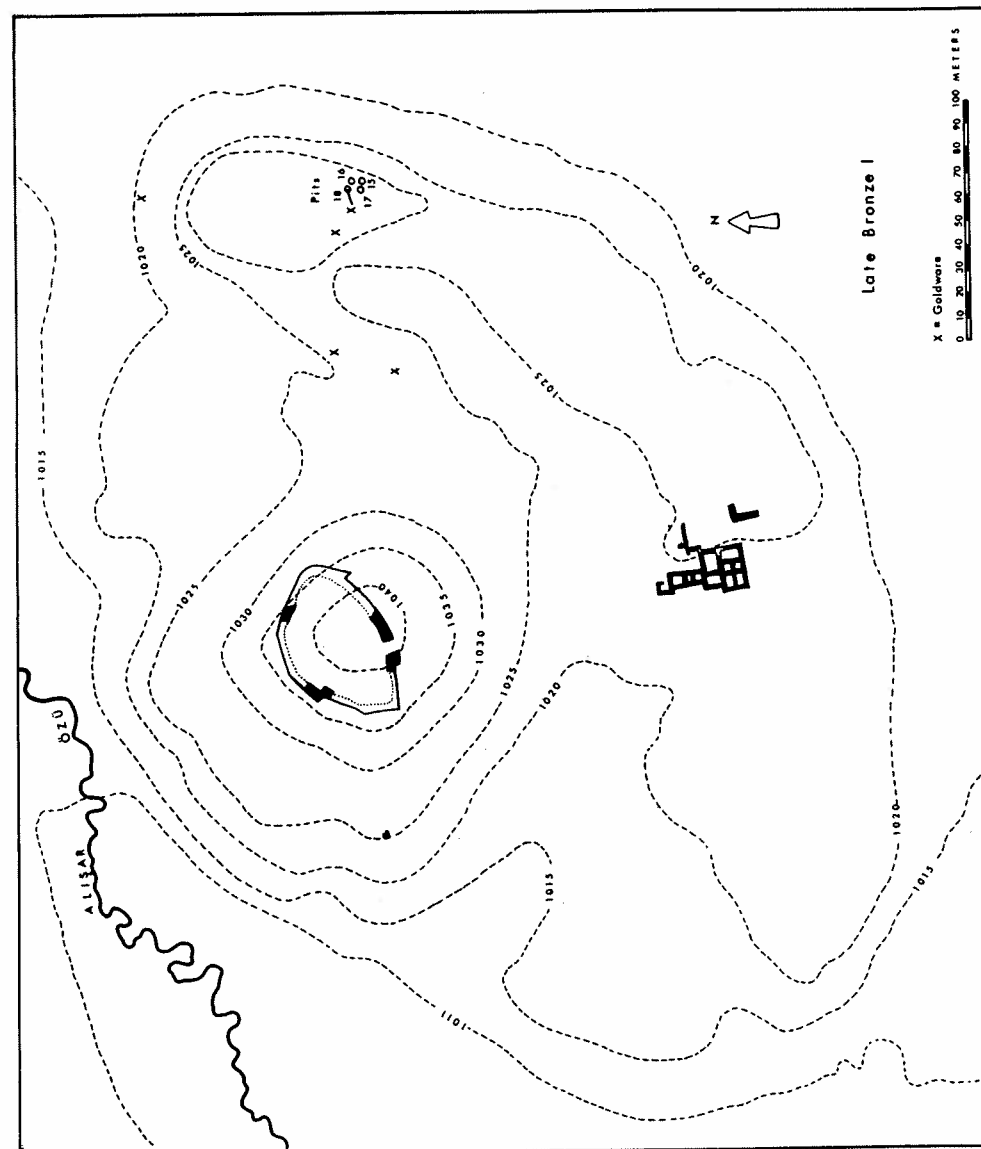
10. Kassite Seal (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)



10b. Horizontal Distribution of Biconvex Seals at Alişar Höyük.



11. SW Terrace Gate at Alişar (bottom) Compared with Boğazköy West Gate (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)



12. LBI Pits and Goldware Distribution.