

CHAPTER SEVEN
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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A. SCOPE OF THIS CHAPTER & TERMINOLOGY

A chapter on Luwian art and architecture seems an odd idea, for until now the term 'Luwian' has been used only as an ethnolinguistic and sometimes as a historical designation (Bryce 1997; Starke 1999b). This restricted usage of the term is mostly due to the research history and the general development of terminology in Ancient Near Eastern studies. In the cultural field of the second half of the second millennium BCE all monuments have been considered to be of Hittite craftsmanship, even if H.G. Güterbock already in 1957 stressed the fact that the speakers of the Nesite language were not the only bearers of Anatolian material culture (1957a).

In regard to the first millennium BCE, 'Neo-Hittite', 'Late Hittite' and 'Syro-Hittite' are widely used in recent handbooks to designate the civilization of both the Luwian- and Aramaean-speaking centers in northern Syria, one exception being J. Mellaart using 'East Luwian' (1978 79-83). The reason for this is the general opinion that no obvious stylistic distinction can be made between these two population groups in terms of their art and architectural styles. So the question 'what kind of material culture did the Luwians have' has really not been asked so far.

This chapter concentrates mostly on the Luwians in their Iron Age context for the simple reason that for the Bronze Age period there is very little if any archaeological material at all which could clearly be assigned to be Luwian. Here the newest research will be reviewed briefly in order to show the problems and perspectives in identifying Bronze Age Luwians in the archaeological record.

For the Luwians in the Iron Age the division of what to include and what to exclude is mainly made according to the appearance of

HLuwian inscriptions, i.e. to areas and sites where monuments are immediately linked with written documents. This selection made here is meant to serve only the scope and purpose of this handbook and tries to give an idea of the material surroundings of the ruling class of Iron Age city-states which used the HLuwian writing system. The starting point here is the assumption that the Iron Age rulers using Luwian language in their representational inscriptions did either speak it themselves or otherwise wanted to be identified as representatives of their Luwian-speaking people. However this may be, it seems clear that very many, if not all northern Syrian sites undoubtedly bear mixed ethnicity (Lebrun 1993 13; Kuhrt 1995 400-411; Hutter 1996 116) and there is no possibility (nor is it feasible) to draw any clear line between the Luwians and the Aramaeans or to distinguish Aramaean or Luwian styles in craftsmanship. Furthermore, it is probable and even certain that the actual designers or executors of the architectural and artistic works did not belong to the same ethnic and linguistic group as those who commissioned them. But despite the complexity of the question of ethnicity, race and cultural identity, we cannot totally underestimate the value of these written documents and refuse to see the Luwian element in this area, especially when taking the linguistic evidence into consideration. It is impossible to understand how this language could have flourished and developed in northern Syria for such a long period if nobody spoke it as their mother tongue.

We are thus not dealing here with a simple equation of language, ethnicity and art style which is possible in some ancient cultures like Greece or Egypt. Rather I simply take the inscriptions as a starting point in reviewing what is left of the material culture of the people who created these inscriptions. In analogy we do not take Etruscan art to be peripheral Greek art just because it is highly derivative from Greek models and we know that a great deal of what we call 'Etruscan art' was actually produced by Greeks (Spivey 1997 11-13).

The archaeological material of the first millennium BCE, which we here call Luwian, has previously been titled mainly 'North Syrian', 'Late Hittite' or 'Syro-Hittite' (German 'späthethitisch' and 'syro-hethitisch') implying a common denominator between the Luwian and Aramaean centers (Orthmann 1971 7; Genge 1979 1). Additionally there are 'exclusively Luwian' city-states of the central Anatolian plateau (Tabal), where multiple, though often very badly preserved

pieces of art have been found. Many of these objects are quite fragmentary; others are fairly new finds and have thus not been treated in the earlier overall reviews of Late Hittite art. For some of these pieces W. Orthmann has even stated that it is doubtful if they belong to the 'Late Hittite' cultural sphere (1971 115). Whether the stylistical analysis of the central Anatolian material allows us to use the label 'Late Hittite' for them or not is unimportant here since we are interested in their Luwian aspect. So I shall concentrate slightly more on the less well-known evidence of the material remains of Luwian-speaking areas. What is possible to offer is not an updated version of the things which make up 'Late Hittite' art, but we rather approach the material from a slightly different point of view: that is, Luwian.

So here monuments found in such areas as central, south and southeastern Anatolian Tabal, Cilicia, Malatya, Kummuh and Maraş are regarded as Luwian. In northern Syria, a site which always has been categorised as linguistically Luwian and thus also as belonging to the Luwian artistic sphere is Carchemish (contra: Bryce in this volume p. 126f). The excavations at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century revealed a great number of HLuwian inscriptions, and most of the sculptural and architectural material is immediately linked to these inscriptions. It is, however, interesting to note that very close to Carchemish, just across the river Euphrates, a site with numerous clay tablets written with Aramaic alphabets has been excavated (Fales 1996; Fortin 1999, 227; Fig. 249). Thus, this area seems clearly to be bilingual. Furthermore, scholars do not agree on whether Til Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar) was a Neo-Hittite or an Aramaean city and whether there was a change of power from Luwian to Aramaean rulers just before the city was overtaken by the Assyrians (Bunnens 1995b; Lipinski 2000 127). S. Dalley has recently argued for the irrelevance of this question, suggesting that it was local skills and traditions, not ethnic grouping, which dictated the choice of script (2000 80-87). In any case the stelae which are under consideration here bear also a HLuwian inscription and so fall here in the category of Luwian art.

Also such sites as Tell Tayinat, 'Ain Dara and Aleppo are regarded here as Luwian. Aleppo was a center of the Storm-god, the HLuwian stela found in Babylon (Hawkins 2000 pl. 209) was originally erected there, and some of the newly discovered reliefs from the temple of the Storm-god are labelled with hieroglyphs (Kohlmeyer 2000). In

Tell Tayinat the archaeological material and in 'Ain Dara the epigraphic evidence for Luwians are scanty, but both the historical sources as well as the absence of written sources in other languages speak for the Luwian character of the area (Hawkins 2000 361-365). In the case of Hama the building levels F and E certainly belong to the pre-Aramaic period of the city-state and fall here into the category of 'Luwian' (Hawkins 2000 402).

This chapter excludes, on the other hand, a treatment of the material remains of Sam'al (Zincirli), for there are no HLuwian inscriptions found on this site except a signet ring bearing the name of the king Bar-Rakib (Friedrich 1957; Hawkins 2000 576), and all the written sources which can be connected to art and architecture are in West Semitic language and script. This decision certainly seems to be sort of hairsplitting, since some of the rulers of Sam'al do have Luwian names, and the earlier orthostat reliefs from this site bear a great affinity with those from Carchemish, some scholars regarding the early dynasty of Sam'al to have been Luwian (Klengel 2000 27). There also exist several quite convincing theories about travelling craftsmen working in several political centers of the area (Winter 1983 181-182; Mazzoni 1986-87; Mazzoni 2000 32). Nevertheless, J. D. Hawkins has shown that the deities depicted on the reliefs of the 'Outer Citadel Gate' in Sam'al represent Aramaean gods, even if their iconography was borrowed from the 'Long Wall of Sculpture' in Carchemish (Hawkins 1984 76-77).

In the case of Sakça Gözü on the other hand—which geographically lies between Sam'al and Maraş—since no inscriptions have been found, the classification either to the Luwian or to the Aramean population group is extremely difficult. Iconographically and stylistically the monuments there are highly influenced by Neo-Assyrian models (Orthmann 1971 79-82).

What has also been excluded here are monuments in the north-western part of the central Anatolian plateau, which in the first half of the first millennium politically belong probably to the Phrygian realm, and are disputed both chronologically as well as stylistically. Such are for example the rock reliefs of Midas City (Akurgal 1958 147-155; Prayon 1987 87-89) and the stela of Daydalı/Emirdağ (Akurgal 1949 80-94; Prayon 1987 79-84; Akurgal 1995 fig. 158a-c). Even if both show some Luwian traits, they are located in an area

where no Luwian inscriptions of the first millennium have so far been found.

Furthermore, this chapter does not deal with art handicrafts like seals, ivories, metalwork or pottery. Even if some workshops of minor arts have been proposed to have flourished in such Luwian centers as Carchemish, Kummuh (Winter 1983 184-186) and even Tabal (Rittig 1994), very little material and no actual workshops have been found in the sites themselves. Here the real connection to the Luwians escapes us.

B. LUWIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE BRONZE AGE?

The arrival of the Luwians in Anatolia is not discernible in the archaeological record, and since the date of their immigration is also not known to us (see Bryce in this volume p. 27) it is difficult to attribute any Early or Middle Bronze Age material to this population group. When looking for traces of Late Bronze Age Luwian art and architecture, we are faced with the problems of modern archaeology. Up to now hardly any relevant sites have been excavated, although this same period has yielded ample literary evidence for Luwians in large areas of Anatolia—also in those territories which politically belonged to Hittite Empire (Carruba 1995b 63; Starke 1997a 456f). Seton Lloyd (1956 153-154) wrote almost a half a century ago about the paucity of archaeological information concerning Arzawa, the most important Luwian state known from the written sources, and we are actually almost in the same position today as then. Fortunately, the political and cultural role played by Luwians in Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age has recently begun to receive more attention, and there is hope that it will also intensify the archaeological exploration.

In the western part of Anatolia, where Luwian cities and towns of such political entities as Arzawa and Mira are expected to lie, only a few large-size centers with Late Bronze Age occupation have ever been a target of archaeological research. To be named here is naturally Beycesultan near the modern town of Afyon which is one of the largest mounds in southwest Anatolia. In six seasons of excavations from 1954 to 1959 architectural structures of the 14th to 11th centuries were discovered (Lloyd 1972), but because the site failed to produce any inscriptions, the core question of the time—whether it was the

capital of Arzawa or not—remained unanswered (Mellaart 1974; Mellaart and Murray 1995 96). The archaeological remains, both the architecture and pottery, indicate however an independent cultural sphere different from that of the Hittites in Boğazköy or the Mycenaean realm in mainland Greece. The capital city of the land of Mira, on the other hand, was thought to be in Beyköy, also in the vicinity of Afyon, where W. R. Ramsay discovered a HLuwian inscription at the end of 19th century. The survey and test soundings made in the area did not confirm this identification (Gonnet 1981; Gonnet 1994; see also Hawkins 1998b 24-25).

In recent years, however, the historical geography of Anatolia in the latter half of the second millennium has been clarified a great deal. The contents of the HLuwian inscription of Tudhaliya IV from Yalburt was made available to the scholars, and the famous Bronze Tablet found in Boğazköy in 1988 enabled rapid progress in anchoring many topographical names on the geographical map (Starke 1997a). The final breakthrough was made by J. D. Hawkins in reading the heretofore illegible HLuwian inscription of Karabel. With the aid of these results a new proposition for the location of the capital of Arzawa was made, and there is now hope that the identification of Apasa with the acropolis of Ayasuluk in Ephesos (modern Selçuk) will be confirmed also by future archaeological research (Hawkins 1998b 24). Recent activities there have already revealed Late Bronze Age pottery and parts of a Bronze Age fortification wall (Niemeyer 1999; Büyükkolancı 2002). The most tantalizing support for placing Apasa in Ephesos is a clay analysis made of the so-called Arzawa-letter from Tell Amarna which strongly points to an Ephesian origin for the tablet.¹ There are also some other Late Bronze Age sites on the Anatolian western shore. We have for example results from Panaztepe and Limantepe both near Izmir (Graeves and Helwing 2001 504-505). In Panaztepe the second millennium settlement has been badly destroyed by later Greek and Roman occupation, but a necropolis has been excavated (Günel 1999).

¹ This is a result of the Tell Aviv based project 'Provenance Study of the Amarna Letters', presented by Prof. Yuval Goren at the Vth International Congress for Hittitology in Çorum in September 2002. The written publication of the research will appear soon.

Closely linked with the other developments in Luwian studies are the new excavations of Troy taking place since 1987. Preliminary reports are published yearly in the project's own series *Studia Troica*. Very many scholars, basing their opinions on the new archaeological results on Hisarlik and on the new scheme of Hittite historical geography, identify this site and its surroundings with the Luwian state of Wilusa mentioned in the Hittite sources (Niemeyer 1999 143 and n. 22; Starke 2001; Latacz 2002; contra: Ünal 1999 135-147). A few colleagues also believe (partly on the testimony of one hieroglyphic seal found in Troy in 1995) that Troy belonged to the Luwian-speaking area (Korfmann 1999 35, but see also Neumann 1999). Must we then conclude that Troy VI was a Luwian city? Should we interpret the fortification structures and public buildings on the citadel to be Luwian architecture par excellence? Despite the high probability that the equation of Wilusa and Troy is correct we should not jump to such conclusions too easily. The sheer lack of evidence inhibits us from making any definition of Bronze Age Luwian art and architecture, and as long as there is no comparative material for the architectural structures in Troy, this problem remains unsolved.

This is about as far as we can get tracing Luwians in the Late Bronze Age Anatolia. But is it true that the existence of Luwians can be ascertained *only* from their linguistic legacy as E. Akurgal states (1996 219)? A strong Luwian impact on Hittite Imperial culture has long been acknowledged (see Bryce in this volume p. 84) but their possible role in the genesis and development of the rock reliefs has not been much discussed. According to the earlier handbooks these monuments are exclusively Hittite workmanship and manifestations of the central Hittite power (Gurney 1962 198) or at least a sign of Hittite influence on local authorities (Orthmann 1975 105). Today, however, based on the convincing decipherment of the HLuwian inscription connected with the rock reliefs of Karabel (Hawkins 1998b), we know that such rock monuments were not only executed by the Hittite Great Kings but also by Luwian rulers of Arzawa and Mira. Indeed it was long believed that the figure presented in Karabel *should* be one of the Hittite kings (Akurgal 1962 116; Mayer-Opificius 1996 173). Additionally there is one very recent find of a HLuwian rock inscription in 2000 in Suratkaya in the vicinity of Miletos bearing at least a name of a local crown prince, perhaps Kurunta-Kuwaliya (Peschlöw 2000; Peschlöw-Bindokat 2002; Peschlöw-

Bindokat and Herbordt 2001). Since the first datable rock reliefs only belong to the period of the Great King Muwattalli II (ca. 1295-1272), we do not yet have the possibility of setting all these monuments in a definite chronological order and thus cannot claim priority of the monuments in the Luwian areas. Nevertheless it is plausible that rock monuments could have a Luwian rather than Hittite origin (see also Pecorella 1994 207). The question remains also whether we should, for example, see the rock relief of Hatip (Dinçol 1998a and 1998b), erected in the Luwian land of Tarhuntassa but by a descendant of the Hittite imperial family, as a Luwian or a Hittite monument. What about the architectural finds in such sites as Kilise Tepe (Symington 2001 with further refs) and Sirkeli (Hrouda 1997) in Cilicia? The exploration of the Late Bronze Age sites in western and southern Anatolia is still in its infancy, but hopefully further 'Luwian-oriented' research will enable us to achieve a clearer picture of their material culture.

C. LUWIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE IRON AGE CONTEXT

1. *State of research and limits of present overview*

1.1 *Archaeological research*

Very many excavations were conducted at an early date, and even up to the present research and discovery in Anatolia and northern Syria have been anything but thorough and consistent. Numerous sites were visited and stray finds made by travelling scholars in the late 19th and early 20th century, but also today monuments are being found by chance, like the statue of the Storm-god with the bilingual inscription found in Çineköy near Adana in 1997 (Ipek, Tosun and Tekoğlu 1999; Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000). Most of the modern field expeditions have not been successful in finding substantial architectural remains or sculpture, but only a little has been researched so far, leaving vast areas practically untouched by archaeologists.

Carchemish² on the western bank of the Euphrates was explored under the auspices of the British Museum by P. Henderson from 1879 to 1881, then by D. G. Hogarth, Campbell-Thompson, and T.

² For the historical context of this site see Hawkins 1976-80 and Hawkins 2000 73-79.

E. Lawrence, by C. L. Woolley from 1911 to 1914, and again by C. L. Woolley in 1920 (Hawkins 1997b). We know the general outline of the Iron Age city, but due to the fact that the excavators mainly revealed the sculpted orthostat façades of the buildings, leaving the inner structures unexcavated, we have limited information about the architectural features or of the stratigraphy of this very important town. Only a very small part of the entire mound could be exposed then, and unfortunately its politically sensitive position will probably prevent research also in the future.

Another large tell in the vicinity of Carchemish is Tell Ahmar, which was first excavated 1928-1931 by the famous French Assyriologist F. Thureau-Dangin (1929; Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936). He found an Assyrian palace decorated with wall paintings but also several stelae depicting the Storm-god with HLuwian inscriptions and some fragments of orthostats clearly belonging to the pre-Assyrian levels. The research here was resumed in 1988 by an Australian team, and although no remains dating from the pre-Assyrian Iron Age have been found, some new hieroglyphic stelae have come to light (Weiss 1997 100-104; Roobaert and Bunnens 1999 167; Hawkins 1996-97). These inscriptions confirm the earlier suggestion of J.D. Hawkins (1983) that the Luwian name of the city was Masuwari.

Aleppo and its cult-centre of the Storm-god was previously known only through written sources. Its Luwian character could only be assumed by the basalt stela found in Babylon in 1899. This stela bears a figure of the Storm-god of Aleppo, and the HLuwian inscription describes its dedication to this deity. Fortunately, parts of a magnificent temple have now been uncovered on the citadel of Aleppo (Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 1998; Kohlmeyer 2000).

In 1932-1937 the Oriental Institute of Chicago conducted a survey and excavations in the archaeologically rich plain of Amuq where the remains of Tell Tayinat, Çatal Hüyük and Tell Judeideh were excavated (McEwan 1937). All these mounds yielded some Iron Age material, but HLuwian inscriptions and major architectural structures were only found in Tell Tayinat. The ancient name of this town remains uncertain, even if it probably should be identified with Kunalua, the capital city of Unqi/Patina (Hawkins 2000 361-365). Surveys and excavations have been continued on the Amuq, but the focus of the research is on earlier periods (Graeves and Helwing 2001 481-482).

Another important site belonging to Unqi is 'Ain Dara (Abū 'Assāf 1990).

The southernmost source for HLuwian stone monuments is Hama on the Orontes river. A Danish team explored the citadel in the heart of the modern town between 1931 and 1938. Since the major HLuwian inscriptions from Hama were not found during these excavations, there have been difficulties in connecting the right building phases to the Pre-Aramean period (Hawkins 2000 402).

At Malatya on the upper Euphrates first monuments came to light already in 1894 on the ancient mound called Arslantepe. A French expedition first started archaeological research from 1932 to 1938 under L. Delaporte (1940), and these were first continued by C. Schaeffer and later by the Italians since 1961 (Frangipane 1993-1995). Later research at Arslantepe has concentrated on the chalcolithic and EBA periods of the settlement and have shed no new light on the Hittite and Luwian eras (Frangipane 1997).

A source of numerous stelae, lion sculpture and statue fragments is Kahramanmaraş (earlier Maraş), which probably conceals the capital city of ancient Marqas (Hawkins 2000 249-252). No systematic archaeological research has been done in the center of the town, but in the 1990's there has been an archaeological survey in the broad valley region south of Kahramanmaraş conducted by an American expedition (Carter 1995 and 1996). Regarding the first millennium, the most interesting finds of this survey have been a basalt stela with a ruler figure and a trilingual inscription from Incirli (Gates 1995 217-218) and an unfinished gate lion, lying apparently in situ in a stone quarry (Carter 1996 Pl. I-II Fig. 4).

In the area of ancient Kummuh-Commagene the finds at our disposal do not stem from regular excavations, and probably many of the key sites of this area have been flooded by the Atatürk Barrage (Hawkins 2000 331). On the other hand, villages in the vicinity of the modern town Şanlıurfa (earlier Urfa) have yielded pieces of stelae and other sculpture (Kulakoğlu 1999).

In the Cilician area Yümüktepe in Mersin (Garstang 1953) and Gözlü Kule in Tarsus (Goldman 1956) were the focus of earlier excavations, and more modern stratigraphic work has been carried out in Mersin by Veli Sevin (Graeves and Helwing 2001 483). Recent projects have been begun also in Soli (Yağci 2001) and Kinet Hüyük (Gates 2000 and 2001; Graeves and Helwing 2001 490-492).

None of these sites have so far revealed any substantial material in terms of Luwian art or architecture, but one of the most spectacular finds of the 20th century is Karatepe in northeastern Cilicia, where a citadel, orthostat reliefs and a long Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual was discovered in 1946 (Bossert and Alkım 1947; Bossert et al 1950). H. Th. Bossert guided the excavations until 1948, and H. Çambel has continued the research (since 1997 with the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul) up to the present (Sicker-Akman 1999; Çambel 2001). Parallel to the work done in Karatepe, the neighbouring mound Domuztepe situated on the other side of the Ceyhan river was also visited, the scattered sculpture fragments were collected and some test trenches dug (Alkım 1952; Çambel, Akif Işin and Sadler 1989). The above-mentioned statue of the Storm-god (p. 288) found recently at Çineköy is important both from the historical as well as from stylistic point of view.

On the central Anatolian plateau, generally designated as Tabal, large-scale excavations of Iron Age sites have been lacking so far (detailed in Aro 1998 12-28). Many monuments were used as building material in old churches or mosques and have been found accidentally. In Kültepe and Kululu the later Hellenistic and Roman occupation has rendered the earlier layers difficult to excavate and actually has destroyed much of them (Özgüç 1971; 1973). Kululu, which is the source of multiple sculptural fragments, has been researched only very briefly and not over a substantial area. The material remains of the ancient site of Tuwana lie under the modern village of Kemerhisar, and is thus excluded from major archaeological projects (Berges 2002). The mountain site of Göllüdağ some forty kilometers northwest of Niğde has been under research first by Turkish scholars in 1934 and 1968-69 (Arık 1936; Tezcan 1992), and more recently Wulf Schirmer from Karlsruhe has contributed especially with digital maps of the area and some test trenches (1993a; 1993b; 1996). The most recent work initiated in this area seems to be the topographical research of Kızıldağ near Karaman which hopefully can clarify the chronological problems attached to the HLuwian inscriptions and the rock-relief of the great king Hartapu (Karağuz, Bahar and Kunt 2002).

In regard to archaeological and historical maps the most recent ones are those by F. Starke in the exhibition catalogue *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich* (2002) which show Luwian sites and territories. For

the archaeological material of the Iron Age Luwians the best contribution has been made in the colossal series of *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (Prayon 1991; Prayon and Wittke 1994).

1.2 Monographs and handbooks on art and architecture

In terms of larger overall views of Luwian monuments the monographs of E. Akurgal (1949) and W. Orthmann (1971) are quoted most frequently, whereas the critical analysis of H. Genge (1979) has won little acceptance. The monograph of K. Bittel on Hittite art of 1976 also has its own chapter on Late Hittites, in which the earlier datings of E. Akurgal seem to have been used (see below p. 294f). Of the plentiful works of synthesis on Hittite or Near Eastern art and architecture, the chapter in the handbook by H. Frankfort (1954) should be mentioned. It has rather extreme views on style and chronology, and unfortunately it was reprinted in 1996. In very many encyclopedias one can find the Luwian monuments treated as Hittite art, and the better ones among these general overviews define the term as covering objects found in the political sphere of the Hittites and not as bearing an ethnic definition (Furlani 1961). More recent treatments of Hittite art including the Iron Age period have appeared by Turkish colleagues in Turkish (Darga 1992, Akurgal 1995; Akurgal 1998). A handbook of Early Turkey by M. Sharp Joukowsky (1996) is mainly written for students. Some shorter representations of Hittite and 'Neo-Hittite' art and architecture include Kohlmeyer (1995) and generally on Tabalian culture Sevin (1998).

Specialized analyses focusing on one particular aspect of Late Hittite art or architecture are virtually nonexistent. However a recent study by D. Bonatz (2000) has produced a useful insight into the 'Syro-Hittite' grave stelae and free-standing sculpture. The material culture of Tabal is dealt with briefly by S. Aro (1998 160-222). Now that text sources have opened for us new perspectives in the study of the Luwians (Hawkins 2000), one can only hope that more detailed studies will be published in the future.

In summary, regarding the material culture of the Luwians, archaeological investigations carried out up to now have not been adequate, and thus no clear statements about public architecture or settlement patterns can be made on the basis of excavation reports. And because the available information is still too patchy for a balanced overall picture, one can hardly produce any far-reaching socio-political

interpretations concerning Luwian art and architecture. Refined analyses are out of the question here, even if there is no doubt that in the future modern archaeological approaches will certainly contribute to a richer understanding of the Iron Age Luwians.

2. Datings of Luwian art in the Iron Age

Scholars have struggled a great deal with the dating of the Luwian monuments throughout, and we are still hampered in our understanding of the development of Luwian art because there are so few monuments which can be dated exactly or even relatively. The difficulties in establishing a reliable chronological sequence of the monuments are due to many facts:

- (1) As pointed out above, many key sites for Luwian Iron Age material were excavated at an early date when stratigraphy was often inadequately observed and/or recorded. So we do not have the means for instance to compare the pottery found in the relevant contexts and use cross-datings with the aid of relative and absolute sequences from the more modern excavations.
- (2) At the beginning of the research there existed divergent readings and datings for the HLuwian inscriptions, so they did not much help to create a reliable chronological framework. This caused some mistrust among the archaeologists towards the inscription-based chronologies and led some colleagues to disregard totally the philological evidence and to use a stylistic-sequence dating only. And even now when we are able to read the names of most rulers on the inscriptions, these do not often match the kings mentioned in the better datable Neo-Assyrian sources. One disturbing example is the king Sangara of Carchemish. He is referred to several times in the Neo-Assyrian annals between 866-849 BCE, but none of the buildings and monuments unearthed so far can be attributed to him (Hawkins 2000 75-76; contra: Ussishkin 1967c). In the case of Carchemish it is also possible that Sangara concentrated his building activities in some part of the town which is still untouched by archaeologists.
- (3) The whole corpus of material is of uneven quality, and because the Luwian city-states lacked a centralized power to set the standards for a style, as for example in the Neo-Assyrian empire, a clear homogeneous development in style is thus not traceable.

- (4) There is clear evidence for the fact that several sites underwent refurbishments and rebuildings during these centuries and/or were badly destroyed either during foreign occupation or in the Hellenistic/Roman periods. So even if stone slabs were actually found *in situ*, they often raised the question of their being reused in the context where they were found.

All these circumstances have caused a great variety of different groupings and chronologies for the material, and no agreement on the datings of the monuments has been reached. For a general reader with no expertise in Anatolian and northern Syrian archaeology, different datings given in different handbooks, often written by very prominent scholars, can be somewhat confusing.

In principle we have an upper and lower limit for the monuments of the Iron Age, i.e. the upper limit consisting of the destruction of the Hittite empire around 1180 and a lower limit at the end of the 8th century when the Luwian centers were annexed to the Assyrian empire. Earlier, the link between the Empire period and the Early Iron Age monuments was not clear at all, and it was not until the 1980's that some new finds, like the sealing of the king Kuzi-Teshub of Carchemish (Hawkins 1988), provided some inscriptional help to dispel the obscurity of the period between 1200-950. This was of particular help in redating numerous monuments in the area of Malatya where the earliest Iron Age rulers were descendants of Kuzi-Teshub (Hawkins 2000 286-288). The break with HLUwian traditions in the second half of the 8th century seems to be total at least for the northern Syrian sites, and only E. Akurgal has dated any monuments from Carchemish or elsewhere after 717 (Akurgal 1966 123; Akurgal 2001 214). For the central Anatolian plateau where the Assyrian power was not long-lasting there are some hints for the continuation of the Luwian traditions, but clear evidence is still lacking (Aro 1998 93-94). Also the building activities in Karatepe have been dated by some scholars to belong to the very late 8th or early 7th century (Winter 1979 150-151; Hawkins 2000 44-45).

After the pioneering work done for example by E. Pottier (1926), W. von Bissing (1930-31) and V. Christian (1933-34), the first attempt to create a general framework of chronological phases for Late Hittite sculptural monuments was made by E. Akurgal. He suggested a division into three stylistic periods, i.e. 'altspäthethitisch' (Early

Neo-Hittite), 'mittelspäthethitisch' (Middle Neo-Hittite) and 'jungspäthethitisch' (Late Neo-Hittite) (1949 139-144). This chronological sequence was based on the growing degree of Assyrian influence in style and iconography. The first study of E. Akurgal from 1949 was a solid piece of scholarship, and it was rightly used as guideline until the revaluation of the material by W. Orthmann in 1971. In his later works E. Akurgal changed his datings considerably, and it is unfortunate that these are being repeated by him into the 21st century (2001). One crucial alteration was made in 1966 when he identified Katuwa, king of Carchemish, known from the HLUwian inscriptions and sculptural work connected with them, with Pisiri, attested in Neo-Assyrian sources as the last king of Carchemish before 717 BCE (1966 109). So, contrary to what has usually and plausibly been supposed, namely that Katuwa reigned ca. 900 BCE, Akurgal dates all monuments erected by him to the second half of the eighth century BCE. This chronological distortion was followed by setting the reliefs belonging to Yariri from the so-called Royal Buttress [Pl. XIII] to the phase after the capture of the town by the Assyrians (1966 121-123; 2001 214).

The chronological subdivision created by W. Orthmann in his monograph (1971) is still widely referred to in most of the other treatments. Basically he created a system similar to that of E. Akurgal, calling his phases 'späthethitisch I' (ca. 1000-950), 'späthethitisch II' (ca. 950-850) and 'späthethitisch III', with the last phase having two subdivisions into IIIa (ca. 850-750) and IIIb (ca. 750-700). 'Späthethitisch I' comprises the archaic style with no Assyrian affinities, 'späthethitisch II' shows the beginning of the Assyrian influence in the area, and 'späthethitisch III' the increasing Assyrian presence. W. Orthmann also made use of the possibilities of cross-dating the monuments with the aid of HLUwian and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions.

One of the crucial points in creating absolute dates for Luwian art has been the question of which artistic principles and iconographic features are genuinely Anatolian and which are of Neo-Assyrian influence imported into the area only in the ninth century BCE. Monuments in northern Syria were often dated according to the date of appearance of some details in the Neo-Assyrian monuments, building thus a *terminus post quem*. It was soon realized, however, that the influences could not go in one direction only, and that some

compositions evidently stem from the Luwian repertoire and have been taken over by the Assyrians (Güterbock 1957b 65). While a few decades ago there still existed the perception that none of the Luwian sculptures could have been executed without a knowledge of Neo-Assyrian art (Frankfort 1954 175; Mallowan 1972 63), many recent studies on the naissance of the Neo-Assyrian palaces are of the opinion that such concepts as *bît hilani*, the guarding lions on the gates, and sculptured reliefs were borrowed from northern Syria to Assyria (Reade 1983 17; Winter 1987; Bunnens 1995a; Matthiae 1999 13).

There are some sites and monuments whose datings have been more debated than others. The so-called Lion Gate and the adjacent sculpted reliefs of Malatya [Pl. X], for example, have been dated from the 13th to the 8th century. These are all archaic-looking, but whether they really belong to the early period or merely show an archaizing style was disputed for a long time (Güterbock 1957b 64; Hawkins 1982 385). Now the better understanding of the textual sources for Malatya has undermined their position as very early in the sequence of Luwian art (Hawkins 2000 286-289), a view now accepted also by many archaeologists (Kohlmeyer 1995 2656; Mazzoni 1997 310-311; Bonatz 2000 200 n. 243; Orthmann 2002 277). This however does not help us with the question of whether the gate lions and the reliefs were reused in a later period and whether some of the slabs were joined to the older pieces (Frankfort 1954 167; Muscarella 1971 263; Mellink 1974 106). The categorisation and dating of the reliefs in Carchemish have also been subject to numerous suggestions (see Akurgal above and for example Hawkins 1972; Mallowan 1972; Mazzoni 1977). Almost all pieces from Carchemish have been dated to the first millennium, but a reevaluation of the slabs shows that some elements from the Late Bronze Age may have been used in later remodelling (Özyar 1998), thus disproving a thesis of Frankfort (1954 175) and Mallowan (1972) that all the sculpture of Carchemish should belong to the first millennium. Also for the monumental temple structure and a portal lion from 'Ain Dara one can find several divergent datings from the 11th to the 8th century BCE (Hrouda 1991 372; Orthmann 1993; Abū 'Assāf 1997).

Furthermore, a rather great discrepancy in datings appears in the case of numerous grave stelae found in and around Maraş, espe-

cially for the double portrait³ in the Adana museum [Pl. XXIIa]. Many colleagues favor a date in the late eighth century (Orthmann 1975 431 Cat. Nr. 362; Bittel 1976 Fig. 317), E. Akurgal placing it even later at the beginning of the seventh century (1995 Fig. 150-151). H. Genge (1979 95-102) and more recently D. Bonatz (2000 19 Cat. Nr. C 29) prefers a considerably earlier chronological setting in the 9th century.

One of the most controversial issues in Luwian art has been the dating of the reliefs of Karatepe [Plate XV]. This site with the famous bilingual inscription has been excavated since 1946, but to date no definitive publications of its stratigraphy or of the sculptural work have appeared. In one of the first preliminary reports the excavators claimed that the site was occupied in only one period of rather short duration and that the artistic differences in the workmanship of the reliefs were only due to two different masters (Çambel 1948 151). Today there is evidence for three different building periods in Karatepe, and it seems probable that at least some of the gateway sculptures were reused (Ussishkin 1969 126; Winter 1979; Hawkins 2000 44).

To sum up, the absolute chronology of Luwian buildings and monuments should be regarded as tentative only. In principle one can still use the stylistical division made by Orthmann (1971) into 'späthethitisch I-III', although some of the monuments have been redated since the publication of his research (see now Orthmann 2002). The datings proposed in this chapter follow mainly the guidelines established by J. D. Hawkins (2000). These are based on a rigorous analysis of both the historical facts and the development of the HLUwian script and give us a reliable general framework for the relative sequence of the monuments.

3. 'Luwian' centers in North Syria: continuity or discontinuity?

After the disappearance of the Bronze Age political structures, HLUwian inscriptions are used by the ruling class not only in the central Anatolian area and in Cilicia but also in many centers in northern Syria, the city-state of Hama being the southernmost site. This phenomenon has often been explained with a theory that Hittite and/or Luwian population groups migrated from Anatolia during the

³ Inv.Nr. 1755.

crisis years and established themselves especially in centers of previous Hittite domination (Macqueen 1995 1099; cf. also Bryce in this volume p. 126). Others are of the opinion that there is no evidence for such displacement either of Hittites or Luwians from north to south, but that the emergence of Luwian city-states in North Syria can best be explained in terms of 'cultural choice' (Bunnens 2000a 17). Indeed, a dynastic continuity of the viceroys of Carchemish from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age is attested through the discovery of a seal impression belonging to Kuzi-Teshub whose father was a contemporary of Suppiluliuma II, the last attested king of the Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1988). So Carchemish survived the collapse of Hattusa and developed its own distinctive Luwian culture. A model set up by Carchemish was perhaps adopted by other political entities as well. It is also plausible to think that other North Syrian centers like Aleppo (also the former residence of a Hittite viceroy) and 'Ain Dara (where the temple shows no gap in use) were ruled by descendants of the Late Bronze Age 'Hittites', who preserved and remodelled their cultural heritage into what we call here 'Luwian'.

4. Architecture

The Luwian kings and princes of the Iron Age usually ruled over a fortified town with a citadel and a lower city. In most of the cases the surrounding territory under their control seems not to have been very extensive. For some city-states we have information from the written sources about towns they conquered. For example Suhi II, king of Carchemish, claims that he destroyed the city Alatahana.⁴ Sometimes the place of discovery of stelae with HLuwian inscriptions can give information about borders and dependencies of local rulers (for Carchemish see Hawkins 2000 75). The contemporary Neo-Assyrian historical inscriptions also describe siege, occupation and occasionally also destruction of Luwian towns that are not the capitals of the local ruler (overview in Hawkins 1995e). The only city-state which we know to have had wide areas under its dominion is thus Carchemish—Shalmaneser III mentioning in 848 BCE '97 cities of Carchemish' (Grayson 1996 76 A.O.102.16, 66'-68'). Very many place names occur in these Neo-Assyrian inscriptions but only a few

⁴ KARKAMIŠ A1a, §9. See Hawkins 2000 88.

have been securely identified in modern topography (Parpola and Porter 2001).

The physical remains of the Luwian cities are not at all well preserved, and again the scarcity of significant archaeological data prevents us from any detailed description of architectural structures apart from orthostated walls. Up to the present not a single Luwian settlement has been explored on a large scale such that we would have information, for example, on whether there existed any common pattern of subdivisions into administration, religion, industry etc. in different parts. Nevertheless, S. Mazzoni has carefully analysed the existing material, suggesting that most of the Luwian cities were new foundations or refoundations and that gate structures with sculpture were part of the visual propaganda. According to her there was a general new urbanization where a common model of urban ideology and planning was adopted (1994; 1997).

We know some of the stone quarries used by the Luwian centers for their dressed stones and sculpture. Two of them, Yesemek and Sıkızlar, are situated in North Syria (Alkım 1974; Mazzoni 1986-87), while another was recently discovered in the vicinity of Kahramanmaraş (Carter 1996).

4.1 Defensive walls and monumental gate structures

'Ain Dara

It was a monumental portal lion apparently belonging to a gate structure of the city wall, but not discovered *in situ*, which brought initial attention to this site. The northern gate-house was excavated later but has remained largely unpublished (Seirafi 1960 89-90; Orthmann 1964 137). A contour map of the mound suggests, however, that there were four main entrances to the acropolis (Stone—Zimansky 1999 2 with n.1).

Carchemish

During the major excavation campaign in Carchemish in 1911-1914 the team surveyed the circuits of the badly preserved fortification walls. The foundations of the walls were often of rubble. All three parts of the city—the citadel mound, the inner town and the outer town were separately walled [Pl. IV]. Of the outer city wall (circa

2400m) only the West Gate was investigated (Woolley 1921 54 and Pl. 4). The Inner Town defence had three major entrances. From the eastern side it was accessible from the river Euphrates through the 'Water Gate'. Even if in a bad state of preservation, the layout of this gate could be restored as having been three-chambered. The portal lions and orthostats that once belonged to more than one building phase of the gate were scattered in the proximity, and many of them were very fragmented. The circuit of the Inner Town defences spans circa 1850m. The two other gates were named the West Gate and the South Gate. The remains of the West Gate were badly demolished, but two towers and the three-chamber structure of the gate-house could be restored (Woolley 1921 73-79). The South Gate had a doubly recessed gateway and flanking towers. Two wide gate-chambers were paved and decorated with unrelieved orthostats. Additionally, pieces of a statue and an inscribed base as well as a gate lion in front of the structure were discovered here (Woolley 1921 82-95). The ringed wall of the citadel had Bronze Age mudbrick work on stone foundations as well as later Early Iron Age structures (Woolley 1921 40; Hawkins 1976-80 436).

Hama

The city walls of Hama have not been traced so far, but in the south end of the citadel a gate-house leading to a courtyard was excavated and four gate-lions were found *in situ* (Fugmann 1958, Fig. 186).

Tell Ahmar

Because of the layer of the Assyrian occupation on the mound of Tell Ahmar/Masuware, the extent of the pre-Assyrian city is not known. The defensive wall of the lower city seems to have formed an interesting half circle, but we are not able to tell in which Iron Age period it was erected and whether it possibly has several construction phases. The gate lions found in the early excavations of the site bear a cuneiform inscription of Shamshi-ilu, an Assyrian governor of the city, but stylistically they might also be dated to the 9th century (Bunnens 1990 132-133).

Karatepe

The fortress in Karatepe is fairly small (circa 195x375m), and even if it may have been the main residence of Azatiwada, it surely was not the capital city of the Cilicians [Pl. V]. There are rectangular towers or bastions at fairly regular intervals on the inner circuit wall. Two ramps lead first to an outer courtyard and then to the Southwest and Northeast gate structures respectively. The gate-houses were flanked by defensive towers, and they are similar in structure. Both are T-shaped in plan, i.e. consisting only of one rectangular chamber, and they were decorated with portal lions, sphinxes and relieved orthostats, the northeastern entrance being the better preserved (Sicker-Akman 1999 533-540). Nearly all the slabs in Northeast gate were discovered *in situ*, but the surviving orthostat slabs from the Southwest Gate were found scattered in the surroundings, and their reconstruction is only hypothetical. The fortress was encircled also by outer city walls which have been explored only recently (Sicker-Akman 1999 533-539).

Domuztepe

The even smaller citadel hill of Domuztepe, just opposite Karatepe on the other side of the river Ceyhan, is archaeologically less well explored than Karatepe. The line of the defensive wall has not been traced. However, we know that at least one entrance led to the fortress from the southwest, where a badly preserved gate-house with portal lions was observed. Also the fragmentary orthostat reliefs found scattered on the hilltop and on its slopes show that the walls were decorated with these slabs (Alkım 1952 246-247). Even if the chronological relationship of Karatepe to Domuztepe is not entirely clear, the latter seems to be the earlier of the two, and it is also possible that the orthostat reliefs from Karatepe belonging to group A have been transferred to Karatepe where they were reused (see below p. 316).

Göllüdağ

A fortified hill site belonging to a later period, perhaps to the beginning of the 7th century, is Göllüdağ in central Anatolia [Pl. VI]. The defensive walls are built around a crater lake, and it lies at 2000 meters in the Melendiz mountain range north of Niğde. The fortifica-

tion wall is impressive with its 5km circuit. There seem to have been only two major gate structures leading to the site and some minor entrances. Two possible forts are situated inside the Southwest and Northern gates. Towers have not been located so far (Schirmer 1993b 125).

Additionally, we know of several sites in the area of Tabal in central Anatolia where Early Iron Age fortresses did exist. They are all insufficiently explored or documented, and a detailed study of Luwian defence architecture in general would be extremely welcome in the scholarly world, especially since some wall structures have been badly damaged in modern times. We can mention here for example such sites as Porsuk in the vicinity of the Cilician Gates (Pelon 1991), Karaburun near Haçibektaş (Bossert 1957) and Topaklı north of the Kızılırmak River (Polacco 1978). In the Anti-Taurus mountains the fortress of Havuz, where a gate lion was found in the 1920's, is only occasionally visited by colleagues (Boehmer 1967). One of the most interesting structures is however the almost circular defensive wall in Kızıldağ which is currently being surveyed by a Turkish team (Karağuz-Bahar-Kunt 2002).

4.2 Palaces and other public buildings

Thus far the word for 'palace' is unknown to us in the HLUwian inscriptions. In the scientific literature a prominent form of residence in the North Syrian urban centers is called *bît hilani*. This type of building consists of a façade with a columned portico of two or three columns, approached by a flight of steps. Behind the portico there are two rectangular rooms which apparently served as audience rooms. There also existed an upper floor, accessible by a stair on one side of the portico.⁵ The origins of this designation go back to the Neo-Assyrian building inscriptions mentioning *bît hilani*-structures erected in Nimrud and in Khorsabad. The *bît hilani*'s in Assyria could be best compared with columned-entrance buildings in North Syria, and since the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions mention this being a western style of house, the North Syrian counterparts were named after the Assyrian designation. The roots of the concept as well as the ety-

⁵ Wooden upper floors where women had their quarters are described also in HLUwian building inscriptions. See for example KARKAMIŠ A11a, §18-19 in Hawkins 2000 94-100.

mology of the word have been a matter of dispute in the modern scholarly discussion. For the building concept Syrian derivation has been suggested (Frankfort 1952) as well as Hittite (Alp 1983 332; Margueron 1995 83; Margueron—Sigrist 1997 237), whereas I. Singer has shown that the Assyrian '*hilani*' probably is a Luwian word /Hi:łana-/* written with the logogram PORTA and meaning 'gate'. It is thus possible that the Assyrians adopted the Luwian word and changed its meaning to cover every kind of monumental and columned entrance (Singer 1975).

Malatya

During the excavations by L. Delaporte only the entrance area and a paved courtyard of the building were exposed. The general layout of this monumental palace-like structure in Malatya is not known (Pecorella 1975 67; Frangipane 1997).

Carchemish

In the Inner Town of Carchemish structures of a large-scale building were excavated (Woolley and Barnett 1954 176-184; Fig. 38). This was identified as a *bît hilani*-type residence, but too little of the structures is preserved to confirm this interpretation (see Hawkins 1976-80 436, but also Fritz 1983 45).

Tell Tayinat

In Tell Tayinat the American excavation team recovered a courtyard flanked by four public buildings. The *bît hilani* (Building I) has an entrance on the north side of the building. The open portico is decorated with three columns, and on its western side stairs ascended to an upper storey (Haines 1971 40-57, pls. 96-104).

Hama

Level E on the citadel of Hama revealed public buildings, but only the remains of Building II were totally exposed. The entrances of Buildings II and III were decorated with lion sculpture. Building II seems to have been a palace with a buttressed façade. The entrance led to a large columned room which gave access to rows of storage rooms containing jars and other small finds (Riis—Buhl 1990 24-25).

Göllüdağ

A public building of unclear function is the vast structure (260x110m) in Göllüdağ [Pl. VIIa]. Its portal is of the *bît hilani* type, decorated on both sides with double lions and columns. On the inner doorway were sphinx statues carved on both sides. The portal leads into a portico which opens to a large courtyard built of large worked stones of orthostat type. Behind these audience rooms the complex had a large enclosure filled with regular rectangular units of eight rooms each forming a grid system of alleys. A generally suggested date in the late 8th century and attribution to king Warpalawa of Tuwana (Schirmer 1993b 123) seems to be supported by no evidence. A slightly later date in the beginning of the 7th century would still be possible based on the stylistic analysis of the gate lions (see below).

Karatepe

In Karatepe a building measuring circa 55x45m was situated on the summit of the hill. It was constructed directly on the bedrock. The ground plan of this palace-like structure seems to have been partially preserved. Apparently a central courtyard was surrounded with small rooms, and four bases of basalt were found connecting one room with the courtyard. The excavators assumed that this was a *bît hilani*-type of palace, but since we have very little published documentation about it, even this question remains open (Alkım 1950 543-544; Sicker-Akman 1999 540).

4.3 Sacral Buildings

In contrast to the numerous temples from the Hittite imperial period found in Boğazköy we know very little about Luwian sacral buildings. The meagre state of our knowledge is certainly due to the hazards of excavations and to the nature of Luwian cults: many deities seem to have been worshipped in open sanctuaries, near springs and on mountain peaks (see Hutter in this volume p. 256). In the HLuwian script the word temple is given as 'DEUS.DOMUS' ('god-house').

'Ain Dara and Aleppo

Chronologically the temples in 'Ain Dara and in Aleppo are the earliest known examples belonging to the Iron Age, and both are likely to be a continuation from the Late Bronze Age. The excavations of the

temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo are still proceeding, and we do not have much more than the outer wall with the fascinating relief orthostats (see below p. 312f). Both structures are representatives of the *templum in antis* concept in which columns are placed in between a porch or a portico. This kind of plan seems not to be derived from the Hittite Empire models but from Syrian ones, represented already in Middle Bronze Age counterparts in Ebla. In Aleppo a cult niche is situated in the front side, and the dimensions of the building were once colossal (Kohlmeyer 2000 23).

The temple of 'Ain Dara is oriented to the southeast, and its most remarkable features are a high platform and a great number of sculpted orthostats. According to its excavator it underwent three different building periods (1300-1000, 1000-900 and 900-740). The façade is decorated with reliefs of lions and sphinxes arranged in two levels. The entrance is a portico with two columns which was once flanked by sphinxes and lions. The *anticella* is an oblong room furnished with large basalt orthostats depicting mountain deities. Three steps join the *anticella* to the *cella*. Here series of slabs similar to those in the *anticella* depicting mountain deities with geniuses were found. A corridor surrounding the actual temple was constructed in the final phase, and it too was decorated with relieved orthostats. An overall feature of this construction is carved guilloche patterns running along the lower side of the walls. We do not know which god was worshipped in this temple. One possibility is Ishtar-Shaushka proposed by Abū 'Assāf (1997 35).

Carchemish

In Carchemish the temple of Kubaba, the chief deity of the city attested from the HLuwian inscriptions,⁶ has not been located so far. An identification with the much disturbed architectural remains on the citadel mound is according to J. D. Hawkins not supported by any real evidence (Hawkins 1976-80 436). The only temple which was exposed in detail belonged to the Storm-god. It was situated on a platform connected to the Great Staircase in the southwest, and the orthostats from the 'Long Wall of Sculpture' formed the southeast wall of the sanctuary. This sanctuary had a cobbled courtyard where

⁶ For example in KARKAMIŠ A31, §3, work of Kamani, mid-8th century. See Hawkins 2000 140-143.

an altar with a HLuwian inscription was found. The shrine itself consisted of only one room with a recessed entrance. A dressed stone podium stood opposite to the doorway with remains of a double-bull base (Hawkins 1976-80 437).

Tell Tayinat

One of the few structures which undoubtedly can be identified as a temple or shrine is the small megaron-type building (II) in Tell Tayinat. It is situated behind the southern palace. The plan much resembles that of the temple in 'Ain Dara: an entrance *in antis* with two columns on bases decorated with pairs of lions. The nave is rectangular, leading to a cella with podium (McEwan 1937 13; Haines 1971 53-57; pl. 81). This shrine had at least two building phases of which the later one—on the testimony of the broken and dispersed fragments of HLuwian inscriptions—seems already to belong to the period of the Assyrian occupation of the site. It is thus possible that the double lion base of basalt is not part of the original decoration of the building but is to be dated to the Assyrian era (Hawkins 2000 364-365).

Hama

The so-called Building III in Hama is identified as a temple by the excavators. It underwent at least two building phases, and the eastern part of it disappeared during Hellenistic or medieval construction work. Three portal lions were found *in situ* flanking the entrances (Riis—Buhl 1990 20-22).

Karatepe

There is a small building situated on the eastern side of the North-eastern gate, and a sacral character of the structure has been suggested (but see Orthmann 1976-80 413: 'sog. Tempel').

Tabal

On the central Anatolian plateau there are no buildings of the Iron Age which can with certainty be identified as temples. This is mostly due to the insufficient archaeological research, since the possibilities of finding sacral structures have been few if not nonexistent. Also the great hopes expressed by K. Bittel (1981 70-71) of finding one or

even several sanctuaries at Göllüdağ have not been fulfilled, even if the religious character of this site is quite possible.

5. Figured Works of Art

5.1 Portal figures

5.1.1 Lions

The most obvious feature of Imperial Hittite art which was taken over by the Luwians were the portal figures, especially the lions. They guarded the gates of city walls as well as the entrances of palaces, always in pairs. Forming the corner blocks of the entrances, the heads of the figures as well as the front part of their bodies were usually sculptured in the round, while the rest of the rump and the hindlegs in striding position were executed in relief. There is a general tendency for their proportions to change from a heavy and stocky appearance to more slender forms, and the later examples were also influenced in many details by Assyrian models.

The earliest fully preserved representatives of Luwian portal lions are probably those from 'Ain Dara and Malatya. Additionally, fragmentary examples are found in Hama and Carchemish which should be regarded as roughly contemporaneous. The colossal piece from 'Ain Dara (height 2.80m) has a square head and an open, roaring mouth with protruding tongue and impressive molars (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 1a). The lion's mane is a thick ruff encircling the face. It also covers the neck and breast with hook-formed stylized hair. The edge of the mane curls up in a spiral just above the forelegs. A broad band outlines the forelegs and falls vertically on each side just behind the forepaws. The forelegs are very short, the paws having four toes. The hindlegs are only schematically rendered, and the tail is slung between the hindlegs.

The lions from Malatya are much smaller in proportions (height 1.19m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 39a-c). The heads are more roundish than the examples from 'Ain Dara, but the wrinkled nose, the hanging tongue and the molars bear similarities. The mane is rendered in elaborate and stylized round spirals. Interesting is that these lions are not entirely identical: one of them has its tail slung between the legs whereas in the other it is placed behind the legs.

Several gate lions were exposed during the Danish excavations in Hama, but in the secondary literature they have seldom been taken into consideration. A pair of small basalt lions (height 0.88/0.92m) were situated at the entrance to Building I and stylistically seem to belong to the early period (Riis—Buhl 1990 39-42; Fig. 11-12). Their disproportionately long bodies were greatly damaged by the high temperature of a fire so that no details are preserved. The heads do not have many details: the eyes were inlaid, the nose is rendered only with incised vertical lines. No teeth are present, and the outstretched tongue is small. An even smaller lion (height 0.64 m), couchant and without a counterpart was found in the Hellenistic layer (Riis—Buhl 1990 46-47; Fig. 27). This also looks archaic. In addition from Hama we have evidence for two colossal lions (reconstructed height 2.20m) which were perhaps placed in front of Building II (Riis—Buhl 1990 50-54; Fig. 40-41). These were sculpted totally in the round with big impressive paws and stylized mane.

Fragmented portal lions found in Domuztepe have robust bodies (height 1.00-1.10m), short legs, very flat sides, outlined shoulders indicated separately, and heart-shaped ears, and they once had inlaid eyes (Alkım 1952 Fig. 40; 41).

From central Anatolia there are two examples which both seem to belong to the time before 800 BCE. There is a badly weathered pair of lions from the Elbistan valley which also bear an illegible HLuwian inscription (Hawkins 2000 329). North of Elbistan, on the fringes of the Anti-Taurus, there is a single find from Havuz (height 1.64m) whose dating is difficult to determine because its body and legs are rendered almost without details, but the head is more carefully executed (von der Osten 1929 Fig. 78-79).

The small basalt lion of Maraş (height 0.62m) with the HLuwian inscription covering its body, belongs to the reign of Halparuntiya III, king of Gurgum and can thus be dated to ca. 800 (Hawkins 1982 401; Hawkins 2000 261-265). The inscription begins with a badly damaged portrait figure of the author standing on a small lion, the entire image being placed in a recessed panel on the shoulder of the lion statue. The style of this piece shows already some evident Assyrianizing elements like the relatively slim body, the stylization of the mane and the flattened ears. The fact that the inscription runs across its body and legs gives it a curious appearance. Other inscribed portal lions in other sites are known as well, but they are all

preserved in fragments only. The earliest are presumably those from Carchemish belonging to the 11th and 10th century (Hawkins 2000 83-84; pls.2-5). Two fragments from Kululu are also identified as being part of a lion's body (Özgüç 1973 25, Pl. 10,1; 30, Pl. 21,2). Slightly bigger and later seems to be an uninscribed lion from Maraş (height 0.85m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 44b).

Reference was already made to an unfinished gate lion found during the Kahramanmaraş survey and apparently lying *in situ* in a stone quarry (Carter 1996 292-293; Fig. 4; Pl. 1-2). Because the piece seems to have been abandoned at an early stage of its execution, a stylistical analysis is impossible.

The Tabal area has so far yielded only a few portal lions. These are all definitely late, but they become interesting if their developed and refined style is dated into the 7th century. A typical chance find from the fields in Kululu is a lion head of light limestone [Pl. VIIb] (Özgüç 1973 22-23). It probably belonged to a quite substantial figure (height 0.60m), the right side of the face being better preserved while the back of the head, the right ear and a large part of the mane are broken off. The eyes were once similarly inlaid as in the examples from Karatepe (see below p. 310). The open mouth with the outstretched tongue continues the Luwian tradition, whereas the round palmettes and the wrinkled nose reveal Assyrian influence. The mane is rendered with interlocking flame-shaped triangles. T. Özgüç (1973 22) dated the lion to the last quarter of the 8th century, but a slightly later date in the beginning of the 7th century might also be possible.

In the Tabalian area the most elaborate and presumably also the latest examples for portal lions in the entire sequence of monuments are those found in the mountain-site Göllüdağ. Often illustrated in the different handbooks are the double lions (height 1.47m) now in the Kayseri Museum first documented by R. O. Arık [Pl. VIIa] (1936 Fig. 3; 5-6). This pair gives the general block-like impression of the earlier Luwian lions, but all the iconographic details are Assyrianized. The counterpart for this double lion is only attested in fragments (Tezcan 1968 fig. 15). A smaller, single gate lion was also found in the earlier excavations at the site (Tezcan 1968 218; Fig. 15), but it was only recently transported to the Niğde museum [Pl. VIIb]. Not much of the face is preserved except the eyes, and the forepaws are also broken off. The shoulders penetrate deeply into the mane, which

is rendered in big flame-shaped locks. The tail, which is slung between the hindlegs, ends up with a pinecone-shape common among the Assyrian lions from the time of Assurbanipal (Orthmann 1975 Fig. 245). A stone slab from Göllüdağ representing a lion's body without the head and in an obvious unfinished state might be the counterpart for this lion (Tezcan 1968 218; Fig. 16). The lions of Göllüdağ are usually dated to the end of the 8th century (Bittel 1976 Fig. 323; Akurgal 1995 Fig. 123). However, such a date would indicate that there existed a highly developed center of art in the area of Tabal so that such superior monuments were erected. The other possibility is that Göllüdağ with its whole unfinished construction belongs to the very latest phase of the dynasty of Tuwana, planned and executed perhaps by Muwaharani (see below p. 320) or his successor. A date between 700 and 650 seems thus not unreasonable.

The two lions (height 1.23m) from Karatepe cannot really be compared with their counterparts in other Luwian sites (Çambel 1999 Pl. 18-23). They have more fluid lines in their bodies, and they are maneless with disproportionally high legs. Their impressive inlaid eyes are partly preserved, giving us a faint idea about the effect they created for the spectators. It is also interesting to note that they seem totally to ignore any knowledge of the Neo-Assyrian models. As in the case of the sphinxes from Karatepe (see below p. 311) a Phoenician influence has been suggested (Winter 1979 123).

5.1.2 Sphinxes

Portal sphinxes usually have a winged lion's body and a distinctively female face.

A torso from Maraş (height unknown), already published by H. H. von der Osten has seldom been noticed (1930 Fig. 84; Orthmann 1971 Pl. 47a-b). Perhaps made of light coloured stone, the head and part of the body and wings are visible. The face is totally weathered, but side-locks falling from the temples to the breast are still recognizable. W. Orthmann suggested that this piece might have belonged to a column base (Orthmann 1971 527), but until it has been adequately republished this question must remain open.

There is a remarkable limestone head of a monumental sphinx (height 0.72m) found in Kululu which probably belonged to a large gate figure [Pl. IXa] (Özgüç 1971 100 Pl. 41,1). The round sockets for the eyes were once inlaid with another material. Under the plump

cheeks the faint smile of the closed lips lends the figure a special charm. The hair is divided in the middle to hang down behind the ears to end in a large spiral at the height of the throat. A limestone torso of a sphinx body (height 0.90m) was also found in Kululu [Pl. IXb] (Özgüç 1971 107; Pl. 42,1).

A pair of small portal sphinxes (height 0.68m), now in the Niğde museum, belonged in Göllüdağ to the same building complex as the double lions (Tezcan 1968 219; Fig. 11; 19). They appear to be only roughed out and left unfinished since no details are executed. Interesting features are however the upraised wings and the long, erect and curving tail.

Most intriguing are the basalt sphinxes (height 1.25m) in Karatepe (Çambel 1999 Pl. 87-88). These figures with a very broad nose, a tightly closed mouth, huge ears and especially an Egyptian apron-like garment have been regarded as overwhelmingly Phoenician in character (Winter 1979 122-123).

5.2 Orthostat reliefs

The term for orthostats used in HLUwian is (SCALPRUM)/kutassra/i:-/ (Starke 1990 429; Hawkins 2000 98). Presently we only have attestations from the inscriptions from Carchemish, but they show how important this kind of embellishing of public buildings was for the rulers.

The use of these orthostats is certainly a continuation of imperial Hittite traditions, even if changes and alterations did occur. Generally, public buildings such as temples and palaces, as well as gate entrances, were decorated, subjects being both religious and profane. One of the characteristics in setting these orthostats is that for example in Carchemish they have an alternating arrangement of light limestone and dark basalt slabs.

'Ain Dara

'Ain Dara was part of the kingdom of Unqi but not its capital city Kunalua (Hawkins 1982 384; Hawkins 2000 362). Here long HLUwian inscriptions are lacking, but small fragments attest the use of the writing system (Abū 'Assāf 1996 107-109; Hawkins 2000 385-386). The excavator of 'Ain Dara is of the opinion that the temple underwent three different building phases (1300-1000; 1000-

900 and 900-740) and that different orthostats in different parts of the temple were executed in different periods (Abū 'Assāf 1990 39-41). However, W. Orthmann has convincingly argued that all the sculptured works are to be dated into a period from 1200 to 1000 (1993).

The façade of the temple and the terrace were decorated with reliefs of lions and sphinxes arranged in two levels (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 1b-e and 2a-b). These suffered badly in a great conflagration which destroyed the building perhaps in the latter half of the 8th century. The *anticella* was furnished with better preserved orthostats. Each slab represents three figures. In the middle the mountain god is depicted in frontal position holding his arms upright. His dress is decorated with rounded humps—the symbols of a mountain—and with jagged thorns on both sides of the robe. In some of the slabs the mountain god is flanked by two bullmen, also in frontal position. On other slabs, the mountain god is flanked by griffins or lion-demons. Their faces are in profile, and the griffins often have two pairs of wings.

Aleppo

Stylistically very similar to the reliefs of 'Ain Dara are the pieces found in the recent excavations of the citadel of Aleppo (Kohlmeyer 2000). It has become clear thus far that the textually attested temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo stood on the citadel of the city, and its outer wall was embellished with reliefs depicting various deities and mythological creatures. Whether the single basalt block of two geniuses flanking a sunburst within a moon crescent, known already since the 1930's, belongs to the same complex is not certain (van Loon 1995). It should, however, be regarded as belonging chronologically and artistically to the same tradition. So far twelve slabs with relieved figures have been published in a preliminary report, but more orthostats have already been found (Kohlmeyer 2000). Iconographically the Storm-god of Aleppo driving a bull-chariot figures prominently. Other deities, a tutelary deity, and Shaushka are accompanied by HLuwian signs. Winged geniuses holding a bucket and pinecone as well as mythological creatures like a scorpion man and winged lion-man also occur. The style of these slabs is quite homogeneous and distinctive. The figures have clear outlines, and incised details such as patterns in the outfits, beard, and hair are carefully rendered. At this stage of her research the excavator of this remarkable find dates

the slabs to the 10th century (Kohlmeyer 2000 36), but whatever the dating of the monuments of 'Ain Dara are, the reliefs from Aleppo should be regarded as roughly contemporary.

Malatya

The stone blocks which were used together with the portal lions in the gate-structure of the palace in Malatya were not revetment slabs but structural blocks, and unlike the relieved orthostats in 'Ain Dara or Aleppo, many of these form consecutive religious scenes. Back-to-back to the gate lions the inner corner blocks have small lions. On the right corner block there is a god standing on a stag and the king PUGNUS-*mili*⁷ pouring a libation in front of the god. Behind the king a beardless figure leads a goat. On the left side of the gate structure a divine procession is shown. The king PUGNUS-*mili* libates in front of the Storm-god, Shaushka and Runza, while the last goddess has so far remained unidentified. Other slabs have more or less the same compositions with different gods. One scene depicts the Storm-god driving a chariot drawn by his bulls [Pl. X], and on another a queen Tuwati pours a libation in front of a winged goddess, perhaps Shaushka. Some iconographic and stylistic features reveal the closeness of the Hittite imperial models for these scenes. All deities except one wear a long pointed hat with several pairs of horns. The goddesses have the long pleated gown which leaves a leg bare from the knee. Both features are well known from the rock reliefs in Yazılıkaya (Bittel 1976 Fig. 235; 253). The only slab from Malatya with a mythological scene shows the Storm-god slaying a monstrous seven-headed serpent (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 40e).

Two blocks with hunting scenes and one with feasting were not found in organized excavations, and their connection with the other reliefs remains unclear. Under a HLuwian inscription a horse-drawn chariot with the driver and archer chases a lion which has been hit in its back by an arrow. The wounded lion stands on two legs only with its head twisted back towards its hunter. A dog runs between the legs of the horses. The scene on the other block is similar except that the hunted animal is a stag. For a long time the unnatural posture of the

⁷ This name has often been read as Sulumeli in analogy to the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions mentioning king Sulumal of Melid. However, definite proof for this reading is lacking: see Hawkins 2000 307.

lion and a figure lying or running between the horses in particular were thought to have been adopted from Assyrian models and so these were chronologically separated from those depicting libation (for example Akurgal 1995 Fig. 112). The style of the HLuwian inscriptions, however, even if the genealogical relationships of the authors with other rulers of Melid could not be established, shows that these are roughly contemporary with the other blocks, i.e. they probably belong to the 11th-10th centuries (Hawkins 2000 319; 321).

Carchemish

Among Luwian centers the most extensive series of architectural sculpture, especially relieved orthostats, comes from Carchemish. Chronologically the earliest are those recovered partially *in situ* and in the surroundings of the so-called 'Water Gate' (Woolley 1921 103-117; Pl. B28-31). The inscribed gate-lions which probably belonged to this structure (see above p. 300) have been assigned to such kings as Suhi I and Astuwadamanza, giving an approximate date in the 11th and 10th centuries for the construction of the gate (see also Mazzoni 2000 36-37). Many of the slabs are badly damaged, but they depict for example a libation to the Storm-god who is mounted on a bull-chariot, a winged lion with long outstretched tongue, and a bull-man. The composition and style of these orthostats leave an archaic but not very homogeneous impression. It is thus possible, as A. Özyar has suggested, that this gate contains a mixture of material and that many of the orthostat reliefs should be dated earlier, at least to the end of the second millennium (1998 634-635).

The 'Herald's Wall' belonged to a large building whose interior was not excavated, and it had an exquisite alternating arrangement of light limestone and dark basalt orthostats (Woolley 1921 Pl. B10-B16). The subjects did not form parts of any unified composition but had separate themes like groups of crossed fighting animals, figures or animals flanking a sacred tree, hybrid creatures such as an animal with a human and a lion's head, a pair of bullmen holding spears together with a lion-headed genius [Pl. XI], and a hero mastering animals.

The longest sequence of orthostats was erected on the so-called 'Long Wall of Sculpture', but these were not found *in situ* and created problems of dating and interpretation for a long time. This orthostated wall constituted an exterior façade of the temple of the Storm-

god (see above p. 305). A reconstruction of the original placement of the scattered and fragmented material was made by J. D. Hawkins (1972 106-108; Fig. 4a). It shows a victory procession of chariots and infantry headed by a divine procession, both oriented towards a monumental staircase leading to the citadel. Because this series of reliefs also included a limestone slab with a HLuwian inscription, the whole sequence can be dated to the reign of Suhi II, probably second half of the 10th century (Hawkins 2000 87-91). One of the fragmentary orthostats represents a nude winged goddess wearing a horned helmet, holding her breasts, and a female figure facing right sitting on a chair with footstool (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 24b). The HLuwian caption for the figure tells us that she is Wati, wife of Suhi II. It is possible that the portrait is posthumous because her figure is presented as larger than other humans and in the company of the gods (Hawkins 1980a 215; Hawkins 2000 91-92).

On one occasion the portrait figure of the ruler introducing a HLuwian inscription occupied the entire height of the stone slab. The most famous example is the figure representing the king Katuwa of Carchemish which was found in reuse as a door step in the Processional Entry [Pl. XII] (Hawkins 2000 115-116). Katuwa faces to the right and wears the typical long robe decorated only with the fringed hemline. The hair is bunched on the neck and is articulated with very carefully executed 'pot-hook' curls. The beard is square cut with no moustache.

The 'Royal Buttress' with its exceptional reliefs depicting a 'royal family' is executed not by a king but by a regent and a guardian of the crown prince Kamani. He stands in front of Yariri and bears the staff of office in his right hand while Yariri holds his left hand [Pl. XIII] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 31). The hairstyle of Yariri is exquisite, showing a great similarity to contemporary Neo-Assyrian reliefs (for example Orthmann 1975, Fig. 216), and what is even more interesting is that he is depicted beardless, making a strong suggestion that Yariri was a eunuch. Over a long gown with vertical pleats he wears a sort of long shawl whose triangular tasseled end hangs forward over his right shoulder. It almost totally covers his sword. In his left hand he carries a sceptre upside down. Kamani himself wears a similar gown to Yariri but without the shawl. His elaborate belt is tasseled and in front a long sword is attached to it.

The latest style of sculpture from Carchemish comes from the so-called 'Gatehouse on the Great Staircase'. The composition and order of the slabs are plausibly reconstructed by J. D. Hawkins (1972 fig. 4b; see also Orthmann 1971 Pl. 21d-e and 22a-d). On both sides of the gate a ruler-figure is followed by a four-winged griffin-demon (?) holding a bucket and a cone for purification highly dependent upon Assyrian models (see for example Orthmann 1975 Fig. 200). These slabs have an inscribed background, the HLUwian script looking curiously archaic. Two further orthostats depict female deities or geniuses with horned headdress and flounced garment, and both figures hold curious-looking objects in their hands. All details speak of careful imitation of the Neo-Assyrian models, and together with a suggested restoration of the HLUwian inscription these pieces can be dated to the king Pisiri whose reign is attested in the Assyrian sources for at least 738-717 BC (Hawkins 2000 157-159).

Tabal

From the central Anatolian plateau, since proper large-scale research is lacking, we know very little about the orthostat reliefs. B. Hrozný found during his early excavations in Kültepe two fragments which do not allow any stylistical comparison (Hrozný 1927 5, Pl. II, 1; Özgüç 1971 80-81). Later a more complete slab representing a tutelary deity (height 0.90m) was found by villagers and brought to the Kayseri museum [Pl. XIV] (Özgüç 1971 82; Pl. 11-12). Facing right the bearded figure wears a short, bordered tunic with a broad belt. In his left hand he holds a rabbit and an eagle, in his right hand a long spear. The horned cap has a rather distinctive pommel like many of the representations of the Storm-god.

Karatepe

The orthostats from Karatepe fall into two significantly separate styles designated as style A and style B. H. Çambel is of the opinion that all the orthostats from the Northeastern and Southwestern Gates were executed simultaneously and that the stylistical differences are the result of two different school of workmen (1948). The HLUwian inscriptions, which were partly incised on the same relieved orthostats, show however a disorder in placement suggesting that the slabs were repositioned. It is thus more probable that the slabs of style A

are earlier than those belonging to style B and were executed in the early 9th century (see above p. 297). The refitting of the slabs into the gate-houses along with the new slabs of style B happened some time around 700. Orthostats belonging to style A were placed along both sides of the Northeastern Gate. All the figures have distinctive profiles with prominent nose and thick lips, receding forehead and chin. This style bears certain similarities to the early style of Sam'al (Zincirli). Characteristic for the figures of style B are a certain flatness of the figures with fairly large heads, and most of the details seem quite unfinished. Iconographically the subjects appearing on the orthostats in Karatepe encompass a great variety, and as pointed out above, since they seem to be rearranged more than once in antiquity, their placement in the gate-houses does not follow any apparent logic. In the Northeastern gate there is the Egyptian god Bes and the child-nursing mother [Pl. XV], but also different types of hunters, a winged genius holding a sundisc, and next to the portal sphinx a *kriophoros*. On the opposite side there are again hunting scenes, but also a single male figure holding his spear and staff of office. A banquet scene with a ruler figure seated on a chair with panel decoration should also be mentioned.

5.3 *Stelae*

There seems to have been at least one term for 'stela' used in the HLUwian inscriptions. The word /wani(d)-/, usually written with the logogram STELE, seems to have designated both the cult and funerary stelae (attestations in Hawkins 2000 180; see also Starke 1990 187-188). Only on very few occasions have stelae been found *in situ*, but it is clear that some of them were erected in the gates leading to a citadel, in the temples and shrines and perhaps on graves. Cult stelae were obviously placed also in open nature, as suggested by the discovery of stelae and rectangular cuttings in living rock as sockets in Melendiz Dağları between Niğde and Göllüdağ (Çınaroğlu 1989).

5.3.1 Storm-god Tarhunza

Stelae often represent deities, and the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunza is the most popular subject. Its concept remains unchanged in pose throughout our period. The stelae of the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunza can be divided roughly in three different groups. The first and most

common group is that where Tarhunza is facing and walking right [Pl. XVIa]. He is wearing a short kilt with a belt which leaves the knee and the legs bare. In the belt a sword is attached at the waist in such a way that the handle is shown in front of and the point in back of the figure. In his right upraised hand he holds an axe or a hammer, in his left the trident thunderbolt, the symbol of the Storm-god (Hawkins 1992b). He wears a horned helmet, sometimes with a pommel, and his hair ends with a curled 'pigtail'. The Storm-god is also wearing boots with upturned toes. In some cases the figure of god is surmounted by a winged sun-disc.

From the chronological point of view, one of the earliest datable pieces belonging to this 'simple type' of Storm-god comes from Tell Ahmar (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 53, c; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 92). It was erected by Hamiyata, king of Masuwari and its style is clearly identical to the 'Suhi-Katuwa style' in Carchemish, thus end of 10th or early 9th century. Quite similar in detail is the example found in Babylon with the exception that the beard is not rendered in such regular curls and the horned helmet is disproportionately large (Hawkins 2000 Pl. 209).

In the second group Tarhunza stands on his symbolic animal the bull [Pl. XVIb]. A recent find comes from Gölpınar north of Şanlıurfa (Kulakoğlu 1999 167-168; Pl. 1). Together with the examples from Tell Ahmar⁸ (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 53, d; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 99), the stela of Cekke (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 5, d; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 42) and the fragmented piece from Adıyaman (Hawkins 2000 Pl. 169) show how the principal concept remains the same but how the Assyrian stylistic influences penetrate the representation. Small variations in details do occur. On the stela from Cekke the Storm-god holds an uncertain conical object in his right hand. In the piece of Adıyaman one can still recognize the lower back part of the god and the back half of the bull. The change from the short tunic into the long ankle-high fringed robe shows the adoption of the Assyrian mode of representing deities. The knee-curls and the tail of the bull are also taken from Assyrian models. The iconographic concept of a god standing on a bull continued almost unchanged until late antiquity. The transformation of Tarhunza into Zeus Dolichenus took place in Doliche

⁸ A very well preserved stela from Tell Ahmar (TELL AHMAR 6), found only recently in the river Euphrates, is still unpublished.

(mod. Dülük) in the vicinity of Gaziantep and became a very popular religious movement especially among Roman soldiers (Haas 1994a 492).

In the Tabalian area of central Anatolia the cult of Tarhunza had special traits which are also reflected in the art of this region. In the third group the stelae depicting the Storm-god Tarhunza the deity is either represented with a bunch of grapes and a stalk of grain growing from his feet or they are otherwise included in the picture. The best example of this is naturally the famous rock relief of Ivriz (see below p. 336), but some other stelae found in this region show the same features. One example made of light andesite comes from Keşlik, the rough mountain area (Melendiz Dağları) between Niğde and Göllüdağ [Pl. XVIIa]. The HLUwian inscription is much worn and illegible and the figure of Tarhunza is also weathered. Fundamentally old and new elements are mixed together: the short kilt with the wavy hemline and the boots with upturned toes are of Hittite-Luwian tradition whereas the hair and beard styles are Assyrian elements. The place of its discovery, however, is interesting, because the stela was apparently erected in the mountain area, while the socket for it was cut in the native rock on the top of the hill (Çınaroğlu 1989 2).

A stela with a bilingual (HLuwian-Phoenician) inscription preserving only the lower part of a Tarhunza-figure was found in the course of construction work on a canal near the Ivriz great rock relief [Pl. XVIIb] (Dinçol 1994 117-124; Figs. 3-6). It shows the hemline of the kilt with volute endings, stocky legs and similar ankleboots as on the stela from Niğde. Still visible also are the base of the vine-stock and the stems of barley which spring from the feet of the Storm-god. The inscriptions still remain unpublished, but it has been reported that the author is Warpalawa, the king of Tuwana depicted in the rock relief, thus datable to the second half of the 8th century (Hawkins 2000 526).

The broken basalt stela from Aksaray shows only the lower part of a Storm-god, but its boots are rendered with exquisite embroideries revealing the high quality of the workmanship [Pl. XVIIIa] (Kalaç 1978; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 264).

A better preserved representation of a Tabalian Tarhunza was found in 1975 reused in the threshold of a mosque in Niğde [Pl. XVIIIb-XIX] (Kalaç 1979). It is of black basalt and slightly dam-

aged on the left and right sides. Here the Storm-god faces right under a beautifully executed winged sundisc. He wears a simple short and fringed tunic, but the belt is elaborate with a hanging attachment in front. The horned helmet has a small pommel, and the ankleboots are finely embroidered. The face with hair and beard is finely incised, and the spiralled curls look very much like the Assyrian models. Again the vine with grapes and tall stems of barley are included. From the short HLuwian inscription placed on the right side we know that the stela was dedicated by Muwaharani, son of Warpalawa. Since the latest datable Neo-Assyrian attestation for Warpalawa dates from 709 BCE (ND 2759; see Parpola 1987 4-7), this monument is datable to the very end of the 8th or to the beginning of the 7th century.

The iconography of Tarhunza in Tabal is further supplemented by HLuwian inscriptions. The stele from Sultanhan refers to a 'Tarhunza of the Vineyard' who, when offering was made to the deity, 'came with all goodness, and the corn-stem(s) burgeoned forth at (his) foot, and the vine was good here' (Hawkins 2000 467).

5.3.2 Kubaba and other goddesses

Some stelae depict Kubaba or other goddesses. The traditional iconographic features of Kubaba are all shown on a small stela from Birecik (height 1.10m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 5c). Facing left the deity is dressed in a simple long belted robe. The *polos* is decorated with two horns, and the hair is rendered falling in a bunch on the nape of the neck. The attributes of the goddess—the mirror and the pomegranate—are clearly shown. The figure is surmounted by a winged sundisc. Despite the obvious stylistic closeness to the representations of Kubaba on the orthostats in Carchemish dating to the end of 10th century this stela is often dated to the 8th century (Vieyra 1955 Fig. 59; Furlani 1961 52).

One of the most famous representations of the mother goddess Kubaba is a stela from Carchemish (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 34e). Unfortunately the head of this life-size figure (height 1.67m) is missing, but it depicts the standing goddess in relief, rendered frontally. The goddess wears a long pleated gown, necklace and pectoral. The arms are bent at the elbows and held tightly at waist, the left hand holding probably a mirror. This stele was erected to commemorate the building of a temple for Kubaba in Carchemish by the ruler Kamani, and it can thus be dated to mid-8th century (Hawkins 2000 140-142).

A curious stela of an uncertain dating but probably belonging to 8th or 7th century was found early 1980's from Tavşan Tepesi in Melendiz Dağları [Pl. XXa] (Çınaroğlu 1989 3-4). The monument is broken into two pieces. A goddess is seated in profile on a throne and holds a staff in her right hand. The head, shoulders and the left hand are damaged. The figure wears a long pleated gown and shoes with upturned toes. The high-backed throne is decorated with a protective genius, its arms raised as if supporting the weight of the goddess. This and a rectangular footstool are supported by a couchant animal, perhaps a lion. Additionally, in the upper right corner there is a small figure facing right whose head is broken off. The execution of this stela shows no great workmanship, which makes the identification of the goddess and the dating quite difficult. If the animal supporting the goddess is a lion, then this might represent Kubaba. Another possibility is the goddess Hebat with her symbolic animal the panther. An 8th-century dating has been suggested by Çınaroğlu (1989 7), but some details could also support a later date in the 7th century. For example, the thrones with supporting geniuses are attested only from the reign of the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib (704-681).

5.3.3 Kubaba with Karhuha

A limestone stela found in Malatya (height 1.30m) depicts the goddess Kubaba together with the god Karhuha (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 42f). Their identification is assured through the HLuwian inscription placed on the sides of the block (Hawkins 2000 328-329). Karhuha stands in striding position, facing right and wearing a short belted tunic, a helmet with three pairs of horns, and perhaps a pair of boots which are badly weathered. A curved sword hangs from the belt, and in his right upraised hand Karhuha holds a spear. In his left hand he holds a strange three-pronged object. Kubaba on the other hand is depicted in the usual pose—seated, veiled and with a mirror in the right hand. The pair is surmounted by a winged sundisc above which the HLuwian sign DEUS is faintly identifiable. The interesting feature in the composition is the fact that the deities are depicted on each other's symbolic animals—Karhuha is standing on a lion and Kubaba's chair is placed on back of a stag. The HLuwian inscription does not offer any dating criteria, but stylistically this stela probably belongs to the end of 10th century.

5.3.4 Tutelary and other deities

So far two stelae depicting the tutelary deity are known to us. A broken example from Haçibekli between Sam'al and Maraş shows the figure facing right (height 1.19m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 14a). It wears a shortsleeved, belted and ankle-length robe with a broad band of fringes on the hemline. A sword is attached at the waist, and the right hand holds a bow over the shoulder. An animal, probably a hare, is hanging down by its legs in the outstretched left hand. The headdress is a horned helmet, a round tuft of hair resting on the nape of the neck. The beard is long, round and simple without any incision of details. A winged sundisc is placed just above the head. It seems also that the deity was standing on an animal, part of a rump being still visible, but most of it is broken off. Again the HLuwian inscription on the back side of the stela is illegible and thus cannot offer any secure dating (Hawkins 2000 277-278). The style and workmanship point to a date in the early 9th century.

The fragmentary stela from Gölpınar near Şanlıurfa does not bear any signs of script (Kulakoğlu 1999 168-170; Pl.2). The head of the deity is broken off, and only part of the beard is preserved. This time the bow is held in the outstretched left hand while the right hand seems to grasp the hare. The figure is standing on a stag with large beautiful antlers. This piece does not show any great quality in the execution, and it does not show any Neo-Assyrian elements, making a pre-9th century dating possible.

This seems to be almost the whole range of deities depicted on cult stelae. One of the later finds from Domuztepe, however, is a stela of a deity facing right (height 0.80m) (Çambel 1999 Pl. 124-125). Whereas the other attributes point to identifying the figure with the Storm-god, the figure is holding not the trident thunderbolt in his hand, but the hieroglyphic sign representing 'I am' (Hawkins 2000 71).

5.3.5 Rulers

The function of stelae depicting rulers as commemorative or funerary monuments has recently been proposed by D. Bonatz (2000). This explanation seems probable, even if it does leave some questions open—for example, the obvious difference in use against the Neo-Assyrian counterparts which were always erected by the king himself in his lifetime. The earliest securely datable is a stela from Maraş

(height 1.10m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 45h) representing the ruler Larama of Gurgum who probably reigned in the first half of the 10th century (Hawkins 2000 252-255). Unusually facing left, the figure wears a long fringed gown without the tasseled belt or a sword hanging from the belt. In his right hand he carries the staff of office. No hat or cap is rendered, but the hair is falling in a rounded bunch on the nape, and the beard is fairly long and spade-shaped. The feet are only partly preserved, showing shoes with upturned toes. The HLuwian inscription runs across the figure of the ruler, avoiding the head and hands. The relief is very low, and the incised parts of the figure are not well executed, which lends the figure a hazy appearance.

The stela of Warpalawa, king of Tuwana, was already known from the late 19th century, and in bearing a HLuwian inscription of this king it can be dated to the second half of the 8th century (Hawkins 2000 518-521) [Pl. XXb]. This is an obelisk-shaped stela broken into two pieces (preserved height 2.08m). The king is facing left holding his hand (the arm being broken away) in the same gesture of prayer as in the famous rock sculpture from Ivriz (see below p. 336). His gown, shawl, footwear and a cap bear an extremely rich embroidery with geometric patterns. The beard and the hair, which falls in a bun on the nape of the neck, are rendered in Assyrian-style spiral curls. Even if the figure is executed in a low relief only, leaving a rather flat impression, the carefully incised details show a high quality of workmanship without any parallels in Luwian or neighbouring centers. Among numerous fragments from Kululu which either are parts of orthostat reliefs or stelae, there is one with small concentric squares (Özgüç 1971 199; Fig. 159). These apparently represented a similarly decorated gown as in the Bor relief.

Two fragmentary stelae with ruler figures are known from the area of Tabal. On a round piece of basalt, reused in a church floor in Andaval, only the head of the figure is preserved [Pl. XXIa] (Hawkins Pl. 291). It is executed in a recessed panel, surrounded by a HLuwian inscription. This ruler Saruwani is depicted beardless with a large almond-shaped eye, distinctively stylized ear and a very strong nose. The hair is rendered in pot-hook curls and in one large bunch falling to nape of the neck. There has been some discussion about the date of this piece. The style, especially the rendering of the curls, shows old features comparable with the 10th century reliefs from Carchemish

(Ussishkin 1967b) while the palaeography of the script would suggest a later date in the 8th century (Hawkins 2000 514-516).

From Çiftlik comes a semicylindrical stele with a figure clearly depicting a ruler, but the face and lower part of the figure are broken [Pl. XXIb] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 5e). The ruler, whose name is not preserved in the HLuwian inscription, is facing right and pointing with his left hand to himself in the gesture representing the first word of the inscription 'I (am)'. The robe is short-sleeved, and in his right hand he carries the staff of office. What is left of the figure hardly allows any detailed stylistic analysis, but the overall concept allows a comparison with the orthostat reliefs in Carchemish, especially with the portrait of Katuwa (see above p. 315). The author represents himself as a servant of Tuwati, an 8th century ruler of Tabal, and the piece is thus dated to the second half of that century (Hawkins 2000 448). An earlier date in the second half of the 9th century is also possible if we consider that the inscription could also refer to Tuatti, king of Tabal mentioned by Shalmaneser III in the Nimrud-statue (Grayson 1996 79-80; A.O.102.16, 23).

5.3.6 Rulers and deities together

The dating and interpretation of the stelae from Işpekçür and Darendede in the area of Malatya have remained difficult. Probably they are both works of Arnuwanti who titles himself a 'country-lord of the city Malizi', i.e. Malatya (Hawkins 2000 286-287; 302). The stela from Işpekçür (height ca. 2.50m), now in the Sivas museum, has three relieved sides and has been reconstructed from four fragments (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 487). It shows the author of the HLuwian inscription on the right, holding a backward-pointing lituus in his left hand and standing on a bull, pouring a libation in front of his homonymous grandfather who stands on a symbolic mountain. This seems to be a representation of an ancestor cult. With his left hand grandfather Arnuwanti points to himself, in his right hand he holds a backward-pointing lituus. On the left side there is an additional veiled female figure facing right, standing on a city wall—perhaps representing the wife of the deified Arnuwanti. In her left hand she holds a small drinking cup close to her lips. All three figures are not well preserved. All wear long garments, and the fringes are rendered with simple horizontal or oblique lines. Details are not executed very skillfully. The concept of the figures on the Darendede stele (height 0.79m) is

quite similar (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 6a). An enthroned goddess Hebat and a figure of the god Sharruma standing on a lion receive a libation from the ruler Arnuwanti, also standing on a lion. While the details of Hebat are mostly worn away, the other figures show a peculiar hairstyle and strong profiles. The dating of these two monuments has always created problems, and W. Orthmann left the stela of Işpekçür without periodization (Orthmann 1971 487), while K. Bittel dated it to the 8th century (1976 Fig. 326). For Darendede he suggested a vague 'Sph II/III', being generally of the opinion that both stelae should be late rather than early (Orthmann 1971 117). A higher dating to the end of the 10th century was proposed by H. Genge (1979 178). A plausible redating to the early 11th century has been made by J. D. Hawkins based on the genealogical studies of the kings of Malatya (Hawkins 2000 302; 305).

5.3.7 Other funerary or grave stelae

Maraş especially has been the source of a series of small stelae with banquet and other scenes. These were probably grave stelae, but because none of them were found *in situ*, we can only speculate about this, although the connection with the cult of the dead seems certain (Kohlmeyer 1995 2655; Bonatz 2000 32-46).⁹ They represent an interesting group in Near Eastern art because most of them are monuments not commissioned by the rulers but by other people. A few of them bear short inscriptions in HLuwian, but these include no information about the professions or social status of the persons. Very many of these stelae are fragmentary or otherwise badly preserved (see a full catalogue in Bonatz 2000 17-22) and represent a low standard of workmanship even if some are executed more skillfully. Usually two people sit at a meal, a cross-legged folding-table set between them. They can hold cups in their hands or other objects: female participants often have a mirror and/or a spindle, men a bunch of grapes and/or an ear of corn. Also two women can sit together as on the basalt stele (height 1.23m) found already at the end of the 19th century in Maraş (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 45a; Bonatz 2000 C33). Both women are veiled and wearing a high *polos*, like many of the repre-

⁹ Some pieces, with or without relief decoration, especially those which are crowned by stepped pinnacles, have been thought to be altars rather than funerary monuments—see for example Garbini 1959. The content of the inscriptions of this kind of monument, however, makes the function clear: see Hawkins (2000 178-179).

sentations of the mother goddess Kubaba. The HLUwian inscription identifies the other figure to be a representation of Tarhuntiwasati, wife of Azini (Hawkins 2000 273). Sometimes a child is depicted with its mother. One of the most famous examples is the stela of unknown provenance in the Louvre Museum (height 0.80m) which shows a seated woman holding a boy on her knee (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 48,d). The woman wears a fringed veil and an undecorated short-sleeved gown while the collar of the boy's garment is richly embroidered and his shoes are also decorated. Remarkable in detail are his jewelery—bracelets at both wrist and upper right arm, a necklace and even earrings. In his right hand he holds a rather long stick which must be a stylus, because in front of him a rectangular object has been interpreted as a writing-board. In his left outstretched hand he holds a perched bird. A HLUwian inscription gives only the name of the boy: Tarhupiya. J. D. Hawkins has suggested that the inscription might have been added later (Hawkins 2000 274-275). It is thus possible that this kind of stela was first produced *en bloc* and then later inscribed according to the wishes of a purchaser. Even if the provenance of this piece is not known it bears great stylistical similarities to those found in Maraş. Characteristic are for example big almond-shaped eyes and round cheeks.

Also from Maraş is a unique basalt stela (height 0.42m) with a paired man and woman [Pl. XXIIa] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 44,d). Opinions on the date of this stela range from early 9th century (Bonatz 2000 19) to the beginning of the 7th century (Akurgal 1998 242). The heads of the figures are executed almost totally in the round. Disproportionately large hands rest on each other's shoulders. The male figure holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand, and the female figure holds perhaps a mirror in her left hand. The woman wears a flat embroidered cap with rosettes. Both have a very sincere and impressive face with closed lips and the eyebrows constituting a continuous curve from the tip of the nose to the temple.

A more recent find was made in Maraş where a rectangular basalt stela (height 0.77m) was found during construction work (Schachner and Schachner 1996). The upper part is decorated with three-stepped crenellations. In the middle a female veiled figure is sitting on a small bed, frontally rendered and holding a spindle in her left hand. Her gown is decorated with unusual richness. The other three sides are relieved with veiled women approaching the middle scene.

5.4 Statuary

There are several attestations for the word *taru(t)*- in the HLUwian inscriptions written with two logograms "STATUA" and "LIGNUM" (Hawkins 2000 91; 238; 268—see also Starke 1990 114-115.). This word seems to have been used for cult statues as well as for the ruler statues, but there is at least one occasion where it points to an image on a relieved orthostat.¹⁰ Free-standing Luwian sculpture is not significant in number, but nevertheless we have both interesting and important pieces, especially if we are concerned about the style and function of these objects.

5.4.1 Cult-statues of deities

Analogous to almost all cultural spheres in the ancient Near East, statues of gods were certainly made and placed in shrines and temples. From the Hittite sources we know that cult statues were often made of precious metals and stones, and it is quite conceivable that this tradition might have continued in the Luwian religious sphere as well (Haas 1994a 490-506). Archaeological remains of free-standing cult statues are, however, quite scanty, especially when we make a distinction between statues of deities and deified rulers. Apart from the statue of the Storm-god found in numerous fragments but reconstructed in Karatepe, which bears a Phoenician inscription (and is thus not treated here—see Çambel 1999 frontispiece), there is actually only the intriguing new find in Adana (see above p. 288). A limestone statue of the Storm-god (height 1.90m) had been erected on a basalt socle in the form of a chariot which is pulled by a pair of bulls. The statue itself is almost intact, whereas the chariot and the bulls have suffered substantial damage. This statue has a HLUwian-Phoenician bilingual on its base, and the author of the inscriptions is king Warika, who probably is identical with the 8th-century king Urikki of Que attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources (see Bryce here p. 104 but also Hawkins 2000 41-42). The photographs of the statue published so far do not allow an analysis of the details, but it is clear that the hair resting on the nape of the neck and the beard are rendered in Assyrian style. The eyes were inlaid with another material.

Other finds are fragmentary. From Carchemish we know at least one head which might have belonged to a statue representing a deity

¹⁰ KARKAMIŠ A7b, §6; see Hawkins 2000 129.

(Bossert 1942 Fig. 827). From Kululu we have a very damaged head of andesite (height 0.27m) (Özgüç 1971 106; Pl. 40 1a-b). Its face and back of the head are broken off, but parts of the forehead, the horns and the hair are preserved. Additionally this head has a wide band and a rosette attached to it.

5.4.2 Ruler statues

Rulers are often represented with a long garment and belt from which a tassel hangs in front. In their right hand they hold a staff, and a sword hangs from the belt on the left side. In some cases the base of the statue has been preserved, a griffin-demon holding two lions. According to the recent research on the statues and on the inscriptions of funerary character, it is now suggested that these figures were made as memorials for the deceased and deified rulers (Bonatz 2000). This is a convincing explanation for many of the monuments, even if some problems exist, especially if one takes into consideration that the contemporary Neo-Assyrian ruler-statues probably were erected by the kings themselves. One of the remaining questions is whether *all* the ruler statues were meant to be funerary monuments or there could also have been another functions.

Carchemish

One of the earliest documented ruler statues must be the seated figure from Carchemish, bearing a HLuwian inscription (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 32c). This monument was found *in situ* but broken in multiple fragments. It was re-erected by the excavation team in Carchemish, but today only the base is exhibited in Ankara museum (Akurgal 1995 Pl. 108). The statue rests on a lion base and wears a long gown, a beard and a horned crown. In his right hand he holds some sort of mace or double hammer. The whole figure with its extremely short neck and stocky form gives a very supernatural impression. Whereas the god named Atri-Suha¹¹ remained enigmatic for a long time and was usually suggested to be some sort of war-god (Orthmann 1971 243; Bonatz 2000 195, n. 157), J. D. Hawkins has made a plausible proposition that it represents the deified king Suhi and that the statue was erected by his son or grandson Katuwa. (Hawkins 2000 101).

¹¹ Previously also read as Aratluha or Atarluka, see Orthmann 1964 221; P. Taracha 1987 267, n. 31.

The erection of this statue is also attested in a HLuwian inscription found at the south end of the 'Processional Entry'¹² where the statue itself was situated. Two other seated statues were also found in Carchemish. A headless basalt figure (height 0.80m) was found on the wall of the so-called *bît hilani*-building and bears an erased cuneiform inscription (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 36e). Another, also headless, but of limestone was discovered in a rubbish pit (Bonatz 2000 B7). It does not follow the traditional concept of seated figure—the gown of the figure, for example, is not ankle-length, leaving the feet bare. For comparison, in Tell Tayinat several large fragments of a colossal statue seated on a throne were discovered near the East Gate. The statue also bears a HLuwian inscription, and even if nothing of the figure itself is preserved, the small pieces show a high quality of workmanship (Hawkins 2000 365-367; Pl. 189-192).

Additionally two monuments of standing rulers are known from Carchemish. An earlier one probably belonging to the Suhi-Katuwa period at the end of the 10th century is the head of a big basalt statue (height 0.42m) [Pl. XXIIb] (Bonatz 2000 A7). The base of this statue was apparently still *in situ* when discovered, but the body was dispersed in numerous small fragments around it. With its nose broken off, it shows the same stylistic features as the portrait of the king Katuwa on the orthostat slab (see above p. 314). The regular pothook-curls of hair and beard frame the expressionless face with big eyes and closed lips. An almost identical figure but of lower quality has been found in Sam'al (Zincirli) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 62c-d). To the 8th century, probably of the ruler Kamani, belongs a very fragmented piece with only parts of head and shoulders preserved (height 0.85m), excavated together with other small fragments of the figure and with its base bearing a HLuwian inscription (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 34b; Hawkins 2000 167-169).

Maraş

From Maraş several statues are attested, but only one monument is not more or less fragmented. A torso of a square-shaped basalt figure (height 0.98m) of Halparuntiya II, king of Gurgum and son of Muwattalli, is only preserved from the waist to the knees, showing in front traces of the tassel and a sword hanging from the belt on the left

¹² KARKAMIŠ A11a 5, §20; see Hawkins 2000 96.

hip (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 44c). This ruler holds a staff in his right hand, and the HLuwian inscription beginning with an /amu/-figure runs on the sides and back of the statue. Halparuntiya and his father Muwattalli have been identified with rulers attested in the annals of Shalmaneser III, giving a dating of the statue in the middle of the 9th century (Hawkins 2000 255-258). A similar piece of a monument but much smaller in size (height 0.44m) has only recently been published (Hawkins 2000 265-267; Pl. 114-115). The body of the figure is preserved from the waist to the fringed hemline of a long robe showing the tassel hanging from the belt and a sword-sabbard on the left side. In this case the HLuwian inscription runs also over the front side of the statue, and it gives us the important information that it does not represent a king but a person called Astiwasu who titles himself as "Chief Eunuch". Unfortunately not preserved is the name of the king whose servant Astiwasu was, but the style of the script dates it approximately to 800 BCE or slightly later (Hawkins 2000 265-266). The same concept is also represented by a headless life-size basalt statue (height 1.34m), even if the surface is much worn and details very unclear (Bonatz 2000 A 3). The hands are held together at the waist, and they hold a faintly recognizable staff. A sword in a scabbard with tassel hangs at the left hip. Traces of a HLuwian inscription are still visible but do not give any information about the author or date of the monument (Hawkins 2000 276-277). Furthermore a headless small basalt figure of crude workmanship is catalogued by D. Bonatz (2000 A11 Pl III). From Maraş we also know of one basalt head (height 0.33m) with a simple cap, a large stylized ear, triangular nose, small mouth and corkscrew-curved beard (Orthmann 1971 Pl 48b-c).

Malatya

Malatya has been the source of three more or less fragmentary male figures. A limestone torso and a head which seem to belong together were found in a field in the vicinity of the mound (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 42d; Bonatz 2000 A4). The nose and the mouth of the head are badly damaged, the eyes are very big with double outline, and exceptionally large spiral curls form the hair and the beard. The body of the statues is preserved from neck to pelvis. The right hand still holds the knob of the staff, and the left hand is not depicted on the waist but seems unusually to rest along the body. Stylistically related

but evidently of better quality is another head (height 0.42m) found by the Italian team (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 42g). The almond-shaped eyes have the double outline, and the hooked curls of hair bear great resemblance to the statue head found in Carchemish (see above p. 329). A dating is difficult, but both could be from the end of the 10th century or earlier. Sculptured in the round on a monumental scale is the famous statue which was found buried in a shaft in front of the Lion Gate (Delaporte 1940, Pl. XIV). While the basic concept is the same as in the earlier Luwian ruler statues, this piece is executed in Assyrianizing style. Dressed in a long pleated gown and sandals, the figure also wears a diadem with rosettes. Since there is no inscription attached to the monument, we do not know which Luwian king it represents. Mutallu, a king of Kummuh who ruled over Malatya between 712 and 708, has been proposed.

Tabal

Some of the free-standing Luwian sculpture are over life-size, and a few of them can also be labelled as colossal. The headless statue found in Kululu falls into this category [Pl. XXIII] (Özgüç 1971 102-105). This torso (height ca. 3m) bears a tasseled mantle with zigzag folds and a sleeved chiton with seams running along the outer contour of the arm. It was put together by collecting the fragments from various houses of the village and from the mosque of the neighbouring site. This kind of drapery also appears on a piece found earlier in the Malatyan territory in Palanga (Hawkins 2000 Pl. 161-162), and together with the statue from Kululu they are suggested to be potential forerunners of early Greek mantled figures (Ridgway 1977 35; Işık 1986/87 95-99 but contra: Boardman 2000 80). The statue fragment from Palanga is smaller in size than its counterpart from Kululu, and it is only preserved from the waist to the bottom of the gown. It has a cylindrical, almost columnar form, a HLuwian inscription running over the robe. This type of representation of the gown, unusual for the area and period in question, created discussion of its dating. Scholars of HLuwian dated it to the 8th century, whereas E. Akurgal ignored the epigraphical evidence, claiming a Greek influence on the Palanga piece and dating it to the 6th century (1949 33). A date in the late 8th century or early 7th is however most probable.

A parallel to the Kululu statue is probably a torso in the Sivas Museum. It was found in Sivas itself (further to the northeast than

Tabalian territory probably extended) and published already in the 1930's by H.H. von der Osten (1929 Fig. 62), but it was not until recent times that its chronological setting in the Iron Age has been recognized (Bossert 2000 45; Fig.5). An accurate republication for this piece is a *desideratum*.

Kululu has also been the source of some smaller fragments belonging to the same category. A bearded head of dark basalt was first thought to belong to a deity, but in analogy to other statues it probably represented a deified ruler [Pl. XXIVa]. Only the face with a broken nose without the forehead and some ringlets from the beard are visible (Özgüç 1971 105-106). Beyond this, only part of a head of a large statue, once found intact in a garden in Kululu village but later mutilated in pieces for construction work, could be purchased for the Kayseri Museum (Erdem 1971 113-114; Pl. 1a; Özgüç 1971 107; Pl. 40,4). The back of the head with the right ear, the band of the diadem and upper parts of corkscrew-curls are visible in the photographs.

A very fragmented piece of a limestone head from Ivriz (height 0.70m) was found in a secondary deposit [Pl. XXIVb] (Dinçol 1994 125-127). Only the left half of the face with an almond-shaped eye and a long bow-shaped eyebrow, the neck and the back of the head are preserved. The very skillful execution of the locks of the beard, however, is extraordinary in Luwian territory, and they are executed exactly the same way as the counterparts in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs, for example those in the portait of Sargon II from Khorsabad (Orthmann 1975 Fig. 221). This piece attests the high level of workmanship in the Tabal area in the late 8th and perhaps still early 7th century.

5.4.3 Statuettes

There is evidence of two statuettes from the Luwian cultural realm, but this kind of small figure was also known in Aramaean speaking areas, especially in Tell Halaf (for example Bonatz 2000 B3 and B8). The uninscribed ones have mostly been interpreted by D. Bonatz (2000) as funerary monuments, but the example from Maraş, headless but bearing an HLUwian inscription around it, shows that at least this piece represented the Storm-god (Hawkins 2000 267-269; Pl. 116-117). The other statuette comes from Kirçoğlu in the Amuq plain (height 0.38m) and has a HLUwian inscription running along the lower part of the gown (Orthmann 1971 Pl 38c). Unfortunately

the head is also broken off in this piece, but the garment is interesting with pleats at the back, and in front a flap of a jacket-like robe is still visible falling over a belt. This statuette represented 'the Divine Queen of the Land' (Hawkins 2000 383-385).

5.4.4 Statue bases

As indicated above, free-standing sculptures were usually set on separate bases or podiums, but only in few cases do we have both the base and the statue itself. There is evidence for bases decorated with a pair of lions, as in the case of the ruler statues in Carchemish (see above p. 328).

A double bull podium of basalt also comes from Carchemish (height 1.20m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl 25e). It was found *in situ* in front of the entrance to the temple of the Storm-god, and thus it is probable that a cult statue of this deity was once placed on it. The bulls have round muzzles, a round forelock on the forehead, small flattened ears and sockets for the inlaid eyes. More stylized muscles of the body are shown by a bull podium from Domuztepe which was already found in the early surveys of the site (Alkım 1950 Fig. 16-17). It is now published with better photographs (Çambel 1999 94 Pl. 122-123) showing that only the head of the right bull is preserved with a large incised eye. A HLUwian inscription runs over the bodies of the bulls, but the condition is according to J.D. Hawkins 'desperate' and gives thus no help in dating the monument (2000 71). W. Orthmann has suggested early 9th century (Orthmann 1971 112). One additional piece comes from Adena northeast of Şanlıurfa, and it is stylistically very close to the double bulls from Carchemish (Kulakoğlu 1999 Pl. 4).

5.5 Rock reliefs

One can consider the monuments carved on living rock to be typically Luwian, because geographically they occur only in the Anatolian and not in the Syrian area of the 'Neo-Hittite cultural sphere'. That these reliefs are mostly found in Tabalian area might also be due to the geographical fact that in central Anatolia there simply are more suitable rock surfaces available than in North Syria.

Kızıldağ

The image of a ruler in Kızıldağ is one of the best examples of the difficulty of linking inscriptional evidence with style analysis, and its dating has been controversial ever since its discovery [Pl. XXV]. A natural formation of trachyte in a shape of a throne bears an incised figure and a HLuwian inscription executed in relief. The seated Great King Hartapu, identified through the inscription in front of his face, wears a long short-sleeved robe with a fringed hemline. In his right hand Hartapu holds a shallow-ribbed bowl and in his left a long staff. The hair fashion with the little curls falling not over the shoulderline are derived from Assyrian models. The shape of the headdress is curious even if remotely comparable with the one worn by Barrekub, ruler of Sam'al (see Orthmann 1975 Fig. 358). The beard, which is shaved off around the lips, is divided into three sections with simple short strokes. The high-backed throne has its best parallels in Karatepe (Symington 1996 137-138). The overall concept is strongly reminiscent of the Neo-Assyrian representations of kings seated on thrones (see Orthmann 1975 Fig. 199), and as suggested by K. Bittel (1976 238; also 1986 105-106) hardly allows an earlier date than the 9th century. There are thus not many ways of reconciling a dating to the 9th to 8th centuries with a 12th century dating for the inscriptions of Hartapu (see Bryce above p. 95). Taking the sacral character of the place into consideration and the obviously current cult of ancestry among the Luwian rulers, it has been suggested that the relief is a later addition to the inscriptions (Hawkins 1992a).

Karasu

Outside the central Anatolian plateau a rock relief with the figure of the tutelary god Runza was discovered in Karasu, near Birecik (Burney and Lawson 1958 218; pl. 34b). On a stag's back stands a male figure facing left in walking position. The figure is armed with sword and bow. The absence of horns on the headdress and the presence of the winged sun-disk has also led to a suggestion that a combination of divine and royal attributes and symbols show not a god but a king in the manner of a god (Hellenkamper and Wagner 1977). W. Orthmann (1971 51) suggests a date 'Sph. II' for this relief.

Karapınar

An incised simple rock relief (height 0.62m) was found 1989 in Karapınar, north of Kayseri (Özgüç 1993 493-496) [Pl. XXVIa]. Destroyed shortly after its discovery, it seems to have had a ruler figure and three HLuwian signs. Facing to the right, the badly eroded figure represents the introductory /amu/-figure ('I am...') pointing his hand towards himself. He wears the typical long short-sleeved robe with a broad belt and fringed lower edge, and he does not have a headdress, but the hair is arranged in a simple knot on the neck. In his right hand he holds the staff of office, and behind the figure a sword with curved hilt hangs from the belt. The undecorated shoes have slightly upturned toes. In view of the rather unskilled hand that carved the figure and its weathered state, a precise dating is not possible, but 9th or 8th century are the most probable options.

Gökbez

The Storm-god Tarhunza is represented on a small relief (2x2m) found in Gökbez, a village 40 km southeast from Niğde [Pl. XXVIb]. The deity is facing left in a striding pose with the thunderbolt in his left hand and an axe in the right hand. He wears the usual short belted tunic and a helmet. From his left foot a wine stock grows bearing its fruit in front of Tarhunza. Behind the Storm-god there is an additional umbrella-shaped figure (Faydalı 1974). The execution of the relief is crude, lacking any renderings of details. It is possible that the relief was left in unfinished state, making any precise dating difficult. Again, if contemporary with similar representations, then an approximate date is 8th century.

Ivriz

The most famous rock relief in Anatolia is without doubt the representation of the Storm-god Tarhunza and Warpalawa, situated on a cliff above a spring at Ivriz in the Taurus range [Pl. XXVII]. The king Warpalawa of Tuwana (Tyana), known also from the contemporary Neo-Assyrian sources, stands before the Storm-god (height 4.20m), holding his hands in an adoration gesture. Tarhunza wears the short-sleeved belted tunic with the undulating volute-formed hemline and a pointed helmet with two rows of horns attached to it. On his muscular feet he wears boots with upturned toes which are

decorated in same manner as in the fragmented stele from Aksaray (see above p. 319). The round knob of the sword in the form of an eagle's head is fastened to the broad belt (Barnett 1983 but see also Şahin 1999 suggesting a sickle instead of sword). Unlike representations of male gods in the Luwian realm, this Tarhunza wears bracelets and perhaps earrings. The association of the god with vegetation is again stressed by the vine and the ears of corn which grow from his feet and which are held by him in his hands. Other details like the face, beard and the hair arranged in ringlets all reveal the Assyrian influence in Tabalian art of the 8th century. The robe of the ruler Warpalawa is heavily embroidered with a swastika border, and the cloak is fastened at the shoulder with a knobbed fibula, the details being all carefully chiselled and showing the same high quality as the stele from Bor (see above p. 323). Warpalawa also wears a decorated headdress with a tuft on front. This kind of clothing is not attested anywhere else, but it is probably indigenous Tabalian and not of Phrygian origin as has often been thought (Muscarella 1988 187 n. 6).

Less famous is a smaller relief scene in Ivriz depicting a sacrifice, discovered in 1972 about 100m south of the façade with the Storm-god and Warpalawa [Pl. XXVIII]. At the head of the procession is a figure dressed in a long robe, preserved from the waist only, followed by another guiding a sacrificial animal. This representation has not received much literary discussion, perhaps because of its crude execution and bad state of preservation. L. Bier also reflected on the possibility that the relief was never finished. On the right side of the relief there are rock-cut steps leading to a ledge with a rectangular cutting. L. Bier interpreted this to be a libation basin, but M. J. Melink suggested that it could have been a socket for a cult figure (1979 252-254).

Ambarderesi

A composition exceedingly similar to Ivriz but without a HLuwian inscription is found in Ambarderesi, in a valley about half an hour's walk from the more famous monument [Pl. XXIX]. At about 4.50m it is only two-thirds of the height of the Ivriz relief. One can also see that it is a sort of copy, which did not reach the quality of workmanship of the original. R. Barnett (1983 60) even suggested that it might be unfinished, but this seems improbable. It is dated like its counterpart in Ivriz, i.e. to the second half of the 8th century.

Malpınar

Mention should be also made of the large but worn figure of a ruler in Malpınar, some 35km away from Samsat, which represents the introductory /amu/-sign ('I am...') of a six-line HLuwian inscription (Kalaç and Hawkins 1989). The figure itself seems to be bearded and has long hair bunched at the nape of the neck. It wears a long garment with Assyrian-style fringes and a fez-shaped hat. The object in his hand is probably a mace. According to the inscription, the figure represents a ruler of Kummuh/Commagene called Atayaza, and he has been dated to the middle of the 8th century (Kalaç and Hawkins 1989 112; Hawkins 2000 341 pl. 167).

ZARPIYA RITUAL

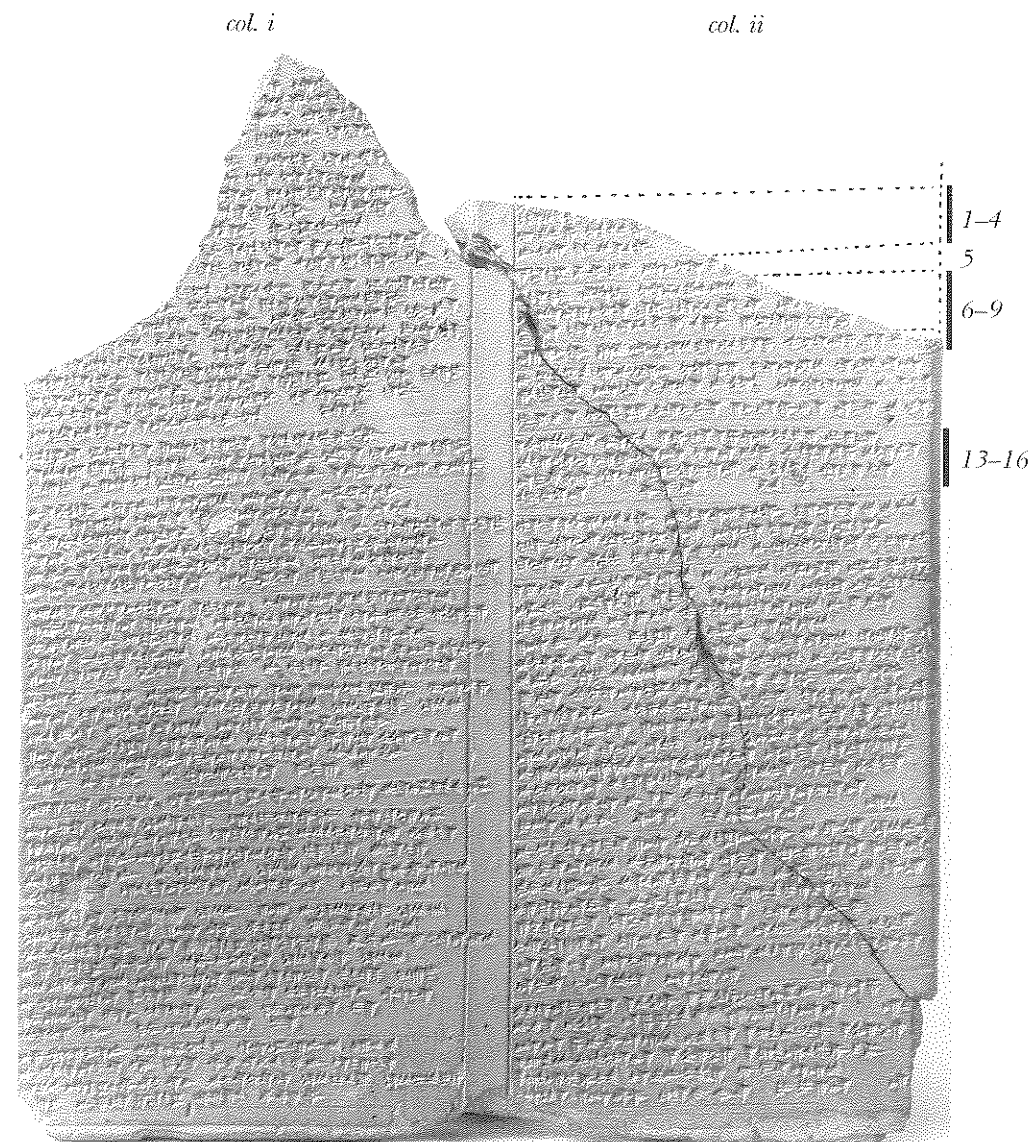


Plate I. a. Hittite tablet, obverse columns i-ii (British Museum, no. 108548: 1913-10-11, 1, reproduced by permission of the Trustees). The tablet contains the texts of three separate rituals: the first col. i - col. ii 16 is one of the five duplicates of the ritual of the doctor Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna (Starke 1985 46-55). The colophon terminating and describing the text is visible on col. ii 13-16 between double rulings, after which (col. ii 17) the second text, that of Uhhamuwa of Arzawa, begins. The Zarpiya ritual is written in Hittite with two short passages of Luwian incantation which appear on this exemplar on col. ii 1-4 and 6-9. Line 5 reads: 'he breaks the thick bread [simultaneously speaking in Luwian] "...".'

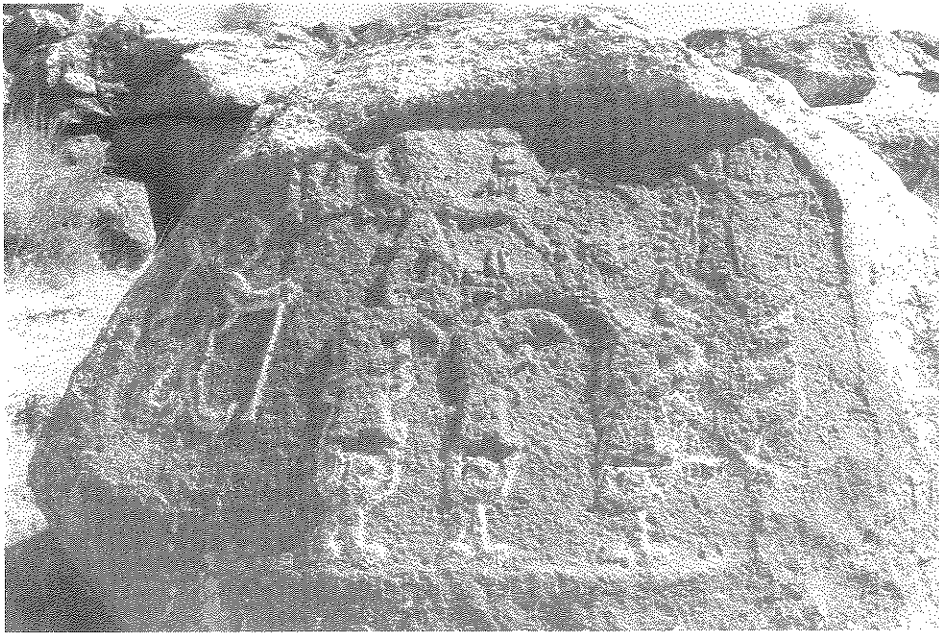
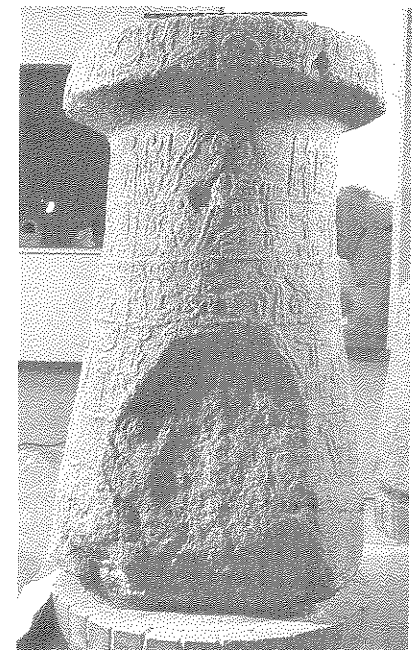
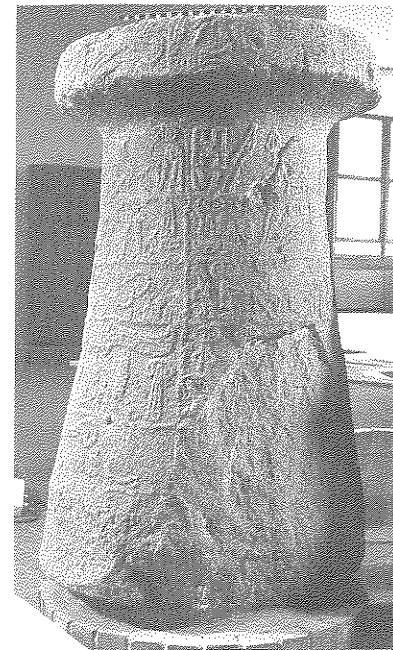
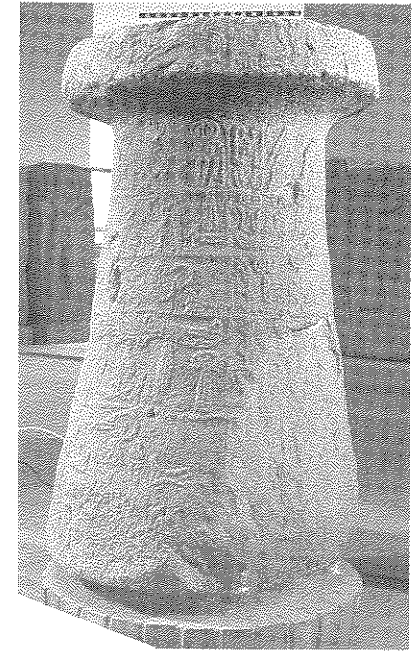
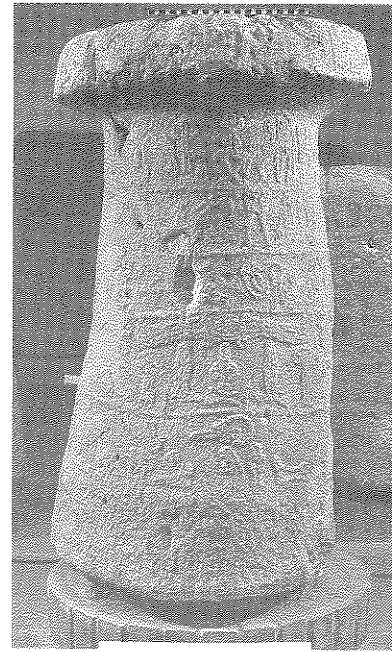
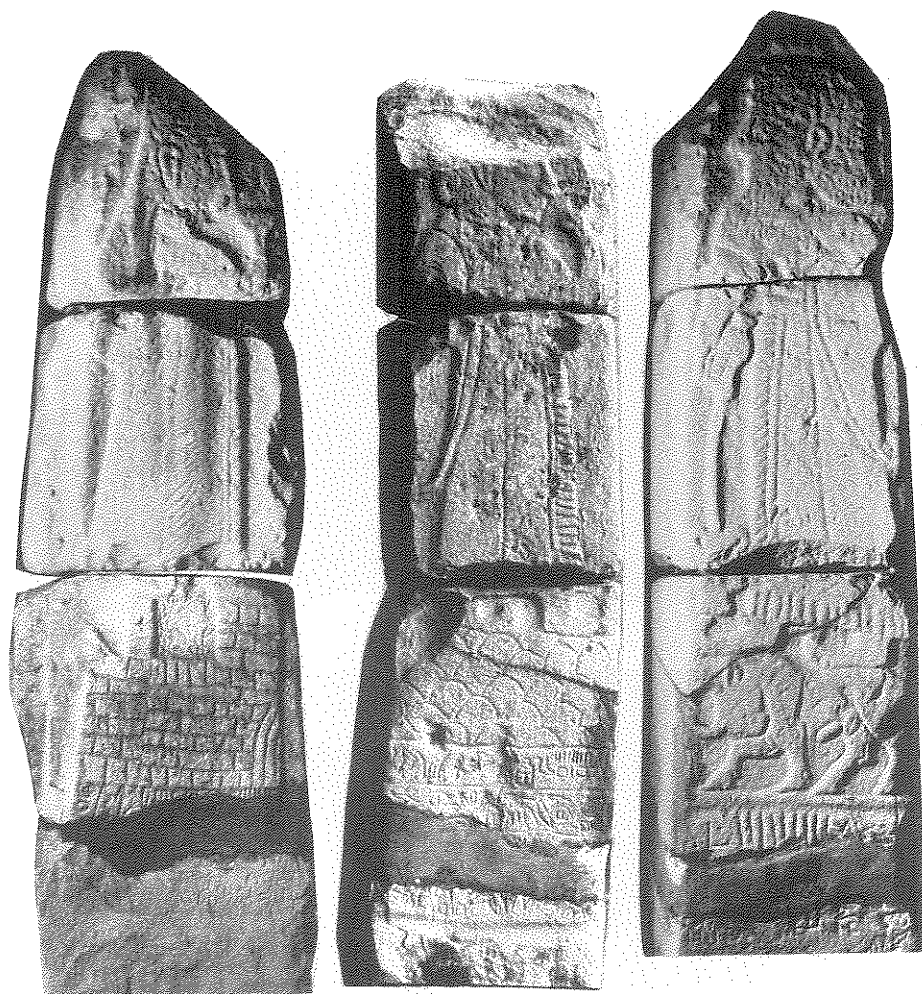


Plate L. b. İMAMKULU rock relief, southeast of Kayseri. The scene is composed of three parts: (1, left) a tutelary figure with bow and spear with the epigraph *Prince Kuwalanamuwa*; (2, centre) the Storm-god in his bull-drawn eagle chariot drives over the shoulders of three bowing mountain-men supported by caryatid griffins, and he bears the epigraph *Storm-god of Aleppo*; (3, right) an Ishtar-figure goddess throwing back her garment to reveal her nudity stands on a lion(?)-monster with four pairs of wings (no epigraph here).



→
Plate L. c. EMİRGAZI altar B seen from four sides, the best preserved of the four altars, A, C and D being fragments. All four bear parts of the same text, which can thus be largely reconstructed missing only the beginning. The altars were found at Emirgazi, between Aksaray and Ereğli, on the Karaca Dağ, the Mount Sarpa of the text, where they had been set up by Tudhaliya IV as part of the cult of the Stag-god and his consort. The inscription shows the Empire period monumental relief script, and the vertical line marking the left right edges of the text is visible, most clearly on the second photograph from the right.



C

B

A

Plate II. a. The İŞPEKÇÜR stele, restored from having been broken into four pieces. The sculpture on three sides show: (A) Arnuwanti 'the grandson', standing on a bull, pouring a libation to (B) Arnuwanti (his grandfather), grandson of the Hero Kuzi-Teshub, the king of Malatya, shown standing on a mountain (i.e. dead and deified), and (C) Arnuwanti the elder's wife (grandmother of A) shown standing on a tower with city-gate. The elder Arnuwanti is one of the two kings of Malatya named as grandson of Kuzi-Teshub, thus his brother Runtiya also ruled the city. Arnuwanti the younger, four generations from Kuzi-Teshub, must date to ca. 1100 BCE.



Plate II. b. Karatepe, sculptures from the North (Lower) Gate, with the end of the Hieroglyphic inscription KARATEPE Hu. ('Hieroglyphic, unten'), §§LXXIIIb-LXXV. The Hieroglyphic inscription is placed over the sculptured slabs themselves and on elements between them, as here, on the plinths, and on the portal figures, as here on the sphinx. It is executed in linear incised script, and it occupies much more space than the Phoenician text. The sign forms generally suggest a late date, and the historical context as understood points to the beginning of the 7th century BCE.

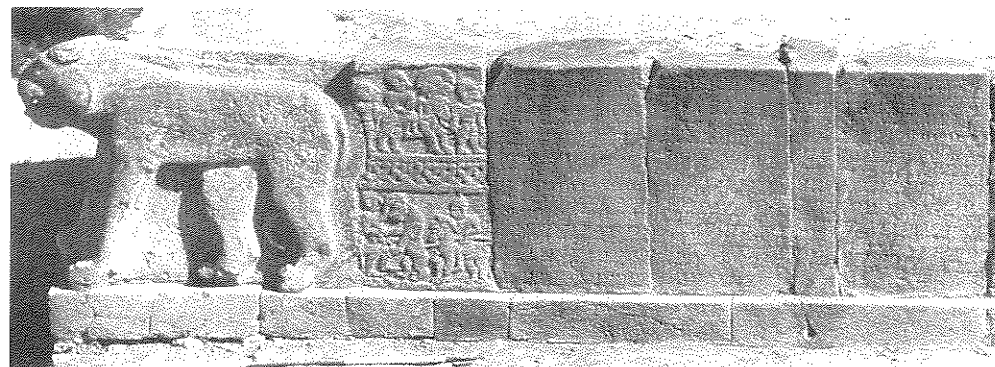
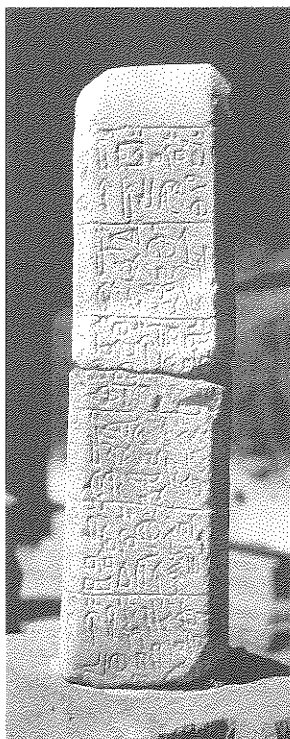


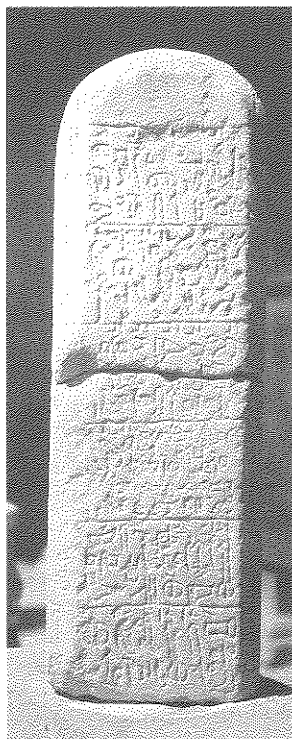
Plate II. c. Karatepe, sculpture from the North Gate entrance, with the entire Phoenician inscription, KARATEPE Phu. ('Phönikisch, unten'). The text begins on element I (right-hand broad and narrow slabs), continuing on II (middle slab), III (left-hand), and along the plinth, to terminate on the lion. As the Phoenician occupies so much less space, the passage from the text, corresponding to the Hieroglyphic passage on b, runs only from element III, end of penultimate line, along the plinth to the lion. Semitists generally agree on a paleograph date for the script of late 8th - early 7th centuries BCE (Photographs from Cambel 1999 pls. 6, 85, 87).



Plate III. a. KARKAMIŠ A 13d, introduced by the portrait figure of the ruler Katuwa ('I (am) Katuwa...'), depicted in the style of the early Late Hittite ruler. The text is rendered in the typical early Carchemish style of Katuwa and his father Suhi II, monumental relief signs. It is truncated by the loss of the left side: running *boustrophedon* it reads l. 1 [...], ll. 2-3 [...], ll. 4-5 [...], ll. 6-7 [...], ll. 8-9 [...].



C



B



A

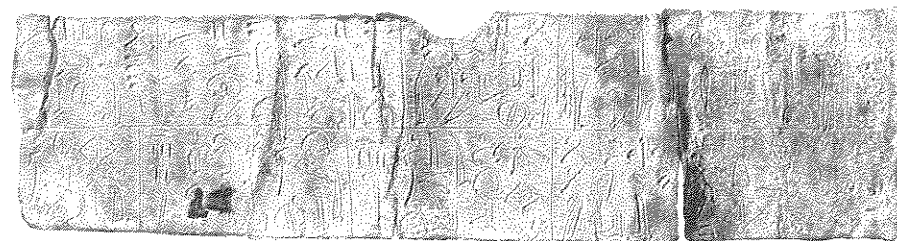
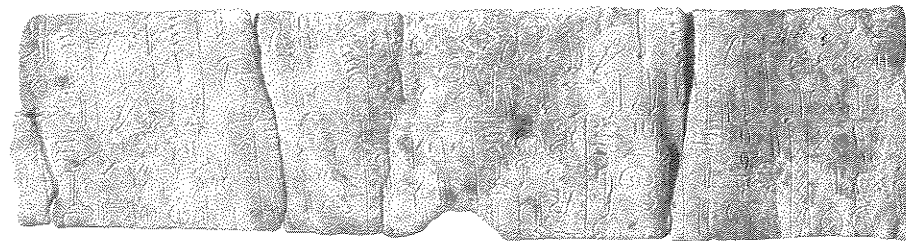


Plate III. c. KULULU lead strip 2, an administrative text recording issues of sheep to named individuals and groups of workers. Each side is divided into two lines by a horizontal ruling, and each line into a number of 'boxes' by vertical rulings, each box containing one entry. Each entry begins with numerals, hundreds (X), tens (—), and units (l), followed by the logogram SHEEP (𐎶), and in the first entry, a phonetic writing *hawin* (acc. sg. MF). The linear incised form of the script found on these lead documents and also the ASSUR letters is clearly a 'cursive' handwriting. Date: late 8th century BCE.

←

Plate III. b. KULULU 1, inscription of Ruwa, servant of the ruler Tuwati, recording the building of houses under the protection of the Storm-god (photographs, I. J. Gelb). The inscription begins on the top right side (A) and runs round the front (B) to the left side (C), descending to line 2 and running back C, B, A, descending to line 3 and so on down to line 6, right end. The signs are in the linear incised 'Kululu' style typical of most of the 8th century Tabal inscriptions, apparently representing a handwritten script as seen below on c.

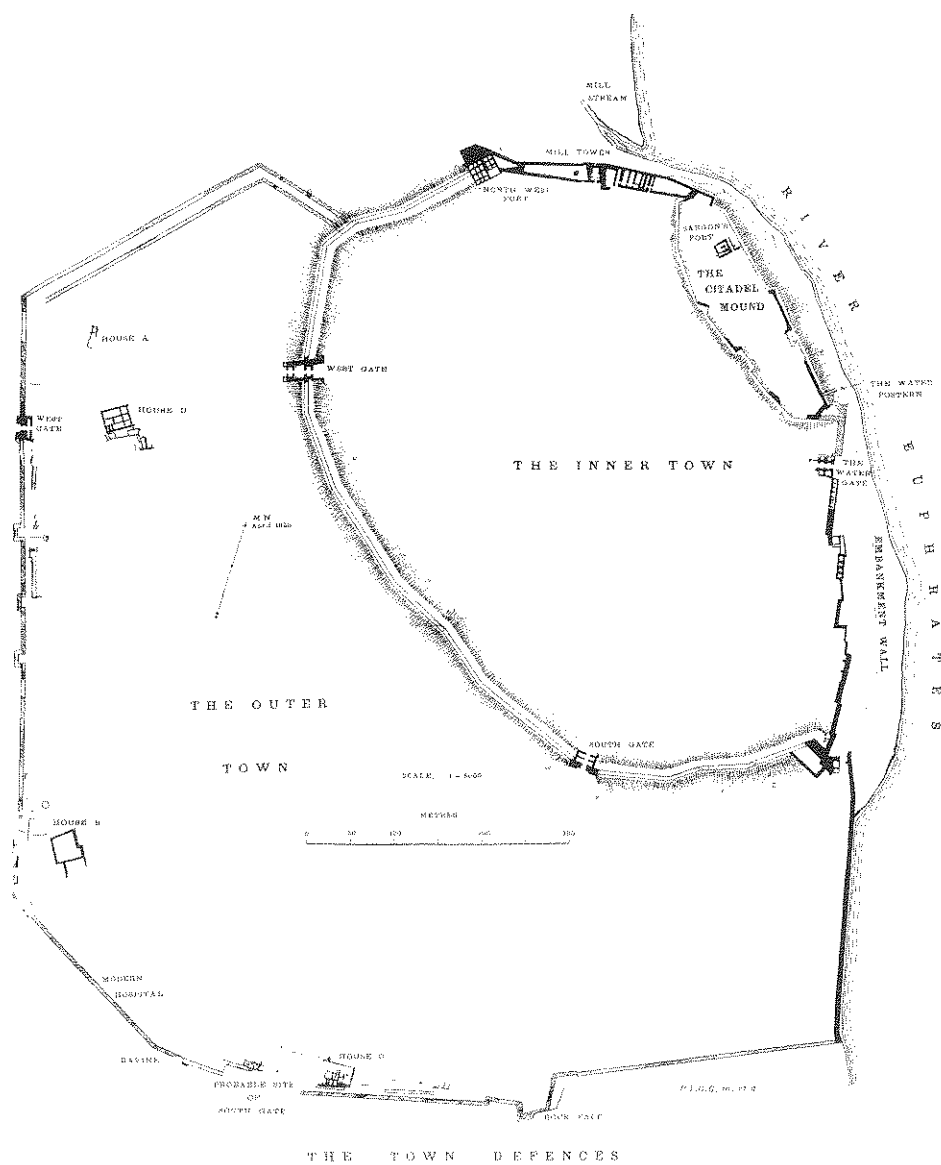


Plate IV. General plan of Carchemish after Woolley 1921 pl. 3.

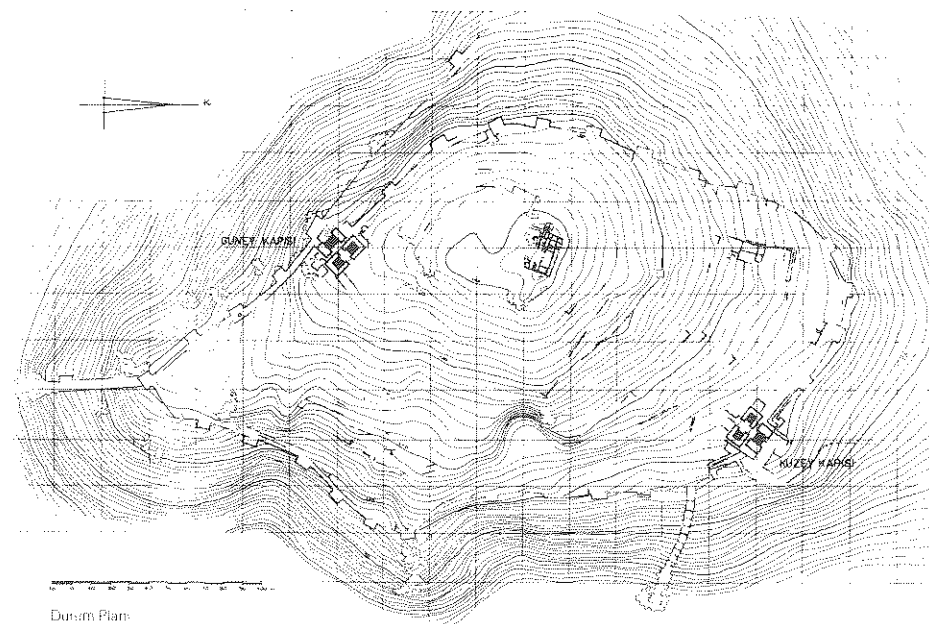


Plate V. General plan of Karatepe after H. Çambel, *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 43 1993, Abb. 1.

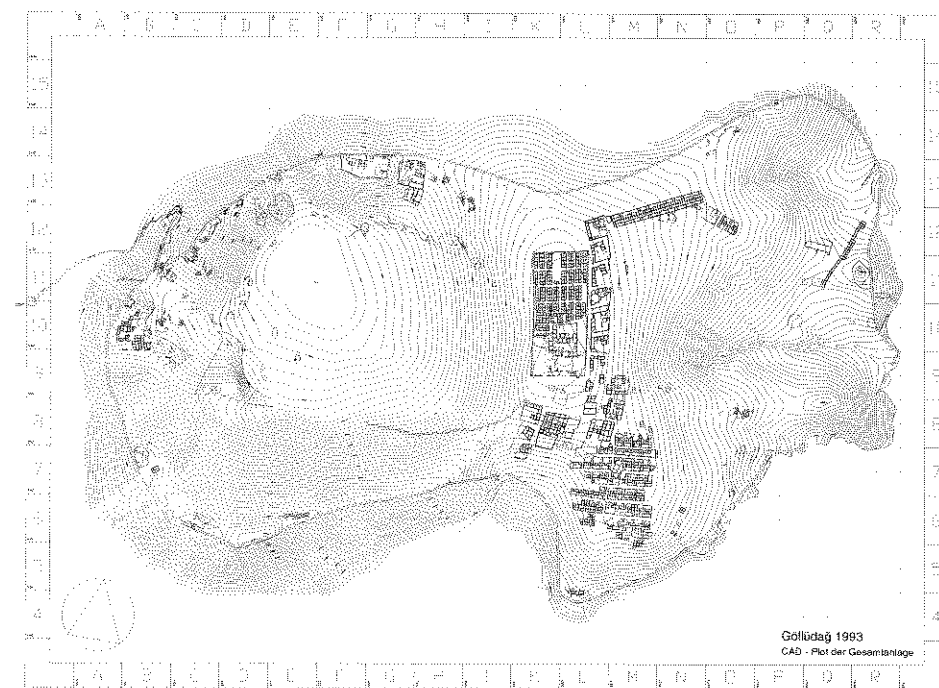


Plate VI. General plan of Gölüdağ after Schirmer 1993, Fig. 3.

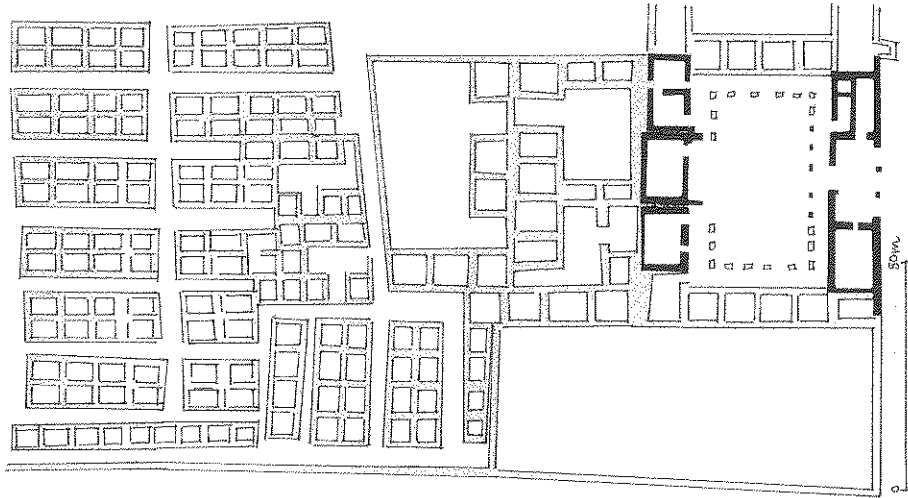


Plate VII. b. Fragmented lion head from Kululu, photo S. Aro



Plate VII. a. Plan of the public building in Göllüdağ, drawing after Schirmer 1993 Fig. 4.

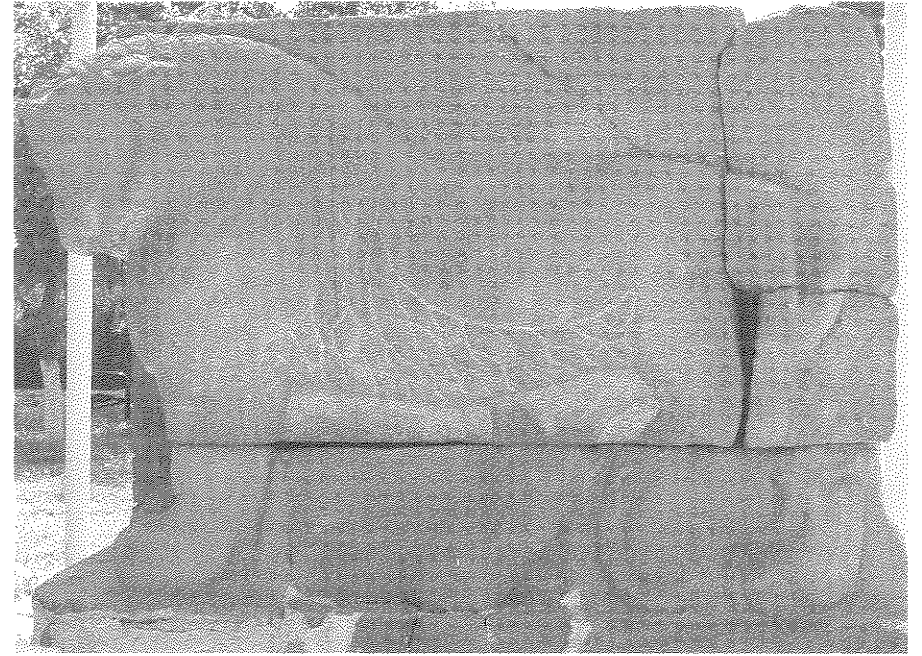


Plate VIII. a. Göllüdağ double lion, profile of the right lion, present state of preservation in Kayseri museum garden, photo S. Aro

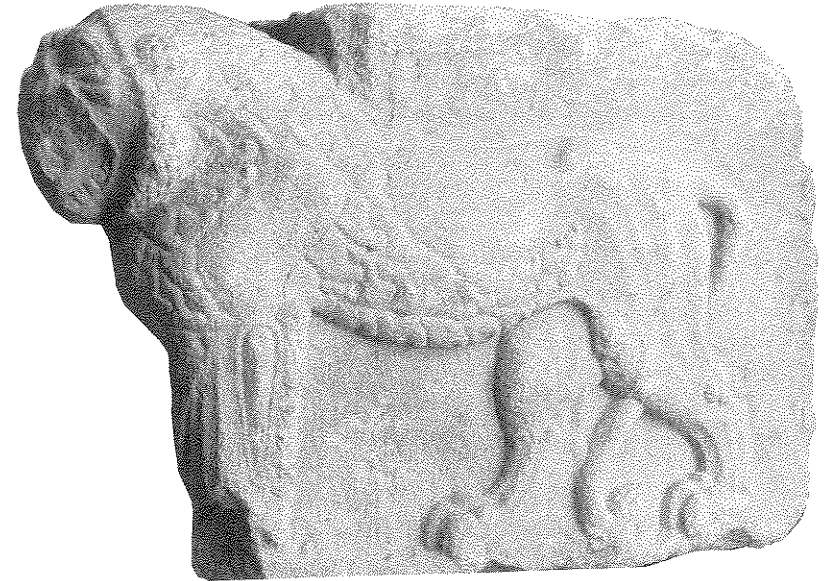


Plate VIII. b. Gate lion from Göllüdağ, photo S. Aro



Plate IX a. Fragmented sphinx head from Kululu, photo S. Aro

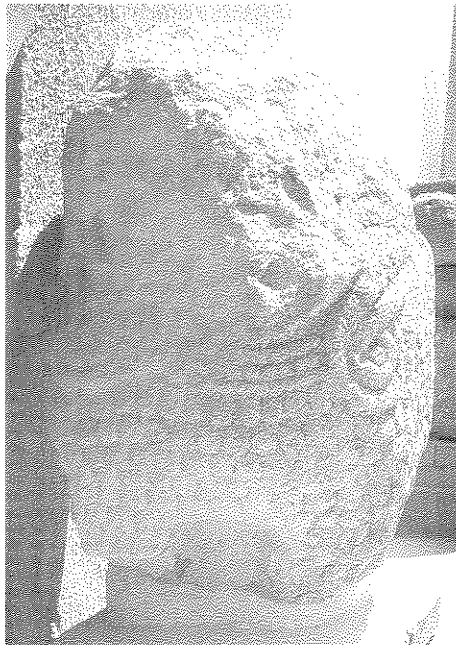


Plate IX. b. Fragmented sphinx body, photo S. Aro

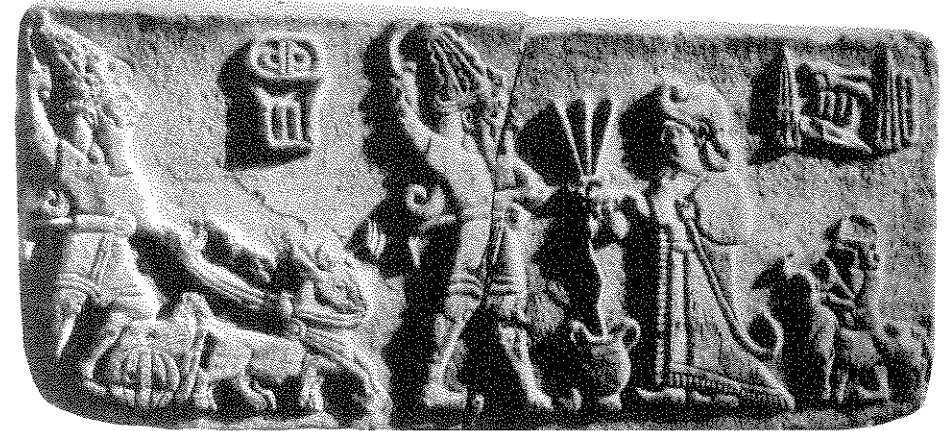


Plate X. Reliefed orthostat block from the Lion Gate in Malatya after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 51.



Plate XI. Reliefed orthostat from Herald's Wall in Carchemish, after D.G. Hogarth, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavation at Djerabis on Behalf of the British Museum I.* (London 1914) pl. B14b



Plate XII. Relieved orthostat with Hittite inscription and portrait of the ruler Katuwa from Carchemish, after Woolley 1921 pl. A13d

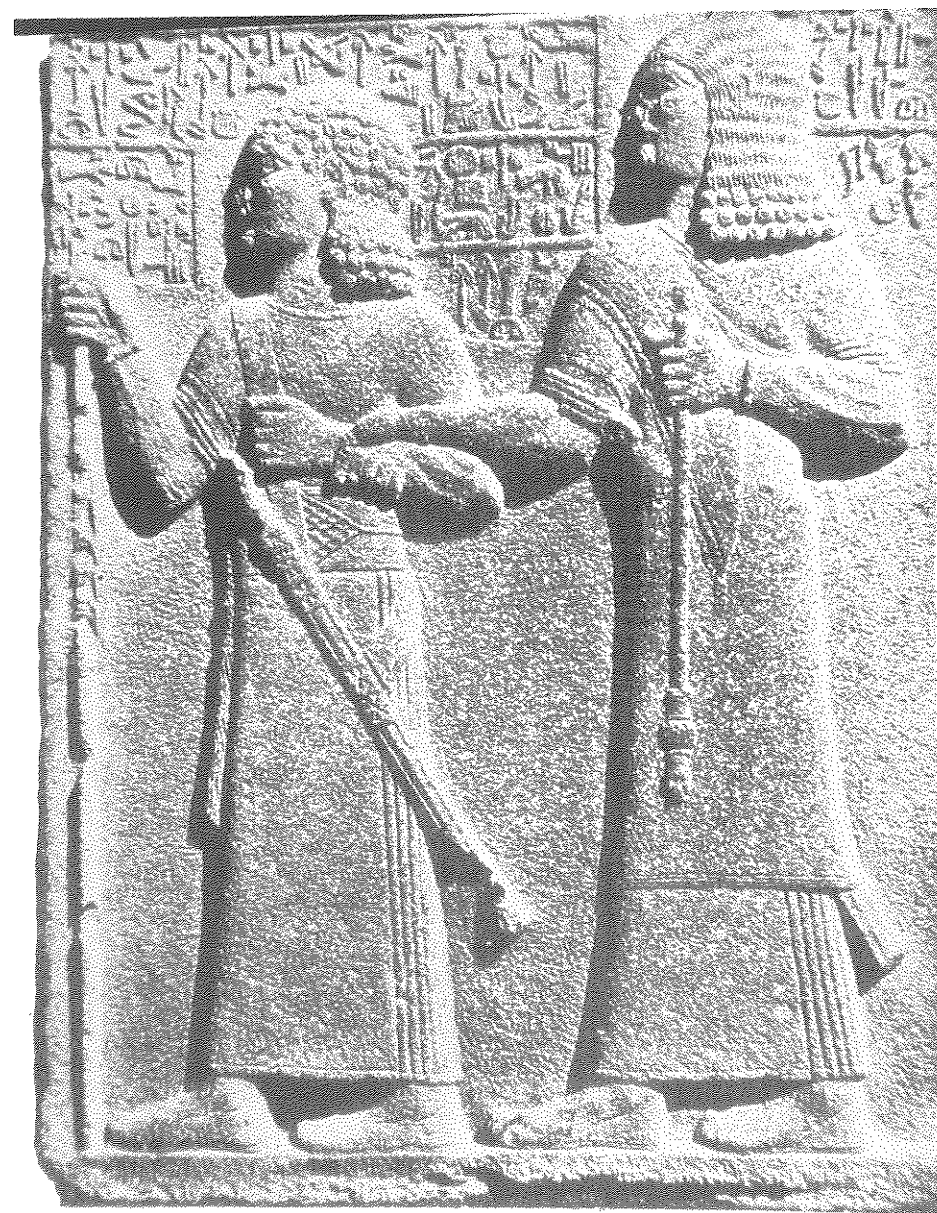


Plate XIII. Relieved orthostat from Royal Buttress in Carchemish with Yariri and Kamani after M. Riemschneider *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 68.



Plate XIV. Tutelary deity from Kültepe, photos S. Aro



Plate XV. Relieved orthostat from Karatepe after Darga 1992 Fig. 329.



Plate XVI. a. Storm-God of "type 1", drawing after a stela found in Babylon.

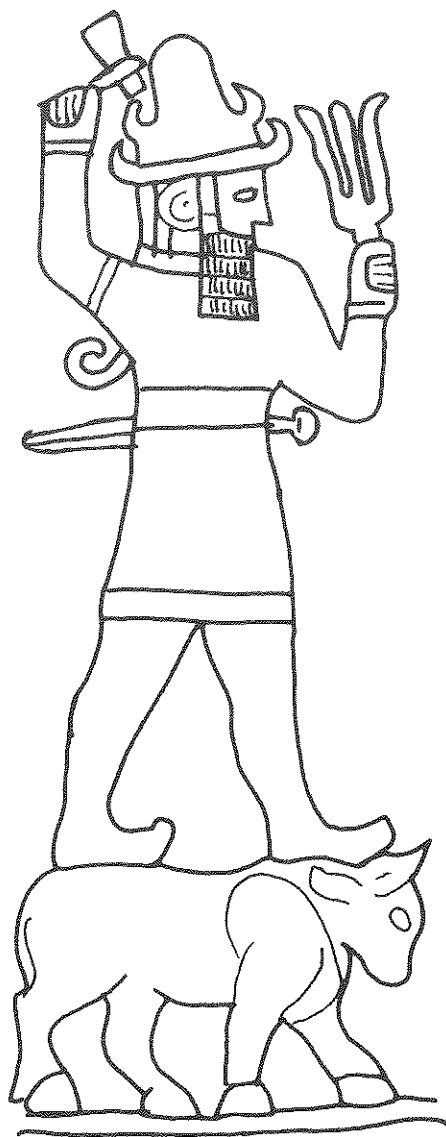


Plate XVI. b. Storm-God of "type 2", drawing after a stela from Tell Ahmar.

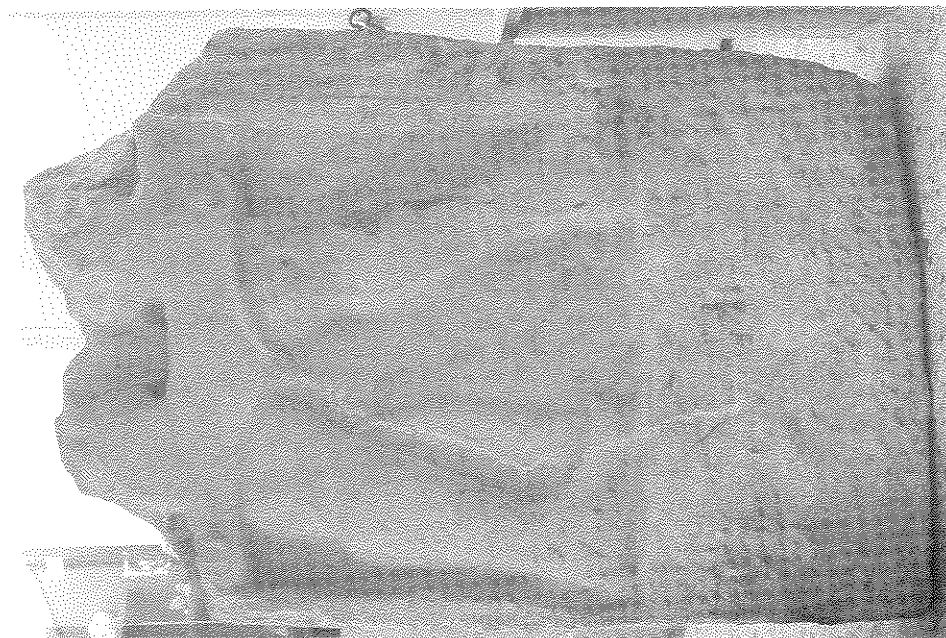


Plate XVII. b. Fragmented stela from Ivriz, photo S. Aro

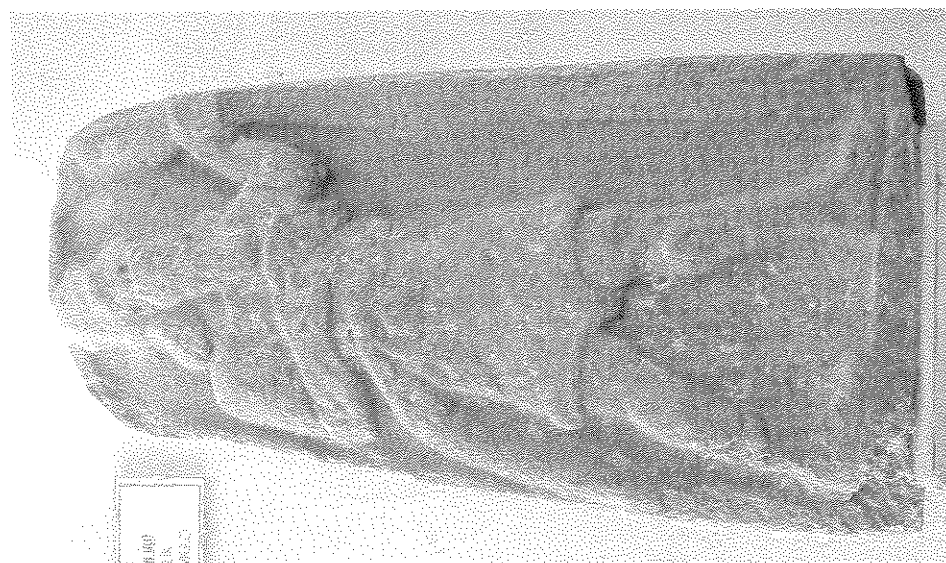


Plate XVII. a. Stela from Keşlik, photo S. Aro

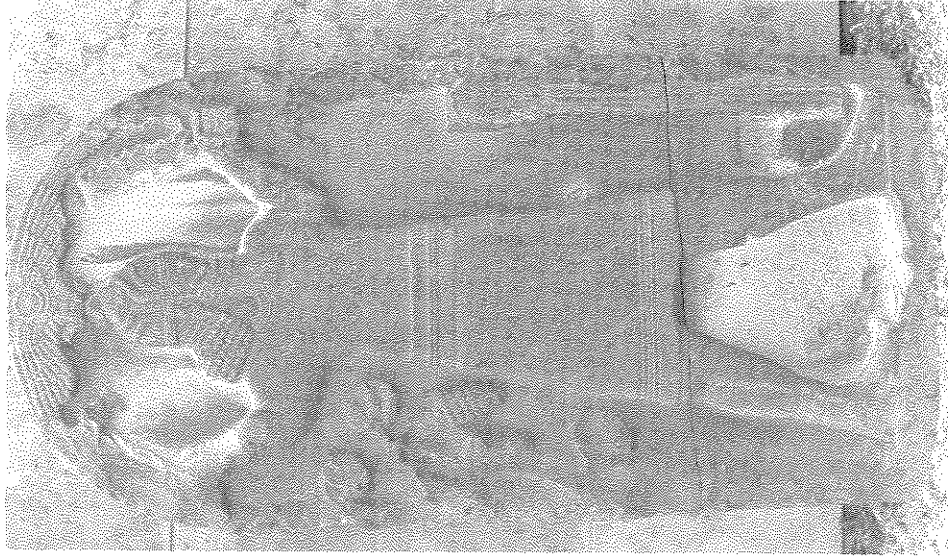


Plate XVIII. a. Detail of the fragmented stela from Aksaray showing the left boot of the Storm-god, photo S. Aro

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Plate XVIII. b. Stela from Niğde, photo S. Aro



Plate XIX. Detail of the stela from Niğde, photo S. Aro

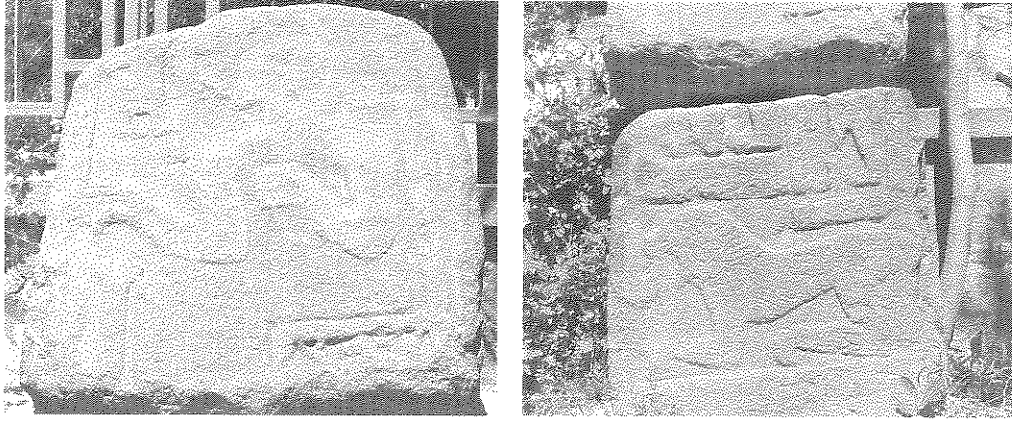


Plate XX. a. Stela from Tavşan Tepesi broken in two pieces, photo S. Aro.

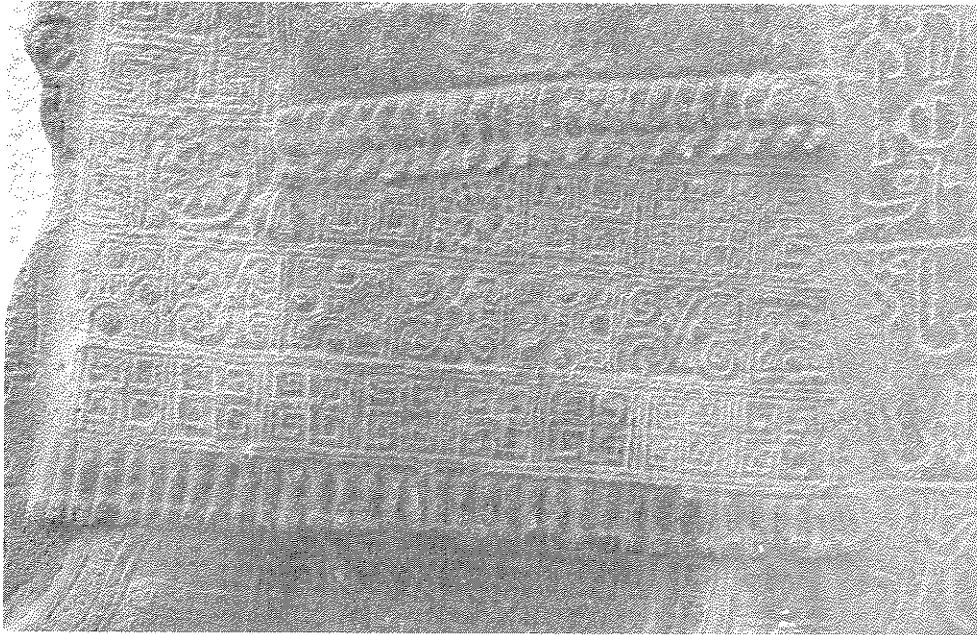


Plate XX. b. Detail of the stela from Bor showing the embroidered cloak of Warpalawas, photo S. Aro



Plate XXI. a. Detail of the fragmented stela from Andaval, photo S. Aro



Plate XXI. b. Stela from Çiftlik, photo S. Aro →

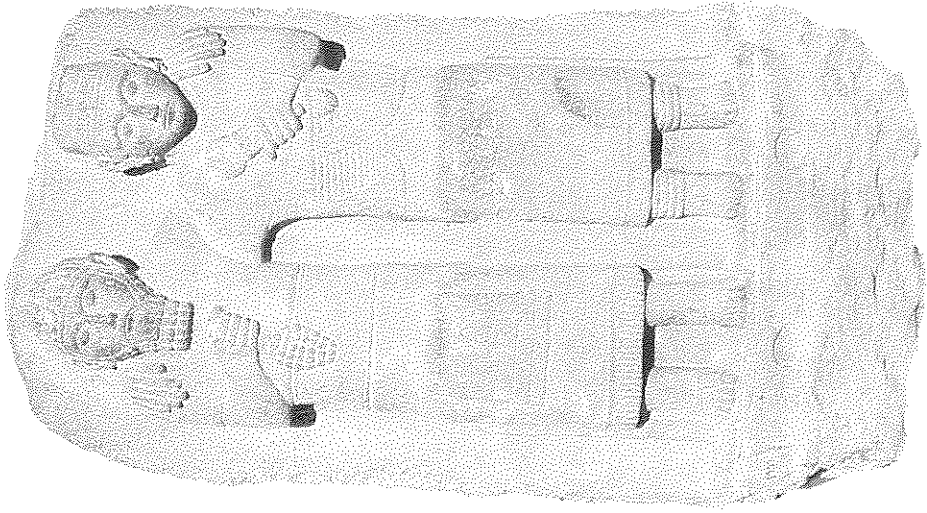


Plate XXII. a. Siela from Maras, after M. Darga 1992 Fig. 302.



Plate XXII. b. Carchemish head fragment of a funerary statue after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 67.



Plate XXIII. Colossal statue from Külulu, after Özgüç 1971 pl. 36.

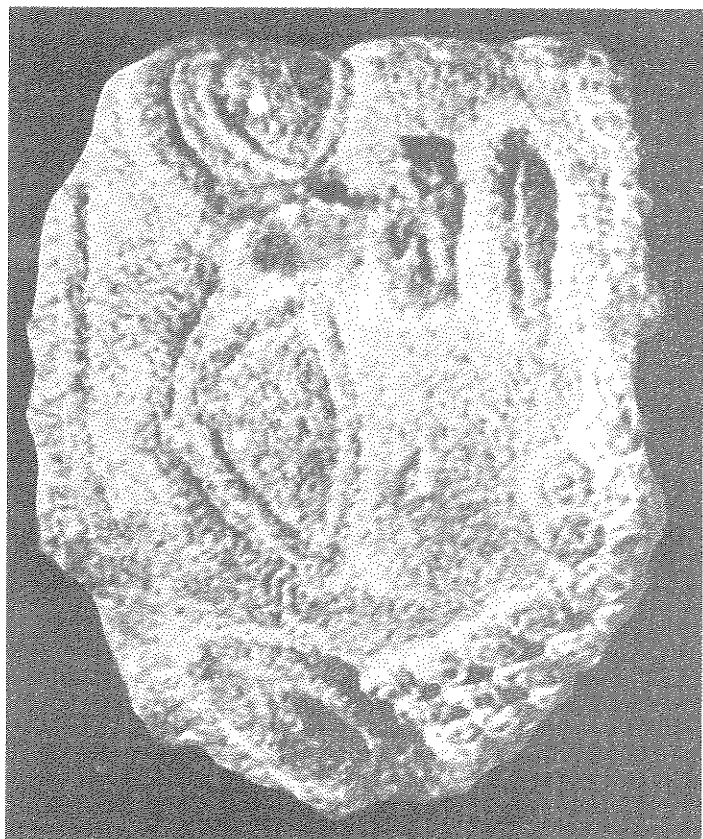


Plate XXIV. a. Head fragment of a statue from Kululu, after Özgüç 1971, pl. 40.2



Plate XXIV. b. Head fragment of a statue from Ivriz, photo S. Aro. →

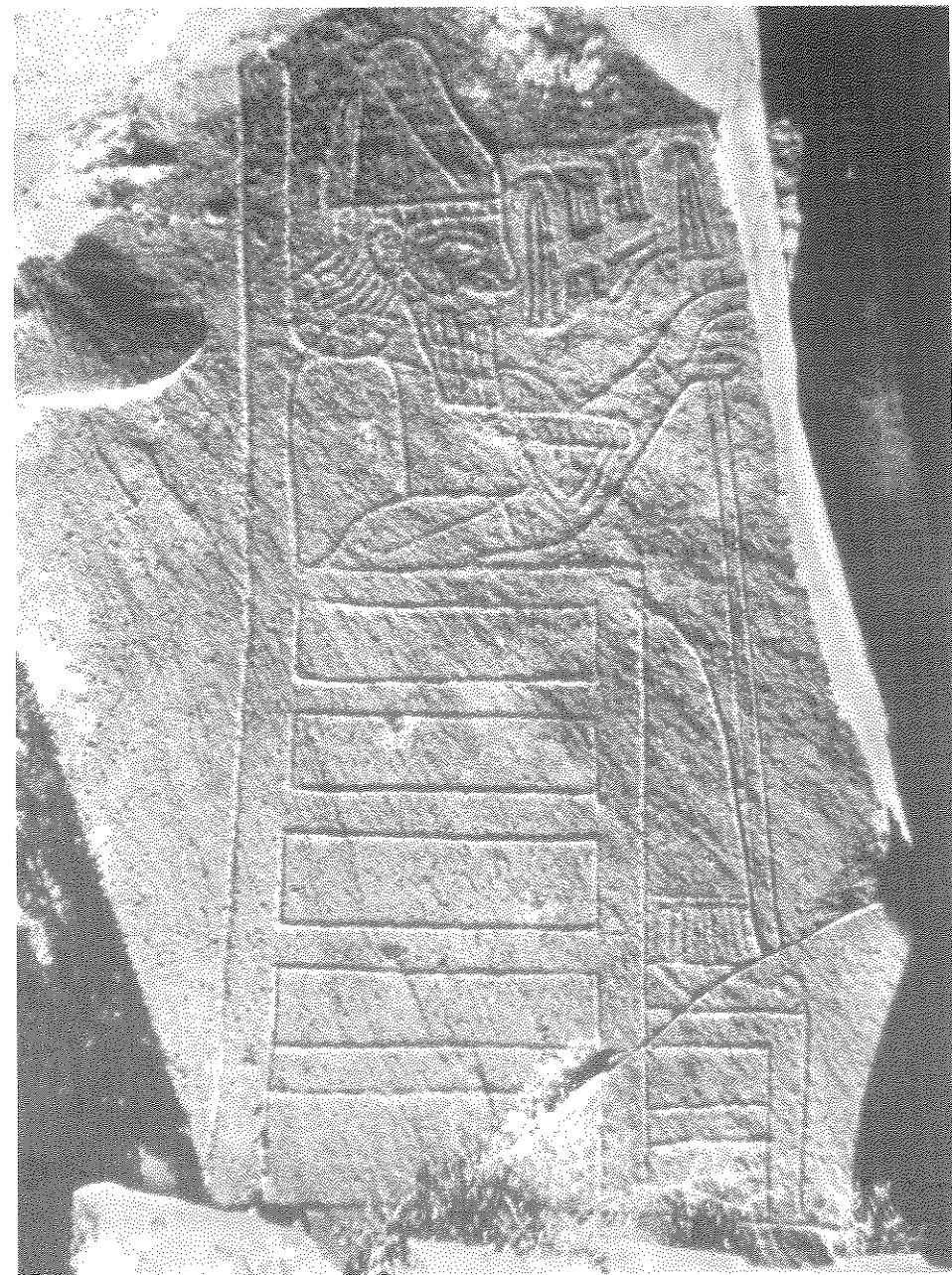


Plate XXV. Rock relief in Kızıldağ, after Bittel 1976 Fig. 270.

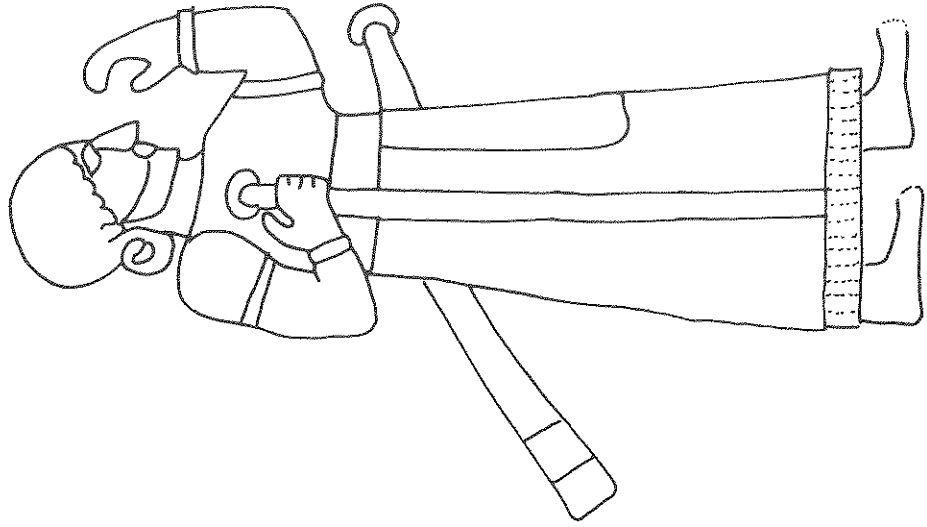


Plate XVI. b. Rock Relief in Gökbezi, photo S. Aro

← Plate XXVI. a. Rock Relief in Karapinar near Kayseri, drawing after Özgüç 1993 pl. 87.

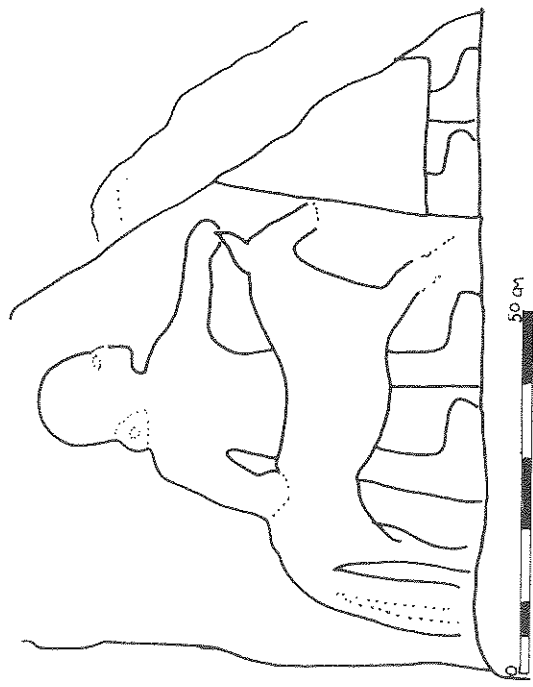


Plate XXVIII. Rock relief in Ivriz, drawing after Bier 1976 Fig. 5.

← Plate XXVII. Rock relief in Ivriz, photo S. Aro



Plate XXIX. Rock relief in Ambarderesi, photo S. Aro