

A Prospectus of Hittite Art Based on the State of our Knowledge at the Beginning of the 3rd Millennium AD

Ash ÖZYAR*

Abstract

Hittite art is defined in this article as products produced by a variety of Anatolian artisans specializing in different crafts during the second half of the second millennium BC. The main categories of manufacture are presented on a scale from large to small with particular emphasis on fabric and substance. Limitations of archaeological preservation are weighed against anticipated categories. The subject matter of Hittite imagery remains religious and pious. Hittite art can be recognized stylistically due to idiosyncratic conventions of representations. Finally, selected recent art historical investigations in Ancient Near Eastern and Classical Greek context are brought up to serve as an example for new approaches to understand ancient art.

This article will begin with a brief discussion of what we consider to be or what we define as 'Hittite Art', proceed to declare what we know in different categories of evidence, then state what we do not know and finally end with selected suggestions as to what one should inquire about in future.

Anatolian villagers and foreign travelers as well as scholars have encountered monuments and objects of 'Hittite Art' for over 150 years in the landscape or in excavations.¹ Lasting contributions to defining and interpreting Hittite art were published out of Germany, the homeland of Hittite studies,² and by scholars of the international academic community.³

* I would like to thank S. Matskevich, M.A. for scanning and arranging all figures devoting care and patience. The final version of this paper was prepared during my stay as an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität (Heidelberg), Institut für Altertumswissenschaften, Seminar für Ur- und Frühgeschichte hosted by Prof. J. Maran.

¹ Texier 1839; Hamilton 1842; Humann/Puchstein 1890.

² Bittel 1964, 1975, 1976; Boehmer 1972, 1983; Boehmer/Güterbock 1987; Bossert 1942; Güterbock 1957; Orthmann 1975.

³ Vieyra 1955; Mellink 1970, 1974, 1993; Canby 1975, 1976, 1989.

In Turkey, the homeland of the Hittites geographically speaking, numerous scholars have contributed substantially to our understanding of the scope and particularities of Hittite art elucidating our perception of it.⁴

Based on the insights provided by their investigations it is possible today to contemplate issues related to Hittite art. To advance, however, two fundamental questions first need to be answered: How do we position Hittite art *vis-à-vis* other ancient art? What is Hittite art and/or art in the Hittite world?

In the 19th century when the Hittites were gradually rediscovered by the western world (Neve 1996, 11 pp; Jean 2001; Seeher 2002), European art history had progressed as part of the effort to categorize the evolution of culture as a single, linear development with a universal origin (Bahrani 2003, 33). According to this categorization of art, expressed in rather simple terms, the beginning of art in dim prehistory is 'primitive', the next developmental stage can be discerned in the early civilizations of the ancient Near East and Egypt which produced art that was more elaborate yet stylistically still inferior to what was to follow. Finally, Graeco-Roman art developed excelling in *mimesis* and in the expression of movement, both aspects much revered thereafter. Seen from this vantage point which originated in the 19th century but colored art historical investigations well into the 20th century Hittite art ranks somewhere alongside ancient Near Eastern art, perhaps as the less sophisticated relative from the countryside, in art/historical surveys often found in chapters discussing 'the periphery' (Frankfort 1970; Walser 1964).

Today, there is a strong critique of this perspective of traditional art history, a European invention in conjunction to the narrative of the progress of civilization, i.e. the linear development of art towards a culmination in the Graeco-Roman Period reflected in the Renaissance thereafter constituting European art (Bahrani 2003). In our post-modern times art historians, just as historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists are interested in issues of alterity, ethnography and cultural translation (Bahrani 2003, 203). Thus we have been sensitized to attempt understanding art as well as culture in a contextual way. Therefore, today investigating Hittite art must mean to comprehend Hittite works of art as part of a particular cultural ontology, as the expression of a distinct social fabric in a given locality.

As to the second question J. V. Canby states, without embarking on theoretical digressions, but clearly and to the point that "Hittite art was [...] that of an imperial state. [...] The Hittites gracefully absorbed [...] various influences while developing an unmistakable art style of their own, their own iconography and their own peculiar style of monuments" (Canby 1989, 110). Do Hittite texts corroborate this observation or suggest other distinctions of Hittite art? Unfortunately, as much as the preserved tablets are concerned, there is little information on the artistic milieu or particular Hittite traits in art. Perhaps we must follow R. McC. Adams (1990, 3) when he "pose[s]... the underlying question relating to the purpose, function and institutional setting of all ancient art: To what extent was art distinct from craft, artist from artisan?"

⁴ Akurgal 1961; Alkim 1968; Darga 1992; N. Özgüç/Tunca 2001; T. Özgüç 1954, 1963, 1983, 2003.

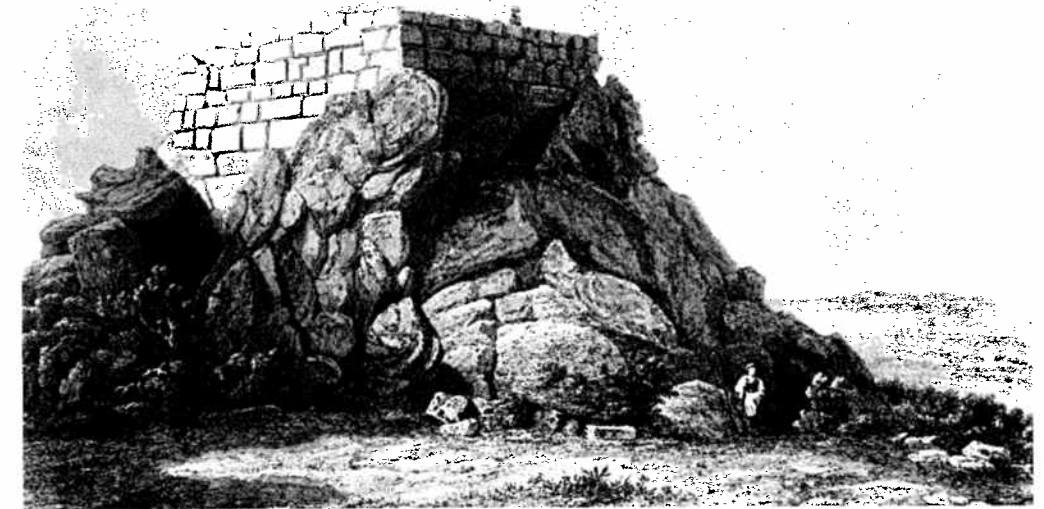


Fig. 1 Yenicekale, Boğazköy-Hattusha. Etching by Charles Texier (after Bittel 1976, fig. 5). The walls are perched on a rock outcrop using the jagged protrusion as a solid foundation. Man-made walls merge with natural rocks coalescing the spirit of both.

It is instructive to consult the ancient Greek classification of the arts, without necessarily letting classical Greek ideals of representation be our measuring rod, on the grounds that ancient Greece is geographically and temporally, perhaps also mentally closer to ancient Anatolia than modern Europe. W. Tatarkiewicz writes about the classification of arts the following (1973, 456–457): our idea of art as the artist's need of expression is new and a comparatively modern invention. The classical idea of art on the other hand survived for more than two thousand years and differed from ours in its reference to the ability to produce rather than the product of art and because it embraced any human ability to produce things so long as it was a regular production based on rules. In other words the work of a sculptor was as much art as the work of a mason. This ancient concept of art is today covered by the terms craft and skill. The ancient Greek word for art was τέχνη which continues to live in the word 'technique', a term that corresponds closer to ancient art.⁵ The most common classification of arts was into *liberal* and *vulgar*, an invention of the Greeks, though it is mainly known in the Latin terminology *artes liberales* and *artes vulgares*. More than any other ancient classification this one was dependent on social conditions in Greece. It was based on the fact that certain arts require physical effort from which others are free, a difference that to ancient Greeks seemed particularly important. Tatarkiewicz (1973, 459) further elucidates that into the Renaissance a residue of the artisanal concept of art was preserved in terminology thus presumably reflecting earlier practices. He points out that in the second half of the 15th century AD the Italian poet, philologist and humanist Angelo Poliziano used the term *sculptore* only to denote those who produced sculpture

⁵ In 1996 a conference was devoted to TEXNH – Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age (published in *Aegaeum* 16, 1997).



Fig. 2 Southwest corner of the Sphinx Gate bastion at Boğazköy-Hattusha after restauration in 1987 (after Neve 2001, pl. 5c).

in wood. There were different words used for sculptors who worked with stone (*statuarii*), metal (*caelatores*), clay (*fictores*) and wax (*encausti*). Our modern term art has been used as an abbreviation for the fine arts as of the 18th century AD, a distinction which did not, however, exist in the classical mind.

This brief digression was permitted to demonstrate that modern or contemporary categories of art do not apply when defining ancient Anatolian art of the Hittite period. Thus, the above cited classical perception of art which blurs the boundaries between *artifact* and *object d'art* and focuses on the production of art more than on the product as such shall guide us in our contemplations. This is familiar ground for the archaeologist who by definition is concerned with production processes, materials that were available and used, and questions of preservation. The presented categories follow a technical aspect, scale, in descending order: i.e. from large monuments to minute objects. A final chronological remark on what follows: precursors dating to the third millennium B.C. conventionally included in surveys of Hittite art are left aside, just as the art of Anatolian city-states during the first centuries of the second millennium will be. The term 'Hittite Art' here refers strictly to art dated to the four centuries from about 1600 to about 1200 BC.

The largest monuments produced by the Hittite artisan defining the urban landscape are buildings and fortifications (fig. 1). Their location within a given topography, the way they embrace and respond to topography, their lay-out, scale, shape, use of light and space all are a result of the particular Hittite way of construction and perception (fig. 2). Bittel defined a new type of Hittite settlement: the *Bergstadt* (mountain city): „Gewiß hat es schon vorher Siedlungen in bergigem Gelände und wohl auch auf Bergeshöhe gegeben,

aber daß im Laufe der Zeit auf solchem Gelände eine Großstadt entstehen konnte, darf als Novum gelten. [...] Die Hethiter [...] [haben] ein besonderes, höchstwahrscheinlich nicht allein aus praktischen, sondern aus metaphysischen Ursachen hervorgegangenes Verhältnis zu Stein, Fels, aus Berg und Fels bestehendem Grund [gehabt] [...]“ (Bittel 1976, 105). A. Schachner presents a detailed discussion of Hittite architecture in this volume to which the reader is referred.

The next group of monuments are sculptures carved on architectural building blocks. Hittite architectural sculpture is characteristically engraved on structurally supporting big boulders and not on revetment slabs built against mudbrick walls, in other words *orthostats*, a construction technique of Syrian derivation. The best known example remains the series of sculpture carved on the architectural blocks of the Sphinx Gate at Alacahöyük (Bittel 1976, fig. 209). One of the more recent editions to the corpus is the relief of a deceased king named Tuthaliya found in Boğazköy-Hattusha Building A within the temenos wall of Temple 5 (fig. 10).⁶ It would have been built into the buttress of a wall in House A, again in a structurally significant, supporting position. Also new are the reliefs carved on building blocks supporting the interior façade of an arched chamber again in Boğazköy-Hattusha, built into the embankment of an artificial lake (Neve 1996, 72 figs. 201, 204a).

Portal sculptures in the form of lion and sphinx protomes which seem to grow out of large building blocks that structurally support the gate are unparalleled in their forceful fusion of monumental and representational art. We will follow Mellink who announced them as one of the hallmarks of Hittite art (Mellink 1974, 202). The Lion Gate and the Sphinx Gate complex in Hattusha⁷ have been reinvestigated by Neve. He offers a new interpretation concerning the interaction of architecture and sculpture in this case forming a sacred complex with cultic function, part of a processional way leading to a possibly sacred hill-top (Neve 1996, 58 pp; Neve 2001, 19). The capital city Hattusha⁸ and the cult city located at the site of Alacahöyük (Mellink 1970) thus best exhibit the range of gate sculptures in fact generic architectural sculpture and the careful planning⁹ that went into its production. Superimposed registers (Mellink 1970, fig. 2) and the presentation of entire scenes as well as processions are characteristic for Hittite Art. Individual blocks are often used for a group of figures in one scene such as the depiction of a nude child juxtaposed to a dignitary and flanked by two men holding a pole/staff, a scene which Canby interprets to refer to the public declaration of the heir apparent from among royal offspring (Bittel 1976, 194 fig. 220; Canby 1986, 59–61). Some scenes continue over two or more building blocks as the procession of dignitaries and sacrificial animals in Alacahöyük for example does

⁶ Neve 2001, 34–35, fig. 26–29, pl. 59–63.

⁷ Bittel 1976, 102 fig. 94, 223 fig. 258 (Lion Gate) – Bittel 1976, 229 fig. 265, 230 fig. 266 (Sphinx Gate).

⁸ Recently further remains of gate lions and portal sphinxes were excavated in Temples 2 and 3 of Hattusha's Upper City (Neve 1996, 44–45, fig. 112–119): Temple 2, gate lion fragments (Neve 2001, 55) and portal sphinx fragments (Neve 2001, 58); Temple 3 gate lion and sphinx fragments (Neve 2001, 79).

⁹ Neve comments on the planning of the bastion which incorporates the Sphinx Gate (Neve 2001, 18 with notes 42 and 43): „Die Befunde [...] zeigen mit aller Deutlichkeit, daß die Anlage der Bastion auf der Basis eines Planes erfolgt sein muß. Er brauchte nicht maßstäblich zu sein, sollte jedoch [...] Maßangaben enthalten haben [...]. Möglicherweise hatte man noch zusätzlich ein Modell von der Anlage angefertigt [...]“.



Fig. 3 Spring sanctuary Eflatun Pınar seen from west (photo: E. Kuruçayırılı 2004).

(Bittel 1976, 190 figs. 212–213). The appearance of narration in Hittite art has already been discussed by Güterbock in the 1950s (Güterbock 1957). Thus we may contemplate whether continuous friezes depicting cultic activities in spatial succession are narrative in style (Mellink 1974).

The spring sanctuary known as Eflatun Pınar (“lavender colored spring”) ranked already high among the most awe inspiring, spectacular achievements of Hittite artisans (fig. 3). Recently, after salvage excavations the monument emerged as the head part of a large pool complex crowning the center of its northern wall (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, 94 pp. fig. 27). Sculpted frontal images of a female and male seated deity surrounded by ‘a system of hybrids’ (Bittel 1976, 225) supporting the overarching winged sun-disk all carved on large building blocks in high relief were already known. Now, more sculpture has appeared. Two frontally depicted seated goddesses, perhaps spring deities (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, 97 fig. 1.16) flank the main scene. Two further seated goddesses, only one preserved complete, were set up across the pool facing the main façade (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, fig. 18). A series of twelve crouching hoofed animals identified by Bachmann as stags and several reclining lions, the preserved lot of a similar series, are perhaps the most striking new additions to the Anatolian sculptural repertoire of the second millennium BC. These animals are carved as free standing sculpture in the round which at present is unparalleled (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, 99). Bachmann suggests that each series had been erected along the eastern and western edges of the pool. Series of sculpted animals watching a sacred pool of water seem to anticipate or at least recall to the modern observer the Terrace of Lions at Delos in the Aegean, where a series of marble lions gaze out on a sacred lake (Gallet de Santerre 1959, pl. 24). A gigantic block of over 5 m in length weighing 23 tons displays three bovine protomes which would have served as fountainheads if the piece were finished (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, 102 pp., figs. 24–25, 38). Finally, five mountain gods

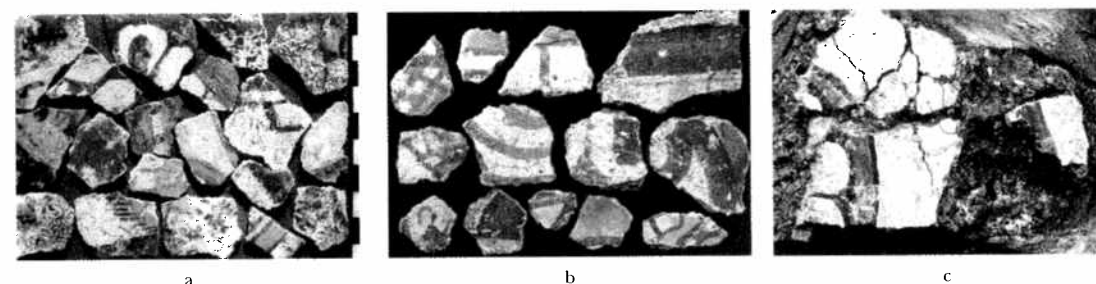


Fig. 4 Fragments of Hittite wall painting from Boğazköy-Hattusha.
(a) Temple 5 (after Neve 1996, fig. 75; Neve 2001, pl. 48c); (b) Temple 9 (after Neve 1999, pl. 31c);
(c) Büyükkale (after Neve 1993, 637 fig. 16, 639).

surfaced on the lowest level of the main sculptured front after excavation. These deities support the entire system of hybrids around the main protagonists (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, figs. 2, 14). Perpetually flowing spring water could be directed through channels to gush out of the skirts of the mountain deities re-enacting or perhaps staging, in a way dramatizing the natural circumstance of a spring originating in a mountain in form of a controlled fountain: an unparalleled spectacle it must have been (Bachmann/Özenir 2005, 120). The exemplary publication of this most astonishing, impressive cultic installation tentatively dated to the last phase of the Empire Period, which re-creates a religious cosmic order clearly lays out how Hittite artisans displayed their high level of engineering skills and creativity under royal patronage.

Wall paintings are attested both in the Mesopotamian and the Aegean cultural spheres in the course of the second millennium. In the East palatial murals (Nunn 1988; Albenda 2005) were preserved in Old Assyrian Mari and Qatna/Tall Mişrife¹⁰, in the Hurro-Mittanian world of Nuzi and Alalakh/Tell Atchana, in the Middle Assyrian site of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and in the Kassite new foundation of Dur-Kurigalzu/’Aqar Quf.¹¹ Aegean wall painting (Immerwahr 1990) is best known from Thera/Akrotiri (Doumas 1992), the so-called ‘Bronze Age Pompeii’, although by no means limited to the Cycladic islands. In fact “[...] Knossos was the birth place of Aegean wall painting, its techniques and its basic style. Neither the Greek mainland nor the Cyclades has any wall painting as early as those from Knossos” (Immerwahr 1990, 2). The Minoan tradition of fresco painting continues in the Mycenaean palaces of mainland sites with fragments from Orchomenos, Pylos, Thebes, Mycenae and Tiryns constituting the major repertoire (Immerwahr 1990, 105, 195–204). The fragments of polychrome wall plastering in red, blue, ochre, brown, black and white with remnants of ornamental and figurative painting recovered in the Upper City at Boğazköy-Hattusha, in Temple 9 as well as in secondary deposition adjacent to Temple 5, but also found in the palatial complex of Büyükkale are by comparison less than few (fig. 4a–c).¹² Nevertheless, they permit us to consider large scale wall painting. What would

¹⁰ I thank Prof. P. A. Miglus (Heidelberg) for this reference.

¹¹ Parrot 1958 (Mari) – Novák/Pfälzner 2002, 226–231, figs. 13–16 (Qatna) – Starr 1937, pls. 128 H, 129 D (Nuzi) – Woolley 1955, pls. 37c.b, 38a.b, 39c (Alalakh) – Andrae 1923, pl. 2,3 (Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta) – Baqir 1946, pls. 13–14 (Dur-Kurigalzu).

¹² Neve 1999, 50, pl. 31c (Temple 9) – Neve 2001, 29, 111, Taf. 48c (Temple 5) – Neve 1993, 639 fig. 16 (Büyükkale).

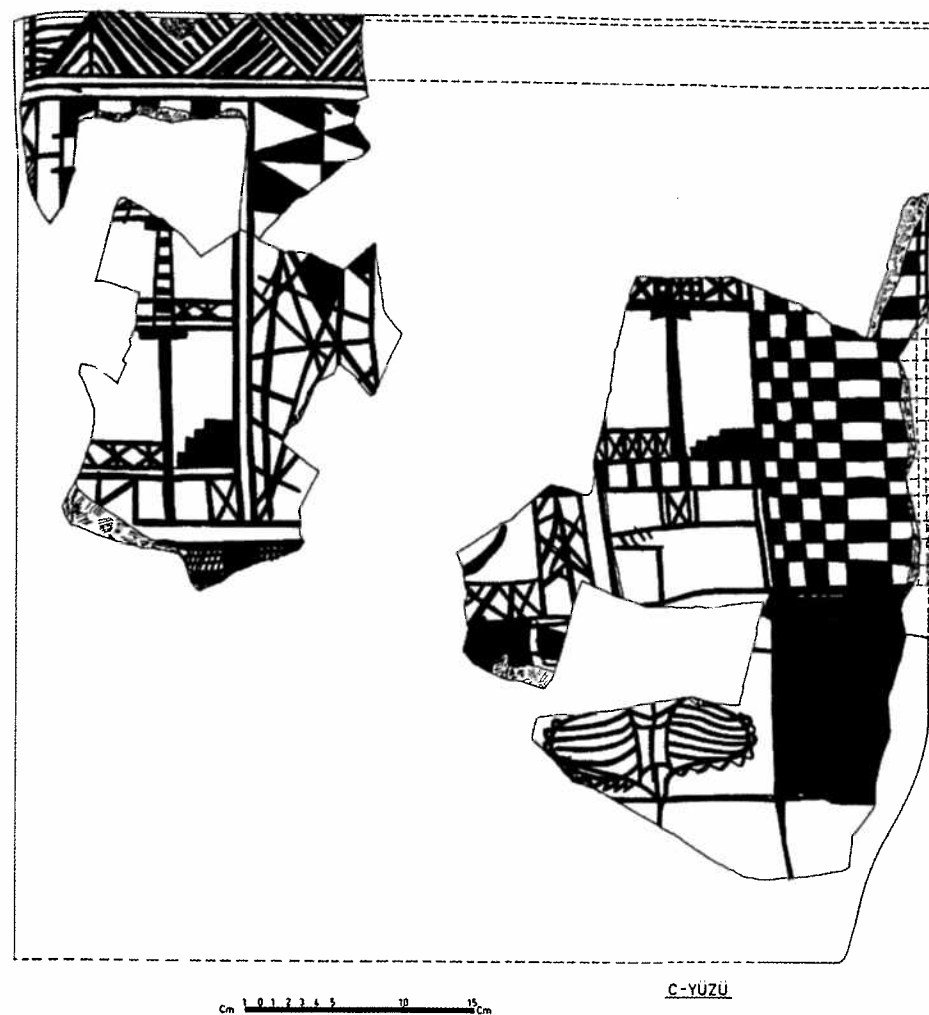


Fig. 5 Architectural elevation on painted bath-tub from Acemhöyük (after Özgüç 1979, fig. 7).

murals have depicted? Geometric and floral decoration? Maybe figures and architecture? Perhaps superimposed scenes? With pre-Hittite precursors (18th cent. BC) such as the architectural (palatial?) elevations depicted on the painted bath-tub from Acemhöyük (fig. 5)¹³ and post-Hittite successors as the (6th cent. BC) delicately painted scenes on the walls of a burial chamber for a local notable in the Lycian Elmalı plain (fig. 6) in mind, it all seems possible, even probable.

The unrivaled and most characteristic monuments of Hittite art, as many would agree, are the rock reliefs (Kohlmeyer 1983).¹⁴ Living rock bearing sculpture as well as inscriptions, both to be read as signs or visual messages, conveys convincingly the distinctive Hittite attitude towards, as well as reverence for nature and the divine in nature. Hittite rock reliefs are found alongside frequented paths of travel, i.e. roads and rivers. In the open-air sanctuary

¹³ N. Özgüç 1979, 294–295, fig. 7; Mellink 1993, 426, fig. 1a–b.

¹⁴ Kohlmeyer's treatise remains the most detailed account of all reliefs known until 1983.



Fig. 6 Archaic wall painting depicting detail of horses from the tomb chamber of a local notable in Kızılbey, Elmalı (after Mellink 1998, pl.32 A–A.F. N4).

of Yazılıkaya/Hattusha (Bittel et al. 1975) architecture is juxtaposed to a rock formation marked with relief to achieve an idiosyncratic atmosphere combining built and natural space into monumental unity (Özyar 2003, 108).

Evidence for large scale free standing sculpture is accumulating especially with the recent addition of a series of animal statues from Eflatun Pınar mentioned above. Contrary to Orthmann (1975, 420), who maintained in the mid 1970s „[daß] es keine eigene [hethitische] Tradition monumentaler Rundskulptur gab“, Bittel (1964, 126) declared: „[...] daß es keinerlei Hinweise auf die einstige Existenz monumentaler Kultstatuen, sei es aus Stein oder sei es aus Metall, in anatolischen spätbronzezeitlichen Tempeln

gäbe, trifft nicht zu. [...] in Boğazköy, also in der Hauptstadt, sind in vier von fünf ausgegrabenen Tempeln im Adyton die Basen – oder wenigstens noch deren Sockel – von Kultbildern erhalten. Das Ausmaß dieser Basen spricht ganz eindeutig für monumentale Kultbilder [...]“. Canby (1989, 127–128), then, presents further examples to contemplate: these include the large feet of an over-life-size statue (fig. 9), itself not preserved, which according to Neve perhaps belonged in Chamber B of Yazılıkaya on a stone base associated with an inscription that reads “Tutḫaliya” (Neve 1982, 389–391, fig. 8–10) and the half-life size head of a goddess with a ‘Graeco-Archaic’ smile (Bittel 1976, 298 fig. 340), both from Hattusha. In Alacahöyük the over-life-size (preserved height 2.10m) body of a cloaked (divine?) figure carved out of limestone (fig. 7) was found behind the sphinx, beneath Level IIIa, in a level preceding the gate sculpture (Koşay/Akok 1973, 78–79 pls. 40–41). Comparing its posture to the minute statuette from Gözlükule (fig. 8) will ease our reading of it. It should also be noted that Hittite relief sculpture is characterized by high plasticity. Often figures that are in relief are raised high above the background so that more than half of the entire face is depicted when seen from the side (figs. 10–11). This practice may also allude to familiarity and ease with sculpture in the round. The rock relief of the seated goddess at Akpınar (Manisa), the above mentioned sculpted elements at Eflatun Pınar as well as the stele of Fasillar¹⁵ indicate that sculpture-in-the-half-round constitutes a category of its own, including gate-lions and gate-sphinx protomes. In this category figures

¹⁵ Bittel 1976, 183 figs. 204–205 (Akpınar) – Bittel 1976, 228 fig. 264 (Fasillar).

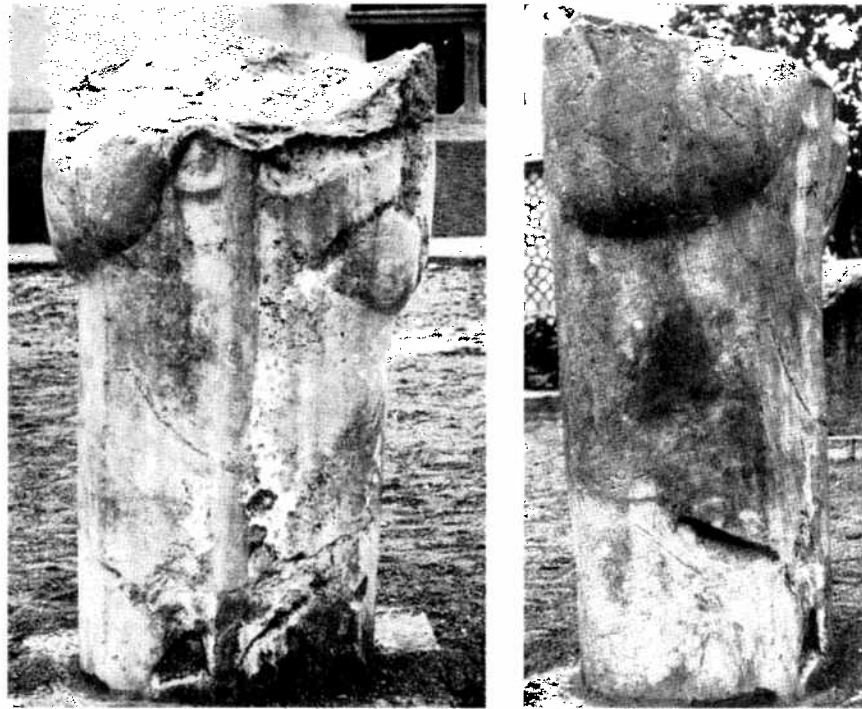


Fig. 7 Fragmentary monumental limestone statue (of a god?) from Alacahöyük. H: 2.1 m, max. w: 1 m, th: 0.58 m (after Koşay/Akok 1973, pls. 40–41).

literally emerge out of rock or large blocks of stone undoubtedly on purpose,¹⁶ lending images supernatural strength, in a way bringing to the mind of contemporary viewers the same aspect in the works of Rodin. These few preserved examples of large sculpture-in-the-round, then, are surely not representative of all there once was,¹⁷ they do provide us, however, with enough to anticipate more.

Medium scale metal statuettes, made of silver or bronze,¹⁸ regrettably rarely found in excavated context, are perhaps our best guide to what the variety of large sculptures may have looked like, if more were preserved. The so called *Bildbeschreibungen*, i.e. descriptions of cult inventory studied by Brandenstein (1943) and Jakob-Rost (1961), document textually the existence of wooden statuettes alongside ones made of different types of metals, i.e. bronze, silver, gold and iron. Were there also large scale wooden statues? Partially

¹⁶ I do not agree with Orthmann who portrays this type of half-round-sculpture as not yet fully developed sculpture-in-the-round, indicating a lack of the latter (Orthmann 1975, 420): „Eine starke Bindung an den Steinblock offenbart sich [...] bei den Protomen. Sogar am Sphingenpaar [...] wird deutlich [...], daß der fast zum Rundbild umgestaltete Steinblock sich nicht aus dem architektonischen Zusammenhang gelöst hat.“

¹⁷ Bittel 1964, 126–129: „Die zahlreichen Beschreibungen von Kultbildern des Hatti-Reiches, die in den sog. Kultinventaren auf uns gekommen [...] sind, [...] machen uns aber eindringlich – um nicht zu sagen: erschreckend – deutlich, wie klein die Zahl der erhaltenen Monumente gegenüber dem einst Vorhandenen ist und aus welcher desparaten Teilen wir das Ganze wieder zu gewinnen versuchen müssen. Fehlurteile, Unter- und Überschätzungen sind dabei unvermeidbar.“

¹⁸ Canby 1969, 143, 144 pl. 39 (silver) – Bittel 1976, 227 fig. 262–263, 148 fig. 149 (bronze).



Fig. 8 Tarsus-Gözlükule rock crystal statuette of a god. H: 6 cm, max. w: 2.3 cm (after Goldman 1956, fig. 456 a–d).

painted? Covered with sheet metals? The detailed descriptions of gods and goddesses and their paraphernalia identified by name and grouped under their respective cities, reveal many unknown images which may be discovered in form of a statue, statuette or figurine in one or the other context in future, one hopes.

Earthenware sculpted in form of animals, animal heads or other figurative shapes (for example grapes or shoes) has a long past in Anatolia flourishing already in the first centuries of the second millennium as the numerous examples from Kanesh/Kültepe display (most recently T. Özgüç 2003, 195–229). In the Hittite Old Kingdom period the dimension of animal-shaped vessels doubles, even triples when compared to earlier examples. Measuring close to one meter (0.9 m) in height, the two

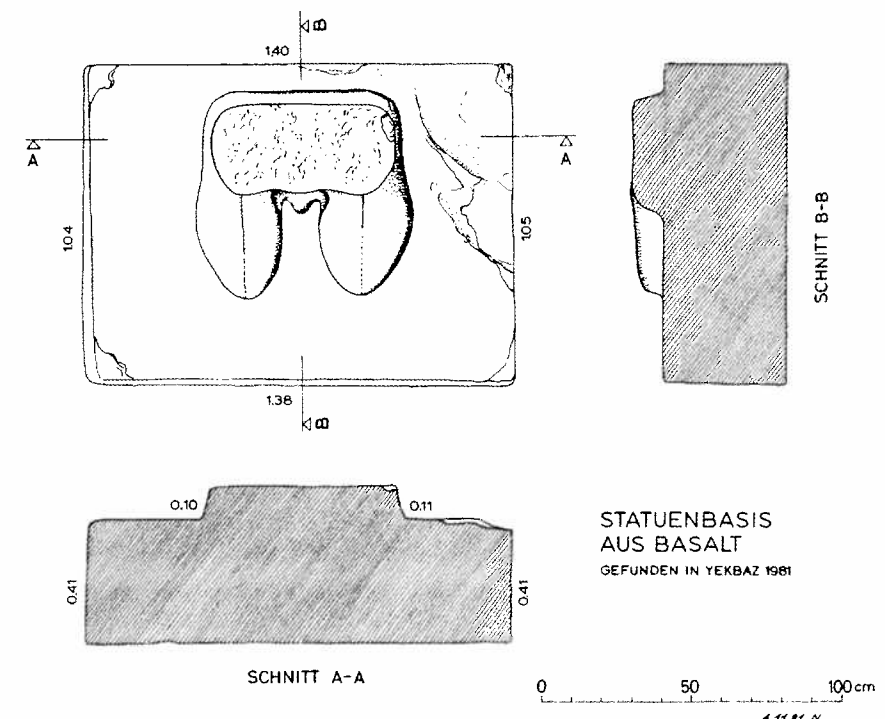


Fig. 9 Basalt statue base with over-life-size feet preserved. Found in the village of Yekbaz in the vicinity of Boğazköy (after Neve 1982, 391 fig. 10a–c).



Fig. 10
Boğazköy-Hattusha, relief of
Tudhaliya on architectural block
(after Neve 1996, 40, fig. 101).



Fig. 11
Boğazköy-Hattusha, god at the King's
Gate (after Canby 1989, 122).

terracotta bull statues from Boğazköy¹⁹ are in essence medium, almost large scale sculpture-in-the round. Their massive sculptural presence masks their function as containers. The hollow interior could have served to receive liquids, perhaps libations, which would be poured in through the tubular spout on the back and could be drained through the holes in the nostrils when disposed of. Hollow spouted bull-shaped clay vessels in various sizes are also known from İnandıktepe (fig. 13) and are attested in fragments from Maşat Höyük. More recently fragments of another pair of ceramic bulls were recovered and restored from Sarissa-Kuşaklı (fig. 12).²⁰

¹⁹ Bittel 1976, 151 fig. 156; Neve 1982, 61 pp.

²⁰ T. Özgüç 1988, 111–112 fig. 60–62 (İnandıktepe) – T. Özgüç 1978, 58, 123 pl. 46, 1–5 (Maşat Höyük) – Müller-Karpe 1998, fig. 17–18 (Kuşaklı).

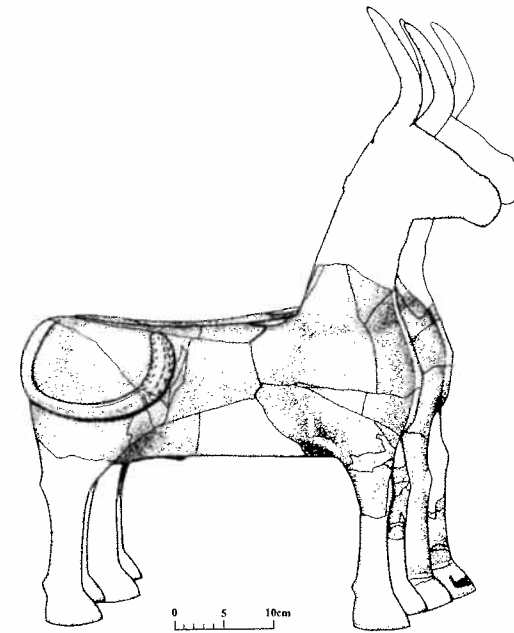


Fig. 12 Pair of terracotta bulls from
Sarissa/Kuşaklı. H: ca. 0.6 m, l: ca. 0.43 m
(after Müller-Karpe 1998, 117 fig. 17).



Fig. 13 Terracotta bull from İnandıktepe.
H: 0.67 m, l: 0.47 m
(after Özgüç 1988, pl. 60.1a).

A related group of objects are relief vases (Boehmer 1983). Here, too, earthenware is transformed through relief sculpting to transcend its primary function as container. The well-known alabaster vase from the urban center of Uruk in Mesopotamia dated to some 1500 years earlier illustrates that the idea to produce such vessels is as old as institutionalized/formalized religion. Pottery with relief depicting human and animal figures was produced in the central Anatolian settlement of Köşkhöyük (Niğde) already in the Neolithic, attesting to a long standing tradition of sculpting bas-relief on vessels which may well reflect figurative wall stucco in contemporary buildings as so far only known from Çatalhöyük (Konya). Pottery enriched with relief and color such as the examples from Bitik and İnandıktepe are hallmarks of the Hittite Old Kingdom period.²¹ In superimposed bands of friezes (Mellink 1974) festivals are perpetuated on the very vessels that seem to play a central role in the depicted festivals. The recent discovery of further near complete relief vessels in Hüseyindede adds new themes to the repertoire. On one of them (Sipahi 2000) an athlete is depicted in various positions including in mid-air while jumping over a bull (fig. 14). The movement is accompanied by musicians playing their instruments. The scene illustrates the Hittite version of a cultic activity so far more familiar in Minoan and Mycenaean context. Again, it seems conceivable that plastered and painted wall relief would have existed inside Hittite temples or other monumental buildings that are now lost, which the friezes on earthenware then repeat in smaller scale.

²¹ Bittel 1976, 141 pp, fig. 141–144 (Bitik) – T. Özgüç 1988, 83–106, pls. 36–59 (İnandıktepe).

In time, metal vessels seem to replace humbler pottery. Some of these precious containers bear friezes in repoussé-technique resulting in metal bas-relief. There must have been special artisans trained just to produce sculpture in metal, similar to seal cutters who can be considered as sculptors specialized to work in reverse and in miniature scale. The best examples for such vessels are unfortunately among the illicitly dug artifacts of Hittite origin. The silver drinking cup in shape of a reclining stag protome exhibits a single frieze around its neck (fig. 15).²² As was the case with relief pottery, the frieze depicts a cultic scene, which includes the stag. In other words, the shape of the vessel on which the scene is depicted, the stag, is shown in the frieze itself, as the animal supporting the 'Protector God of the Countryside' in Hittite: gimras D¹LAMMA. The silver vessel in form of a fist (Güterbock/Kendall 1995) has been identified with great expertise by Canby (Canby 2002, 169–170) to represent a fist wearing a fingerless falconer's gauntlet with a long loose cuff. Here, the frieze (fig. 16) is embossed along the edge of the cuff. The silver bull without provenance and the bronze bull rhyta from the Kınık (Kastamonu) cache (three complete examples and horn fragments of two further vessels),²³ belong to the same category of drinking vessel, they lack however frieze decoration. The bronze bowl from the same cache displays in superimposed friezes a divine stag and boar hunt (fig. 17), resembling the abbreviated version in the sculptural program of the Sphinx Gate at Alacahöyük.²⁴ We are also instructed in Hittite hunting techniques as the scene demonstrates, as is also depicted in the Alacahöyük stag hunt relief, the use of a tamed and leashed stag used as decoy (Mellink 1998, 64).

When we look for the smallest scale of Hittite Art we look at figurines made out of a variety of materials. Elephant (hippopotamus?) tusks, available via trade connections, were carved into elaborate, sophisticated objects already from the beginning of the second millennium on in the palaces of the city-states, as figurative ivory carvings from Acemhöyük demonstrate (N. Özgüç 1968, 42 pp, pl. 19.I a–c). The ca. 4 cm small figurine of a mountain-god (fig. 18) and a handle in shape of a reclining lion (fig. 22) shall suffice to demonstrate that Hittite workshops continued to produce works of ivory in the second half of the second millennium B.C.²⁵ The small figurine from Gözlükule Höyük (ancient Tarsi/zi), mentioned above in conjunction with the tall limestone statue from Alacahöyük, depicts a male figure in a long robe (a god?) and is made out of rock crystal (fig. 8).²⁶ Here we have another raw material which is known to have been worked in Anatolian workshops from the early second millennium on, as implied by the rock crystal vases found in the Sarıkaya palace in Acemhöyük and by the reclining lion figurine from Kanesh, if not already in the third millennium as the 249 rock crystal beads of various shapes and sizes from Tomb

²² Bittel 1976, 160 fig. 169; Boehmer 1983, 59 fig. 49.

²³ Bittel 1976, 165 fig. 178 (without provenance) – Emre/Çınaroğlu 1993, 676–678, figs. 1–4, pls. 127–129 (Kınık).

²⁴ Emre/Çınaroğlu 1993, 684 pp, 22–24, pls. 133–144, color pls. C, D (Kınık bowl) – Bittel 1976, 196–197, figs. 224–225 (Alacahöyük Sphinx Gate).

²⁵ Boehmer 1972, 186 pl. 66.1885 a–g (mountain-god) – Boehmer 1979, 44–45, pl. 27.3617 (lion).

²⁶ Goldman 1956, 342–344, fig. 456 a–d.



Fig. 14 Drawing of the relief frieze on the Old Hittite Kingdom period vase from Hüseyindede Tepesi (after Sipahi 2000, fig. 3; drawing by T. Sipahi).

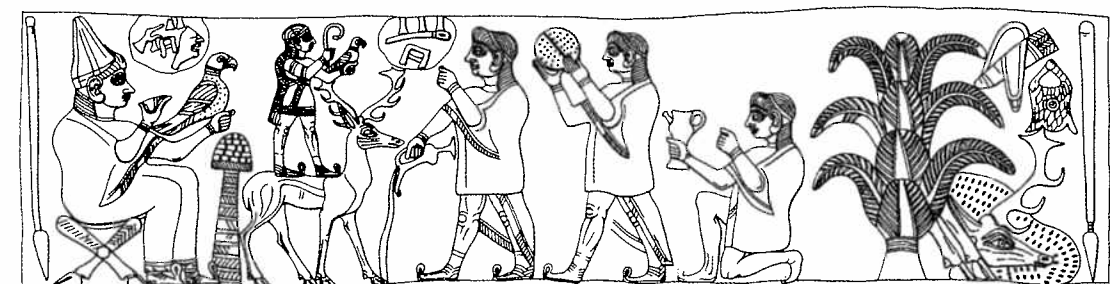


Fig. 15 Drawing of the frieze on the silver stag rhyton. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY (after Boehmer 1983, 59 fig. 49; drawing by C. Haase). No scale.

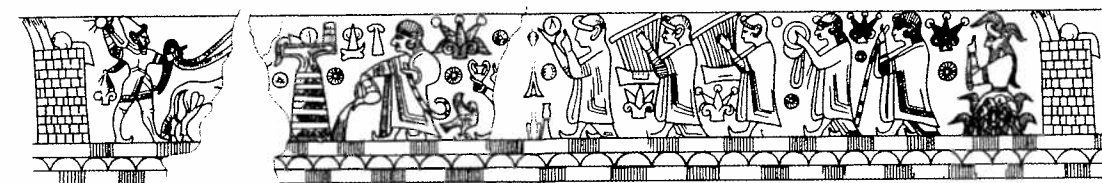


Fig. 16 Drawing of the frieze on the silver cup in shape of a fist wearing a falconer's glove. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (after Güterbock/Kendall 1995, fig. 3.7; drawing by T. Kendall). No scale.

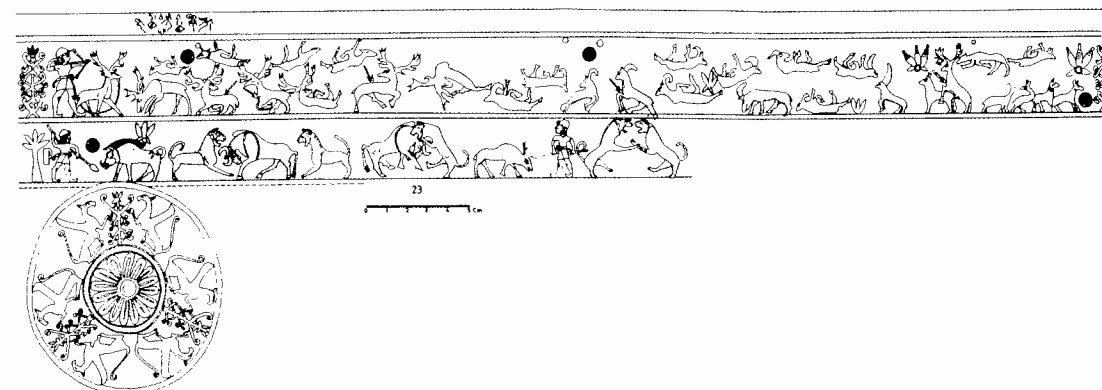


Fig. 17 Drawing of hunt frieze on the bronze bowl from Kınık/Kastamonu (after Emre/Çınaroğlu 1993, fig. 23; drawing by T. Sipahi).

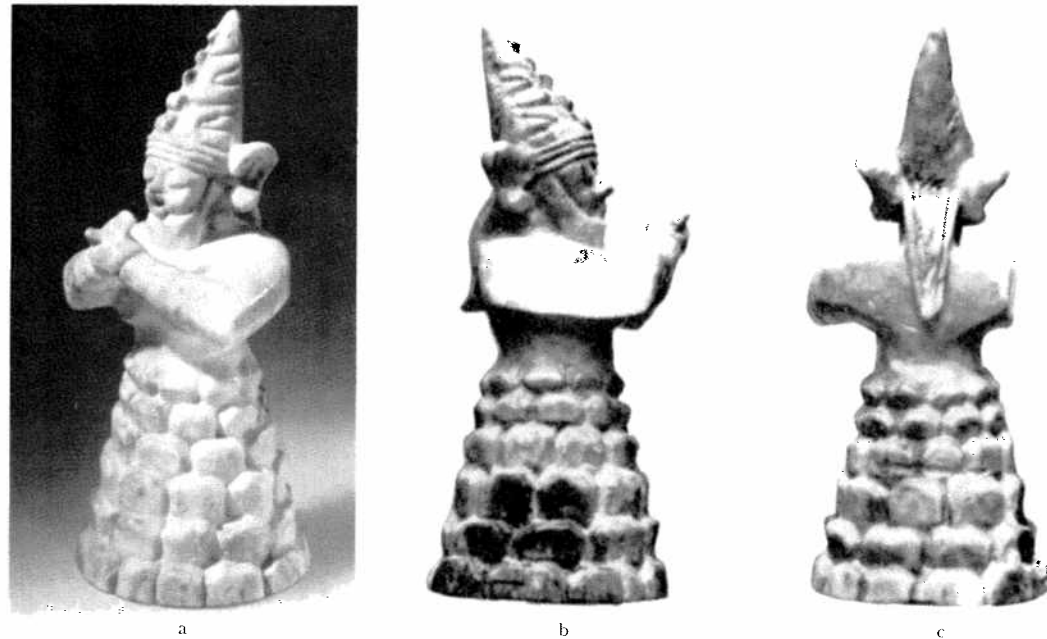


Fig. 18 Ivory figurine of a mountain-god. H: 3.68 cm, base diameter: 1.51 cm (after Boehmer 1972, 186 pl. 66 no. 1885 b, g).

B at Alacahöyük's elite cemetery demonstrate.²⁷ The high conical head gear on the Tarsian deity, now missing, may have been made out of precious metal and would have been placed over the conical peg protruding above the head. Also small, even minute are gold pendants in shape of seated female deities, one without provenance, the other, only 1.8 cm in height, is said to be from Çiftlik (Kayseri).²⁸ With the discovery of further seated goddesses along the walls of the Eflatun Pınar pool complex several large scale models for such miniature pendants have now become available. The pendants exemplify how Hittite small works of art (as in many other cultures) are often replicas of monumental art. Further miniatures are the ca. 1.5 cm small lapis lazuli and steatite figurines of deities set in gold cloisons from Karkamish (fig. 19b–d).²⁹ Also from Karkamish is a disk of sheet gold, with stanced out figures in two concentric circles and a gold strip with two rows of figures cut *à jour* (fig. 19a).³⁰ Finally, glyptic art belongs, in terms of scale, in this smallest category, both the seals themselves and the imagery presented on them. However, just like architecture, the largest scale, these smallest representatives of Hittite craftsmen have been selected for special discussion in two papers of this volume. Let me therefore only point out that the wealth of iconography on Hittite seals diminishes as we progress into the Hittite period, as production becomes standardized and images give way to inscriptions.

²⁷ N. Özgüç 1968, 48 fig. 4–5, pl. 23.I (Acemhöyük) – T. Özgüç 2003, 241 fig. 252 (Kanesh) – Arık 1937, 62 Inv.-No. AI 353–578 and AI 877–900; Anonymous 1985, fig. 54 (Alacahöyük).

²⁸ Bittel 1976, 162 fig. 173 (without provenance) – Bittel 1976, 161 fig. 170 (Çiftlik).

²⁹ Woolley 1952, 252–256 pl. 64b.

³⁰ Woolley 1952, 252, pl. 64a.

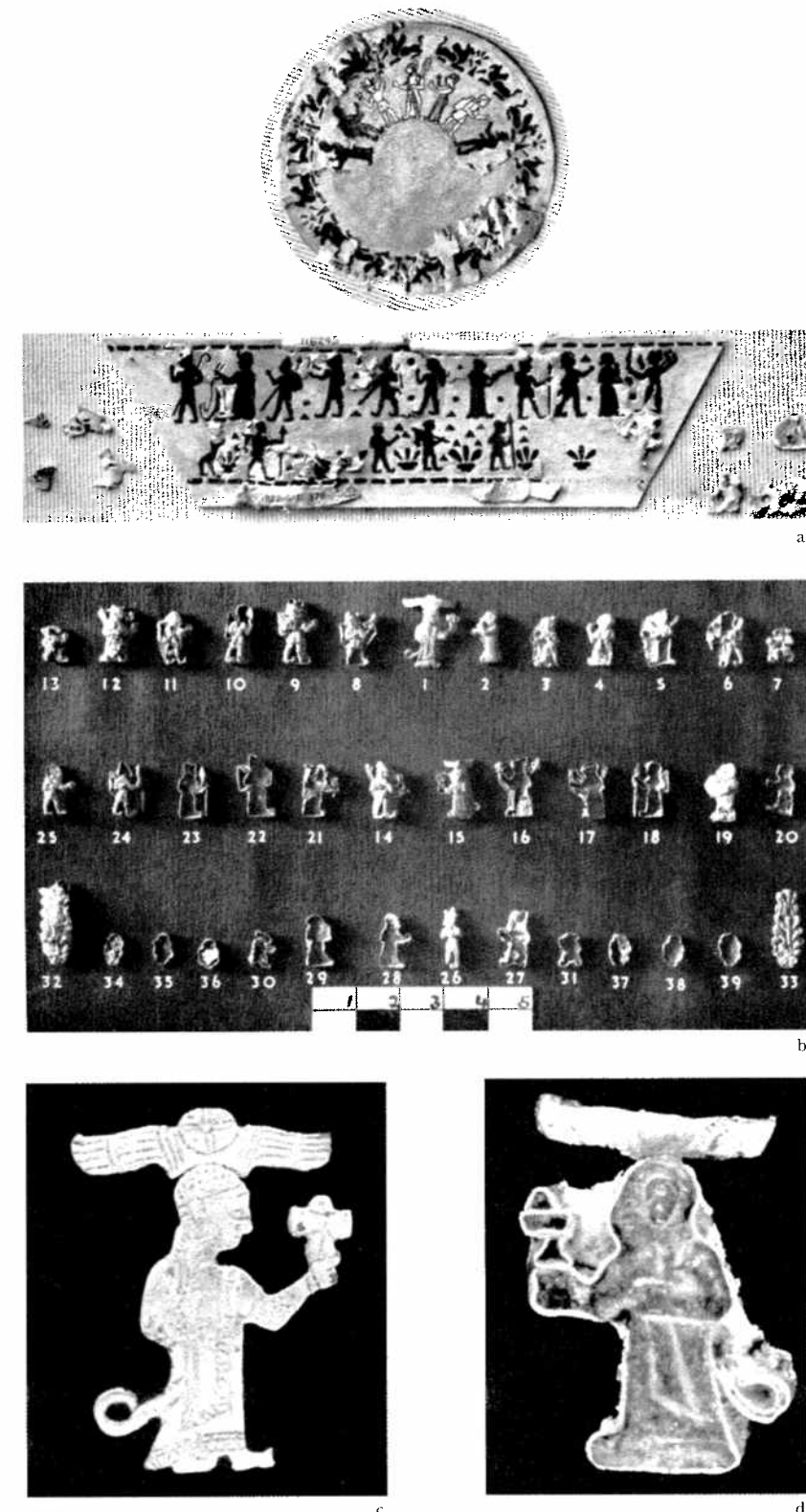


Fig. 19 Gold ornaments from Karkamish: (a) disk and strip of gold sheet with rows of cut-out figures; (b–d) lapis lazuli and steatite figurines set in gold foil (a–b after Woolley 1952 pl. 64 a, b; c–d after Bittel 1976, 211 fig. 242–243).



Fig. 20 Ivory fragment depicting goddess on sphinx, part of a larger structure (after Greifenhagen 1965, fig. 1–4).

goddess and suggested that the piece may have been part of a structure such as a throne for a superior divine statue (Mellink 1989). Her pose with head protruding in front of her body line, hunched shoulders, her exaggerated and enlarged facial features, long braids in addition to her costume which resembles a *chiton*, a term derived from Akkadian *kutamu* today preserved in our word cotton, all portray the Hittite way of representation. The ivory statuette lives up to a comparison to the relief of the main goddess of the official Hittite pantheon depicted in Yazılıkaya (fig. 21).³² Thus, even without provenance one does not hesitate to agree with Mellink that the statuette was produced in the workshop of a Hittite artisan.

The second example is an ivory or bone handle in shape of a reclining lion with provenance, excavated in Hattusha (fig. 22).³³ The object seems Egyptian in inspiration, i.e. a

Preserved remains of Hittite art are meager when compared to preserved Hittite clay tablets numbering in the ten thousands or compared to the thousands of Hittite seal impressions. It is even less when compared to the variety and number of preserved objects from Egyptian civilization, just across the Mediterranean. Conditions for preservation are often poor in the harsh central Anatolian plateau as suggested by Seeher for Hattusha (this volume): the gigantic mudbrick fortification wall of the capital city has disappeared without leaving the faintest trace. So one is thankful for anything that is preserved and will make use of it to develop some criteria for what we perceive as Hittite in art. Does the material evidence of this period and region have enough in common to merit being labeled as Hittite? When do we recognize objects as Hittite?

Let us look at two examples: An ivory female figure standing on a sphinx was first published by A. Greifenhagen as an Eastern Greek lyre fragment dated around 600 BC (fig. 20).³¹ Mellink republished the piece recognizing the figure as a Hittite



Fig. 21 Relief of goddess Hepat in Yazılıkaya, Chamber A (after Bittel et al. 1975, pl. 29 Relief no. 43).

bone handle in the shape of a figure, but is unmistakably Hittite in appearance, thus no doubt produced in Hittite lands by a Hittite artisan. Boehmer rightly draws attention to the lion's similarity to the Alacahöyük lion (fig. 23), carved out of the corner block of the Sphinx Gate (Bittel 1976, 200 fig. 228). In brief, Hittite artisans had developed an idiosyncratic style of representation, which can be identified upon closer analysis by outsiders.

In terms of subject Hittite imagery is always of religious nature. The framework is cult and ritual in addition to imaginations and representations of the divine. Daily life or military subjects are not represented. This gives us food for thought about the function of art in Hittite context.

Let us now briefly state what we do not know about Hittite art. We still do not know much about Hurrian art and its contribution to what we call Hittite. We

do not know how to relate linguistic not to say ethnic presence such as Luwian (Melchert 2003) or Hattic with material culture. Is there Palaic art?

Problems of dating still remain. How does one date the Alacahöyük sculpture? Mostly based on stylistic comparison and opinion. There is surely more work to be done: the sculptures of Karatepe-Aslantaş/Azatiwataya, where reliefs of two different schools of sculptors were produced side by side, have taught us to be very careful with dating according to style (Çambel/Özyar 2003).

Problems of preservation persevere: we lack wooden statues, large scale monumental sculpture, most metal statues, all the cult inventory described in the *Bildbeschreibungen*, wall paintings presumed painted stucco, textiles, rugs, leather works etc.

What would we like to know? Questions of patronage can rarely be answered; the successful combination of textual and archaeological records depends to a large degree on coincidence. Who commissioned works of art? Who decides about iconography, the artist/artisan or the patron? Who pays for the raw materials? What is the status of the artist/artisan in society? How much can we find of the individual artist in artwork and how much of what we see is standardized/conventionalized? How much religious continuity is there over millennia? Considering the continuity of more recent faiths in the same geography such as that of Jewish tradition for over four millennia, Christianity for two millennia and Islam

³¹ Greifenhagen 1965, 125–156 fig. 1–4.

³² Bittel et al. 1975, 151–152 pl. 29 relief no. 43.

³³ Boehmer 1979, 44–45, pl. 27 no. 3617.

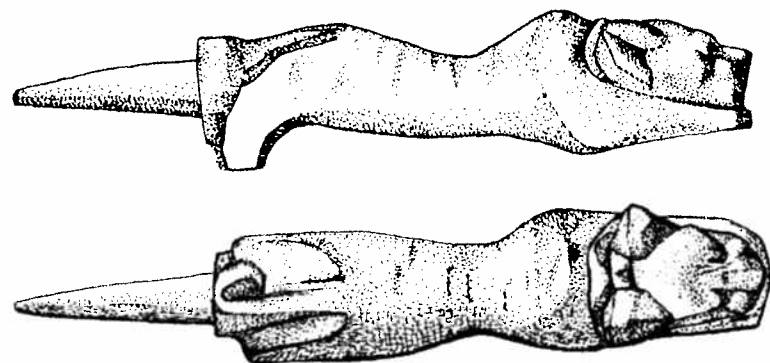


Fig. 22
Ivory handle in shape of a reclining lion
(after Boehmer 1979, 44–45, pl. 27 no. 3617 h, i; drawing by C. Haase).



Fig. 23 Corner block with reclining lion
from the Sphinx Gate in Alacahöyük
(after Bittel 1976, 200 fig. 228).

for some 1500 years, is it possible that some Hittite representations were part of the same religious continuum to be recognized when iconography permits, since Neolithic times in Anatolia?

Women were represented, they have a face, i.e. were seen (in German: Gesicht/sehen), more so than in Mesopotamia. Why were they portrayed in Hittite art? How were they perceived? Were there female crafts(wo)men?

Let me end with some final remarks about inspiring art historical works in the field of ancient Near Eastern art and Classical

Greek art with the hope that similar critical approaches will be adopted by students of Anatolian art in future.

Inspired by structuralist approaches in other disciplines, Irene Winter began studying Neo-Assyrian palatial sculpture in its relationship to architectural space and structural relationship with inscriptions (Winter 1981a, 1981b). Analyzing ancient art as an art/historian, searching for meaning and the means of construction of meaning, she went beyond the usual archaeological framework of describing, classifying and dating. Her groundbreaking studies opened up a new way of studying the palatial art of Assyria (for example Russel 1985, 1991).

With similar questions of art/historical nature Nigel Spivey presents his approach to understanding Greek sculpture, the name of his book, where he intends to: “[...] restore to Greek sculpture not only its sacred functions, but also to attempt to resurrect its proper historicity. This may involve a serious shift of emphasis: away from the actual makers of sculpture, and back to those who commissioned it, those who used it and those who once simply viewed it. ‘La mort de l’auteur’ is an obituary chiefly observed in modern literary theory, though some art historians have subsumed it under the phrase, ‘the social production of art’. They seek (to adopt their own jargon) to ‘desacrilize’ the author (or the

artist), and deny the power of individual originality. Originality, they say is merely the construction of a society fascinated by personality. More powerful sociological forces shape works of art more effectively than individuals ever can. [...] ‘Authors’ – names, sculptors, individuals of genius or skill – are traditionally the principal means by which Greek sculpture has been approached. [...] They serve as economic guarantors, price labels, signatures of authenticity. Following Foucault, [...] names are not the ultimate sanction of the works illustrated in the following pages. Names as far as they mean anything, are woven into the overall contexture of art and its production. Foucault is fundamentally right: art belongs to a game of power. And in that game, institutions and customs are more powerful than individuals. That is why understanding of ancient Greek sculpture rests, essentially, with the understanding of ancient Greek society.” (Spivey 1996, 14–15). Spivey is influenced together with a whole generation of art historians by literary theorists such as Roland Barthes who developed a discourse for new ways of perceiving writing and literature within their social context.

Finally I would like to single out Zainab Bahrani’s latest book on Mesopotamian representation (Bahrani 2003). She formulates in her treatise how to understand monuments of art from Assyria and Babylonia in a radically different framework recontextualizing ancient Near Eastern art within its cultural matrix of a different ‘Weltanschauung’. Inspired by philosophy, stimulated by semiotics, Said’s orientalism and most recent art historical critique she re-defines what ‘writing’ and ‘monument’, ‘representation’ and ‘real’ may have meant in Assyria and Babylonia, a pre-platonic and pre-European cultural sphere.

Understanding Hittite art may ultimately advance us in understanding Hittite ‘Weltanschauung’. To what degree is the Hittite mentality part of and impregnated by the Mesopotamian perceptions of the world? What relationship, if any, does it have to what comes to be known later as Classical Greek art which is derived from a Greek philosophy of the universe? Language and writing not only shape our mind, that is our perception and comprehension of ourselves and the world around us, but are the main source for expressing and defining our mind. What effect, then, did living in a perpetually multilingual environment employing at least two different ways of writing/recording (hieroglyphic and cuneiform) for a variety of languages (Hittite = Neshili, Luwian, Hurrian, Palaic?, Hattic?) have on the Hittite or for that matter ancient Anatolian mind?

M.S. Üçüncü Binyılın Başındaki Bilgi Durumumuza Dayanarak Hitit Sanatının Değerlendirilmesi

Bu makalede Hitit sanatı farklı dallarda uzmanlaşan Anadolu zanaatkarların M.Ö. ikinci binyılın ikinci yarısında ürettiği eserler olarak algılanmıştır. Ana kategoriler üretim dallarına ve üretilenlerin ebatlarına göre sıralanarak sunulmuştur. Malzemenin muhafaza edilmesini sınırlandıran şartlara karşın tahmin yürüterek beklidiklerimizden de bahis edilmiştir. Hitit imgelerinin ana konusu dini olmaktadır. Hitit sanatı nev-i şahsına münhasır tasvirleri dolayısıyla üslup bakımından teşhis edilebilir. Son olarak, eski çağ sanatını anlamamıza yeni bir bakış getirmiş olmaları itibarı ile son zamanlarda Eski Şark ve Klasik Yunan bağlamında kaleme alınmış bazı sanat tarihi araştırmalarından söz edilmektedir.

References

- Adams 1990 R.McC. Adams, Introduction. In: A.C. Gunter (ed.) *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East* (Madison, Wisconsin 1990) 3–7.
- Akurgal 1961 E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich 1961).
- Albenda 2005 P. Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting in the Art of the Assyrian Empire* (Leiden 2005).
- Alkim 1968 B. Alkim, *Anatolien von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des zweiten Jahrtausends v.Chr.* Archaeologia Mundi I (Munich, Geneva, Paris 1968).
- Andrae 1923 W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur und ihre Vorstufen in altassyrischen Wandmalereien* (Berlin 1923).
- Anonymous 1985 Anonymous, *Land of Civilizations, Turkey. Exhibition Catalogue* (Tokyo 1985).
- Arık 1937 R.O. Arık, *Les fouilles d'Alacahöyük. Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux de 1935* (Ankara 1937).
- Bachmann/Özenir 2005 M. Bachmann, S. Özenir, Das Quellheiligtum Eflatun Pinar. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2004, 85–122.
- Bahrani 2003 Z. Bahrani, *The Graven Image* (Philadelphia 2003).
- Baqir 1946 T. Baqir, Iraq Government Excavations at 'Aqar Quf. Third interim Report 1944–1945. *Iraq* 8, 1946, 73–93.
- Bittel 1964 K. Bittel, Einige Kapitel zur hethitischen Archäologie. In: G. Walser (ed.), *Neuere Hethiterforschung*. Historia Einzelschriften 7 (Wiesbaden 1964) 119–144.
- Bittel 1975 K. Bittel, s.v. "Hethiter, Kunst". In: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV, 1975, 375–384.
- Bittel 1976 K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter. Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (Munich 1976).
- Bittel et al. 1975 K. Bittel, J. Boessneck, B. Damm, H.G. Güterbock, H. Hauptmann, R. Naumann, W. Schirmer, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*. Boğazköy-Hattuša IX (Berlin 1975).
- Boehmer 1972 R.M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde von Boğazköy aus den Grabungskampagnen 1931–1939 und 1952–1969*. Boğazköy-Hattuša VII (Berlin 1972).
- Boehmer 1979 R.M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy. Grabungskampagnen 1970–1978*. Boğazköy-Hattuša X (Berlin 1979).
- Boehmer 1983 R.M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy. Grabungskampagnen 1906–1912, 1931–1939, 1952–1978*. Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII (Berlin 1983).
- Boehmer/Güterbock 1987 R.M. Boehmer, H.G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy. Grabungskampagnen 1931–1939, 1952–1978*. Boğazköy-Hattuša XIV (Berlin 1987).
- Bossert 1942 H.Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur* (Berlin 1942).
- Brandenstein 1943 C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach den Bildbeschreibungen in den Keilschrifttexten*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 46.2 (Leipzig 1943).
- Canby 1969 J. V. Canby, Some Hittite Figures in the Aegean. *Hesperia* 38, 1969, 141–149.
- Canby 1975 J.V. Canby, The Walters Gallery Cappadocian Tablet and the Sphinx in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 34, 1975, 225–248.
- Canby 1976 J.V. Canby, The Sculptors of the Hittite Capital. *Oriens Antiquus* 15, 1976, 33–42.
- Canby 1986 J.V. Canby, The Child in Hittite Iconography. In: J.V. Canby, E. Porada, B.S. Ridgway, T. Stech (eds.) *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink* (Wisconsin 1986).
- Canby 1989 J.V. Canby, Hittite Art. *Biblical Archaeologist* 52.2–3, 1989, 109–129.
- Canby 2002 J.V. Canby, Falconry (Hawking) in Hittite Lands. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 61.3, 2002, 161–270.
- Çambel/Özyar 2003 H. Çambel, A. Özyar, *Die Bildwerke des Karatepe/Aslantaş-Azatiwataya* (Mainz 2003).
- Darga 1992 A.M. Darga, *Hitit Sanatı* (Istanbul 1992).
- Doumas 1992 C. Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera* (Athens 1992).
- Emre/Çınaroğlu 1993 K. Emre, A. Çınaroğlu, A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık-Kastamonu. In: M.J. Mellink, Edith Porada, T. Özgüç (eds.), *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbours. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (Ankara 1993) 675–713.

- Frankfort 1970 H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (rev. ed. London 1970).
- Gallet de Santerre H. Gallet de Santerre, *Exploration Archéologique de Délos 24. La terrasse des lions, le Létoon et le monument de granit à Délos* (Paris 1959).
- Goldman 1956 H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlükule, Tarsus II. From the Neolithic through the Bronze Ages* (Princeton 1956).
- Greifenhagen 1965 A. Greifenhagen, Ein ostgriechisches Elfenbein. *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 7, 1965, 125–156.
- Güterbock 1957 H.G. Güterbock, Narration in Anatolian, Syrian and Assyrian Art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 61, 1957, 62–71.
- Güterbock/Kendall 1995 H.G. Güterbock, T. Kendall, A Hittite Silver Vessel in the Form of a Fist. In: J.B. Carter, S.P. Morris (eds.), *The Ages of Homer. Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin 1995) 45–60.
- Hamilton 1842 W.J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia I, II* (London 1842).
- Humann/Puchstein 1890 K. Humann, O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin 1890).
- Immerwahr 1990 S.A. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (University Park 1990).
- Jakob-Rost 1961 L. Jakob-Rost, Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen (1. Teil). *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 8, 1961, 161–217.
- Jean 2001 É. Jean, Chronicle of a Renaissance: The Hittite Civilization. In: Yapı Kredi Yayıncılık (ed.), *Boğazköy'den Karatepe'ye. Hititbilim ve Hitit dünyasının keşfi – From Boğazköy to Karatepe. Hittitology and the discovery of the Hittite world* (Istanbul 2001) 148–187.
- Kohlmeyer 1983 K. Kohlmeyer, Felsbilder der hethitischen Großreichszeit. *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15, 1983, 7–153.
- Koşay/Akok 1973 H.Z. Koşay, M. Akok, *Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından yapılan Alaca Höyük kazısı. 1963–1967 çalışmalar ve keşiflere ait ilk rapor. Alaca Höyük excavations. Preliminary report on research and discoveries 1963–1967* (Ankara 1973).
- Melchert 2003 H.C. Melchert, *The Luwians* (Boston 2003).
- Mellink 1970 M.J. Mellink, Observations on the Sculptures of Alaca Hüyük. *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 14, 1970, 15–27.
- Mellink 1974 M.J. Mellink, Hittite Friezes and Gate Sculptures. In: K. Bittel, Ph.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, E. Reiner (eds.), *Anatolian Studies presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock* (Istanbul 1974) 201–214.
- Mellink 1989 M.J. Mellink, East Greek or Hittite? *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 22 (= *Festschrift E. Akurgal*), 1981–1983 [1989], 47–55.
- Mellink 1993 M.J. Mellink, Aspects of Minor and Major Arts in Kanish and Acemhöyük. In: M.J. Mellink, E. Porada, T. Özgüç (eds.), *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbours. Studies in honor of Nimet Özgüç* (Ankara 1993) 423–433.
- Mellink 1998 M.J. Mellink, *Kızılbel. An Archaic Painted Tomb Chamber in Northern Lycia* (Philadelphia 1998).
- Müller-Karpe 1998 A. Müller-Karpe, Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 1997. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 130, 1998, 93–174.
- Neve 1982 P. Neve, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1981. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1982, 381–392.
- Neve 1993 P. Neve, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1992. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1993, 621–632.
- Neve 1996 P. Neve, *Hattuša: Stadt der Götter und Tempel. Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter* (Mainz 1996²).
- Neve 1999 P. Neve, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša. Die Bauwerke I. Das Zentrale Tempelviertel*. Boğazköy-Hattuša XVI (Berlin 1999).
- Neve 2001 P. Neve, *Die Oberstadt von Hattuša. Die Bauwerke II. Die Bastion des Sphinxtores und die Tempelviertel am Königs- und Löwentor*. Boğazköy-Hattuša XVII (Mainz 2001).
- Novák/Pfälzner 2002 M. Novák, P. Pfälzner, Ausgrabungen in Tell Mişrife-Qatna. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des Internationalen Kooperationsprojektes. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 134, 2002, 207–255.

- Nunn 1988 A. Nunn, *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im Alten Orient* (Cologne 1988).
- Özgüç, N. 1965 N. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara 1965).
- Özgüç, N. 1968 N. Özgüç, Excavations at Acemhöyük. *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 10, 1966 [1968], 29–52.
- Özgüç, N. 1979 N. Özgüç, Contributions to Early Anatolian Art from Acemhöyük. *Belleten* 43, 1979, 281–304.
- Özgüç, N./Tunca 2001 N. Özgüç, Ö. Tunca, *Kültepe-Kaniş. Sealed and Inscribed Clay Bullae* (Ankara 2001).
- Özgüç, T. 1954 T. Özgüç, Fragment of a Lion Statue found in the Late Phase (Ib) of the Colony Period. *Belleten* 18, 445–47.
- Özgüç, T. 1963 T. Özgüç, Early Anatolian Archaeology in the Light of Recent Research. *Anatolia (Anadolu)* 7, 1963, 1–21.
- Özgüç, T. 1978 T. Özgüç, *Maşat Höyük kazıları ve çevresindeki araştırmaları. Excavations at Maşat Höyük and investigations in its vicinity* (Ankara 1978).
- Özgüç, T. 1983 T. Özgüç, New Finds from Kanesh and what they mean for Hittite art. In: R.M. Boehmer, H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Beiträge zu Altertumskunde Kleinasien: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (Mainz 1983) 421–426.
- Özgüç, T. 1988 T. Özgüç, *İnandıktepe. Eski Hitit çağında önemli bir kült merkezi. An important cult center in the Old Hittite period* (Ankara 1988).
- Özgüç, T. 2003 T. Özgüç, *Kültepe Kaniş/Neša. The earliest international trade center and the oldest capital city of the Hittites* (Istanbul 2003).
- Özyar 2003 A. Özyar, Architectural Reliefs in Anatolia through Time: Contextualizing the Gate Sculptures of Karatepe/Azatiwataya. In: B. Fischer, H. Genz, É. Jean, K. Köroğlu (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions*. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8–9, 2002 (Istanbul 2003) 107–115.
- Orthmann 1971 W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (Bonn 1971).
- Orthmann 1975 W. Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*. Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte 14 (Berlin 1975).
- Parrot 1958 A. Parrot, *Mission Archéologique de Mari II. Le Palais. Peintures murales* (Paris 1958).
- Russel 1985 J.M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace without a Rival* (Ann Arbor 1985).
- Russel 1991 J.M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace without a Rival at Nineveh* (Chicago 1991).
- Sipahi 2000 T. Sipahi, Eine althethitische Reliefvase vom Hüseyindede Tepesi. *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 50, 2000, 63–86.
- Spivey 1996 N.J. Spivey, *Understanding Greek Sculpture. Ancient Meanings, Modern Readings* (London 1996).
- Starr 1937 R. Starr, *Nuzi II. Plates* (Cambridge 1937).
- Seeher 2002 J. Seeher, Eine in Vergessenheit geratene Kultur gewinnt Profil. Die Erforschung der Hethiter bis 1950. In: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.), *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich. Das Volk der 1000 Götter* (Bonn, Stuttgart 2002) 20–25.
- Tatarkiewicz 1973 W. Tatarkiewicz, Classification of the Arts. In: P.P. Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* (New York 1973) 456–462.
- Texier 1839 C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure I* (Paris 1839).
- Vieyra 1955 M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art, 2300–750 B.C.* (London 1955).
- Walser 1964 G. Walser, Alte Geschichte und Hethiterforschung. In: G. Walser (ed.), *Neuere Hethiterforschung*. Historia Einzelschriften 7 (Wiesbaden 1964) 1–10.
- Winter 1981a I.J. Winter, The Program of the Throneroom of Assurnasirpal II. In: P.O. Harper, H. Pittman (eds.), *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson* (New York 1981) 15–31.
- Winter 1981b I.J. Winter, Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in neo-Assyrian Reliefs. *Studies in Visual Communication* 7, 1981, 2–38.
- Woolley 1952 L. Woolley, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum III* (London 1952).
- Woolley 1955 L. Woolley, *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell-Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949* (Oxford).