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Cultural Continuity from the Kārum Period to the Hittite Empire Period in Light of Stamp Seals and Impressions

GÜZEL ÖZTÜRK*

Abstract

New archaeological findings have further strengthened the view that the characteristic features of “Hittite” culture and art began to appear strongly in the late phase of the so-called “Kārum period” (late 18th century BC). This art and culture took root from the local Anatolian style, which emerged as a result of the synthesis of the interaction of Anatolian people with the cultures of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, and continued its uninterrupted existence for centuries. Stamp seals and impressions are one of the most important works of visual art that provide us with the most comprehensive information about the so-called “Hittite” elements seen on many archaeological materials of different qualities. The aim of this study is to analyze both the typological and iconographic characteristics of stamp seals and impressions from other important centers of the period, especially the new finds from Kültepe/Kaneš-Neša. Thus, the results of this analysis on the stamp seal art should demonstrate the effects of cross-cultural continuity from the Kārum period (1950-1710 BC) to the end of the Hittite period (1710/1650-1200 BC). Furthermore, by evaluating both the philological and archaeological findings, it is argued that not only the Hittite artistic style but also the first signs of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing

Öz

Arkeolojik yeni bulgular, “Hitit” kültürünün ve sanatının karakteristik özelliklerinin Kārum Dönemi’nin geç evresinde (MÖ 18. yy. sonu) güçlü bir şekilde görülmeye başladığı görüşünü daha da kuvvetlendirmiştir. Bu sanat ve kültür, Anadolu insanının Kuzey Suriye ve Mezopotamya kültürleri ile etkileşimi sonucu sentezle ortaya çıkan yerli Anadolu sanatından kök alarak yüzyıllar boyunca kesintisiz bir şekilde varlığını sürdürmüştür. Farklı nitelikteki birçok arkeolojik materyal üzerinde görülen bu “Hititli” unsurlar hakkında en kapsamlı bilgiyi sağlayan görsel sanat eserlerinin başında damga mühür ve baskıları gelmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, başta Kültepe/Kaniş-Neša’dan ele geçen yeni bulgular olmak üzere, dönemin diğer önemli merkezlerinden ele geçen damga mühür ve baskılarının hem tipolojik hem de ikonografik özelliklerinin analiz edilmesidir. Böylece, Kārum Dönemi’nden (MÖ 1950-1710) Hitit Dönemi (MÖ 1710/1650-1200) sonuna kadar kültürlerarası devamlılığın damga mühür sanatı üzerindeki etkileri gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Filolojik ve arkeolojik bulguların birlikte değerlendirildiği bu çalışmada, sadece Hitit sanat üslubunun değil aynı zamanda Anadolu hiyeroglif yazısının ilk işaretlerinin de Kārum Dönemi’nin geç evresinde etkili olan yerli kültürden kök bulduğu iddia edilmektedir.

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find their roots in the local culture that was influential in the late phase of the Kārum period.

Keywords: Cultural continuity, stamp seals and sealings, Hittite culture and art, Anatolian hieroglyphs

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültürel devamlılık, damga mühür ve mühür baskıları, Hitit kültürü ve sanatı, Anadolu hieroglifleri

Introduction

Chronology and Continuity between the Kārum Period to the Early Old Hittite Dynasty

At the beginning of the second millennium BC, foreign traders arrived in Anatolia mostly from Assyria in northern Mesopotamia and to a lesser extent from Syria. They established a network of nearly forty commercial settlements, which started a new period known as the Old Assyrian Trade Colony period or Kārum period.¹ It is known from both archaeological and philological sources that foreign merchants brought with them to Anatolia not only the raw materials they would trade, but also a complex administrative-legal system, writing, commercial knowledge, technology along with artistic and religious innovations that would affect the socio-political structure of the society.

The cuneiform documents from Kültepe/Kaneš-Neša² and Boğazköy (ancient Hattuša) provide important information about the political history of Anatolia in the 19th and 18th centuries BC (which is just before the establishment of the Old Hittite Kingdom), while the archaeological findings of various kinds clearly show how this period formed a major basis for Hittite art and culture. Philological and archaeological sources indicate that Assyrian trade in Anatolia continued between 1950-1710 BC (according to the Middle Chronology). This commercial system was interrupted for a few years (about three or five years) by the destruction of Kaneš, apparently by a fire that left a thick level of ash across the site which can be dated to approximately 1835 BC.³ However the destruction was short-lived, and the local inhabitants resumed business as usual by about 1832. This interruption, which served as a milestone in the archaeological and historical context, allowed the Kārum period to be divided into two phases: early and late. In this context, the early period up to 1835 BC is contemporary with the lower town II settlement at Kültepe, while the period from 1832 BC to 1710 BC is contemporary with the lower town Ib settlement, and the period between ca. 1710 BC and 1650 BC with Kültepe Ia or the early Old Hittite period (see table 1).

The Old Assyrian texts found in Kültepe (ca. 23,000) have made it possible to determine the sequence of kings who ruled in the city in the 18th century BC. Thus, the kings who ruled in the Ib level of Kültepe were Inar and Waršama, whom we know to have been father and son, and then around 1750 BC, the Kuššara king Pithāna conquered Neša which seems to have reached its political apogee at the time of these two kings, dominating part of Central Anatolia.⁴ Thanks to a text found in the Hattuša archives, referred to in the archaeological literature as the “Anitta Text,”⁵ we know that after Pithāna, his son Anitta succeeded to the throne

¹ Balkan 1955; Larsen 1976; Veenhof 2003, 2010; Barjamovic 2011.

² Kültepe is the modern name, Kaneš is the ancient name during the Kārum period, and Neša is the Hittite name.

³ Günbattu 2008, 117.

⁴ Balkan 1955, 20; Forlanini 1995, 130; Kryszat 2008, 164-65; Veenhof 2008, 170; Günbattu 2014, 41-42; Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51.

⁵ Neu 1974, 12-13. According to Kloekhorst and Waal, the fact that this originally Nešite composition was present in the Hittite archives at Hattuša implies that, at a certain point in time, it was transferred from Neša to Hattuša; see Kloekhorst and Waal 2019, 194-95.

of Neša. We also learn that in approximately 1728 BC, Anitta won a victory over his rival, the Hatti king Piyušti, and cursed the city of Hattuša.⁶ Based on the surviving texts, King Zuzu is thought to have been the last known king of Kaneš, succeeding Anitta and reigning there from ca. 1725-1710 BC. There are not a few uncertainties about King Zuzu. One of the main uncertainties concerns his relationship with his predecessor, Anitta. The cuneiform documents reveal that Zuzu, who is recognized as one of the local rulers of Kaneš, was referred to with the titles “king,” “great king” and in Kt 89/k 369 “great king of Alabzina.”⁷ It is therefore suggested that he may not have been the son of Anitta, but rather a usurper from outside Neša.⁸ However, since the toponym Alahzina does not appear anywhere else in the Old Assyrian corpus, it is difficult and unclear to assess this title. Moreover, based on the phrase a-ni-ta ru-ba-e ša a-ku-wa “Anitta, King of Amkuwa” on a tablet from Alişar, it seems that his predecessor Anitta could use different titles depending on which city he was in.⁹ From this point of view, the fact that Anitta’s successor Zuzu is mentioned in only one tablet with the title “great king of Alabzina” suggests that Alahzina was part of the Nešite kingdom at that time.¹⁰

TABLE 1. Comparative second millennium BC stratigraphy of major sites frequently mentioned in the text (by G. Öztürk).

ANATOLIA		KÜLTEPE/KANEŞ-NEŞA		ALIŞAR		BOĞAZKÖY-HATTUŞA			ACEMHÖYÜK	KAMAN KALEHÖYÜK	KONYA KARAHÖYÜK	KAYALIPINAR	ALACA HÖYÜK
Period / Date (Middle Chronology ca. BC.)		Upper Town	Lower Town	Mound	Terrace	Büyükkale	Lower Town	Northwest Slope	Mound				
Proto-Kārum Period. (2050-1950)		10	IV	5b				9	V		IVa		IV
		9	III	↓	12	V	5	8d-c 8b	IV				
Early Phase of Kārum Period (1950-1835)		8	II	5b	11c	—	4	—	III	IIIc	III	6 5b	
Late Phase of Kārum Period (1832-1710)	Kings of Kaneš				11b-a								
	Hurmeli — 1790												
	Inar 1790-1775												
	Waršama 1775-1750	7	Ib	5a	10c	IVd	4	8a	III	IIIc	II	5a	
	Pithana 1750 —												
Anitta — 1725													
Zuzu 1725-1710													II-4
End of Kārum Period/Early Old Hittite Dynasty (1710-1650)	Early Old Hittite Dynasty	6	Ia	↓					II				
	Huzziya I (?)								I		I		
	Labarna I (?)												
	Hattusili I												
Old Hittite Period (1650-1500)		—	—	—	—	IVc	3	7	—	IIIb		4b	II-3b
Middle Hittite Period (1500-1350)		—	—	—	—	IVb	2	6	—			4a 3	II-3a
Hittite Empire Period (1350-1200)		—	—	4c	10b-a	IVa IIIa-c	1a-b	5	—	IIIa	—	2c-a	II-2

The lower town level Ib settlement of Kültepe was inhabited for more than 100 years and eventually destroyed by a fire. Although it is not yet known with certainty who was responsible for the fire that ended this stratum, the end of lower town level Ib can be dated with relative certainty on the basis of the Old Assyrian tablets (kt 01/k 207). The latest text from this level dates to 1718/1717 BC.¹¹ It is therefore accepted that the end of the lower town Ib settlement

⁶ Barjamovic et al. 2012, 39.
⁷ Donbaz 1989, 84-85; 1993, 143-44; Kryszat 2008, 164-65.
⁸ Kryszat 2008, 210.
⁹ Gelb 1935, 1-2.
¹⁰ Kloekhorst 2021, 568.
¹¹ Günbattı 2008, 111; Barjamovic et al. 2012, 40.

can be dated a few years later to about 1710 BC.¹² On the basis of archaeological data, T. Özgüç states that no new palace, fortification or large buildings were built on the upper town of Kültepe after this destruction, and the entire fortress was reduced to ruins. However, the architectural data from the lower town of Kültepe show that this area was quickly rebuilt after the fire that destroyed level Ib, and that the later level Ia houses were built directly on top of the level Ib settlement. The archaeological materials from the lower town level Ia of Kültepe is limited, and so far no texts dating to this period have been uncovered. However, the archaeological data clearly indicate that the lower town level Ia continued to be inhabited for several decades. On the basis of imported finds, such as “pilgrim flasks” and “Syrian bottles” discovered from lower town level Ia at Kültepe,¹³ researchers conclude that at least some foreign travelers or merchants continued to come to the city during this period. This suggests the existence of a still functional administrative system and at least some government buildings.¹⁴

Besides the archaeological data mentioned above, the most important philological document that allows us to formulate some hypotheses in order to understand the continuity between the Kārūm period and the early Old Hittite dynasty is the “Zalpa text.”¹⁵ The historical part of the text mentions several rulers who are described as having led various campaigns against Zalpa and who were respectively titled *ABI ABI LUGAL* “the grandfather of the King,” *LUGAL ŠU.GI* “the old King,” and *LUGAL* “the King.” There are different proposals in the literature for defining these three individuals,¹⁶ but in the context of this study, the following argument put forward by Beal will be followed: “the King” = Hattušili I, “the old King” = his predecessor Labarna I who was the husband of Hattušili I’s aunt Taqananna, and “the grandfather of the King” = Labarna I’s predecessor, probably called Huzziya I, the father of his wife Taqananna and thus the grandfather of Hattušili I.¹⁷ Huzziya I is the first to be mentioned in a list of early Hittite kings, both in the “cruciform seal” and in the “offering lists to the royal ancestors.”¹⁸ Therefore, it makes sense to assume that it was indeed Huzziya who rebuilt Hattuša.¹⁹

In fact, the hypothesis that Boğazköy was rebuilt long before the reign of Hattušili I was put forward by Neve at a very early date, but has been generally ignored by scholars.²⁰ However, the new archaeological evidence unearthed in the Boğazköy excavations not only supports this idea, but also allows for a reevaluation of the historical events mentioned in the texts. The new excavations carried out in the southern corner of Büyükkale in the North terrace of the upper city clearly show that there was an uninterrupted settlement during the transition from the Kārūm period to the Old Hittite period. For Hittite buildings were built directly on the base of the buildings dated to the Kārūm period, without any gaps, and the direction of the buildings belonging to both periods was found to be unchanged.²¹ In addition, radiocarbon dates

¹² Barjamovic et al. 2012, 40, 51.

¹³ Emre 1995, 183; 1999, 45.

¹⁴ Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51-52; Kloekhorst 2021, 557.

¹⁵ It consists of two parts, mythological and historical, and is called the “Zalpa-text” because both parts are related to the city of Zalpa. This text describes mythological events between the cities of Zalpa and Neša, as well as military conflicts between Zalpa and Hattuša; cf. Otten 1973.

¹⁶ Hoffner 1980; Klinger 1996.

¹⁷ Beal 2003, 22-25; Kloekhorst 2021, 558.

¹⁸ Dinçol et al. 1993, 104-6.

¹⁹ Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51; Kloekhorst 2021, 559.

²⁰ Bittel et al. 1984, 89.

²¹ Schachner 2014, 95-97.

obtained from animal bones unearthed west of the Great Temple support the view that there was no cultural interruption between the two periods.²² In this context, if we follow the argument of Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen, the person referred to in the Zalpa text as “the king’s grandfather,” i.e. Huzziya I, had control between Hurama and Hattuša including Kaneš, all of which was under his control. According to this observation, Huzziya I began his career as king of Hattuša, which he may have rebuilt at the beginning of his reign, ca. 1710 BC (see table 1). Thus, Barjamovic et al. suggest that Huzziya was the ruler who rebuilt Hattuša after the destruction of Anitta, and that he or his successor may have caused the end of the lower town Ib settlement at Kültepe and the destruction of the Waršama Palace in the upper town.²³

Some scholars have argued that Kaneš and its environs probably became a provincial city administered from Hattuša during this period,²⁴ resulting in a significant decline in the level of wealth in the Ia stratum compared to the previous period. However, another argument would be that before the early Hittite kings Huzziya I and Labarna I, as well as Hattušili I, moved the royal court to Hattuša in the early part of his reign, Kaneš-Neša was the capital and may have been used as a military base for campaigns against Zalpa.²⁵ Although their views on its nature and character differ widely, many Hittite scholars assume some form of continuity between the last kings of Neša known from Old Assyrian texts (the names of the last three being Piṭhāna, Anitta and Zuzu) and the dynasty of Hattušili I.²⁶ The date of the end of the lower town Ia settlement at Kaneš is not yet clear. However, on the basis of archaeological data, Özgüç, Emre, and Kulakoğlu suggested that the settlement at Kaneš continued during the reigns of Abi-ešuh and Ammi-ditana, who ruled in Babylon in 1711-1684 BC and 1683-1640 BC respectively.²⁷ All of these data, both archaeological and philological, are extremely important in proving that there was no cultural and historical discontinuity between the end of the Kārum period and the kings of the early Old Hittite Dynastic period, about whom little is known.

Stamp seals and impressions, which provide us with extensive knowledge about the second millennium BC, constitute the most important historical documents after cuneiform documents. In the first quarter of the second millennium BC, long-distance trade between Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia and Syria enabled people of different ethnicities, languages, and cultures to live together. This resulted in an artistic richness of a scale and diversity previously unknown in Anatolian history. The art of the seals is one of the most important artifacts of this multicultural expression, proving that the cultures of these different geographies influenced each other. The artistic style that started to develop in Anatolia as of the beginning of the second millennium BC is well known thanks to the seals, impressions, and various works of art of different qualities unearthed in settlements located in Central Anatolia such as

²² Schachner 2018, 101.

²³ Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51. As we know from dendrochronological studies, Waršama’s Palace was built on top of the Old Palace that had been destroyed by fire. It was constructed with timber that was cut in 1835/1832 BC, with repairs made with timber cut in 1813/1810, 1811/1808, and 1774/1771 BC; see Barjamovic et al. 2012, 36, fig. 12. This palace was also destroyed by fire, but the exact time of this fire is not clear. However, considering the fact that this palace is the latest palace structure unearthed in the upper city of Kaneš, it is concluded that the Kaneš kings after Waršama (Pithana Anitta and Zuzu known for certain from texts) also used this palace. This implies that the fire that destroyed it should be dated to at least after the reign of Zuzu; see Kloekhorst 2021, 565.

²⁴ Barjamovic et al. 2012, 52.

²⁵ Kloekhorst 2021, 557 and 573. The Hittite dynasty of Labarna also originated from Kuššara such as Pithana and his son Anitta, and it was in that city that Hattušili I, Labarna’s successor, died, although he had transferred his capital to Hattuša; see Archi 2021, 256.

²⁶ Gilan 2015, 200-1; Kloekhorst 2021, 566.

²⁷ Özgüç 1968a, 61; Emre 1995, 183; 1999, 45; Kulakoğlu 1996, 74; 2008, 18.

Kültepe, Boğazköy, Acemhöyük, Alişar, Konya-Karahöyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Yassıhöyük, and Kayalıpınar (fig. 1). The basis of this understanding of art is the “Anatolian style” that emerged as a result of the interaction of Anatolian people with the cultures of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia.²⁸ This style actually emerged from the second half of the third millennium, before the Hittites became a political power in Anatolia, and continued to develop during the Kārum period which laid the groundwork for Hittite art.²⁹

The new findings uncovered by archaeological excavations that have gained momentum in the last decade have further strengthened the view that the origin of the artistic style described as “Hittite” began to be clearly seen particularly in the late phase (ca. 18th century BC) of the settlements of the Kārum period. The most important innovation, especially in the late phase of this period, is the decline in the use of cylinder seals and the repopularization of stamp seals, the local seal type of Anatolia. This is seen not only by the types of seals that form the basis of the Hittite stamp seals, but also in the variety of motifs engraved on these seals and the characteristic features of the art style. As a result of all these identifiable cultural expressions, the stamp seals unearthed in the late phase and contemporary level of the Kārum period of the settlements paved the way for the formation of features that will be interpreted as “prototypes of the Hittite style” both typologically and stylistically.

Seal Types

Although the variety of motifs engraved on stamp seals in the late phase of the Kārum period is not as rich as those on the cylinder seals, the most important feature that makes the seals of this period different from previous periods is the preponderance of mostly figurative, floral and astral motifs engraved on the impression surfaces, rather than geometric motifs. From the Old Hittite period following the Kārum period to the end of the Empire, we can see that different types of stamp seals continued to be widely used in Anatolia over time. As A. Dinçol and B. Dinçol pointed out, the Hittite words “to seal” and “seal” were produced from the verb “to press” (= *šai-/šiya-*), which clearly shows that the traditional sealing action among the Hittites was not applied by rolling as in cylinder seals, but by pressing in a way that directly indicates the use of stamp seals.³⁰

Stamp seals dated to the Kārum period have a rounded and knobbed, conical, prism, or animal-shaped handles consisting of a lion, bird, monkey, and different impression surfaces such as angular, foot-shaped, or disc-shaped. The most remarkable of the new seal forms, which first appeared in the late phase of this period and continued to be used in the Old Hittite period, are the stamp-cylinder seals. These are the result of the combination of the cylinder seal brought to Anatolia by Assyrian merchants and the local stamp seal form.³¹ The base of this new type of seal is designed as a rectangular or cylindrical shape, while the lower part is in the form of a stamp. Thus, the stamp and the cylinder function are combined in a single seal. The handles of this type of seal are made in the form of a handle or conical with a rounded top. The examples found in Kültepe are important as they are the only evidence for the time being that this type of seal had been used in Anatolia since the second half of the 18th

²⁸ Özgüç 1965, 3; 1966, 1; Emre 2002, 486.

²⁹ Özgüç 1965, 3.

³⁰ Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 429.

³¹ Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 428.

century.³² Besides Kültepe, the earliest examples of this type of seals come from two different stamp-cylinder seal impressions on a total of 46 sealed clay bullae found at Sarıkaya Palace in Achemhöyük level III dated between King Anitta and Hattušili I.³³ Samples from Konya-Karahöyük level I³⁴ and seals unearthed from Alişar level 10T³⁵ are also among the earliest examples of this type of seals (fig. 2.1-2).

This group of finds is important for showing that the stamp-cylinder seal type, which we know thanks to a small number of examples at the end of the 18th century BC, was in use on a considerable scale. The “Tyskiewicz seal” is the earliest evidence for the use of rounded or tuberheaded conical handle stamp-cylinder seals in the early 17th century BC, in other words the Old Hittite period.³⁶ The Aydın seal dating to the first half of the 17th century BC, as well as the seals preserved in the Louvre Museum and the Fine Arts Museum in Boston dating to the middle of this century, are important findings showing this continuity (fig. 2.3-6).

Another feature encountered for the first time in this period is that the conical handles of the seals are made in the form of a hammer-head. A seal preserved in the Berlin Museum is important as it represents a new type of example in this group.³⁷ While the cylindrical body of this seal is divided into eight sections with deep grooves, the stamp base is designed in the form of an eight-leaf rosette in accordance with these sections. The Berlin seal is considered to be the first sign of the transition to hammer-headed stamp seals, which consist of four-sided faces with slightly rounded corners and a cube body. These were used from the second half of the 17th century BC.³⁸ Thanks to all these features, the Berlin seal represents a different shape from the examples of Tyskiewicz, Aydın and the Louvre. One of the most outstanding examples of cube-bodied hammer-headed seals is the Tarsus seal, which has five impression areas on the side of its base.³⁹ Similar to hammer-headed seals, decorated on four faces of the cube-shaped base, are those known from the Borowski Collection.⁴⁰ Additional examples are preserved in the Louvre⁴¹ and British Museums,⁴² and those from the Bitik settlement⁴³ (fig. 3.1-4). This type of seals, with the creation of different types of printing areas, continued to be used until the 14th century BC, i.e. the beginning of the Hittite Empire period. Thus, it is understood that the use of cylinder seals in Anatolia came to an end.⁴⁴

Another version of the hammer-head stamp seals, which have different variations according to the shape of the base, are the examples upon which the side faces of the cylindrical base are left blank and only the bottom part is used as the impression face. The examples uncovered at

³² Dinçer 1943, 77; Özgüç 1968a, pl. 31.1a-b; Özkan 2010, 150, fig. 8; Özgüç 2005, 252, no. 320.

³³ Özgüç 2015, 168 and 170, figs. 133-34. In light of the philological and archaeological data, Özgüç has determined that Sarıkaya Palace was in use for approximately 300 years, from the beginning of the second millennium BC until the mid 17th century BC.

³⁴ Alp 1994, 259-61.

³⁵ von der Osten 1937, 211, figs. 248.d 1822; 212, 249.e 2310.

³⁶ Boehmer 1975, fig. 375.a; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 38, fig. 24.a.

³⁷ Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 39, fig. 24.c.

³⁸ Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 429.

³⁹ Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 54, fig. 39; Darga 1992, 70, nos. 49-50.

⁴⁰ Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 58, fig. 45.

⁴¹ Delaporte 1923, pl. 101.1a, A.1026; 3a, A.1028; 4f, A.1029; 5a, A.1030.

⁴² Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 55, fig. 40.

⁴³ Anık 1944, pl. 60.17; Özgüç 1993, 484, fig. 12.a-e.

⁴⁴ Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 429.

Boğazköy, Alaca Höyük, Alishar, and Seyitömer clearly show that this type of seal was first seen in Anatolia in the late phase of the Kārum period and early Old Hittite period (fig. 4.1-3).⁴⁵ Examples from the sites of İnandıktepe, Alaca Höyük, Maşat Höyük, and Beycesultan, as well as seals in the Walter's Art Gallery in Boston, and the Afyon Museum, show that hammer-headed stamp seals continued to be used until the 15th and early 14th centuries BC.⁴⁶ Thanks to the typologies and stylistic features of these examples, which were unearthed through systematic excavations, it is understood that the seals in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum⁴⁷ and the Walters Art Museum,⁴⁸ or the seal from the Niğde region⁴⁹ all belong to the 17th-16th century BC (fig. 4.4-8).

The most common seal type in the late phase of the Kārum period and early Old Hittite period are those with tuber or rounded heads, conical handles, and disk bases. The conical handles of these seals with a large hole were either left empty or decorated with horizontal grooves. These types of seals are well known thanks to the samples unearthed from Kültepe, Alishar, Boğazköy, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Yassıhöyük, and Konya-Karahöyük (fig. 5).⁵⁰ On the seals, in the center of a frame with a rope border, there are depictions of one or more of the following: a guilloche, solar disc, "*signe royal*," rosette, a double-headed eagle, a lion, a bull, a griffin, sphinxes, and gods and goddesses. These stamp seals are usually disc-based, but there are also variations made in the form of two-, three- or four-leaf clovers, or animal heads in the form of anaphora. These reveal the richness of Anatolian sealing. The samples unearthed from settlements such as İnandıktepe, Eskiyyapar, Alaca Höyük, and Boğazköy are important in terms of showing that this type of seal continued to be used in Anatolia until the 16th-15th centuries BC.⁵¹

Motifs and Compositions

1. Rosette

The rosette motif is well known thanks to the seals and impressions uncovered from the late phase of this period (late 18th and early 17th century BC) from the settlements of Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Alishar, Kaman-Kalehöyük, and Konya-Karahöyük. The latter site has the richest collection in Anatolia⁵² (fig. 6.1-12). Although the motif is designed to fill the entire seal area

⁴⁵ For Boğazköy: Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 2.22, 2.23, 3.31, 3.37, 3.38; for Alaca Höyük: Koşay 1938, 62, pl. 47.AL/A 89; for Alishar: von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.d 975; for Seyitömer: Bilgen and Bilgen 2015, 113, fig. 130.

⁴⁶ For İnandıktepe: T. Özgüç 1988, pl. 64.1a-c; for Alaca Höyük: Koşay and Akok 1973, pl. 43. Al.t.120, Al.t.124 and Al.p.51; for Maşat Höyük: Özgüç 1978, pl. 52.3a-c; for Beycesultan: Lloyd and Mellaart 1956, pl. 12.c; Walters Art Museum seal: for Gordon 1939, pl. 8.70; for the Afyon seal: Alp 1969, pl. 1.

⁴⁷ Dinçol 1983, nos. 1-2; Darga 1992, 72-73, nos. 53-58.

⁴⁸ Gordon 1939, pls. 8.70, 9.72; Dinçol 1983, pl. 2.2.

⁴⁹ Özgüç 1971, 17, pl. 1.

⁵⁰ For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pls. 30.2, 31.2, 32.1-6, 33.1-6, 34.1, 36.1-6, 37.1 and 6; Özgüç 2005, 251, nos. 317-19; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 356-57, cat. nos. 481-87; for Alishar: Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1478, b 1854; von der Osten 1937, 212-14, figs. 249-51, c 666, c 2656, d 1140, d 1906, d 2067, d 2222, d 2681, d 2878, d 2970, e 555, e 632; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pls. 2.12-15 and 17-20, 3.23-26, 4.37-40 and 4.42-43, 5.44-48, 7.66-72, 8.74-81, 9.93 and 9.95; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 1.5 and 1.8-15, 2.25, 3.38, 5.48, 5.50 and 5.53, 6.58-59, 7.70, 8.82-8.84; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 1988, 356, fig. 10.4; 2005, 30, fig. 56; for Yassıhöyük: Omura 2013, 322, fig. 13; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, pl. 19.46-48.

⁵¹ For İnandıktepe: T. Özgüç 1988, pl. 64.2; for Eskiyyapar: Sipahi 2013, 70, fig. 3; for Alaca Höyük: Anık 1937, pl. 223. Al.551; Koşay 1951, pls. 79.7, 80.1 and 4, 81.2-3; Koşay and Akok 1966, pl. 32.f 93; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pls. 2, 3.23-25, 7.70-71, 8.74-77; Bittel 1970, pl. 7.

⁵² For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pl. 37.6a-b; Öztürk 2019, pls. 31.1, 3 and 32.1; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 2015, 166,

alone in the center of the stamp seals, it is sometimes used in combination with one or more of the following: stairs, zigzag, helix, guilloche, spiral, triangle, crescent, dot motifs, or animal rows, which are placed between the bands surrounding the motif.

The rosette motif on the three seal impressions is formed with a series of small circles placed around a small circle in the center (fig. 6.1-3 and 6.6). These impressions were unearthed during the recent excavations on the upper town of Kültepe (fig. 6.2-3). The closest stylistic similarity with the rosette motif on these stamp seal impressions, one of which was used as a stopper, is seen in the stamp seal impression on the cuneiform envelope notarised by king Waršama of Kaneš. (fig. 6.1 and 6.6). The closest examples stylistically similar to the rosette motif on these seal impressions uncovered from the lower and upper town of Kültepe were found at Kaman-Kalehöyük.⁵³

A clay stamp seal from lower town level Ib at Kültepe has an eight-leaf rosette motif in the center surrounded by a band of triangles (fig. 6.5). The delimitation of the seal composition area with a rosette in the center and a frame of triangles continued to be used in 17th century BC and 15th century BC Tabarna seals following the late phase of the Kārum period.⁵⁴ This motif, seen as a group of three with Hittite hieroglyphic signs on the seals of Hattušili I (17th century BC), was used alone. It replaced the hieroglyphic signs as seen on the seals and seal impressions of the kings named Huzziya, Alluwamna and Tahurwaili (fig. 6.13-15).⁵⁵ When the royal stamp seals of this period are examined, their composition consists of a naturalistically engraved six- or eight-petaled flower rosette motif. They are surrounded by a two-line cuneiform inscription on the outside band, and the rosette is enclosed in a circle in the very center of this band. Leaving aside the differences in the compositional scheme, the closest stylistic parallel to the floral rosette motif, seen in the 17th century BC and 15th century BC royal seal impressions, is found in the seal impressions from Konya-Karahöyük⁵⁶ and in a seal from Alişar (fig. 6.9 and 6.11-12).⁵⁷

Apart from these seals, the gold ring with a rosette of a seven-petaled flower, recovered from lower town level Ib of Kültepe, can be considered among the pioneering examples of Hittite seals in terms of style.⁵⁸ In this context, this ring was produced using precious raw materials such as gold and lapis-lazuli and can be thought to belong to one of the kings of Kaneš when evaluated together with the symbol on it.

The flower rosette motif, thought to symbolize the sun, continued to be used in the Hittite Empire period (14th to 13th century BC), but in a different way from previous periods. At this stage, it is observed that the Hittite art had developed and evolved into a new direction, and there are notable differences in the style of the depicted works of art. The rosette motif, whose chronological development was followed to a certain extent within the historical development

fig. 132; for Alişar: von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.b1462; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 2005, 30, fig. 57; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, figs. 238-49, 251.

⁵³ Omura 2005, 30, fig. 66.

⁵⁴ This anonymous group of artifacts is known as the “Tabarna seals” in archaeological literature because the owner of the seal is directly identified with the title “Tabarna.” This is opposed to the legend in Hittite hieroglyphics indicating the king to whom the seal belongs on the seals of the Old Hittite period; cf. Güterbock 1940, 45; 1942, 32, 42; Beran 1967, pl. 11.146.a.

⁵⁵ Darga 1992, 69, no. 48; 72, nos. 51 and 52.

⁵⁶ Alp 1994, figs. 244, 247-49.

⁵⁷ von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.b 1462.

⁵⁸ Cf. Özgüç 2005, 227, no. 281.

of Hittite art, continued to be used in the middle of the winged sun disc, which is a royal symbol and title, on king-queen seals and monumental stone reliefs of the Hittite Empire period.⁵⁹ This motif takes the form of a double rosette with winged sunburst on the seal impressions and stone reliefs of Tuthaliya IV, one of the leading kings of the Hittite Empire period. All these data clearly show that it is not a coincidence that the envelope with the names of the local kings of Anatolia discovered from lower town level Ib of Kültepe was authenticated with a stamp seal containing a rosette motif and that this motif was a “royal symbol” from the earliest periods.

2. Helix, Guilloche and Spiral Band

Helix,⁶⁰ guilloche,⁶¹ and spiral band motifs, known from examples unearthed from the settlements of Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Konya-Karahöyük, Alışar, Kaman-Kalehöyük, and Boğazköy, were first used on stamp seals from the late phase of the Kārum period and early Old Hittite period.⁶² These motifs were widely used in numerous different settings, either as seal frames or as the main motif of the seal, either alone or in combination with each other or with other geometric motifs (fig. 7). When the stamp seals using these motifs are examined from a typological point of view, they mostly draw attention as nodular heads, conical handles and disc bases.⁶³ These findings, which constitute an important reference point in terms of chronology, also shed light on the dating both the seals acquired through purchase in private collections or in various museums around the world, and the findings obtained without a specific context.

The findings from Boğazköy⁶⁴ show that stamp seals with helix and guilloche band motifs continued in use throughout the 17th century BC and the 15th century BC (fig. 7.9-14). These motifs were used in the Hittite period as the outer frames of stamp seals with hammer or tuber heads and disc bases, as in the pioneering examples. In particular, the evidence shows that the guilloche motif is preferred as the frame of the seal, which includes the Hittite hieroglyphic signs and cuneiform writing in the center of the stamp or figurative depictions on different subjects. On the other hand, this motif is also used sometimes as an interior decoration band to separate two friezes on different subjects.

3. “*Signe Royal*”

The motif examined in this study is referred to as the “*signe royal*,” which is represented by a cross enclosed in a circle with a dot in the center of which the arms do not meet, and by four “S” motifs that are placed symmetrically between each arm of the cross. Usually the parts between the arms of this “S” helix are filled with a dot. This motif, first described by H. de

⁵⁹ Darga 1992, 74.

⁶⁰ This motif consists of “S-shaped” spirals of three, four or six loops.

⁶¹ It is recognized from the cylinder seals of the early phase of the Kārum period and continued to be widely used on the stamp seals of the late phase of this period.

⁶² For Kültepe: Özgüç 1959, pl. 5b; 1968b, pl. 36.1a-b, 2a-b, 3a-b; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 1986, 50, fig. 4.3; 2015, 257, fig. 133.Ac.St.5; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, 229, figs. 196-98, 201. It is also possible to see stamp seals with a seal pattern similar to the Kültepe seal on some of the moon-shaped loom weights unearthed from this settlement; cf. Alp 1994, pls. 106.302-3 and 306, 107.307-10, 110.322-23, 111.330-31, 112.332-34, 114.339-42, 160.489, 161.492; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 2003, figs. 78-79; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pl. 4.40, 7.73. In terms of style and composition, these artifacts belonging to the late phase of the Kārum period are grouped as early Old Hittite seals.

⁶³ An exceptional example is a stamp seal with a spiral motif on the impressed surface and a disc-shaped base in the form of a monkey sitting on a handle, purchased as originating from Kültepe; cf. Özgüç 1968a, pl. 35.

⁶⁴ Beran 1967, pls. 2.86, 103-18, 3.128 and 135, 9.87, 93-102, 10.124-26 and 135.

Genouillac⁶⁵ as “*signe royal*” or “Hittite King sign,” first appears on stamp seals in Anatolia from the late phase of the Kārum period.⁶⁶ This motif, which appears on different types of archaeological materials such as terracotta vessels, metal weapons, terracotta weights, discs and plates as well as stamp seals, has been defined using different names by various researchers. The fact that this motif was seen on objects of different qualities found in different contexts make us think that it could not have had a single purpose of use. The “*signe royal*” motif, which continued to be used in Anatolia until the end of the first millennium BC, shows periodic and regional differences or similarities in form.

The evidence shows that this motif was frequently used on pottery as well as stamp seals and impressions found in important centers in Central Anatolia such as Kültepe, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Kayalıpınar, Alishar, Boğazköy, and Achemhöyük (fig. 8).⁶⁷ When the typological characteristics of the “*signe royal*” stamp seals are examined, a clear preference can be observed for seals with the following features: rounded top, conical handles, horizontal rope hole at the top of the handle, and disc-shaped bases, which were widely used in Anatolia, especially from the second half of the 18th century BC, and generally preferred. This motif continued to be in use on seals and ceramics unearthed from Alaca Höyük, Eskiyaşar, Boğazköy, Boyalı Höyük, İmikuşağı and Elbistan-Karahöyük settlements during the Old Hittite period.⁶⁸

The use of the “*signe royal*” motif on stamp seals continues, although with a decrease, during the Hittite Imperial period. Even though the data regarding this period are limited to the “*signe royal*” stamped pottery pieces found in Boğazköy,⁶⁹ medallions were found in the Uluburun Shipwreck as well as a hammer-headed stamp seal in the Beycesultan settlement.⁷⁰ These findings indicate that cultural continuity had been maintained since the beginning of the second millennium BC, and the “*signe royal*” motif provides some key evidence for this conclusion.

Gods

1. Protector God of the Fields

The first of the gods reflecting the “Hittite style” in the scenes on the stamp seals and impressions of the Kārum period is the “Protector God of the Fields.”⁷¹ The Protector God of the

⁶⁵ De Genouillac 1926, 33.

⁶⁶ It is stated that the interior decoration of the crescent standard on the Anatolian-style cylinder seals found in the lower town level II at Kültepe is similar to the “*signe royal*” motif seen in level Ib and the imprints seen on stamped pottery. Based on these findings, Özgüç states that the “*signe royal*” motif was first used as an astral symbol in Anatolia in the early phase of the Kārum period; see Özgüç 1965, 33.

⁶⁷ For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pl. 36.6; Özgüç 2005, 158-59, nos. 177 and 179; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 357, cat. nos. 487-88; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 1988, 356, fig. 10.4; for Kayalıpınar: Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2019, 252, fig. 22.1-2; for Alishar: von der Osten 1937, 214, figs. 251.d 1906; 220, 257.d 1628, d 2838, e 1218, e 1251, e 1584, e 1611; for Boğazköy: Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 1.9; for Achemhöyük: Özgüç 1971, 21, fig. 2; 1977, 376, fig. 5; 1991, 298, 303, figs. 6, 18.

⁶⁸ For Alaca Höyük: Koşay 1951, pls. 49.1-2, 77.1a-b and 77.3, 79.7; Koşay and Akok 1973, pl. 36, Al.r. 29; for Eskiyaşar: Toker 2002, no. 82; Özgüç 1988, 145, pl. d.3; for Boğazköy: Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 51, fig. 35 and pl.14.144; Calmeyer-Seidl 1972, 22, fig. 4, A.40; for Boyalı Höyük: Sipahi 2010, 736, fig. 4; İmikuşağı: Sevin and Derin 1986, 188, fig. 13; Sevin 1987, 305, 324, figs. 12, 17c; for Elbistan-Karahöyük: Özgüç and Özgüç 1949, 43, pl. 48.14.

⁶⁹ Beran 1967, 49.

⁷⁰ For Uluburun see Yalçın et al. 2006, figs. 105-8; for Beycesultan see Lloyd and Mellaart 1956, pl. 12.c.

⁷¹ The identity of this deity has been established by the iconography of the deer god seen in the frieze on the silver deer rhyton preserved in the N. Schimmel Collection, and the ^DLAMA inscription on the front of the god's head, which led to the identification of this deity as ^DLAMA LIL, the Protector God of the Fields; cf. Darga 1992, 39.

Fields is depicted standing on a stag and identified for the first time thanks to the cylinder seals and impressions of the Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements in the early Kārum period. These are expressed in the local style.⁷² When we look at the iconographic features of the god standing on his stag in a stepping position, he is depicted holding in one hand the sacred bird and rabbit, which are identified with him, and holding a *kalmuš* on his shoulder with the other hand. He usually wears a skirt with a short front and a long back, leaving his front leg exposed. On the head of the god is a skullcap or a cone-shaped headdress with horns.

Based on the stamp seal impressions discovered from Acemhöyük, we can see that the depictions of the god continued to be used in the late phase of the Kārum period (fig. 9.1). When we look at the iconographic features of the god, it is noteworthy that, unlike the examples on the cylinder seals, he wore a narrow, short skirt that ended above the knee. In this instance he also wore a hornless skullcap. The common feature is that the god is again shown in a stepping position on a stag, holding a bird with his outstretched hand and a *kalmuš* with the other hand resting on his shoulder. When the physiognomic features of the god are examined, this example has rounded lines and a muscular structure, unlike the long thin body lines seen in cylinder seals. The physical proportions of the deity are well-balanced, while the calf muscles and kneecaps are naturalistically rendered. Iconographically, it exhibits stylistic features parallel to the deities of the Old Hittite and Empire periods.

In addition to the Eskiyapar relief vessel fragments, the following are clearly the product of an art style that is more advanced than contemporary works of art with similar depictions. This includes the Yeniköy stele, known very well from the relief art of the Hittite Empire period, the Altınyayla stele, and the depictions of the god, Dingir Lama Lil, which is seen in the frieze on the silver stag rhyton preserved in the Nobert Schimmel Collection (fig. 9.2-5).

2. The Weather (Storm) God

One of the most frequently encountered subjects in the Anatolian group of cylinder seals dated to the Kārum period is the “God Standing on the Bull.” At the beginning of the second millennium BC, Anatolian people often depicted their gods adorned with unique attributes to express and explain their identities, which in turn contributes to our understanding of the pantheon of the period. As N. Özgüç points out, the Anatolian group of cylinder seals developed and diversified by following the Weather Gods seen on cylinder seals dating to the Kārum period. Many of these names are known through Hittite texts. This god, which has iconographic features identified with the God of Weather, is seen on a bull, which is considered to be his sacred animal. Sometimes it is in the position of stepping with both feet and sometimes with one foot. The god holds the bull’s halter in one hand and a mace, spear, axe or boomerang in the other, which he rests on his shoulder. In terms of the god’s attire, he usually wears a long dress with a short front and a long back, leaving one leg exposed, as we see in the Protector God of the Fields. He wears a conical headdress with one or more horns, topped with a crescent moon.

In the stamp seals and impressions found at Acemhöyük, the God of Weather is standing with both feet on a bull, holding the bull’s halter with one hand and his spear resting on his shoulder with the other (fig. 10.1). Wearing a conical headdress with multiple horns on his head and a robe that leaves one leg exposed, he displays close iconographic and stylistic similarities with the weather gods known from the Anatolian group of cylinder seals of this period.

⁷² For Kültepe: Özgüç 1965, 24, pl. 21.62-64; Özgüç 2005, 253, no. 323; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 1980, fig. 3.23; Özgüç 2015, 115, fig. 119.

In the scene on the impression surface of a stamp seal found in Kültepe, the God Standing on the Bull is seen holding the bull's bridle with one hand and swinging his mace with the other (fig. 10.2). In this seal, the god is wearing a horned conical headgear and a short, narrow skirt. When Hittite artworks are analyzed, one of the types of clothing worn by the gods is a skirt with an open front and a long back, which extends over a short-skirted undergarment. This type of clothing is seen on the god Kumarbi, the Moon God, and the Storm God of the Hatti country in the procession of the gods at Yazılıkaya.⁷³ In this context, the clothing models for these gods, seen in the rock reliefs of the Hittite Empire period, were developed after being inspired by the short-front, long-back dress model that leaves one leg exposed, which we started to see for the first time on the divine figures engraved on stamps and cylinder seals dating to the Kārum period.

The stylistic features of the God of Weather, seen on the Kültepe seal, present parallel features with the Dövrlek, Karaman Mut, and Konya statuettes, which include one of the metal figurines of the Old Hittite period. Additionally, when we examine the artwork depicted in Hittite iconography, the Storm God is usually displayed with a bull or, as we see on the İmamkulu rock relief, the fist-shaped vessel and the seal impression of Muršili III dating to the Hittite Empire period, on or behind a chariot with a bull⁷⁴ and swinging a mace in one hand (fig. 10.3-5). The rock reliefs of Malatya-Arslantepe show that such iconography continued to be used in Anatolia until the end of the Late Hittite period. The evidence shows that, the God of Weather, seen on seals uncovered from the Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements, represents the prototype of the art defined as "Hittite," not only in terms of stylistic features, but also iconographically.

3. Bull

Among the various scenes depicted on the cylinder seals dating to the early phase of the Kārum period, "bull worship" is one of the most prominent subjects considered unique to Anatolia.⁷⁵ The bull was recognized as the sacred animal of the God of Weather/Storm (Teshshup in the Hittite period), since it is usually depicted on Anatolian cylinder seals in the position of stepping on a bull with one foot.⁷⁶ In fact, it is accepted that the clay bull rhytons, mentioned as *bibru* in Hittite texts, date to the Kārum period and are known from many sites in Central Anatolia. The silver bull-shaped vessel, one of the outstanding artefacts of the Hittite Empire period, was most likely dedicated to the Storm God and used for making offerings to the god in religious ceremonies. The new discoveries in Ortaköy-Şapinuva, known to have been the capital of the Hittites, have revealed important data on this issue. In one of the scenes engraved on terracotta clay molds uncovered from Şapinuva, the Storm God is depicted holding a bull rhyton while sitting on his throne. This scene proves conclusively that not only the bull rhytons from Karum and the Hittite period, but also a pair of clay bull-shaped vessels found in settlements such as Inandıktepe, Boğazköy/Hattuša, Ortaköy/Şapinuva, Oymaağaç/Nerik, Kuşaklı/Şarišša or Kayalıpınar/Şamuha are sacred objects related to the Storm God.

⁷³ Seeher 2011, 57, fig. 53 (rock relief no. 35); 59, fig. 57 (rock relief no. 39); 64, fig. 62 (rock relief no. 41).

⁷⁴ The cuneiform ritual text found in Boğazköy shows that the pair of clay, bull-shaped vessels represent Hurri and Sherri, the sacred animals of the Storm God. The pair of bronze bull statuette recovered from Horoztepe are one of the most important finds proving that this culture dates back to the third millennium BC.

⁷⁵ Özgüç 1965, 22.

⁷⁶ It should not be forgotten that there are seven different types of Weather God depictions on the Anatolian style cylinder seals found in Kültepe. In the texts of the Hittite Empire period, there are more than ten names of Weather Gods.

Scenes of worshipping the God of Weather standing on a bull, which has an important place in the Anatolian pantheon, are frequently seen. Again, on the seals produced in this style, instead of the God of Weather, his sacred animal the bull is depicted from time to time. Thus, it stands to reason that the bull is worshiped as in the Weather God, who is shown in anthropomorphic form. An important point that into the scenes is that sometimes gifts brought by the worshipers were placed on the altar in front of the bull that was worshipped.

The scene of bull worship continued in use on stamp seals, which are the local seal type, in the late phase of the Kārum period. There is an impression of the king's stamp on a commercial tablet found in Ib level of Kültepe. Thanks to the inscription on it, we know it belongs to the "Great King of Alabzina, Zuzu." The composition area of the seal is surrounded by a row of spiral and spiral motifs (fig. 11.1). In the center of this frame is the depiction of a large, powerful bull. The figure (?) in front of the bull is thought to represent a worshiper.⁷⁷

It is clear that the bull, whose head and body are depicted realistically, is a prototype of the bull seen on the royal stamp seals of the Old Hittite period, unearthed in the Boğazköy excavations (fig. 11.2-3). The bull was placed in the very center of the royal stamp seals during the Hittite Empire period and continued in use under the winged sun disc and with hieroglyphic signs containing the names and adjectives of the king-queen. Most of our information on this subject is based on the seal impressions of Muwatalli II (1290-1273 BC), one of the important kings of the Hittite Empire period. These are found in the Nişantepe Archive in Hattuša in 1990-1991 (fig. 11.4-5). Among them are royal seals of the aedicula type, showing the full figure of the bull in the center of the seal composition. Considered in this context, it has been suggested that the bull may be first and foremost a hieroglyphic sign⁷⁸ and represents part of the spelling of Muwatalli's name (the syllabogram *muwa*, *mu*⁷⁹).

The scene of bull worship, which first appeared in Anatolia during the late phase of the Kārum period, continued to be used in the friezes on the İnandiktepe vase, which is one of the most outstanding examples of relief vases from the Old Hittite period. The same scene can be found on the relief orthostats of Alaca Höyük and the Hanyeri rock relief, dated to the Hittite Empire period (13-12th centuries BC) (fig. 11.6-7).

The bull depictions, whose earliest examples are known from Kültepe and that continued in use on the royal stamp seals of the Old Hittite and Empire periods, undoubtedly have more than one meaning. The images of the bull, seen in different contexts on seals, relief vessels or relief orthostats, and rock monuments, may have been used as a symbol of the Storm God, as well as symbolizing the power and might of the king.

Goddess

In light of the stamp seals and seal impressions unearthed in Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements, it is possible to say that the worship of the goddess who sat on her throne was frequently depicted on the seals in the late phase of the Kārum period. Showing common iconographic and stylistic features, these goddesses, who are seen in a sitting position on an animal that serves as a backless stool or throne, are depicted with the lower part of the head and body in profile and the upper part of the body seen from the front. Goddesses with short

⁷⁷ Özgüç 1996, 272.

⁷⁸ Herbordt 2010, 123-24, fig. 1.

⁷⁹ Laroche 1960, nos. 105, 107; Hawkins 2005, 428-29.

necks display a stocky and hunched posture. When we look at the facial physiognomy of the goddesses in these works, they best reflect the female facial physiognomy of the Kārum period art: plump cheeks, large nose covering the face, large mouth, and small round jaw line. They have almond-shaped eyelids with large round eye sockets and crescent-shaped eyebrows with adjoining middle. The disk-shaped headdresses of the goddesses usually cover their ears or are shown placed behind a large ear and resting on a short, flat forehead. Thanks to all these iconographic features, it is clear that the Goddesses exhibit the pioneering features of the Hittite art style (fig. 12.1-3).

Apart from the stamp seals, the Kültepe ivory figurine dating to the late phase of the Kārum period, the Boğazköy female statue head dating to the Old Hittite period, and the metal goddess statuettes from Alaca Höyük, Çiftlik and the Schimmel Collection (which constitute another important artifact group of this period) show parallel iconographic features (fig. 12.4-8). This facial physiognomy and headdress form, first encountered in the goddess figures of the Kārum period, were used in the rock reliefs of Eflatunpınar, Gavurkale, Fraktin, and Kayalıpınar, and in the reliefs of Queen Puduhepa, dating to the Hittite Empire period (fig. 12.9-11).

In addition to the continuity of all features of female physiognomy throughout these two periods, another element that appears on the seals for the first time is the altar model. This altar, usually encountered in scenes of worshipping the seated goddess in the seals and impressions discovered from the Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements, is similar in type to the fruitstands unearthed in the Kültepe excavations. The most characteristic feature of the altar, which appears on seals depicting the worship of the seated goddess, is bread left on top of it to be offered to the goddess. We can say that this altar model continues to be used in the seal art of the Old Hittite period, based on the seal impression discovered from Boğazköy and on the same subject.⁸⁰ The sphinx gate orthostats of Alaca Höyük, dating to the Hittite Empire period, and this type of altar seen in the Fraktin rock relief, are important elements that show the continuity between the cultures of the second millennium BC.

Mixed Creatures

Double-headed eagle

This motif became popular in the late phase of Kārum period and is usually limited to a band in the form of a guilloche, spiral, or rope strip, but is sometimes seen alone directly in the center of the seal without any frame. When the typological characteristics of seals with the motif of a double-headed eagle are examined, it is characteristic that stamp seals with rounded conical tops or hammer-heads and disc bases are generally preferred. The common features seen in every example of double-headed eagles are as follows: the heads are separated from each other from the neck onwards while the body, tail, and claws are shown together. Another common feature of these eagles is that the body is always shown from the front while their heads are in profile. Apart from these elements, none of the eagles are the same in detail. These differences are in the internal scans of the body, tail or wings as well as clearly seen in the shape of the heads, claws and beaks. The engraving of double-headed eagles alone, and as a coat of arms on stamp seals, is seen for the first time in the late phase of the Kārum period. It later becomes one of the characteristic features of Old Hittite stamp seals.

⁸⁰ Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 15.145.

The double-headed eagles, discovered during the 2011 and 2012 excavation seasons in the upper town of Kültepe, provide new iconographic contributions to the seal art of this period (fig. 13.1-3).⁸¹ In the first example, the double-headed eagle is placed in the center of the stage. It differs from other examples found in Anatolia in that it is enclosed in a frame created by combining grille, window, and meander motifs. Sculpted with simple workmanship, it is devoid of detail, making the eagle's thick body and stout short legs spread to either side. The hook-like talons are also completely different from other eagles. An analysis of the Anatolian seal repertoire shows that the double-headed eagle motif is always engraved on stamp seals with disc-shaped bases. This seal impression from Kültepe is the only example that breaks away from this standard. Examples of this motif on square or rectangular bases have so far only been found on the rectangular side surfaces of Old Hittite hammer-head stamp seals.⁸² The evidence shows that the Kültepe seal impression belongs to a hammer-head stamp seal used in the late phase of the Kārūm period. In the first of the other examples with double-headed eagle motif, the wings, body and tail of the eagle are rendered flat without any hatching, thus presenting a stylized depiction. Despite only a small part of the seal being unearthed intact, its impression exhibits stylistic features similar to this example. The stamped impression was made at least twice. The way the eagle's tail and claws are depicted, and the filling of the spaces between the head, wings, and feet with triangles, shows that these two seal impressions are iconographically similar (fig. 13.2-3). The filling of empty spaces on the surface of the seals with geometric symbols, such as swastika, crescent or triangle, is characteristic of stamp seal art, which is first dated to the late phase of the Kārūm period. The most striking of these geometric symbols are the triangles. Seen on the stamp seals of the Old and Middle Hittite period following this period are the “*Ankb*” sign meaning life and the “*aššu / triangle*” sign for health/goodness frequently used together along with the name of the seal owner written in Hittite hieroglyphic signs.⁸³ In light of this information, these triangular symbols encountered on stamp seals with depictions of double-headed eagles may indicate a similar meaning and function with the Hittite hieroglyphs engraved on Old Hittite stamp seals, beyond being a filling motif placed randomly on the seal's surface.

In Anatolia, the depiction of the double-headed eagle is known from settlements such as Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Boğazköy, Kayalıpınar, Konya-Karahöyük, Alishar, and from the stamp seals of Anatolian origin taken to museums around the world (fig. 13.4-9).⁸⁴ In the seal repertoire of the Konya-Karahöyük and Kültepe settlements, stamp seals and seal impressions with this motif are in the majority. All of these finds, dated to the late phase of the Kārūm period, are engraved in a standardized composition. This clearly indicates that the stamp seals were produced in local seal-making workshops in Anatolia.

This motif is rooted in the Anatolian seal art of the Kārūm period and continued in use on the stamp seals of high-ranking officials of the Hittite Empire period, either in their center

⁸¹ Öztürk 2019, pl. 47.1-3.

⁸² Delaporte 1923, pl. 101.1a-b, A.1026

⁸³ Herbordt 2006, 100; Darga 1992, 72.

⁸⁴ For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pls. 3.1.A, 3.2, 7.C; 1991, 307, figs. 26-28; 1996, 277, fig. 8.C; Özgüç 2005, 251, nos. 314-16; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 352, cat. no. 468, 356-57, cat. nos. 482-85; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 1977, 380, figs. 8-9; 1991, 307, figs. 27-28; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pl. 4.37-40; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 4.44, 6.61; Seeher 2011, 69, fig. 68; for Kayalıpınar: Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2011, fig. 9.3; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, 178, figs. 74-78; for Alishar: Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1854; for the Louvre: Delaporte 1923, pls. 99.8b, A.986, 99.10b, A.987.

with Hittite hieroglyphic signs or between the friezes surrounding their surface (fig. 13.10-11). We continue to see this motif in the rock reliefs of the Hittite Empire period at Alaca Höyük Sphinxed Gate and Yazılıkaya Room A, however, this time in a different iconography as a carrier under the feet of godly figures (fig. 13.12-13).

The Bull-Man

The upper part of the body and the face of these mixed beings, which belong to the group of bull hybrids, are depicted as human. However, the lower part of the body is depicted as a bull. The bull-men motif, first seen on cylinder seals impressions of the early Kārum period,⁸⁵ is an imported one that started to appear in Anatolian art under the influence of Old Babylonian culture.⁸⁶ The most common version of this motif, seen in different scenes and in different forms on the Anatolian group cylinder seals, is represented by bull-men holding a stand.

When the iconographic features of the bull-men are examined, they are distinguished from naked heroes by their horned heads, bearded faces that always extend to the trunk, long tails that start above the hips, and hooved feet. Bull-men holding a standard were unearthed in the recent excavations at Kültepe, and can be seen on two stamp seal impressions, examined within the scope of this study (fig. 14.1-2).⁸⁷ The diameters of the seals on which they are stamped are the same, as are the composition and iconographic features. These data prove that both impressions are stamped with the same seal. In the first impression almost the entirety of the single stamp of the seal is seen, whereas only parts of the stamp can be seen in the other impression. The most important element that differentiates the depictions of the bull-men holding a standard, which we know from a small number of earlier examples on stamp seals, is that they are wearing a skullcap-shaped headdress without horns on their rounded heads. Their faces are beardless, and they do not have hair that grows on both sides of their heads ending in a spiral. These symbols, such as the swastika, crescent and triangle, are seen in the empty parts of the seal's surface outside the main scene and were not placed randomly to fill the seal surface. They were engraved on the seal surface for a similar purpose, like a logogram or hieroglyphic sign, as mentioned in the seals with double-headed eagle motifs. Both the compositional and iconographic features of the scene on the stamp seal impression suggest that this work has freed itself from the visual elements of the Old Babylonian style and bears the stylistic characteristics of the local stamp seal art crafted by Anatolian masters. The bronze plate from Alaca Höyük,⁸⁸ the reliefs of Yazılıkaya Room A,⁸⁹ and the bull-man depictions on the İmamkulu rock reliefs⁹⁰ dating to the Hittite Empire period exhibit stylistic characteristics parallel to the stamp seal impressions analyzed in this study (fig. 14. 3-4). In light of these data, we can conclude that both the transition of the bull-man motif and the composition of the art of the Hittite Empire period developed by taking its iconography from the Kültepe stamp seal impressions.

⁸⁵ Özgüç 1991, 308; Özgüç 1965, pls. 1.2, 2.7, 19.57, 25.75, 28.54; Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pl. 1.CS 5.

⁸⁶ Özgüç 1965, 29.

⁸⁷ Öztürk 2019, pl. 46.1-2.

⁸⁸ Bittel 1976, fig. 246.

⁸⁹ Seeher 2011, 51, fig. 45.

⁹⁰ Seeher 2011, 169, fig. 175.

Conclusion

Archaeological data obtained from settlements in Anatolia point to an uninterrupted development without major changes in the cultural context from the beginning of the third millennium BC to the 17th century BC, in other words, until the Old Hittite period. In light of our current knowledge, the Hattians lived in the geography defined as the Hittite core region – the region between the Kızılırmak arc – during the said date range.

While the cuneiform documents found at Kültepe and Boğazköy shed light on the political history of Anatolia in the late 18th and early 17th centuries BC, the archaeological findings of different qualities show that this period constituted a great influence for Hittite art and culture. In particular, the historical texts known as the “Anitta Text” and the “Zalpa Text” found at Boğazköy, the names of kings in the eponym lists (*limmum*) found at Kültepe, and the bronze spearhead with the inscription “*King Anitta’s Palace*,”⁹¹ tell us that the Hittites were ruling Hatti long before they established a political authority. This evidence makes clear that the Hittites were present in Anatolia from the period when many regional kingdoms such as Kaneš, Hattuš(a), Kuššara, Zalpa and Purušhaddum ruled, and that they had political-cultural relations with these kingdoms. Furthermore, the rulers of this early Hittite dynasty, which we can identify thanks to the historical records of the late phase of the Kārum period, even defined their language as neš(um)nili, referring to the native Anatolian city of Kaneš-Neša and their origin as Neša.⁹²

Written texts and other archaeological evidence clearly point to a direct connection between the first kings of the early Hittite dynasty and Neša. On the other hand, as Neve pointed out very early on, the lower town at Hattuša was rebuilt shortly after Anitta’s destruction and the subsequent curse.⁹³ This fact has been largely ignored in the literature, which has instead accepted the assumption that Hattušili I was the new founder of Hattuša, due to his name. However, Neve’s insight has once again been confirmed by the excavations carried out at Hattuša. Therefore, it supports the view that the reconstruction of Hattuša, after its destruction around 1728 BC, can be dated to ca. 1720-1710 BC. Thus, these data prove that Hattuša was rebuilt some sixty to seventy years before the traditionally established date of Hattušili I’s accession (1650 BC). The chronological parallel of these dates with the lower town level Ia of Kültepe further strengthens the assumption that Kaneš may have been the center of the royal palace during the reigns of Huzziya I and Labarna I and the first period of Hattušili I’s reign. All this evidence proves once again the correctness of T. Özgüç’s statement that “Kaneš-Neša was the oldest capital city of the Hittites” and that Hittite art was born in this center.⁹⁴

This study presents a qualitative analysis of the stamp seal art, which provides evidence of the cultural interaction that emerged in the Kārum period as a result of the aforementioned political interactions. As a result, many features that originated from Hittite seals, both in form and artistic style, began to shape a persistent theme in the late phase of this period (18th century BC). And new findings have since revealed that this continued until 1200 BC. Outside of the stamp seals and impressions discussed above, the recent findings uncovered at the lower and the upper town of Kültepe provide important data on the transition from the Kārum period to the Old Hittite period.

⁹¹ Özgüç 1999, 55, pl. 107.1a-c.

⁹² Neu 1974, 132-33.

⁹³ Bittel et al. 1984, 89.

⁹⁴ Özgüç 2003.

The God of War, depicted on the gold folio uncovered in 2006 in the lower town Ib level of Kültepe, exhibits stylistic and iconographic features parallel to the depictions of gods that we know very well from the relief art of the Hittite Empire period.⁹⁵ Compared to other depictions from artifacts dated to the late phase of the Kārum period, it is clear that this deity on gold folio is the product of a more advanced artistic style not only for Kültepe, but also for other contemporary artifacts with the same depiction. In addition, the relief pottery fragments found in the excavations carried out in the southwest of the upper town of Kültepe in 2021 offer new and important contributions to the archeology of the second millennium BC. It is also important to note the depiction of a lyre played by a figure sitting on a stool, which we see on one of these relief pieces dated to the late phase of the Kārum period. This lyre is stylistically similar to the depictions of the lyre seen in the Inandiktepe vase, one of the most distinguished examples of Old Hittite relief vases, and at the same time proves that to be its prototype.⁹⁶

Another conclusion of this study is that not only visual artwork but also Hittite hieroglyphic writing may have taken root as early as the late phase of the Kārum period. As is known, the oldest texts from Anatolia are cuneiform tablets written in the Old Assyrian language. These belonged to Assyrian merchants who settled in Anatolia in the early second millennium BC. After the end of this period in Anatolia around 1700 BC, this variant of writing was abandoned. From this period onwards different types of writing played a role in Anatolian history. Although it is accepted that the type of writing known as Hittite hieroglyphic script began with Hattušili I (1650-1620 BC), the founder and first king of the Old Hittite, there are hypotheses that hieroglyphic writing in Anatolia is much older than the Old Hittite period. Its origins can be traced back to the early second millennium BC, based on some signs seen on seals and vessels. Hawkins read the marks engraved on a jug dated to the late phase of the Kārum period at Kültepe and identified the words “good” (BONUS), “life” (VITA), and “writing” (SCRIBA).⁹⁷ Poetto stated that these signs can be attributed morphologically to the Hittite linguistic domain rather than “randomly designed symbols.”⁹⁸ When we look at the earliest seals and seal impressions of the Hittite period, we see that the most common signs are “scribe” (directly related to “SCRIBA”), which represents the title of the seal owner. The other most common signs are those representing the words “good” and “life.”⁹⁹ Moreover, the fact that symbols such as flower rosettes, vases, triangles, stars, as well as full bull depictions and animal heads, which we know from Hittite period seals, are also used on stamp seals dating to the late phase of the Kārum period, suggests that these symbols may be among the first hieroglyphic signs in Anatolia. This evidence implies that Anatolian hieroglyphics began as a simple pictographic script used for basic economic and administrative records and evolved over time into a full-fledged writing system.¹⁰⁰

In conclusion, the Hittite elements that we see on the ceramics made in different forms are among the richest material cultural remains of the Kārum period. This evidence as well as a large number of archaeological materials representing different aspects such as architecture, relief art, depictions of gods and goddesses, metal vessels or weapons, proves the cultural and historical continuity between the Kārum period and the Old Hittite period with certainty.

⁹⁵ Kulakoğlu 2008, 14, fig. 1, (Kt 06/k 168).

⁹⁶ Kulakoğlu et al. (forthcoming).

⁹⁷ Hawkins 2010, 96, fig. 1, no. 37.

⁹⁸ Poetto 2019, 17.

⁹⁹ Hawkins 2018, 96, 110.

¹⁰⁰ Waal 2012.

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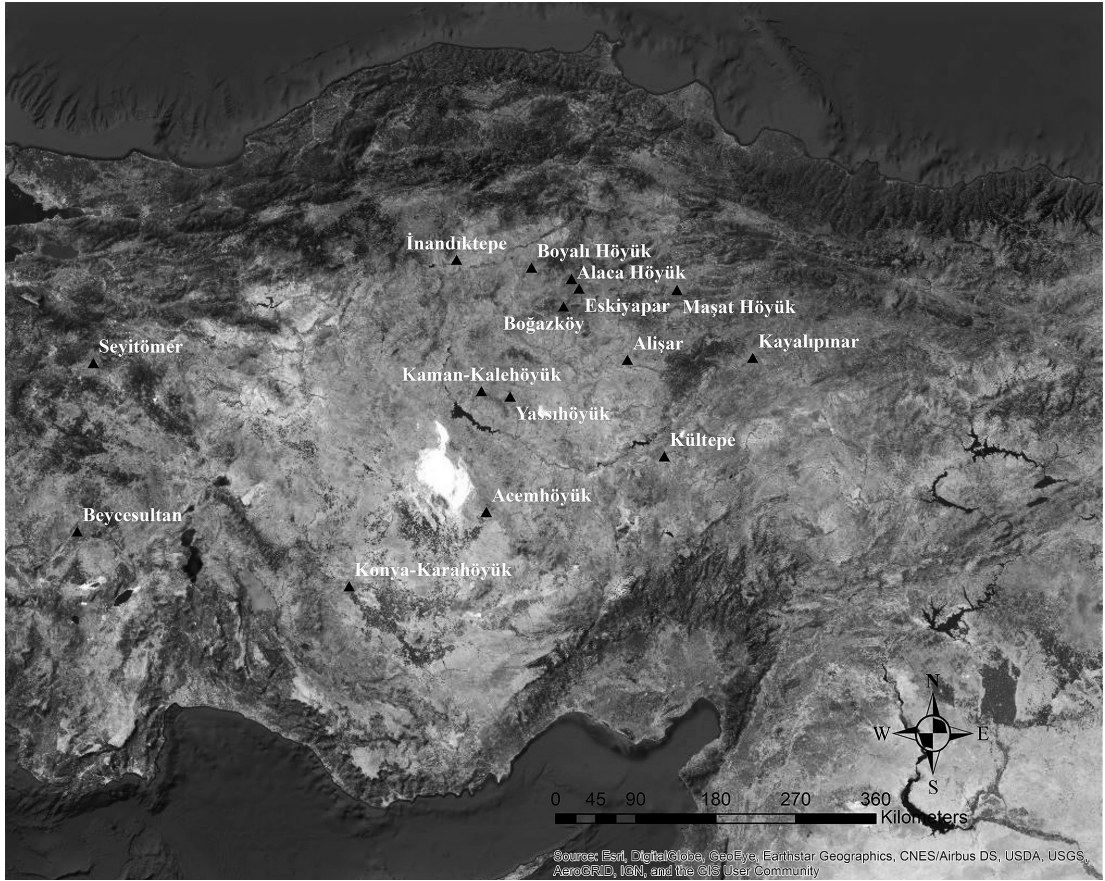


FIG. 1 Map of the sites frequently referenced in the article (map created by Y. Rıdvanoğulları and G. Öztürk using ArcGIS World Imagery).

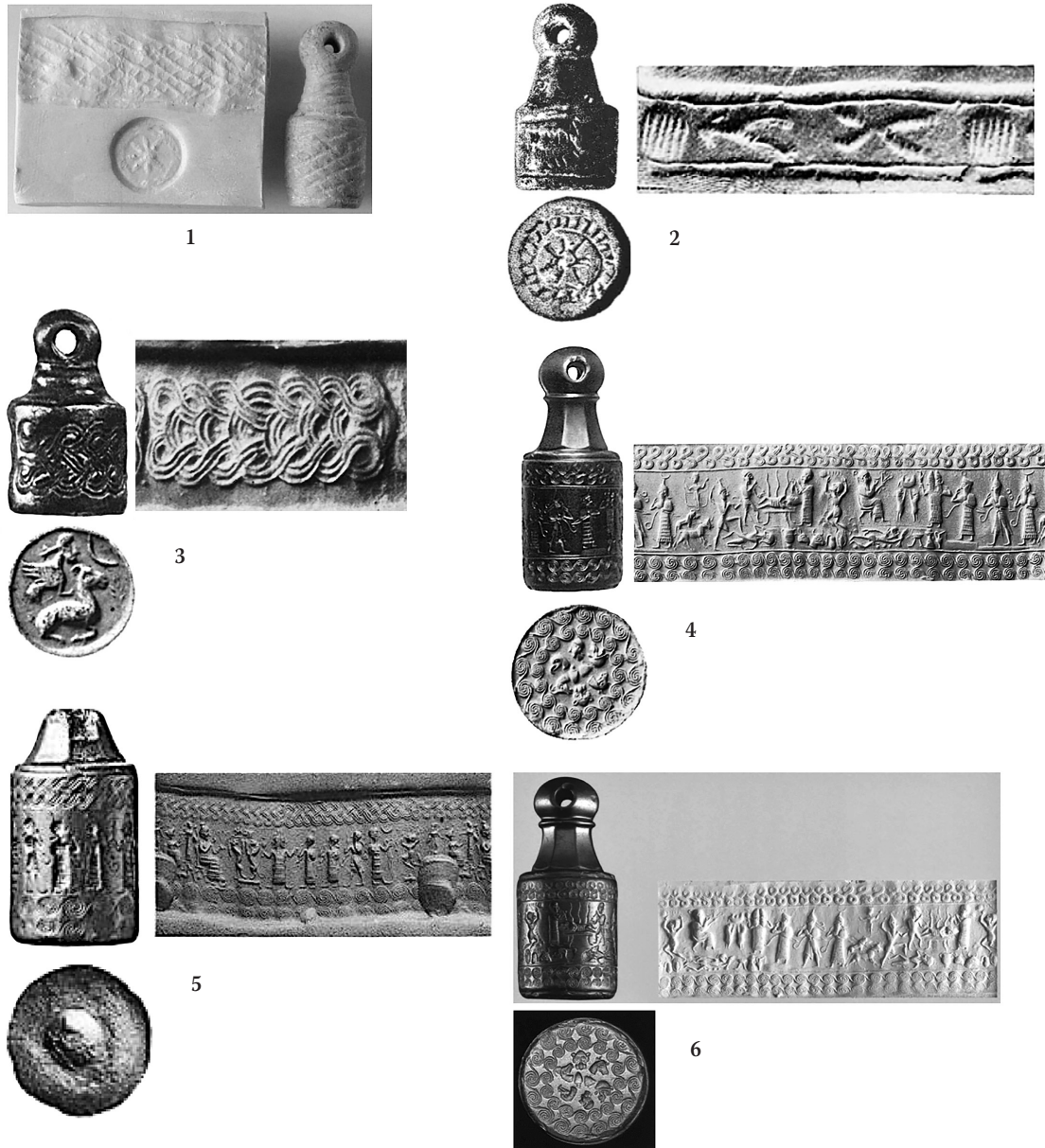


FIG. 2 Stamp-cylinder seals. 1. Kültepe, late 18th century BC (Özkan 2010, 150 fig. 8); 2. Alişar, late 18th-early 17th century BC (von der Osten 1937, 211, fig. 248.d 1822); 3. Louvre Museum, 17th century BC (Delaporte 1923, pl. 100.4a-c, A.1008); 4. Tyskiewicz seal, 17th century BC (Boehmer 1975, fig. 375.a; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 24.a); 5. Aydın seal, 17th century BC (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 24.b; Delaporte 1923, pl. 96.24a-c, A.927); 6. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17th-16th century BC (Müller-Karpe 2008, 176, cat. no. 101).

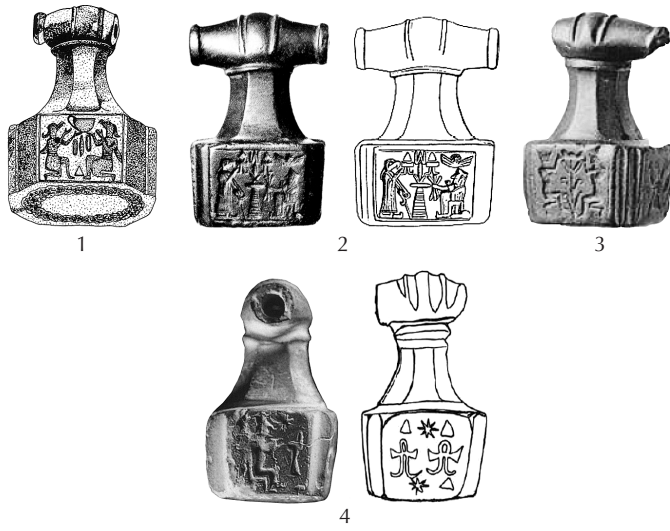


FIG. 3
Hammer-headed stamp seals
with cube impress faces,
17th-15th centuries BC.
1. British Museum (Boehmer
and Güterbock 1987,
fig. 40); 2. Tarsus seal
(Boehmer 1975, fig. 375.c;
Boehmer and Güterbock 1987,
fig. 39); 3. Louvre Museum
(Delaporte 1923, pl. 101.3a,
A.1028); 4. Bitik (Özgüç 1993,
484, fig.12.a; Jacob 2002, 553,
cat. no. 96).



FIG. 4 Stamp seals with hammer-headed handles and disk bases. 1. Seyitömer (Bilgen and Bilgen 2015, 113, fig. 130); 2. Alışar (von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.d 975); 3-4. Boğazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 3.37 and 14.136); 5. Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Dinçol 1983, nos. 1-2); 6. Niğde seal, Kayseri Museum (photo by author; see also Özgüç 1971, pl. 1); 7. Walters Art Museum (Gordon 1939, pl. 9.72); 8. Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1978, pl. 52.3a-b). 1-3. late 18th century BC; 4-8. 17th-14th centuries BC.

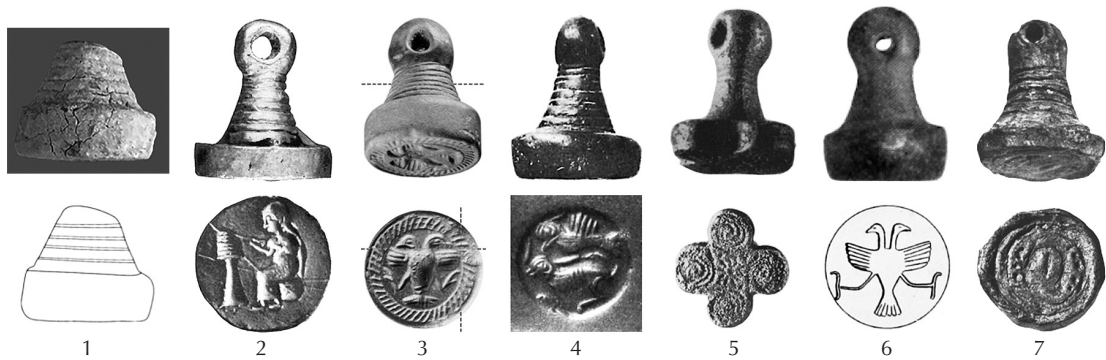


FIG. 5 Stamp seals with tuber or rounded heads, from late 18th to 16th century BC. 1-2. Kültepe (1. Photo and drawing by author; 2. Özgüç 1968a, pl. 30.2); 3-4. Boğazköy (Seeher 2011, 69, fig. 68; Beran 1967, pl. 7.67); 5. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, pl. 19.48); 6. Alişar Höyük (Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1854); 7. İnandıktepe (T. Özgüç 1988, pl. 64.2).

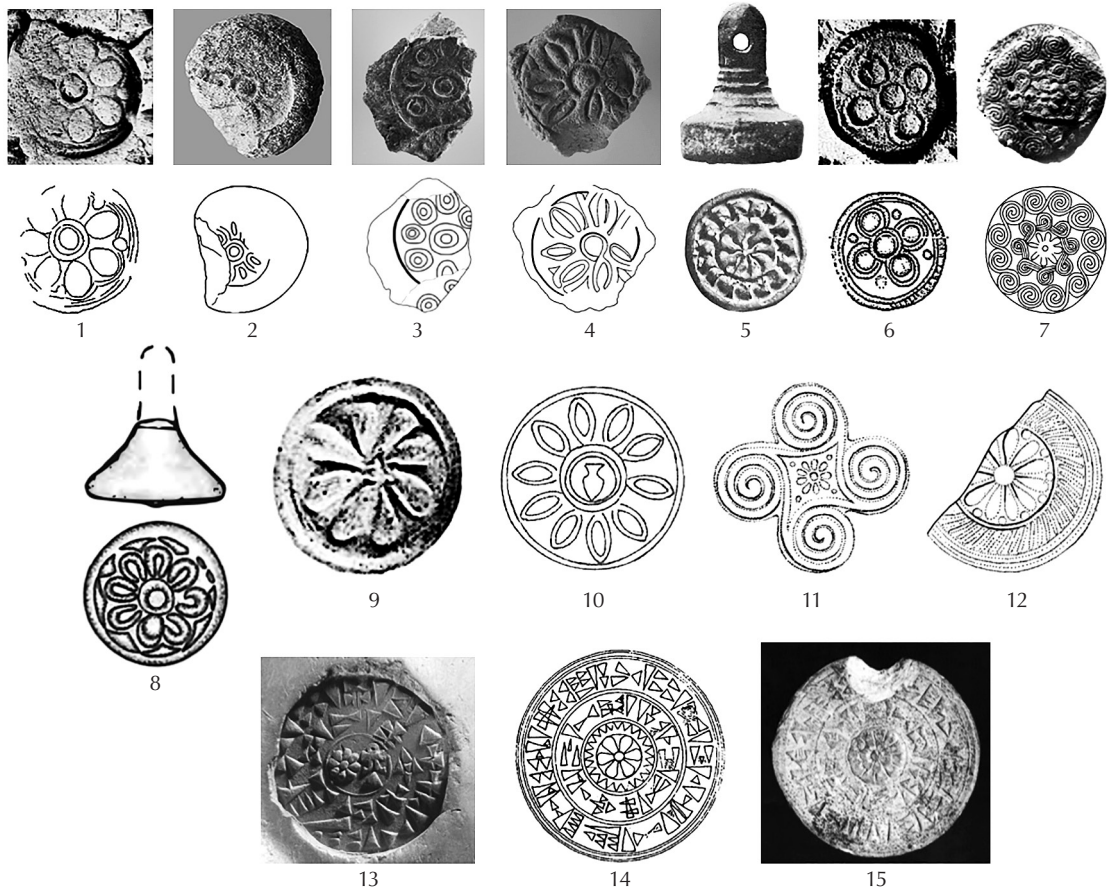


FIG. 6 Stamp seals and impressions with rosette motifs. 1-7. Kültepe (2-4. Photo and drawing by author; 1 and 6. Özgüç 1996, figs. 2.2e, 3.3e; 5. Özgüç 1968a, pl. 38.6a-b; 7. Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pls. 18 and 76, St. 40); 8. Kaman Kalehöyük (Omura 2005, 30, fig. 57); 9. Alişar (von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.b 1462); 10. Acemhöyük (Özgüç 2015, 166, fig. 132); 11-12. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, figs. 244, 248); 13-15. Seal impressions of Huzziya, Alluwamna and Tahurwaili (Darga 1992, nos. 48, 51-52). 1-12. late 18th century BC; 13-15. 16th-15th centuries BC.

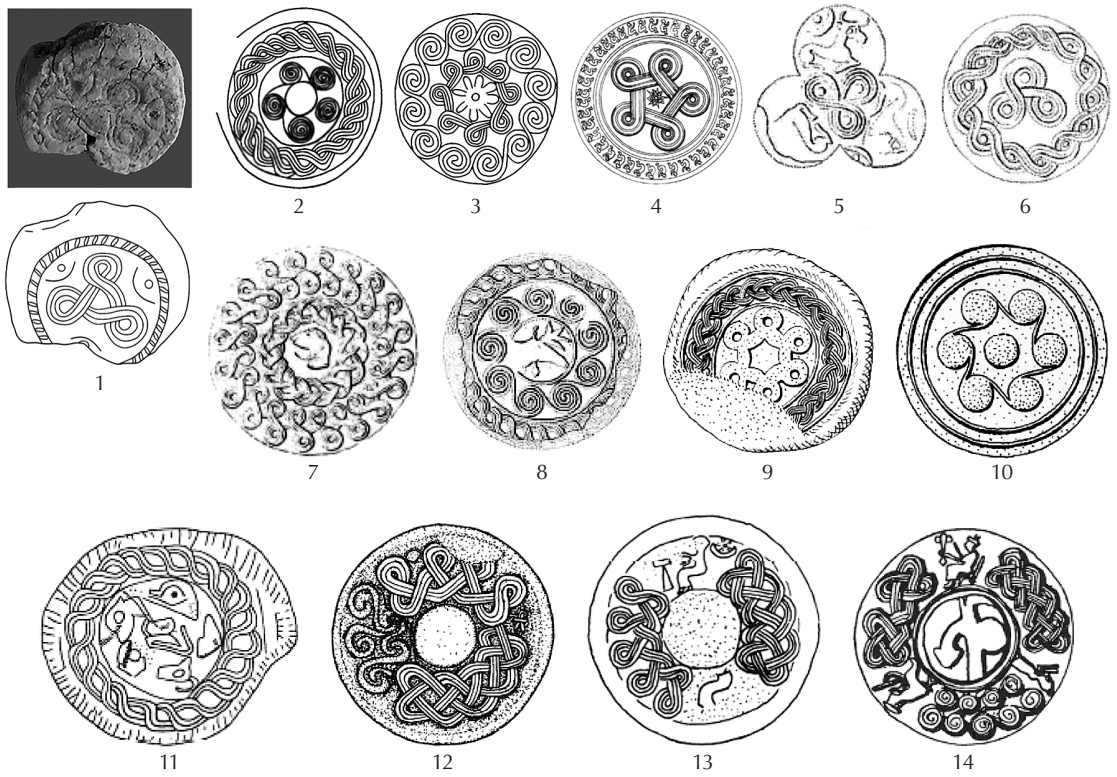


FIG. 7 Helix, guilloche and spiral band motifs, from late 18th century to 17th-15th centuries BC.
 1-3. Kültepe (1. Photo and drawing by author, 2-3. Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pl. 20, St.50 and 18, St.40);
 4. Achemhöyük (Özgüç 2015, 257, fig. 133, Ac.St.5); 5-8. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, figs. 59-60, 198,
 201); 9-11. Boğazköy (Beran 1967, pl. 2.86, 2.89; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 30.h);
 12. Alaca Höyük (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 29); 13. Korucutepe (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987,
 fig. 30.e); 14. Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 30.b.2).

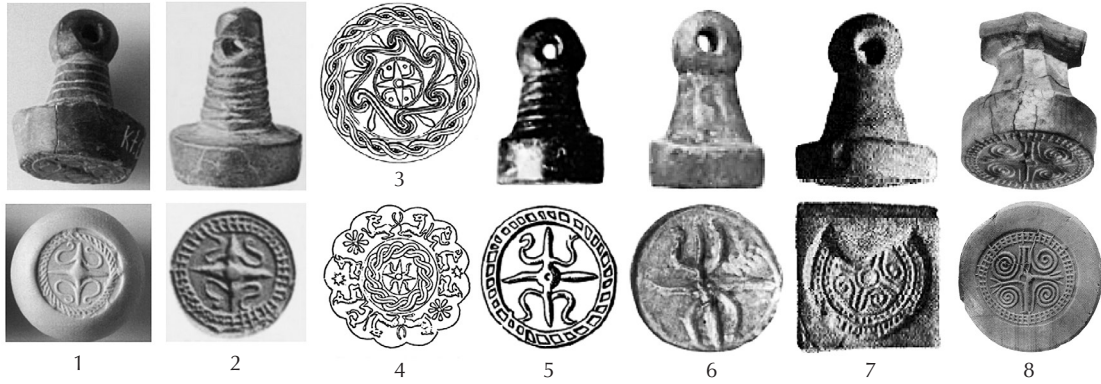


FIG. 8 Stamp seals and impressions with signe royal, late 18th century BC and 17th-16th centuries BC. 1. Kültepe (Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, cat. no. 487); 2. Louvre Museum (Delaporte 1923, pl. 98.14a-b, A.968); 3-4. Acemhöyük (N. Özgüç 1988, 19; Özgüç 1971, pl. 2.1); 5. Alışar (Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.d 1906); 6. Boğazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 14.144a-b); 7. Alaca Höyük (Koşay 1951, pl. 79.7); 8. Beycesultan level Ib (Lloyd and Mellaart 1956, pl. 12.c).

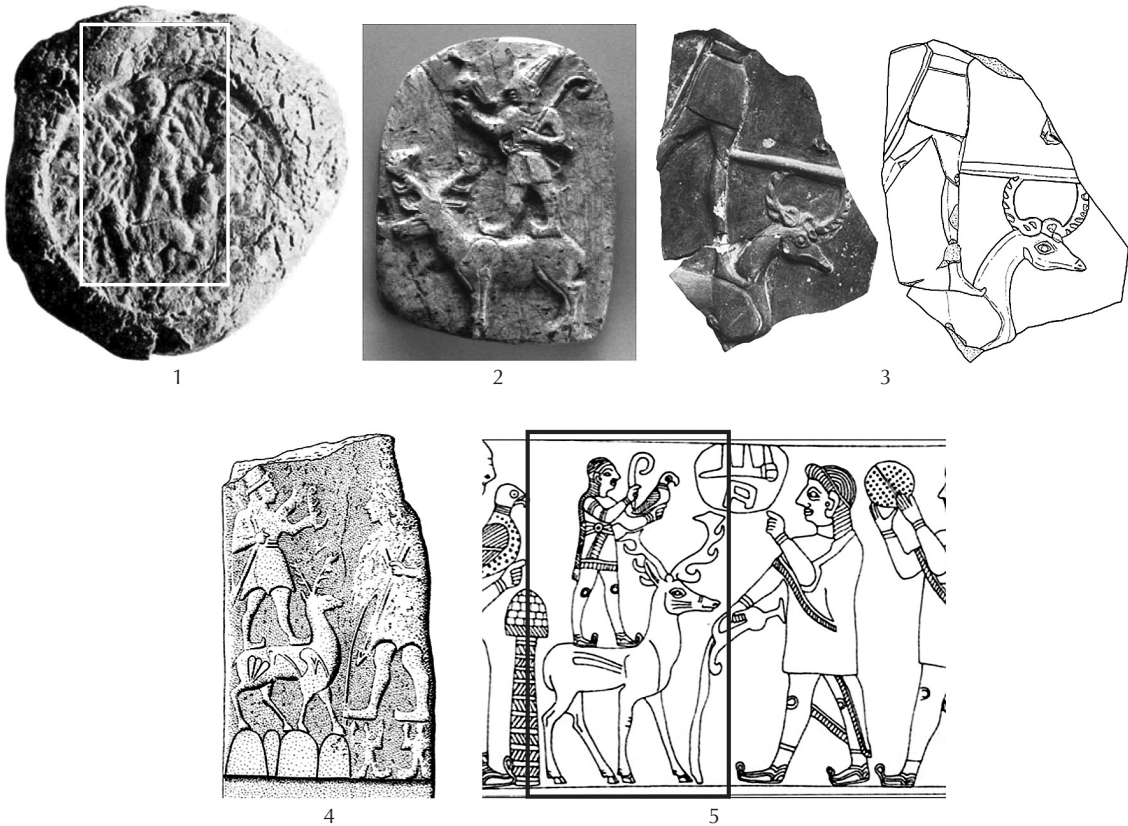


FIG. 9 God ^DLAMA LİL. 1. Acemhöyük (Özgüç 1977, pl. 10.26); 2. Çorum/Yeniköy stele (Müller-Karpe 2008, 180, fig. 56, cat. no.106); 3. Eskiypar (T. Özgüç 1988, pl. L.3 and 171.57); 4. Altınyayla stele (Müller-Karpe 2003, fig. 2); 5. N. Schimmel collection silver stag rhyton (Müller-Karpe 2008, 181, fig. 57, cat. no. 107).

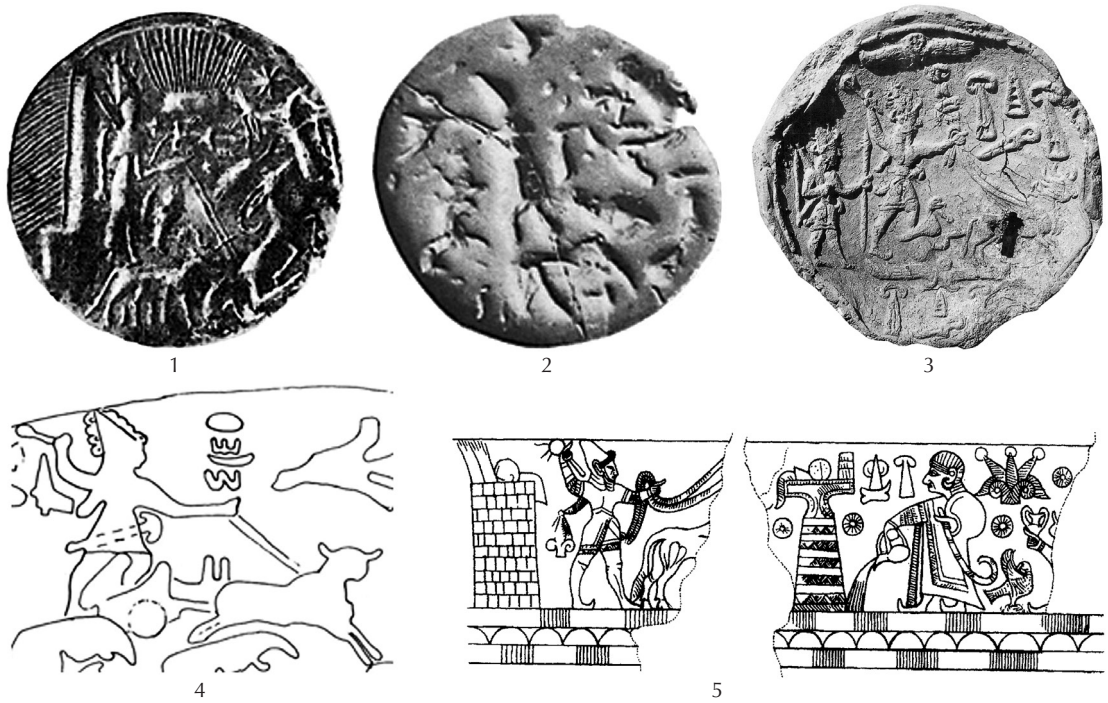


FIG. 10 Weather (Storm) God. 1. Acemhöyük, late 18th century BC (Özgüç 1977, pl. 9. 24a-b and see also 1980, figs. 23-24); 2. Kültepe, late 18th century BC (Özgüç 1968a, pl. 30.1b); 3. Boğazköy, stamp seal impression of Muršili III, 13th century BC (Neve 1993, cover image); 4. İmamkulu rock relief, 13th century BC (Kolhmeyer 1983, fig. 33); 5. Fist-shaped vessel, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Müller-Karpe 2008, 182, fig. 58, cat. no. 108).



FIG. 11 Full bull and bull worship scene. 1. Kültepe, late 18th century BC (Özgüç 1996, 272); 2-5. Boğazköy, Old Hittite and Hittite Empire period (2-3. Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 11.117a-b; Herbordt 2006, 99, fig. 6); 4. Seal impressions of Muwatalli II (Herbordt 2010, 124, fig. 1a); 5. Seal impressions of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa (Herbordt 2010, 124, fig. 1c); 6. Alaca Höyük relief, Hittite Empire period (Mellink 1970, fig. 2); 7. İnançktepe relief vase, Old Hittite period (Özgüç 1988, figs. 64-65).



FIG. 12 Discus-headed goddess. 1-2. Acemhöyük stamp seal and impression (Özgüç 1977, pl. 15.39; 2002, 237, fig. 5b); 3. Kültepe stamp seal impression (Özgüç 2005, 279, no. 375); 4. Kültepe, seated goddess statuette (Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 127, fig. 3); 5. Boğazköy, female statue head with discus headdress (Darga 1992, no. 95); 6. Stamp seal from Niğde region, Kayseri Museum (Özgüç 1971, 18, fig. 1); 7. Stamp seal from Walters Art Gallery (Dinçol 1983, pl. 2.2); 8. Çiftlik statuette (Bittel 1976, no. 97); 9-10. Boğazköy, seal impressions of queen Puduhepa (Darga 1992, no. 208) 11. Fraktin rock relief (Kohlmeyer 1983, fig. 25).



FIG. 13 Double-headed eagle. 1-3. Kültepe (photos and drawings by author); 4. Kayalıpınar (Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2011, fig. 9.3); 5. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, 178, fig. 76); 6-7. Achemhöyük (Özgüç 1977, 380, fig. 9; 1983, 419, fig. 8); 8. Alişar (Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1854); 9-11. Boğazköy (Beran 1967, pl. 4.40; Herboldt 2005, pls. 56.700b, 607b); 12. Alacahöyük relief (T. Özgüç 2002, 175, fig. 6); 13. Reliefs of Yazılıkaya, Room A, nos. 45-46 (Seeher 2011, 64, fig. 62).

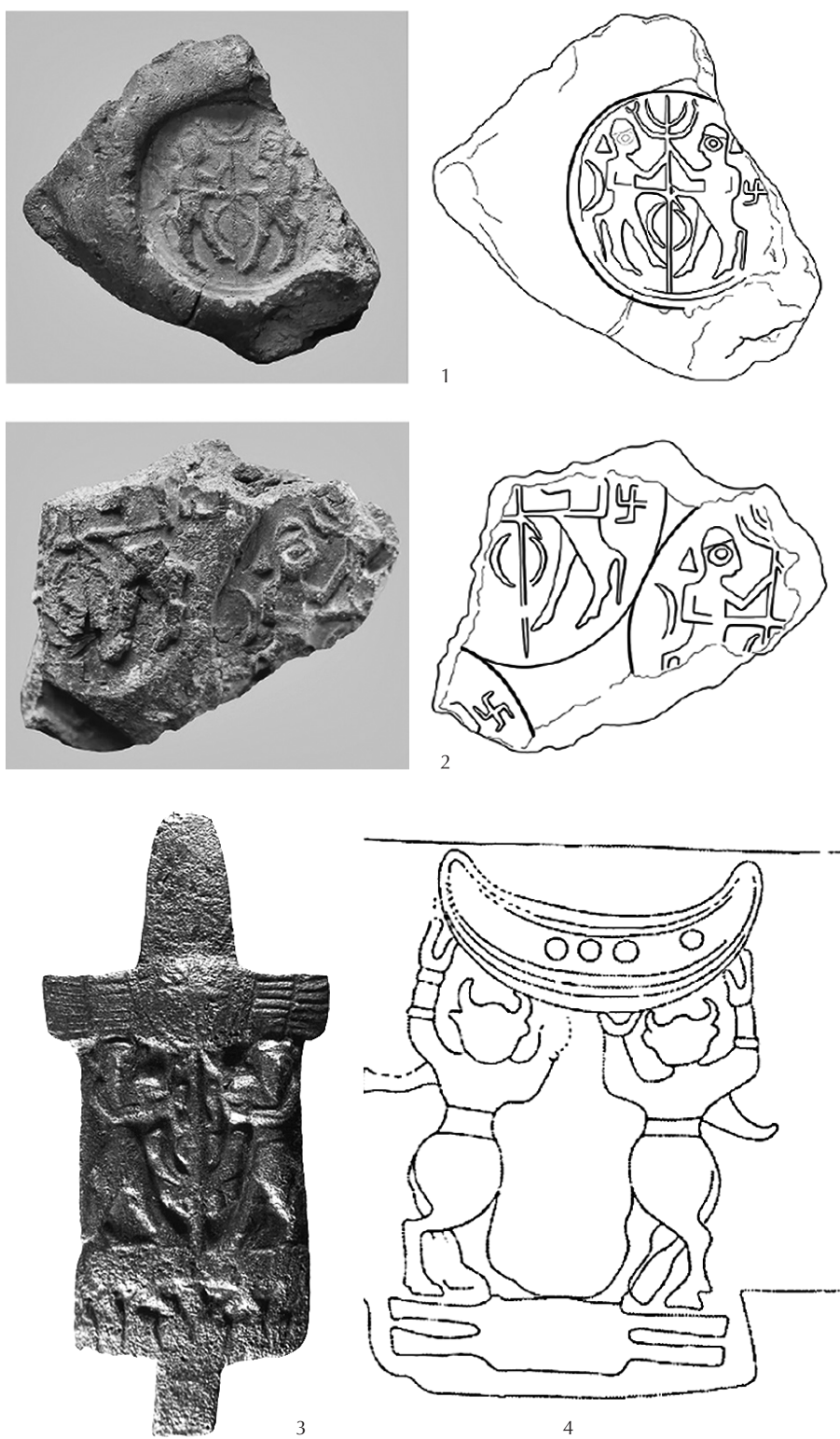


FIG. 14 Bull-Man. 1-2. Kültepe (photos and drawings by author); 3. Alaca Höyük bronze plate (Bittel 1976, fig. 246); 4. Reliefs of Yazılıkaya, Room A, nos. 28-29 (Seeher 2011, 51, fig. 45).

