

HITTITE ROCK RELIEFS IN SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA AS A  
RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATION OF THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON  
AGES

A Master's Thesis

by

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

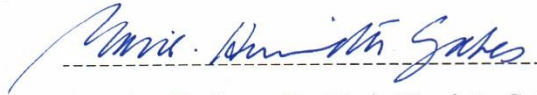
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## ABSTRACT

# HITTITE ROCK RELIEFS IN SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA AS A RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATION OF THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON AGES

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The LBA rock reliefs are the works of the last three or four generations of the Hittite Empire. The first appearance of the Hittite rock relief is dated to the reign of Muwatalli II who not only sets up an image on a living rock but also shows his own image on his seals with his tutelary deity, the Storm-god. The ex-urban settings of the LBA rock reliefs and the sacred nature of the religion make the work on this subject harder because it also requires philosophical and theological evaluations. The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the reasons for executing rock reliefs, understanding the depicted scenes, revealing the subject of the depicted figures, and to interpret the purposes of the rock reliefs in LBA and IA. Furthermore, the meaning behind the visualized religious statements will be investigated. Whether there was a cultural continuity in the IA in the context of iconography, functions, and meanings will be proposed. Various iconographies depicted on the living rock and used on the royal seals reveal that the politico-religious discourse of the Hittite kingship gained a new ideological perspective. The IA rock



monuments indicate a Hittite cultural inheritance along with the Assyrian influence.

However, IA states also produced a number of inscribed colossal statues and stelae, and rock reliefs. In general, the Hittites were executing rock monuments which carry religious elements as a way of promulgating their political propaganda, and attributing the authority of the king to the mighty god/s.

**The Key Words:** Hittite Empire, Late Bronze and Iron Age Anatolia, Neo-Hittite, Religion, Rock Reliefs

## ÖZET

### GEÇ TUNÇ VE DEMİR ÇAĞLARINDA DİNİ BİR MANİFESTO OLARAK GÜNEYDOĞU'DA HITİT KAYA KABARTMALARI

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Geç Tunç Çağı kaya kabartmaları Hitit İmparatorluğu'nun son üç ya da dört jenerasyonunun çalışmasıdır. Hitit kaya kabartmasının ilk ortaya çıkışı II. Muwatalli zamanına tarihlenmektedir. II. Muwatalli yalnızca bununla sınırlı kalmayıp, aynı zamanda kendi mühürleri üzerinde de kendisini Fırtına Tanrısı ile betimletmiştir. Geç Tunç Çağı kaya kabartmalarının yerleşim dışındaki konumları ve dinin kutsal doğası felsefi ve teolojik yaklaşımlar gerektirdiği için bu konu üzerine çalışmayı zorlaştırmaktadır. Bu tez kaya kabartmalarının ortaya çıkış sebeplerini değerlendirmek, betimlenen sahneleri anlamak, ve Geç Tunç ve Demir Çağları'nda kullanılan kaya kabartmalarının amaçlarını yorumlayabilmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda görselleştirilmiş dini söylemlerin arkasındaki anlamlar incelenecektir. Demir Çağı'nda aynı geleneğin devam edip etmediği hakkında, ikonografik, fonksiyon ve anlam açısından çeşitli öneriler sunulacaktır. Kaya üzerinde ve mühürlerde betimlenen çeşitli ikonografiler, Hitit krallığının politik-dini söyleminin yeni bir ideolojik bakış açısı

kazandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Demir Çağı kaya kabartmaları Hitit kültürel mirasının yanı sıra Assur etkisi de göstermektedir. Aynı zamanda, Demir Çağı kentleri oldukça fazla sayıda stel, yazıtla süslenmiş heykel, ve kaya kabartması üretmiştir. Genel olarak, Hititler kendi politik propagandalarını yaymak ve kralın otoritesini yüce tanrı/lara dayandırmak amacıyla dini elementler taşıyan kaya kabartmalarını yapmışlardır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Din, Geç Tunç ve Demir Çağı Anadolu, Hitit Devleti, Kaya Kabartmaları, Yeni Hitit

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	x
ABBREVIATIONS .....	xii
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	 1
1.1 General Outline of the Rock Reliefs.....	1
1.2 Methodology .....	2
 CHAPTER 2: THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF HITTITE ROCK RELIEFS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE .....	 6
2.1 The Introduction of the Royal Relief Type.....	7
2.1.1 Relief of Muwatalli II .....	8
2.1.2 Iconography of the Relief and Seals .....	11
2.2 Later Relief Types.....	16
2.2.1 Cilicia (Hemite) .....	16
2.2.2 Eastern Group (Fıraktin, Taşçı 1 and 2, Hanyeri, İmamkulu) .....	18
2.2.3 Central and Western Anatolian Group (Hatip and Karabel).....	29
2.3 Landscape Settings of the Late Bronze Age Rock Reliefs.....	34

2.4 Some Suggestions on the Origin and Development of the Idea of Carving Figures on the Living Rock .....	37
CHAPTER 3: IRON AGE ROCK MONUMENTS .....	42
3.1 Related Rock Monuments .....	43
3.1.1 Southern (Tuwana) Group/Tabal Region (Tavşantepe and İvriz) .....	45
3.2 Cilician Rock Reliefs and Their Iconography .....	51
3.2.1 Çineköy .....	52
3.2.2 Karatepe (Azatiwataya) .....	55
3.2.3 Arsuz 1 and 2 .....	58
3.3 Landscape Settings of the Iron Age Rock Reliefs.....	63
3.4 Some Suggestions on the Origin and Development of the Idea of Carving Figures on the Living Rock .....	68
CHAPTER 4: VISUALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS DISCOURSES ON THE LIVING ROCK .....	71
4.1 Identifying the Subject of the Rock Monuments.....	72
4.2 Deciphering the Functions/Purposes of the Reliefs .....	79
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION .....	82
REFERENCES .....	91
FIGURES .....	96

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The distribution map of LBA rock reliefs (adapted from Google maps).....	96
Figure 2: The distribution of IA rock reliefs (adapted from Google maps).....	97
Figure 3: Muwatalli II's relief at Sirkeli .....	98
Figure 4: The illustration of Muwatalli II's relief at Sirkeli .....	99
Figure 5: The Umarmung scene on Muwatalli II's seal .....	100
Figure 6: The illustration of the seal impression of Tudḫaliya IV from Ugarit.....	100
Figure 7: The relief slabs from Sphinx Gate at Alacahöyük .....	101
Figure 8: The Sun-god image in Chamber 2 at Südburg (Southern Fort) in Hattusa .....	102
Figure 9: The depiction of a divine warrior figure at Hemite.....	103
Figure 10 The illustration of the Hemite rock relief .....	104
Figure 11: The Fıraktin rock relief.....	105
Figure 12: The illustration of the Fıraktin relief .....	105
Figure 13: Taşçı 1 relief.....	106
Figure 14: The illustration of the Taşçı 1 relief .....	106
Figure 15: Taşçı 2 .....	107
Figure 16: The İmamkulu relief.....	108
Figure 17: The Illustration of the İmamkulu rock monument .....	108
Figure 18: The Hanyeri rock relief .....	109
Figure 19: The illustration of the Hanyeri relief.....	109
Figure 20: The Hatip rock relief .....	110
Figure 21: The illustration of the Hatip relief.....	110
Figure 22: The Karabel rock relief.....	111

Figure 23: The illustration of Karabel .....	112
Figure 24: The location of Tavşantepe .....	113
Figure 25: The stele of Tavşantepe.....	113
Figure 26: The drawing of the stele of Tavşantepe.....	114
Figure 27: Various examples of seated deities .....	115
Figure 28: The spring which the İvriz rock relief over looks .....	115
Figure 29: The İvriz rock relief.....	116
Figure 30: The drawing of the İvriz relief .....	116
Figure 31: The Çineköy statue with bilingual inscription .....	117
Figure 32: The statue of Tarhunzas/Ba'al inscribed with Phoenician language.....	118
Figure 33: The Karatepe statue .....	119
Figure 34: The stele of Arsuz 1.....	120
Figure 35: The Stele of Arsuz 2.....	121
Figure 36: The Storm-god with a figure standing on a tree in Arsuz 1 .....	122
Figure 37: The Storm-god with a figure standing on a bull in Arsuz 2 .....	122



## ABBREVIATIONS

LBA – Late Bronze Age

IA – Iron Age

OH – Old Hittite

HL – Hieroglyphic Luwian

EIA – Early Iron Age

MIA – Middle Iron Age

EBA – Early Bronze Age

MBA – Middle Bronze Age

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 General Outline of the Rock Reliefs**

There are many different ways people express themselves through various media. Oral or written statements are sometimes not enough. In order to be permanent in the future, and transfer the ideas to the next generations, they bring ‘innovations’. There are many ways to proclaim a discourse, and to reinforce it within society. In this thesis, the visual statements of the Hittites and Neo-Hittites will be our subject. The main purpose of this thesis is to investigate Late Bronze Age (LBA) (Fig. 1) and Iron Age (IA) (Fig. 2) rock monuments, understanding the reasons for the emergence of this kind of monumental program for the first time in the Hittite empire, and deciphering religious and political discourses behind the reliefs. The main discussion of the thesis is that Hittite rock reliefs were used as a way of reinforcing power attributed to the king by his god/s, as well as pleasing gods via visualized religious discourses carved on the façade of natural rock. By examining the same elements in the IA as well, it will be possible to make some

assumptions on whether rock carving tradition continued or discontinued after the collapse of the Hittite state.

By merging the geographical distributions, landscape settings, and the narrated scenes of the LBA and IA rock monuments, visualized religious discourses can be rediscovered.

One of the main purpose here is to evaluate the idea behind the reliefs with more abstract ideas and reach the sacred nature of religion of Hatti.

It can be stated that politics and religion were not separate entities in the Hittite state as it was the case in most of the great civilizations in history, even today. General interpretations about rock-cut reliefs indicate religious and propagandistic purposes; however, there are some views which defend military movements used for itineraries since their locations are on the ancient routes, as well as using them as landmarks (Darga 1994: 174; Ullmann 2014: 103, 114, 116, 117; Seeher 2009: 119, 133, 135).

Before starting with the chapters and methodology of the thesis, it is noteworthy to mention the chronology which is preferred for this thesis. On the basis of the chronology which was used by Bryce (2005: 380), all dates here fall into the Middle Chronology.

## **1.2 Methodology**

Chapter 2 starts with the first appearance of Hittite rock reliefs in the LBA. Rock reliefs are not known from Old Hittite (OH) period. This is completely a new idea which is

known from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.<sup>1</sup> Muwatalli II (c. 1295-1272 B.C.E.) was the first king who employed this kind of building program. It will be shown that he was also the first king who applied the same iconography to his seal (Darga 1994: 175, 199-200; Seeher 2009: 127). After explaining the emergence of the first Hittite rock relief and its iconography, the relations between the rock monuments and seals are being discussed. Hence, his contemporaries such as Ramses II will be revisited, and it will be argued that Muwatalli II may have seen Ramses's carving project in Nahr el Kalb in modern Lebanon (Akurgal 2000: 88-89). Afterwards, later relief types which follow the one in Sirkeli will be examined, and in order to do that Hemite from Cilicia; Fıraktin, Hanyeri/Gezbeli, İmamkulu, and Taşçı rock reliefs which are located near Kayseri (so-called eastern group); the Hatip monument in central Anatolia; and lastly the Karabel relief in west Anatolia will be discussed respectively. Another issue which will be discussed here is the landscape settings of LBA rock reliefs. At the end of the Chapter 2, the origin of the idea of carving figures and their developments will be explained by making some suggestions about them by looking at the variations of the composed scene and iconographic features.

In Chapter 3, the same criterion will be applied to IA rock reliefs. Since the southeast of Anatolia was densely occupied by the Neo-Hittite rock monuments, the related relief types will be from the Cilician region. The stele of Tavşantepe, and the İvriz rock relief located in the south of the Tabal region; from the Cilicia region: the colossal statues with bilingual inscriptions in the Çineköy and Karatepe; and lastly the stelae of Arsuz (1 and 2) will be examined. Their iconography and bilingual inscriptions will be discussed.

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<sup>1</sup> The first appearance of reliefs in Anatolia corresponds to the Empire Period; and afterwards, the same tradition continues in the Neo-Hittite Period.

Afterwards, the landscape settings of related IA rock monuments will be evaluated based on the distribution and the find spot of the monuments. At the end of Chapter 3, the origin and development of Iron Age rock carvings will be taken into account.

In Chapter 4, the meaning of Hittite rock reliefs as visualized religious discourses will be evaluated. This chapter deals with the aforementioned LBA and IA rock monuments together. Several questions will be proposed in order to find possible answers for the identity of depicted subjects such as the king or the god. The possible audience of the rock reliefs will be discussed. Afterwards, the functions of the LBA and IA rock monuments will be revisited. A few questions about the different variations of the Storm-god will be discussed by looking at the origin of his name as it is referred to differently in LBA and IA.

Chapter 5 will be the conclusion. The main discussion of this chapter will be whether there is a clear continuity from LBA to IA rock reliefs. Although the idea of carving figures on stone or rock continued in the Neo-Hittite period, the landscape settings started to change. In addition, accompanying inscriptions near the images give more detail about the origin of a particular state and a king. In other words, they became more likely victory or commemoration monuments. The function of IA rock monuments somehow differs from LBA ones. The ex-urban landscape settings of LBA reliefs, as opposed to the execution of many IA rock monuments mostly as architectural decorations within urban areas indicate that the audience of the monuments may have changed. LBA rock reliefs may have served as something transcendental based on the sacredness of the spot of the reliefs. The audience of these rock reliefs was probably not representative of a large mass

but of the royal house, especially the king. IA rock reliefs, however, were mostly kept in view and displayed publicly in urban areas.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF HITTITE ROCK RELIEFS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE**

Towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.E, an ‘innovation’ appeared in Hittite Anatolia. Executing rock monuments became a new trend among the Hittites, especially in remote areas which had importance for the Hittites who engaged themselves with the natural landscape. This is not an unexpected event for the Hittites who considered rivers, mountains, and springs to be sacred; however, why and how the rock carving idea was invented in the Hittite realm is worth asking since they had never attempted to build these kind of rock monuments during the early phase of their history. This invites us to ask why the king decided to put his life-size image on the rock and why no examples of these sort of monumental rock reliefs appeared during the early Hittite Periods, but only that much later. Since this sudden action corresponds to the last stage of the Empire period which was a very crucial period in many aspects, it is worth trying to find some probable answers for using rock art as a way of giving a social, political or religious message across to its related audiences. These are the works of the last four or three generations of

the Hittite political system (Seeher, 2009: 125). Furthermore, it can be mentioned that this was the peak of the Hittite state with its territorial expansion, administrative and religious reforms, the interactions with different ethnic groups, and so on. All of these aspects are closely interrelated, therefore, it is appropriate to take all of the features into account together. This chapter will examine the royal rock reliefs beginning with Muwatalli's, including its iconography and related representations on seals. Afterwards, later rock relief types from different areas in the LBA will be considered.

## **2.1 The Introduction of the Royal Rock Relief Type**

Decorating rock façades goes back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.E. in the Ancient Near East. Therefore, it is not only a characteristic of Hittite art. It was used in the Ancient Near East long before the Hittites. The Hittites started to express themselves on these rock surfaces in the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., since there is not any solid evidence to retrace the existence of a rock carving tradition into the OH period (Darga, 1994: 174). Hence, the earliest examples are dated to the Empire Period. With this new era, Hittites started to express their ideologies in the sense of politics and as well as religion by erecting monumental bas-reliefs and carving rock reliefs on massive rock façades (Gurney, 1990: 165). Another characteristic of rock reliefs is the Hieroglyphic Luwian (HL) inscription which accompanies the images and is depicted on the rock surface.

In the following sections, the first appearances of Hittite rock reliefs, which are dated to the LBA, will be examined by looking at the earliest examples which appear first in the



southern region of the Mediterranean and then in eastern, west central, and central Anatolia; their iconography and accompanying inscriptions will be discussed. In addition, the landscape settings of the LBA rock reliefs will be evaluated, and possible answers will be proposed for how these monuments emerged and evolved within LBA politics and landscape. The rock reliefs were divided into four groups according to their locations such as: Sirkeli, and Hemite represent Cilician rock reliefs; Fıraktin, Taşçı 1, and 2, Hanyeri/Gezbeli, and İmamkulu in the eastern group; and Hatip represents the central Anatolian group; and Karabel is in west central Anatolia (Fig. 1).

### **2.1.1 Relief of Muwatalli II**

A life-size figure with a HL inscription on the upper right corner, which was carved on the façade of the natural rock, facing the Ceyhan river is located at a site called today Sirkeli Höyük. It is one of the biggest sites among those Bronze and Iron Age settlements in east Cilicia (Ehringhaus, 2005: 99).<sup>2</sup> Sirkeli Höyük, approximately 40 km east from Adana (Hrouda, 1997: 291; Novak, et al., 2009: 297), is located between Tarsus-Gözlükule and Kinet Höyük, and this route is placed right between Anatolia, the Levant, and Mesopotamia (Kozal, 2013: 214). The old railway which is called “Baghdad Railway”, built in order to connect west and east, runs at the foot of the site. Hrouda states (1997: 291) that the location of the railway may have been used as a route between the west and east in the past as well.

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<sup>2</sup> Sirkeli Höyük covers an area which is ca. 350x400 m; and the altitude of the mound is around 30 m. (see Hrouda, 1997: 291).

This shows that the location of Sirkeli was geopolitically on a crucial point both for Anatolia and Mesopotamia as a gateway.

The Lower Land (local name Kizzuwatna<sup>3</sup>, today's Çukurova or smooth Cilicia), the name designated by the Hittites for the southeastern part of central Anatolia, was important for the Hittites as a cult center which was mostly dominated by Hurrian influence (Yağcı, 2002: 747). It is noteworthy to mention the importance of the region in Hittite history. Kizzuwatna became an important cult center for Hittite royalty, especially after king Hattusili III's marriage with a daughter of a Hurrian priest from Kizzuwatna. Since his queen, Puduḫepa had a Hurrian origin, one of the reforms in Hittite religion of this period started with her. However, the Hittite pantheon had already started to expand with the Hurrian deities and cult practices by the Middle Kingdom (c. 1450-1345 B.C.E.) (Haas, 2002: 104). The Hittite kings were the chief priests of the state pantheon and Puduḫepa can be referred to as chief priestess, because she equated the Hattian and Hurrian deities according to their attributes by considering syncretisms between Hittite and Hurrian divine beings (Bryce, 2010: 287).

The first relief which is called "Sirkeli 1" (Fig. 3) was reported in 1937<sup>4</sup> and "Sirkeli 2" which is the second one was found nearby (around 13 meters to the west) in 1994 (Ehringhaus, 2005: 95-97).<sup>5</sup> Sirkeli 1 was identified by an HL inscription on its upper right corner which states that the relief belongs to the Hittite king Muwatalli II (ca. 1295-

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<sup>3</sup>"Kizzuwatna was situated on the border between Anatolia and Syria immediately north of the territory of Halpa (Aleppo)" (Goetze, 1940: 35).

<sup>4</sup> The relief was discovered in 1934 (see Hrouda, 1996: 292).

<sup>5</sup> I will attempt to use "Sirkeli 1" and "Sirkeli 2" when I refer to these Sirkeli reliefs on the basis of Ehringhaus's designation for them (see Ehringhaus, 2005: 97).

1272 B.C.E.) who was the son of Mursili II. However, Sirkeli 2 could not be clearly identified since it is eroded and not well-preserved (Hrouda, 1997: 292). It might have been unfinished, too. Hrouda reported (1998: 470) that the detailed drawing of Sirkeli 2 indicates that this may be a royal figure, as understood from the lituus that he holds and the turned-up pointed shoes. General consensus among scholars is that Sirkeli 2 may have been Muwatalli's son, Urḫi-Tešub (c. 1272-1267 B.C.E.) who chose Muršili (III) as his throne name; however, this is only an assumption.

Muwatalli II moved the capital from Boğazköy/Hattusa to Tarḫuntašša, located somewhere in south Anatolia, between the Konya Plain and the Mediterranean Sea. For the first time since the foundation of the Hittite state five centuries earlier, the capital changed. After his reign, the capital was moved back to Hattusa from Tarḫuntašša by his son Muršili III/Urḫi-Tešub but the importance of the region was maintained among other “important regional centres” of the Hittite state (Bryce, 2005: 253-254).

Muwatalli II did not confine himself to planning his image on the landscape, but he also put his image on his royal seal for the first time (Fig. 5). The style of his clothing, the weapon he holds, and turned-up pointed shoes are exactly similar in these two depictions (Seeher, 2009: 127). The only difference is that Muwatalli II was represented alone on the rock relief; on the seal however, he was depicted as being embraced by the weather god of Hatti, Tešub, who was the chief god of the state pantheon. Seeher states (2009: 127) that his hugging scene is interpreted as “the reinforcement of the claimed power of the king”.

### 2.1.2 Iconography of the Relief and Seals

Since there is not any early example of similar rock monument during the Hittite era in Anatolia, Muwatalli's rock relief is accepted as the first example, and Sirkeli 1 is dated to the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E. This attempt of Muwatalli was maintained by his successors, and as a result, rock monuments which followed the same iconography or completely different visual narrations were executed in different spots throughout Anatolia.

It is clear that Muwatalli II may have been the royal figure who was depicted on Sirkeli 1. Muwatalli was depicted alone on the natural rock façade (Fig. 3, 4). His image is located on a position which overlooks to the Ceyhan River.<sup>6</sup> The figure faces left looking to the south, and Muwatalli's face is depicted in profile. He wears a round cap. His face is not very detailed; however, his almond-shaped eye was depicted fairly big, and his nose is straight and not prominent. Although his mouth is not invisible, it was probably depicted closed. His earring was also shown. He wears a long garment with a cloak wrapped around his shoulders. The single bands on his garment and cloak probably indicate the hemlines. He carries a reverse crook (lituus) in his left hand, and his right hand is raised in what is interpreted as a gesture of praying. He wears turned-up pointed shoes. Although the style of the figure's dress proclaims that this is a royal figure, the HL inscription accompanying it reveals the figure's real identity. The inscription is placed on the upper right corner of the relief, and it states:

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<sup>6</sup> Whether the position of the ancient river bed has been changed over time is still questionable.

“*Mu-ta-li* MAGNUS REX HEROS URBS+MINUS+*li* MAGNUS REX  
HEROS FILIUS: *Muwatalli, Great King, Hero, Son of*  
*Muršili[š] (II), Great King, Hero*” (Ehringhaus, 2005: 98).

As it is mentioned above, the same iconography of Muwatalli II on Sirkeli 1 can be traced on his seals which have been found at Boğazköy. Muwatalli II was the king who adapted another new trend on Hittite art. His seals contain the “Umarmung scene” (Fig. 5).<sup>7</sup> The two figures were placed in the middle of the seal. The larger figure was depicted as embracing the figure represented at a smaller scale. This is Muwatalli who is seen embraced by the Storm-god Tešub, and the image and accompanying HL inscription are encircled by cuneiform script. The larger figure represents the god and the smaller one is the king. Representing the god larger than the king was always the tradition in Hittite art. Both figures face right and were shown in profile. Tešub outstretches his left hand, and embraces Muwatalli with his right hand. In addition to this, Tešub holds a mace in his right hand. He wears a long pointed hat with multiple horns. He wears a short skirt and turned-up pointed shoes. Under the outstretched hand of the Storm-god figure, the name Šarri-Tešub which is the birth name of Muwatalli is placed, and above Tešub’s left hand, it says “The Great Storm-god of the Heaven” (Dinçol and Alparslan, 2013: 403). Muwatalli was portrayed in the same clothing as his relief in Sirkeli. No further detail was added or adjustments made in his iconography. There is a second seal of Muwatalli II which also comes from Boğazköy, and the portrayed scene on this second seal is exactly the same with the Umarmung seal of Muwatalli described above. The only difference between these two seals is that on one of the seals Tešub was depicted as holding a mace with his right hand while on the second seal, the absence of a mace is

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<sup>7</sup> “*Umarmung*” is a German word which means “*embracement*”.

striking. Even though the figures on Muwatalli's relief and seals were shown in profile, one notable difference is in the orientation of the figures on the seals and rock monuments. Muwatalli faces left on the rock relief, however, his embracement scene on the seal is right-oriented.

As far as it is known, only Muwatalli II, Muršili III/Urhi Tešub and Tudḫaliya IV used this type of seal (Lumsden, 1990: 44). Ḫattušili III and his wife, Puduḫepa may have used the seal with the same iconographic style; however, this remains as an assumption, based on the seal descriptions which were given on the Egyptian hieroglyphic version of the peace treaty between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (Taracha, 2008: 746). The later king's seal is known from an example in Ugarit (Fig. 6). The depicted scene is slightly different from Muwatalli's. The central part is dominated by the inscription, and two images were portrayed on its two sides. On the left, Šarumma, the son of the chief divine couple of Hattian pantheon – Tešub and Ḫepat – was depicted. Šarumma's father, the Weather god Tešub, accompanies him. Here, there is a striking difference from the one belonging to Muwatalli because the Weather god of Hatti embraces Tudḫaliya's protective god Šarumma, instead of the king. In another instance supporting this idea, the relief of Tudḫaliya IV in Yazılıkaya can be considered. There, the king was depicted as embraced by the god Šarumma. This shows that the protective god of Tudḫaliya IV is Šarumma. The dress of Šarumma and Tešub are exactly the same. Both wear short kilts, long horned hats and carry daggers in their waistbands. Tešub carries his mace in his right hand, and Šarumma holds a lance in his right hand. The figure on the left hand is the third person who was included within the same scene. The third figure represents the Sun-goddess Ḫepat who wears a long dress and polos, typical for goddesses. Her symbol is seen on her

right outstretched hand. Above the HL inscription and the figures, there is a double sun-disc above the winged disc. The script which encircles the central part gives the genealogy of the king, and it says “the son of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa” (Darga, 1994: 205). Under the sun-disc, “Great King” symbols are placed.

The style of Muwatalli’s cloak which is wrapped around him and the short cap on his head are very familiar because the figure of the king and temple personnel illustrated elsewhere wear the same garment, and the back of the dress is larger than the front. By taking these similar features into account, it can be generalized that the iconography of Muwatalli’s relief recalls the figures on the orthostats<sup>8</sup> at the Sphinx Gate in Alacahöyük. The gate named after two sphinxes placed on both sides of the gate entrance. Its outside walls were decorated with rectangular-shaped relief slabs, and each has different composition. Main themes on the slabs are libation scenes, hunting, cult scenes, sacrifice rituals and worship scenes (Darga, 1992: 130-135, fig. 132,138,139). Some of these show the king while he is offering libations to the god, or the priests in the procession are wearing the same cloak, wrapped around their shoulders (Fig. 7). Other parallels for the clothing are from Hattusa and Yazılıkaya. The dress of the sun god which was carved in Hattusa, shows exactly the same style of dress.<sup>9</sup> The common depictions of the kings wearing the same garments may be an indication that this is a 13<sup>th</sup> century fashion. There may also be a connection with the depiction of the Sun-god as it is seen at Ḫattuša: inside Chamber 2 (at the Southern Fort-Südburg) (Fig. 8) and in the west side of Chamber A at Yazılıkaya (Darga, 1992: 162, Fig. 168). Moreover, the relationship between deities and

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<sup>8</sup> The orthostats could be around 15<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> c. or as late as the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.

<sup>9</sup> For detailed description of the relief of the Sun God see Seeher, 2011: 57-58.

the Hittites is based on a sort of a mutual satisfaction and both sides depend on each other.<sup>10</sup> The king was the highest ranked priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and had to serve deities and played an intermediary role between the gods and his people. <sup>d</sup>UTU- *ŠI* is translated as “My/Your/His Majesty” by Hittitologists (Beckman, 2003: 15). This term was frequently used in royal correspondence and religious texts. Beckman points out that this was not a superficial title, in fact it is a term which reflects “the official ideology of Hittite Kingship” (Beckman, 2003: 15). UTU is the Sumerian name of the “Sun-god”.<sup>11</sup> The history of this solar deity dates to the OH period. The interesting feature is that by the empire period, the deity was represented as a male in contrast to the earlier one who was female (the Sun-goddess of Arinna=Urunzimu/Hurršemu).

As Beckman claims (2003: 16-17), the usage of solar or astral appellations as personal names was a way of displaying the close ties between king and god. In order to prove that, he points to various examples from Mesopotamian literature. This literal evidence clearly shows that the rulers attribute their power and features as well as their stewardships to the divine beings.<sup>12</sup>

It can be claimed that carving the figure of the king on the rock and engraving figures of the king and the god together on the seals were ideological innovations which were promoted by Muwatalli II for the first time in Hittite kingship.

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<sup>10</sup> See Beckman, 1989.

<sup>11</sup> Šamaš in Akkadian; and Šimigi in Hurrian.

<sup>12</sup> Ullmann states (2014: 104) this relationship between the human beings and the divine beings in the following statement: “The gods were dependent on humans for sustenance, and humans were dependent on the gods to control nature in their favor – both thereby interdependent on the environments”.



## **2.2 Later Relief Types**

For the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E. there are approximately 35 Hittite rock monuments<sup>13</sup> that follow Muwatalli's in Sirkeli. As it is pointed out by Hellenkemper and Wagner (1977: 167), many of the LBA rock monuments are located "on the fringe of highlands", with the exception of Sirkeli. According to what can be understood from their images and settings, rock monuments had different functions. This interpretation comes from the depicted figures of kings or princes along with representations of gods (or without gods), and accompanying inscriptions such as seen in İmamkulu, Taşçı, Hanyeri/Gezbeli, Fıraktın, Hemite, and Hatip (Fig. 1). Other figures appear to be local princes claiming similar authority, visibility and roles, such as seen in Karabel, Torbalı, and Suratkayası which has only an inscription. These rock reliefs were functioning as message boards of political propaganda and the related religious ideology. In other words, it can be assumed that the governing class in Hittite Anatolia may have been some of the progenitors to the political campaigns of the 21<sup>st</sup> century A.D. among other political entities in the ancient Near East.

### **2.2.1 Cilicia (Hemite)**

The second rock relief from Cilicia was discovered in Hemite, 75 km from Adana. It is located on a crucial point on the eastern edge of ancient Kizzuwatna. It could be on a route linking the Upper Land to the Lower Land, and it may have also provided an access

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<sup>13</sup> The number is approximate, and not all of them represent the same iconography with the Muwatalli's. In addition, this number covers the rock reliefs, stelae with HL inscriptions, and stone blocks decorated with HL inscriptions prepared for architectural designs.

into Syria, passing by the southeast of Anatolia via the Amanus mountains (Ehringhaus, 2005: 107; Glatz and Plourde, 2011: 52). The iconography of the image is not similar with the one in Sirkeli (Fig. 9); however, it has remarkable iconographic resemblances with other rock reliefs at Hanyeri, İmamkulu, Hatip, and Karabel. The landscape setting of the Hemite rock relief is similar to Sirkeli. Even though the course of the ancient river bed in Sirkeli is still controversial, both were placed overlooking the Ceyhan river bed. The second common feature of the landscape is the two rock ridges and the flowing river between them.

The height of the male figure is 1.75 meters, and he faces left (Ehringhaus, 2005: 108) (Fig. 10). The figure was shown in profile. He wears turned-up pointed shoes and a round cap in the same style as the cap which Muwatalli wears in Sirkeli. He has an almond-shaped eye. Again, his nose and mouth were depicted roughly as is seen on Muwatalli's scene. He has a prominent ear and an earring. He holds a lance with his outstretched left hand. The male figure carries his bow on his left shoulder, and a dagger was placed on his belt. He also wears a short dress. No decoration on his garment is detected. His body parts are disproportional, such as the size of the head and the body, or the size of his two arms. The HL script was placed behind the figure on the right hand. The inscription states:

“x-TONITRUS REX+FILIUS TONITRUS-DARE? REX+FILIUS  
FILIUS: [...] *Tarḫunta, Prince, the Son of Tarḫuntabiya, Prince*”  
(Ehringhaus, 2005: 108)

The inscription reveals that the depicted figure may have been a local prince who is called Tarḫunta. As it is known, *Tarḫunta* is the Luwian epithet of Storm-god. The relation between the god Tarḫunta and the local prince depicted on the rock is open to

debate. Based on the similar examples of giving divine beings' names to the rulers such as Ur̥i-Tešup and Kuzi-Tešup, it can be assumed that this may have been a common tradition within the royal family. The purpose of the relief is also not certain. According to Ehringhaus (2005: 107-108), the Hemite relief was within the Hittite Empire, and because of its location on the eastern edge of Kizzuwatna, it is logical to assume that it may have been a border relief. Based on the position of the relief and the iconography of the figure, it can be assumed that the Hemite relief was placed on the most eastern edge of Kizzuwatna, as well as on the main route between the Upper and Lower lands, in order to promulgate the political power of the local ruler who was politically dependent on the great king and to maintain the control of the Hittite Empire in the easternmost area of Kizzuwatna via visualized and written religious discourses. In addition, the Luwian population in the eastern part of Kizzuwatna in the Empire period should be taken into consideration. Furthermore, since the name *Tarḫunta* is a Luwian epithet of the Storm-god and also used for the local prince on the rock relief, it can be interpreted that different populations (both Luwian and Hurrian) within the empire could have reinforced their political ideology by using the same religious iconography, as well as using their own epithets for their gods.

### **2.2.2 Eastern Group (Fıraktin, Taşçı 1 and 2, Hanyeri, İmamkulu)**

Four rock reliefs were executed close to each other around Kayseri province. These are Fıraktin, Taşçı, Hanyeri, and İmamkulu (Fig. 1). This cluster of rock monuments is located on crucial points both for the kings of Hattusa and the monarchs of Kizzuwatna,

because they are on the ancient route which was followed by the Hittites when they travelled to the south from the capital city, Hattusa, or vice versa. Furthermore, they cluster around the Zamantı Su river and its tributaries. Even though the distances between these four rock reliefs are relatively short, it is remarkable that their compositions and probably their functions too, differ from each other.

### *FIRAKTIN*

The Firaktin rock relief is a unique example from the Empire period which shows two libation scenes side by side (Fig. 11). The relief is 78 km from the modern town, Kayseri (Ehringhaus, 2005: 65). It overlooks the Kara Su which is one of the tributaries of the Zamantı Su River (Harmanşah, 2014: 103).

The relief is 3.00 m. in width and 1-1.05 m. in height (Ehringhaus, 2005: 61). In terms of the figures and the HL inscriptions, Hattušili and Puduhepa may have been the people responsible for the execution of these two rock reliefs (Fig. 12). The figure on the right side of the left-hand scene is pouring a libation in front of the altar of the Storm-god, Tešub, who stands behind it (depicted on the far left). The figure may have been a representation of the king Hattušili III. He faces left, and was shown in profile. He wears a long pointed hat. A prominent semi-circular protrusion (horn?) is notable in front of his hat. He has an almond-shaped eye, a small nose, and a closed mouth. With a single line, his eyebrow was shown. Even though it is not well-preserved, his earring can be seen. He wears a short kilt and turned-up pointed shoes. He carries his bow on his shoulder and holds it with his right hand. He wears a dagger on his belt. He is pouring a liquid into a

cup placed on the ground. This cup is called *huppar*-vessel, used for pouring a libation (Hoffner, 2006: 142).

The figure to the left of the altar displays the same iconographic features with the figure described above. The figure faces right and was depicted in profile. Since the other figure on the right of the altar faces the opposite direction, it can be understood that they face each other. The figure wears the same long pointed hat with the prominent protrusion (horn?) in front of it. A similar short kilt is notable. He has an earring. His almond-shaped eye, small nose and probably closed mouth are visible. He holds a reverse crook (lituus) on his right shoulder. He also carries a dagger on his belt and wears typical turned-up pointed shoes.

An altar is placed between the god and the king. It was decorated with hatched lines. The HL inscriptions which were carved at their head levels and above the altar give these two figures' identities. The god's determinative sign DEUS was placed above the outstretched hand of the figure on the left, and based on the sign, it can be assumed that this figure represents the Storm-god. At head level of the figure placed to the right of the scene, a cartouche was carved, and here it states:

“MAGNUS REX HATTUSA+*li* MAGNUS REX: *Great king, Ḫattušili, Great king*” (Ehringhaus, 2005: 61)

Therefore, the figure offering libations is the king Ḫattušili III. Based on the depicted scene and the accompanying inscriptions, the composition can be interpreted that Ḫattušili was depicted carrying out his priestly duties to his patron god, Tešub, the chief god of Hatti. The similar iconographic depictions of the deity and the king are notable.

The second scene, which shows the same iconographic features, is repeated in the right panel of the rock relief. Because the weathered condition of the right hand scene causes problems, it is only possible to describe it roughly. Two women are carved on the rock. In addition, both figures, like the figures on the left panel, face each other. On the left of the right scene, a seated figure on the throne was depicted, and she holds a bowl in her hand. She wears a long pointed hat, a long dress and turned-up pointed shoes. No further detail can be detected. The bowl that she holds in her left hand is visible; however, it is hard to identify the object or the sign which is placed on her outstretched right hand. She was depicted as sitting on the throne behind an altar. The style looks similar to the altar depicted on the libation scene of Ḫattušili, but there is no decoration on it. Above the altar, a bird-shaped (?) depiction is visible. Behind the altar (on the right side of the scene), another woman pours liquid into a bowl placed on the ground. It is clear that this is a second libation scene on the Fıraktin rock relief. She stands in front of the altar and the seated figure. She wears a long pointed hat, a long dress and turned-up pointed shoes. In contrast to the seated figure, her eye, nose and mouth are more explicit.

Both figures have the HL inscriptions at their head levels. For the sitting figure, the HL script, above her outstretched hand, identifies her as the Sun-goddess Ḫepat. The cartouche of the standing figure identifies her as Puduḫepa, who is the wife of Ḫattusili. Behind Puduḫepa, a small place was prepared for an additional inscription. It states:

*“Ka-\*285-na REGIO FILIA DEUS a-zi/a-mi: Daughter of the Land of Kizzuwatna, the beloved of the gods”* (Ehringhaus, 2005: 64; Savaş, 2001: 100)

Another reading of the inscription suggests that Puduḫepa herself is deified, but this reading is controversial (Savaş, 2001: 101). According to Savaş (2001: 100-101), the

latter reading indicates that Puduḫepa had died, and the Fıraktin rock relief represents Puduḫepa's funerary monument. As it is understood from the inscription, it gives the information about Puduḫepa's origin, and emphasizes her position and significance within Kizzuwatna. The inscription bears another striking element. Based on the translation proposed by Savaş (2001: 101), the name of the Storm-god is Tarḫun(t), which is the Hurrian epithet of the Storm-god.

Puduḫepa, like her husband, is depicted presenting offerings to a personal god.<sup>14</sup> The deities were also the chief couple of the state pantheon in Hatti. Since Ḫattusili and Puduḫepa were depicted with the same garments which were peculiar to the deities, and based on this correlation, Savaş (2001: 101) also assumes that the royal couple may have been deceased and thus, deified. Behind the Fıraktin rock relief, on the top of the rock cliff, there are three cup-marks and these were possibly related to the relief (Ussishkin, 1975: 85-86; Harmanşah, 2014: 103). Cup-marks are often located in proximity to reliefs and sacred sculptures in Hittite practice, but there is no further explanation for them.

The Fıraktin relief is controversial because of its function. By giving the example of the relief slab at Alacahöyük, Bonatz (2007: 112) emphasizes that "libation rituals in particular, functioned as a motif of the closeness of the royals to the god". The meaning behind the Fıraktin relief can be interpreted as a way of displaying the close relationship between the divine realm and the royal couple who were responsible for direct contact

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<sup>14</sup> Bryce (2010: 287) explains this situation as "Her participation in the ceremony as her husband's equal is one further example of the close working partnership between king and queen which characterized the reign of Ḫattusili".

with the deities. In addition, HL script which was placed near the scene supports this idea and shows how close interaction between the queen and her tutelary deity was expressed.

### *TAŞÇI 1 and 2*

The two Taşçı reliefs are located 60 km. southeast of Kayseri. In terms of the figures and HL inscriptions, the Fıraktin relief is, however, very closely related to the Taşçı 1 rock relief because the royal couple – Hattusili and Puduhepa – are the people responsible for the execution of these two rock reliefs (Fig. 13). The distance between the Fıraktin and Taşçı reliefs is around 25 km. They are again attributed to Hattusili III by his cartouche on the left side of the relief. Taşçı 1 is 3.10 m wide and 0.94 m high (Ehringhaus, 2005: 66). The height of the relief must in fact be more, because only the upper part of these three figures are visible, and the lower parts of the bodies would still be buried under the ground (Fig. 13). Since the relief is weathered, it is difficult to see the details (Fig. 14). Three figures are visible on the bottom of the right corner and they face right. The two figures in the front wear round caps, and this is the only detail which can be seen because the rest of the body can only be traced with the help of the lines bordering the figures. The two figures in the front could be priests, and a third figure behind them probably a woman (Darga, 1992: 177). The third figure is more recognizable because its details are more explicit. There is a long veil hanging down on her back. The single line covering her waist and dangling from her skirt looks like a ribbon, and must represent the fringe of her wrapped garment. The right hands of the three figures bend their arms from their elbows, and their hands look upraised.

Inscription above these three figures states:



*“Manazi, daughter of Lupaki the Army-Scribe (son of?) Zida the MEŞEDI-man, servant of Ḫattusili”* (Ehringhaus, 2005: 68).

It probably gives the identities of three figures who were connected to the king Ḫattusili III.

The other relief, known as Taşçı 2, was carved nearby, ca. 100 m. further (Fig. 15). Taşçı 2 was discovered by Ekrem Akurgal, Sedat Alp and their friends in 1947 (Darga, 1992: 175). It shows only one figure. He faces right and was shown in profile. He has a round cap, and a semi-circular shaped protrusion (horn?) in front of his cap. He has an almond-shaped eye and his eyebrow is visible. He wears the same dress that Muwatalli II has in Sirkeli, a long dress with a cloak wrapped around it. The lower part of his body is invisible. There are some signs above and under his left arm. His bent arm from his elbow and upraised hand recall the gesture of praying. Unfortunately, the inscription is not legible, hence, the identity of the depicted figure is unknown. Based on the style of his dress, it can be assumed that he might have represented a royal figure.

According to the HL inscription on both Fraktin and Taşçı, it can be interpreted that these reliefs can be dated to the reign of Ḫattusili III (mid-13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.) or the generation after him.

### *İMAMKULU*

The third example, the İmamkulu relief is unique since it depicts a mythological scene (Fig. 16). It can be said that this is the only rock relief representing the divine realm. It is also located in Kayseri. It is 13.5 km northeast of the Taşçı reliefs. Harmanşah specifies (2014: 106) that the location of the İmamkulu relief is on a crucial point “where the road

from Zamantı Su valley starts to ascend towards Gezbel Pass where the Hanyeri monument is located”. The relief is looking to the north-northwest (Rossner, 1988: 173). It is 3.25 m wide, and 2.30 m high (Ehringhaus, 2005: 71). Many artificial holes are detected on the cliff above the İmamkulu relief (Harmanşah, 2014: 106). However, no certain association can be made between the relief and the circular cuttings. Darga identifies the scene as depicting “the realm of the kings and the deities” (1992: 179). The figures and elements in the scene are not detailed, probably because the relief is weathered. According to the translation of the HL inscription, which was inscribed above the outstretched hand of the male figure who drives a chariot with a bull, the male figure is the Storm-god of Halab (Hawkins, 2015: 4) (Fig. 17). He is stepping on the shoulders of the mountain gods, and his left foot is on the chariot. He faces right and was shown in profile. The Storm-god wears a long pointed hat with multiple horns and a short dress. His turned-up pointed shoe is visible on his right foot. He carries a dagger on his belt. While he is holding the bridles of the bull in his left hand, he also holds a mace with his upraised left hand. Only one bull draws the chariot. It can be understood from its front and hind legs that it is in motion. Only the right hand cartwheel was shown.

Three mountain gods are also present. As mentioned above, the Storm-god’s left leg steps on the one of the mountain gods placed to the far left of the scene, and the bull-drawn chariot was also placed on the mountain gods. Each of the mountain gods with their heads bent carry daggers on their belt. Each has one of the hands outstretched forward. They are also carried by genies. Bird headed genies with human bodies were depicted with upraised hands as supporting these three mountain gods from the bottom. They wear short-sleeved shirts and short skirts; and turned-up pointed shoes. On the far left side,

another figure stands right behind the Storm-god. The iconography of this male figure recalls the figures at Karabel A, Hemite, Hanyeri, and Hatip, and Chamber 2 at Hattusa. Since the male figure is not well-preserved, it is hard to describe details such as his eye and ear, but his nose was depicted small and his mouth looks closed. His dress is not visible. He wears a short cap with the prominent protrusion (horn?) in front of his cap. He holds a bow on his right shoulder, and a lance on his left hand. He also carries a dagger on his belt. He wears turned-up pointed shoes.

On the right side of the relief, there is a female figure who is standing on a tree (Fig. 17). Although this is not a very detailed scene, it is obvious that the female figure is portrayed as naked, and she holds her cloak (?) or wings (?) wide open. However, this looks rather like a cloak because two vertical bands at her back (or on the both sides of her head) are more likely the wings. Harmanşah assumes (2014, 106-109) that the wavy lines on both sides of her cloak (?) or wings (?) represent water. She wears a crown or this could be her hair style, too. In addition, a bird was depicted on the left of the female figure, as if flying toward the Storm-god. The iconography of the female figure may identify her as the Syrian-Levantine goddess Šaušhga/Ištar (Ehringhaus, 2005: 75; Harmanşah, 2014: 109). Under the female figure, there is a palmette/tree. The tree motif has four branches on both sides. The female figure stands on the central head of the tree. At the bottom of the tree, there are two angled projections which may be interpreted as its root.

The HL inscription was placed behind the Storm-god and above the lance of the left hand figure. It gives his identity as:

“REX+FILIUS EXERCITUS-*mu* REX+FILIUS: *Prince Ku(wa)lanamuwa* or *Prince Ku(wa)lamuwa*” (Ehringhaus, 2005: 72-73)<sup>15</sup>

Hawkins states (2015: 4) that it is questionable whether there is a connection between the Storm-god and the goddess; they may be contextually separate scenes. If the whole scene is taken into consideration, it can be assumed that the focal point of the scene is probably the goddess on the right side. The rest of the figures are moving towards her while she stares at the Storm-god. It can be assumed that the İmamkulu scene represents a mythological scene or a religious one, depicting two major deities. It is surely significant that the two deities represented here are local to Syria and the Hurrians rather than to Hittite Anatolia since this relief is on the route from the Anatolian plateau to Syria. It is also explicit that the relief represents a mythological narration.

### *HANYERİ*

The last rock relief of the Eastern group is Hanyeri<sup>16</sup> which displays similar iconographic aspects with the ones in Hemite, İmamkulu, Hatip, and Karabel. The relief is located on the Gezbel Pass, 8 km from the İmamkulu relief (Harmanşah, 2014: 109). Here, the prince Ku[wa]lanamuwa appears again represented with his HL inscription above his outstretched hand which holds a lance (Hawkins, 2015: 4) (Fig. 18). The name Ku[wa]lanamuwa appears in the İmamkulu rock relief as it is mentioned above, and the depicted prince at Hanyeri is the same figure who represents the same local prince. The relief is placed around 4 meters above the ground level, and the relief itself is approximately 2 meters high. The figure faces left and was shown in profile. He wears a

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<sup>15</sup> cf Hawkins, 1983: 398, for the prince name “Kuwatna-muwa”

<sup>16</sup> The relief is called Hanyeri or Hanyeri/Gezbeli in different publications.

short cap on his head with the prominent horn-shape in front of it. His eye is almond-shaped and his eyebrow was added. The nose is relatively prominent. His mouth was depicted closed. He also wears an earring and carries a dagger on his belt. He wears a short kilt. He has turned-up pointed shoes. He was equipped with a lance in his right hand and a bow on his left shoulder. To the left, a bull is stepping on the shoulder of a mountain god with its forelegs, and is standing on another mountain god (altar?) with its rear legs (Fig. 19). The hind legs of the bull stand on an altar. The bull and the mountain gods face right and were shown in profile. Although the body of the mountain gods was depicted frontally. On each side of his dress, prominent protrusions symbolizing the mountain peaks were depicted. He wears a long pointed hat with multiple horns. Since it is very well-preserved, the details on his face and hat are very explicit. He has an earring and an almond-shaped eye. His eyebrow was also shown. He has a prominent nose and mouth. His bent right arm was positioned on his chest. From above his outstretched left hand to the horns of the bull, a HL inscription states that “the king of the mountains, Šarruma ... Mountain god”. The rock relief’s placement high up the mountain, and its images and accompanying inscription, may be interpreted as a declaration that this is the seat of the god Šarruma (Hawkins, 2015: 4).

To the right of the figure, the third HL inscription was placed, giving the name “Prince Tarḫuntami”, and Hawkins thinks (2015: 4) that this name represents a later addition since there is no connection with the other figures. However, it can be suggested that it is probably not much later, because carving style looks the same.

### 2.2.3 Central and Western Anatolian Group (Hatip and Karabel)

Hittite rock reliefs were scattered in a wide geographical area in ancient Anatolia. Therefore, not all of them claim the central power related to the Hittite Empire. These are the works of local rulers and princes. Although their iconographical aspects or narrated scenes have very close resemblances with those within the territory of the Empire, the authority displayed by the reliefs may have been the political discourse of those local rulers. Two reliefs will be discussed here: the Hatip relief in central Anatolia, and the Karabel rock relief in western Anatolia (Fig. 1). One of the striking features of the reliefs is that both have similar warrior figures to those mentioned above in Hemite (Cilicia), and Hanyeri (eastern group) despite the long distance between them.

#### *HATIP*

One of the rock reliefs in central Anatolia is the Hatip monument which is located south of the town of Hatip, and 17 km south-west of Konya. It was discovered in 1996 during a survey (Dinçol, 1998: 160; Ehringhaus, 2005: 102). Bahar reported (1998: 105-6) that on the hill above the cliff, they found the ruins of a fort<sup>17</sup> which was built on the western part of the hill (Fig. 20). In addition, two caves were detected on the north, and a niche is placed around 20 m north of the Hatip relief (Bahar, 1998: 106). One of these caves is artificially made, and it is located next to natural springs (Bahar, 1998: 106). The ceramic assemblage from the vicinity of the fort indicates that the site was settled continuously from the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. E. through the middle of the Iron Age

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<sup>17</sup> Stones were used by the local people from the modern town, Hatip; thus only the ruins can be seen (Bahar, 1998: 106).

(Bahar, 1998: 107). Since the hilltop is very eroded, no certain date can be assigned to the fort. It may have no connection to the relief.

The male figure was placed on the right, facing left (Fig. 21). He was shown in profile, and his dress was depicted frontally. He wears a long pointed hat with three prominent semi-circular protrusions (horns?) in front of his hat. His hair is visible on his nape. He has a stylistic earring. His almond-shaped eye is relatively small and his nose is not prominent. His mouth was probably depicted closed. He wears a short tunic with a v-neck, and turned-up pointed shoes. He was equipped with a lance in his left hand, and a bow on his shoulder and a dagger on his belt. The same iconographic features of the male figure on the Hatip relief are known from Karabel, Hanyeri, and Hemite.

The HL inscription is placed to the left of the figure. It states:

“CERVUS-*ti* MAGNUS.REX [HEROES Mu]wa-ta-li MAGNUS.REX  
HEROS INFANS: *Kurunta, the Great King, [the hero], son of*  
*[Mu]watalli, the Great King, the hero*” (Dinçol, 1998: 161)

As it is understood from the HL inscription, the male figure might represent *Kurunta*.

What is known about him is that he was the second rank son of Muwatalli II and the brother of Mursili III (Urḫi-Tešub). An important written document concerning him was a bronze tablet found at Boğazköy in 1986 by P. Neve and his team (Otten, 1988: 1). The Bronze Tablet, which contains the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta, throws much more light on Kurunta’s identity and his position within the empire.<sup>18</sup> According to the treaty, Kurunta was appointed as the king of Tarḫuntašša.<sup>19</sup> It is clear in the treaty that the relationship between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta is very strong. This can be

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<sup>18</sup> For the whole translation of the Bronze Tablet see Beckmann, 1996: 108-118.

<sup>19</sup> Bronze Tablet § 4.

understood from the privileges given<sup>20</sup> to Kurunta by Ḫattušili III and especially Tudḫaliya IV, and mutual loyalty<sup>21</sup> between Kurunta and Tudḫaliya IV. Other significant information coming from the treaty is the position of Kurunta within the Hittite territory: Tudḫaliya IV declares that Kurunta is second as the king of the land of Tarḫunašša after the great king of Hatti, and he has the same rights which are given to the king of the land of Carchemish.<sup>22</sup> Based on the secondary position of Kurunta as the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša in the Bronze Tablet, the inscription carved on the Hatip rock relief which addresses Kurunta with the title “Great King”, shows contrast with the rights which were given to him by Tudḫaliya IV in the treaty. The question is whether Kurunta seized the throne as the king of Hatti for a short time. In order to make a possible assumption, a second piece of evidence, Kurunta’s seal impressions from Hattusa which bear the same title, must be taken into account. From them, it is certain that he ruled there for a time, but the question remains when Kurunta seized the throne. Based on the position of Kurunta within the Hittite Empire and his title as “Great King” both on the Hatip relief and his seals, it can be concluded that although the Hatip rock relief has the same iconographic features with Hanyeri, Hemite, and Karabel reliefs, it refers to one of the kings of the Hittite Empire. In contrast, the other rock reliefs listed above (Hanyeri, Hemite, and Karabel) claim the propaganda of the king.

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<sup>20</sup> Bronze Tablet § 9-12.

<sup>21</sup> Bronze Tablet § 13-17.

<sup>22</sup> Bronze Tablet § 18.



## *KARABEL*

Karabel (A) is one of the several reliefs at Karabel in western Anatolia. The Karabel relief is located in the pass between Ephesos and Sardis (Hawkins, 1998: 1). It is around 25 km east of İzmir (Ehringhaus, 2005: 87), and 8 km south of Kemalpaşa (Rossner, 1988: 46). Today, it is situated on the road between Torbalı and Kemalpaşa. This place is also known as the Karabel pass.

Four or five Hittite rock monuments were detected in this region, and not all of them have an image and inscription together. For instance, Suratkaya only bears an inscription. The Karabel A relief will be examined here because its warrior figure is similar with the one in Hatip, Hanyeri, İmamkulu, and Hemite (Fig. 22). Besides Karabel A, the others are inscriptions which were carved in the immediate vicinity. These are called Karabel B, C1 and C2. Hawkins states (1998: 8) that Karabel B also had a figure – similar to Karabel A – depicted with a spear and a bow and an inscription which was photographed and drawn by Kohlmeyer, the last person who saw the Karabel B relief. Unfortunately, Karabel B, C1, and C2 were destroyed during the modern road construction.

The figure and the accompanying inscription were placed in a shallow niche (Fig. 22). The dimension of the niche is approximately 1.80 x 2.30 m (Rossner, 1988: 46). The Karabel figure is around 1.5 m wide and 2.35 m high (Ehringhaus, 2005: 87). The figure faces right. While his head and legs, including shoes were shown in profile, the dressed part of his body was depicted frontally (Fig. 23). He wears a long pointed hat with the horn-shaped protrusion in front of it. He wears a short-sleeved shirt and a short skirt. Both sleeves and hem were bordered with multiple lines. He also has turned-up pointed

shoes. The stylistic features of his garment are exactly the same with the figures in Hatip, Gezbel, and Hemite. He carries his bow on his right shoulder, and carries a lance in his left hand. His dagger is visible on his belt. Between his head level and the lance, a HL inscription was carved. It states:

1. REX *TARKASNA-wa/i* REX *mi+ra/i-a*
  2. AVIS*x-li?* REX *mi+ra/i-a* REGIO [INFANS]
  3. [...]x REX *mi+ra/i-a* REGION EPOS
- (1) (King) Tarkasnawa, king of <the land> Mira,  
 (2) [son] of BIRD-li(?), king of the land Mira,  
 (3) grandson of [...], king of the land Mira.<sup>23</sup> (Hawkins, 1998: 4)

The inscription is peculiar. This may be the only rock inscription among others in LBA which gives a long genealogy of a ruler. Based on the inscription, the figure may have been the representation of Tarkasnawa who was the king of Mira. Hawkins emphasizes (1998: 1) that Tarkasnawa is a historical figure, and this can be understood from the inscription mentioned above and from the recently discovered seal impressions of king Tarkasnawa at Boğazköy. In addition, three generations of the Kingdom of Mira are known from the Boğazköy texts, and the related kings of Mira corresponds to the regnal years from Muršili II to Tudḫaliya IV (Hawkins, 1998: 1). Other textual sources which are useful in revealing the maintained relationship between Mira and Hatti are the Treaty of Muršili<sup>24</sup> and the Milawata letter<sup>25</sup>. As it is well known, diplomatic marriages between the royal families were very common. In the Treaty of Muršili (II), he talks about the marriage between his sister Muwatala (Šuppiluliuma's daughter) and Kupanta-Inaraš, the

<sup>23</sup> The inscription was translated by D. J. Hawkins during his visit to Karabel in 1997 (Hawkins, 1998: 4).

<sup>24</sup> For the translation see Garstang, 1959: 89-90.

<sup>25</sup> It was written by Tudḫaliya IV. Although the name of the recipient at Mira is missing in the text, Milawata letter show that Hatti had a crucial ally in the west. For the translation see Garstang, 1959: 114-115.

king of Mira.<sup>26</sup> Hence, it is not surprising to see something familiar from the Hittite rulers applied here to the Karabel rock relief.

The Karabel rock relief is an important one because as Hawkins states (1998: 2), it “provides the key to the historical geography of western Anatolia in the LBA”. It is also helpful to understand the political relationship between the Hatti and the Arzawa lands and it gives an idea about how relations (roughly four generations) maintained between them affected the Hittite royal house’s neighbor and also its ally for a century. The key feature is the expression of their political ideology by using the same iconography (the warrior figure with the typical garment and equipment) known in other regions: at Hatip in central Anatolia, Hanyeri, and İmamkulu in eastern Anatolia, and Hemite in southeast, despite the long distance between them (Fig. 1).

### **2.3 Landscape Settings of the Late Bronze Age Rock Reliefs**

Water and earth are the most important elements which keep alive all living creatures. By virtue of the central Anatolian landscape, rain is crucial to maintain fertility of soil and the living natural life. The Hittites were already aware of this situation of their homeland. Like other cultures which climatologically had the same fate with the Hittites, they were more or less sharing the same beliefs about invoking natural events, shaping a great part of their lives. Hence, rocks, water sources, springs, mountains, natural caves, and gorges had a special role in their belief systems. It is obvious that the Hittites were engaged with

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<sup>26</sup> From the Treaty of Muršili with Kupanta-Inaraš of Mira-Kuwaliya § 2-3.

their surrounding countryside and highlands enough to integrate these phenomena with their daily lives. The importance of these natural elements and their meanings can be traced in Hittite myths.

Historically, general consensus about the destruction of the Hittite Empire may have been the lack of rain and as a result, an inevitable famine. Such natural events give a shape to the correlation between the natural resources and divine beings. It can be said that this turned out to be a cause and effect relationship between these two. Durkheim explains this relationship between man and divine beings as follows:

“Furthermore, while it is true that man is a dependent of his gods, this dependence is mutual. The gods also need man; without offerings and sacrifices, they would die.” (Durkheim, 1995: 36)

In this context, the Hittites carried out regular rituals in order to satisfy their supreme beings.

It is known that the Hittites started to expand their territories towards the east and south of central Anatolia from the foundation of the Hittite state under Hattusili I. His successors continued to maintain the same policy until its eventual collapse (Gurney, 1990: 17). Therefore, it is not surprising to see several rock reliefs scattered around a wide geographical area from the east, south, and throughout the west. The HL script which accompanied the relief was mainly used for carving on rock surfaces and other monumental contexts such as seals (Klengel, 2011: 33). Even after the LBA, the HL inscription maintained its presence on the architectural decorations through the Middle Iron Age (MIA) (Harmanşah, 2014: 89; Bryce, 2010: 388). This brings to mind that they had a function sealing the landscape or territory. In other words, it can be understood as “marking territory” (Seeher, 2009: 129).

The LBA rock reliefs are also located on crucial routes which provide an interconnection between the capital, Hattusa into the Lower Land and to the southeast. When the distribution of these rock reliefs is taken into consideration, it will be understood that they were not executed within any architectural settings (not even the Yazılıkaya rock sanctuary). They are located on the ancient routes or nearby natural caves and springs which suggest an intention to put marks on different places within specific distances.

Muwatalli's rock relief at Sirkeli Höyük is located in the Cilician Plateau which was one of the important routes linking Anatolia to Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. The rock reliefs – Fıraktin, Taşçı, Hanyeri, and İmamkulu respectively – which are called the southern group above, are located very close to each other (Fig 1). They are located on the tributaries of the Zamantı Su. The locations of Hanyeri and İmamkulu are striking because they mark the two ends of the Gezbel pass. Although the Fıraktin and Taşçı reliefs are close to these two reliefs, they are located in less visible positions. Based on the depicted scenes, it can be assumed that the Fıraktin and İmamkulu rock reliefs serve for cultic purposes since Fıraktin displays a possibly deceased royal couple offering libations in front of their tutelary deities, and İmamkulu bears a visualized mythological scene or narration of the divine world.

Seeher (2009: 135) thinks that the Hemite, Hatip, and Karabel rock reliefs were executed on crucial passes which people travelled and were seen easily, but it is also noteworthy to mention the landscape changing over a few millennia. Today, for instance, it is impossible to see the Karabel relief from a far distance because of the forest, densely occupied with huge trees. Hence, the continuous fluctuation in the landscape must be

taken into account while making assumptions about the functions of some of the rock reliefs. Furthermore, if the idea was not exhibiting these reliefs publicly and keeping their locations away from public gazes, indeed, location was not a problem at all because this may indicate that they were related only to religious purposes. This assumption is directly linked to the question of who the audience was. The probable answer cannot be ordinary people but something else. The debate on related audience will be discussed in Chapter 4 in more detail.

Toponymic data, which is collected from the textual sources and matching the actual spot of these ancient names with the modern geographical names, is not very secure. Still, the Hemite, Hatip, and Karabel rock reliefs may be interpreted as boundary markers. Hemite is located on the easternmost edge of Kizzuwatna linking the Lower Land to Northern Syria via the Amanus Mountain range; the northern frontier of the land of Tarhuntašša could be marked by the Hatip relief located in the southwest of Konya; and the Karabel relief can be interpreted as marking the limit of the territory of the Kingdom of Mira.

## **2.4 Some Suggestions on the Origin and Development of the Idea of Carving Figures on the Living Rock**

Rock reliefs are not known from the Old Hittite period. The oldest one among rock reliefs is the relief of Muwatalli II (c. 1290-1272 B.C.E.) at Sirkeli Höyük (Fig. 3). After Muwatalli II, the execution of rock reliefs became a tradition among his successors. Even after the destruction of the Hittite state, independent city states in west central and

southeastern Anatolia continued to carve figures and inscriptions on stone. The continuation of the tradition would be a sign of how the Hittite culture penetrated into the areas which interacted with the Hittite Empire. One of the crucial questions which arise from this new tradition is how this idea originated, or whether there was a cultural influence from Muwatalli's contemporaries. As it is known, the territory of the Hittites during the Empire Period reached the mountains of Lebanon in the south with the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (c. 1355-1320 B.C.E); and Muršili II (c. 1318-1290 B.C.E) who was the father of Muwatalli II, continued to extend its territory (Popko, 1995: 109). Muwatalli II maintained his attention on Syria and war with Egypt, and he moved the Hittite capital to Tarhuntašša (Popko, 1995: 143-144). At the same time, Ramses II, pharaoh of Egypt and Muwatalli's contemporary, was trying to claim Syria for himself. He carved a rock relief on the façade of the rock near Nahr el-Kalb<sup>27</sup> (Akurgal, 2000: 88-89). The relief consists of a figure and an inscription together. One assumption can be that Muwatalli II could have adapted this idea from Ramses II (Harmanşah, 2014: 96). The embracement scene is another instance. According to Darga (1992: 172), the image of the king shows an Egyptian theme where the king is shown embraced by a god, in this case the Hittite Storm-god. If so, Muwatalli's contacts with the Egyptian state may have inspired him to adapt the Egyptian image of kingship for himself.

General examination of Hittite rock art indicates that the depicted scenes can be divided into four groups. The first group (Sirkeli, and Taşçı 2) represents figures who look like the Sun-god because of the style of the dress; the second group (Hanyeri, Hemite, Hatip, and Karabel) can be identified as a divine warrior with horns based on the equipment and

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<sup>27</sup> In modern-day Lebanon.

pose depicted on figures; the third (İmamkulu) exhibits a mythological narration; and the fourth (Fıraktin, and Taşçı 1) probably refers to an ancestor cult or cultic scene.

For group 1, two parallel types of evidence (textual and pictorial) can be taken into account: the title, “My sun” (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠĪ) which was used for the Hittite kings, and the depiction of a figure dressed in Sun-god’s garments. They suggest an attempt to show the king himself as the representation of the Sun-god, who is the son of the Storm-god. Here the question is whether these manifestations of authority can be read as a way of consolidating political power over religion. The carving of figures (and sometimes the deeds of a living ruler or the deceased king) on natural rock cannot be only to please the divine beings and show the gratitude of the Great King. Displaying the power of the Hittite state may be another propagandistic purpose for executing such monumental figures in the Hittite territories (Darga, 1992: 174).

İmamkulu, Hanyeri/Gezbeli, Hemite, Hatip, and Karabel A constitute a similar iconographical group of rock reliefs. They represent a male figure with turned-up shoes, short skirt, and equipped with a spear and a bow and a dagger in his waistband. Although the carved figures have the same main iconographical features (the garments and equipment with which they were equipped), the orientation of the reliefs varies. For instance, the figure on the reliefs from Hanyeri, Hemite, Karasu, and the one from Südburg in Boğazköy face left; and the reliefs from Hatip, İmamkulu, and Karabel A face right. It is not clear whether the orientations of the figures played a significant role. It is likely that there was no intentional choice of orientation. For instance, today, Muwatalli’s relief at Sirkeli overlooks to Ceyhan river; however, it has been thought that the ancient



river bed was not located near the relief since the ancient river bed changed its direction. Therefore, it can be inferred that the orientations of the reliefs were randomly chosen based on the topography of the landscape.

The functions of LBA rock reliefs can only be interpreted. It is impossible to find a certain answer for their purpose. There may be one exception to this: the Yazılıkaya rock sanctuary. Its function looks more explicit than the other rock reliefs mentioned in this chapter. It may have been used for New Year ceremonies, since the architecture which enclosed the entrance was religious, indicating that Yazılıkaya was serving for rituals. In this case, it is clear that the general audience for this particular monument was not the population at large. Yazılıkaya's audience was the royal family, temple personal, and nobility who might be very close to the ruler.

To sum up, after the first attempt of executing reliefs on living rock by Muwatalli II, this type of monument became a tradition and was maintained long after his death (probably after the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.). The LBA rock reliefs are considered as a group, the alteration of iconography is explicit both on rock reliefs and seal impressions. Similar iconographic features were found in other aspects of Hittite art, such as the prototype of the Fraktin altar which is attested on the OH İnandıktepe vase (Darga, 1992: 178-179). Thus it can be shown that the motifs from the OH period were combined with new iconographical aspects, creating a continuity in Hittite art.

There is not much to conclude about the geographical installations of LBA rock reliefs. Although the first example, in Sirkeli, was executed within an urban area, other reliefs

mentioned above are scattered through a wide territory and far from urban centers.  
Hence, the majority can be called landscape monuments installed in ex-urban areas.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **IRON AGE ROCK MONUMENTS**

The Hittite Empire collapsed around 1180 B.C.E. because of possible external political factors as well as drought in central Anatolia. The historical end of the Empire was brought about by the enemy attack: as a result of famine and lack of appropriate climatic conditions for sustaining life in the Hittite heartland, the Hittites could not resist.<sup>28</sup> The last phase of the Hittite Empire at Hattusa indicates that the city was burnt down and destroyed by external forces. The remnants of the magnificent buildings and handcrafts within the fortified cities; city gates which were adorned with the monumental sculptures; and the monumental rock reliefs with ex-urban open-air sanctuaries were left behind by the Hittites. Hittite cuneiform disappeared in Anatolia. It was not only the Hittite Empire which suffered from political instability. Other political centers were also affected by the attacks of a multi-ethnic group called “the Sea People” in the first quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> For the possible scenerio see Bryce, 2012: 9-11.

century B.C.E. The period after the destruction of the Hittite state is named a “Dark Age”.

However, the ongoing excavations in Anatolia and Mesopotamia demonstrate that the period after the 12<sup>th</sup> century is not a dark period. The information which is collected from the archaeological excavations about the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards shows that people from Hittite heartland continued to live in southern Anatolia by affecting each other culturally. It is possible to trace Hittite influence on art even after the destruction of the Hittite state. This interaction did not occur after the fall of the state because the Hittite kings were marching through the south even though the relationships between the states were sometimes hostile or vice versa. Because of the relationships between the capital Hattusa and the cities in the south, and southeast of Anatolia, the royal family, temple personnel and other related people may have emigrated into this region before the capital was completely abandoned. One hypothesis is that the last king of the Hittite Empire, Šuppiluliuma II (1207-? B.C.E.) migrated to southeastern Anatolia or Northern Syria where the Hittite Empire had vassal states which may have still been under the empire’s control (Bryce, 2012: 12).

### **3.1 Related Rock Monuments**

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, small and independent city-states continued to exist in the southeastern and southern parts of Anatolia. They maintained the earlier tradition of setting up monumental rock reliefs with figural images and HL inscriptions. To see how

closely the earlier feature continued into a new era under the cultural heirs of the Hittite Empire, some of the later rock reliefs, stelae and colossal statues of the IA will be discussed here. Their iconography and accompanying inscriptions will be examined. In addition, their landscape settings will be re-considered, and possible interpretations will be proposed in order to reveal the origins and functions of these IA monuments and the relationship with the rock reliefs of LBA.

The geographical distribution of the monuments is scattered over a wide area. In the south of the Tabal region (modern Cappadocia), Tavşantepe, and İvriz reliefs are located on the northern mountainous periphery of Cilicia (Fig. 2). In the Cilician region, monuments at Çineköy, Karatepe, and Arsuz are significant (Fig. 2): a bilingual statue at Çineköy; a second bilingual statue at Karatepe; and two stelae from Arsuz (southwest of İskenderun) with HL inscriptions.

In Chapter 2, the rock reliefs are discussed in the LBA. The way of using stone in order to express an idea changed. Stelae and statues were also added to IA stone monuments. HL script continued to be used on the monuments, but the inscriptions became longer. Therefore, inscriptions on the monuments provided more information. Furthermore, bilingual monuments appeared. Due to the similar iconographic compositions it can be proposed that their style belong to the Hittite empire or even to the OH period. In other words, the purpose of maintaining the similar carving projects did not change. It became a tradition, and was furtherly developed in Neo-Hittite period.

### 3.1.1 Southern (Tuwana) Group/Tabal Region (Tavşantepe and İvriz)

#### *TAVŞANTEPE*

The stele of Tavşantepe<sup>29</sup> is an important discovery which illuminates the history of the southern Cappadocia mountains after the destruction of the Hittite Empire (Lanaro, 2015: 79). It is located within the territory of the Tabal region and specifically, it is situated in the Altunhisar valley which is a non-urban area (Lanaro, 2015: 81) (Fig. 24). The stele can be called a landscape monument.

The kingdom of Tuwana (8<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.) played a crucial role in this area as one of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. This kingdom covered a large territory in the southern part of Tabal region, and its capital was probably Classical Tyana (modern Kemerhisar) (Bryce, 2012: 148). What makes Tavşantepe special among other rock reliefs and stelae is that it displays unusual iconographical features. The general iconography of rock monuments from the Tabal region is the Storm-god Tarhunzas, and they carry Neo-Assyrian influence as can be seen on hair, beards, and the garments of the depicted god (Lanaro, 2015: 79-81). However, a seated goddess was depicted on Tavşantepe and the Neo-Assyrian influence is missing.

The Tavşantepe stele consists of two pieces since it was found broken from the center (Fig. 25). It is around 2.10 m high, and 0.95 cm wide (Lanaro, 2015: 82). A seated goddess was depicted on the throne (Fig. 26). Her nose is very big and prominent. It is hard to determine whether she wears a round cap. Her arms are bent and she holds two

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<sup>29</sup> It must be noted that there are two stelae which are called Tavşantepe in the same vicinity. The stele mentioned here represents Tavşantepe 1.

objects in her hands. The object that she holds on her left hand may be a sheaf of wheat (Lanaro, 2015: 83). She wears a pleated robe and turned-up pointed shoes. The back of the throne is relatively high. Under the throne, a genie was depicted as if it holds the throne. Unfortunately, nothing can be described about the main body part of the genie because it was lost with the broken part in the center. The goddess and the genie step on two separate decorated platforms. At the bottom a lion/panther was carved. The feline was depicted as crouching and carrying the goddess and the genie stepping on the decorated platforms. The feline's back was incised with fishbone decoration and its front and rear legs were incised with horizontal parallel lines. Almost curved lines starting from its left eye decorate its neck. It has a long tail extroverted from its end.

A small (probably male) figure was carved on the upper left corner of the stele. When it is compared with the goddess figure, it is tiny. It faces towards the goddess. Since the upper part of the stele was broken and very damaged, the head of the small figure is missing. His raised left hand recalls the praying gesture. However, it is not possible to describe his right hand because it is not well-preserved. He wears a long tunic going down to its knees, and typical turned-up pointed shoes. The only decoration is detected on the lower part of its tunic which is decorated with zigzag motifs. This figure, depicted with the praying gesture, would be a worshipper.

Orthmann mentions (1971: 275-276) that the depiction of the female seated deity is peculiar to the Syro-Anatolian tradition where the male deity, in contrast, is frequently represented as standing rather than seated. The origin of seated goddesses goes back before the Hittite period. They are known from glyptic (male and female versions of

seated deities from Kültepe<sup>30</sup>), stone relief (Alacahöyük), rock relief (Kayalıpınar) and so on (Müller-Karpe, 2009: 114) (Fig. 27). The same iconography is detected in Darende (Hawkins, 2000, Plates: 145,146), and Carchemish in the IA (Hawkins, 2000, Plates: 8).

There is no inscription on the stele of Tavşantepe, hence, the only solution for assigning an appropriate date for it is to examine the stylistic aspects. Lanaro dates the Tavşantepe relief “as late as the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.” even though an “earlier date between the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. seems more likely” (Lanaro, 2015: 88).

In contrast to the dominant Neo-Assyrian influence on monuments in the region, the stele of Tavşantepe displays a different style with its peculiar iconography.<sup>31</sup> Although dating the Tavşantepe is problematic, it can be assumed that the stele may be assigned to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.E, before the Assyrian impact (towards the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.) became effective in the Tabal region (Bryce, 2012: 292-293).

Tavşantepe is one of the examples among other rock monuments which carries LBA Hittite features. Thus, it can be an indication of the transfer of tradition from LBA into the Early Iron Age (EAI).

### *İVRİZ*

The second rock monument, which indicates the continuation of the LBA Hittite influence in the Tabal region, is İvriz. It is located around 14 km south-east of the modern

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<sup>30</sup> It is dated to the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) (19<sup>th</sup>- 18<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.)

<sup>31</sup> As Lanaro mentions (2015:87), the stele must be considered apart from the other monuments from Tuwana because of its peculiar subject. Tavşantepe does not show Neo-Assyrian stylistic features, in contrast to other monuments that also display the Neo-Assyrian influence.



province of Ereğli (Konya), in the northern foothills of the Taurus-Bolkar Dağ massif (Hawkins, 2000: 516; Harmanşah, 2015: 379). The İvriz rock relief takes its name from the village situated near the rock monument. A spring flows where the rock relief was carved (Fig. 28). Harmanşah (2015: 379) mentions that the spring was named the Spring of the Prophet by the 17<sup>th</sup> c. geographer Katip Çelebi, who talks about its mud which was used for healings. This shows that the place was used over and over within a long timeframe. There might be some connections between the spring as a sacred space and the rock relief. Harmanşah (2015: 379) indicates that “a series of rock reliefs and other monuments were carved into the living rock or raised in close proximity to each other, near the multiple mouths of the spring where fresh water pours from the rock”. What is understood from this is that it is a sort of place-making not only restricted to a specific period but creating a long-term memory, and the natural landscape is the most important attractive factor here at a major crossroad.

A duplicate version of the İvriz rock relief was carved on a surface of an escarpment which was located above the narrow pass near the first one; however, the second copy of the İvriz rock relief was carved without an inscription (Darga, 1992: 305). Here only the main İvriz rock relief will be examined.

The relief shows two figures (Fig. 29): on the left a god facing right; and on the right, a king with his hands raised as he faces the god. The height of the god is c. 4.20 m and the height of the king is c. 2.44 m; the width of the scene is c. 3 m; the original height above water level is c. 2.50 m; and the height of the inscription is 0.22 m (Hawkins, 2000: 516).

The Storm-god, named Tarhunzas in the inscription was depicted holding bunches of grapes in his right hand, and “four long-stemmed ears of barley” in his left hand (Fig. 30).<sup>32</sup> His head and the lower part of his body under his short skirt were depicted in profile. Only the dressed part of his body was shown frontally. Tarhunzas wears a divine crown decorated with multiple horns. The helmet was divided into two parts with a single band horizontally and two sets of multiple horns were placed. He has a curly beard and his hair locks hang down on his neck. His hair and beard merge above his ear and the neck is visible. His eye is almond-shaped. His nose and ear are prominent and he wears an earring. His mouth is visible; however, it was depicted at a smaller scale than other parts of the head. He wears a short-sleeved, v-necked shirt and a short skirt which were tied together with a belt. The belt is made of two braided bands. The skirt is short and simple. Above his knees, the hem of the skirt was represented by a single band and completed with two volutes on each sides. He has bracelets on both wrists. His kneecaps were shown with round shapes. The calves of his legs were indicated with almost curved thin lines. He wears turned-up pointed boots with decorated soles and ankle bands.

To the right, the king was represented. According to the HL inscription this is the king Warpalawas (early 8<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.) who ruled the kingdom of Tuwana. It is worth to mention that Warpalawa did not confine himself only to execute rock monuments in İvriz. There are stelae which were set up by Warpalawa as well.

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<sup>32</sup> Hawkins states (2000: 516) that “both vine and the barley spring from his feet, which makes the figure the physical representation of the divine epiphany of Tarhunzas of the Vineyard described on SULTANHAN stele §§ 5-7.”

He was depicted on a smaller scale in contrast to the Storm-god Tarhunzas (Fig. 30). The king faces left to look at Tarhunzas standing before him. He was depicted with his hands in front of his face, while he is offering prayers to the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunza (Bryce, 2012: 150). His upraised head was directed to the god. His hair hangs down on his shoulder and he has a curly beard. His almond-shaped eye and nose are prominent. His eyebrow was also added. His left cheek was shown by a semi-circular line. Warpalawas's dress is remarkable. The style of the dress is ornate, typical of 8<sup>th</sup> c. Anatolia. Warpalawa wears an embroidered cap decorated with a pompon in the front and a long embroidered dress with tassels. He wears a belt and his embroidered woven robe, held in place with a fibula, has fringes at the end. The king also wears decorated turned-up pointed shoes. The whole scene is very striking and it is obvious that it has quality craftsmanship.

HL inscriptions were placed in three areas. One of them was inscribed between Tarhunzas's head and the ears of barley that he holds in his left hand. The second inscription was carved behind the king. And the last one is placed under the whole scene. The HL inscription states:

“§1 This (is) the great Tarhunzas of Warpalawas. §2 For him let him/them put long(?) SAHANA(?). §3 This (is) the image of Warpalawas the Hero ... *or*: This image Warpalawas the Hero ... §4 Tiyamartus Warpalawas's belo[ved? ... ] carved it ... ” (Hawkins, 2000: 517).

The content of the inscription gives two names, the king Warpalawas and the Storm-god Tarhunzas. The rock relief is dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century since the reign of the king Warpalawas is dated between 738-710 B.C.E. (Hawkins, 2000: 517). As Harmanşah (2014: 139-141) mentions, the site had been used in different periods (from the LIA to

the late antique and Seljuk periods) in the area. In the İvriz area, multiple rock reliefs with or without inscriptions and architectural features from different periods show that the site was used by different groups over a long period of time. Based on the landscape setting of rock monuments, Harmanşah claims (2014: 140) that “in the four or five hundred years following the fall of the Hittite Empire, the site has been dramatically transformed into an intensively used spring sanctuary, a heavily practiced cult place”.

Because of the uncertainties on the relief and inscription, Kızıldağ (1) will not be included. The inscription indicates that it is related to the Hittite Empire, specifically the Kurunta dynasty at Tarhuntassa (Hawkins, 2000: 429). However, the Kızıldağ relief shows Assyrian stylistic features and thus, Hawkins (2000: 434) suggests that it is dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Consequently, the Kızıldağ relief and accompanying inscription is not added here since it is unknown whether the relief and the HL inscription are contemporary.

### **3.2 Cilician Rock Reliefs and Their Iconography**

The kingdom of Adanawa played an important role in smooth Cilicia during the Iron Age. The region was densely populated by the Hurrian and Luwian ethnic groups during this new era as it was in the LBA. The name of the region is known as Que from the Assyrian textual sources, and revealed HL inscriptions dating to the IA indicate that Adanawa<sup>33</sup> was the name of the kingdom (Bryce, 2012: 154). There are two important

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<sup>33</sup> The name Adaniya was attested in a Hittite text belonging to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. (Bryce, 2012: 154).

sources which provide information about the IA kingdom of Adanawa. These are the Çineköy and Karatepe bilingual inscriptions on two monumental statues. These bilingual inscriptions which give Phoenician and Luwian versions of the inscribed texts, and different versions of the specific place names and the gods' epithets, were expressed in these two languages. Since the inscriptions on both Çineköy and Karatepe reveal the Luwian and Phoenician names of the kings and the gods, it is worth questioning both statues. General consensus is that these statues represent the Storm-god. It can be true since the Storm-god was shown as the main god who bestowed this triumph to both kings. Here, the Çineköy and Karatepe statues will be the subjects (Fig. 2).

### 3.2.1 Çineköy

Çineköy is a colossal statue which is 2.85 m long with its base (Fig. 31). It was inscribed with a bilingual inscription, that is comparable to statues from Karatepe, Arslantepe<sup>34</sup> (Darga, 1992: 326, fig. 311), and Carchemish<sup>35</sup> (Darga, 1992: 227, fig. 232). Çineköy is located in the Cilicia plain (or Que, the name designated by the Assyrians for this region). Kizzuwatna was covering that area in the LBA. Çineköy is around 30 km south of Adana and the statue was discovered in 1997 (Tekoğlu and Lemaire, 2000: 961).

The statue was carved from limestone, and the separate base of the statue is basalt (Fig. 31). The basalt base is a chariot drawn by two bulls. It is 1.50 m wide, 2.10 m long, and 0.95 cm high (Tekoğlu and Lemaire, 2000: 966). Although the base is broken from the upper corners, it is well preserved, and its details are clear. There are two bulls. The one

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<sup>34</sup> The statue was not inscribed.

<sup>35</sup> Only the bottom part of the statue was inscribed.

on the right hand gives more information about its style since it is better preserved than the other bull on left hand. The bodies are well proportioned. They have long tails. On both sides of the chariot, the wheels are visible. On the back of the chariot, a circular object – possibly a shield – was carved. Three towers and walls in relief which represent a fortified city were carved on the sides of the chariot. Tekoğlu and Lemaire report (2000: 966) that a deep hole, which is 40 x 40 x 30 cm, was carved out in order to insert the statue into the base.

The limestone statue stood on a plinth which is 21 x 21 cm and 25 cm deep (Tekoğlu and Lemaire, 2000: 966). He wears a divine crown with two horns. His eyes, nose and ears are prominent and well-preserved. He has a long beard which is curly on his cheeks. His neck is not visible, because it is hidden by his curly hair. His dress covers him from his shoulders to elbows. His folded arms were clasped on his chest. The object which he holds can be hardly identified since it is damaged. There are holes on his right hand which can be an indication of repair on the statue. He probably holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, and a mace in his left hand. Even though his head, arms and hands were well-formed, the lower part of his body remains without any decoration. Only the fringes of his dress can be seen explicitly. It otherwise resembles a solid column. His feet were not depicted, and the statue stands firmly on the basalt base.

Tekoğlu and Lemaire state (2000: 967) that the artistic quality of the statue compares well with its contemporaries. It especially shows similarities with the statue from Karatepe (which will be discussed below). Assyrian influence is obvious on the hair and clothing design, however; it is not certain whether it is a local production or an import

(Tekoğlu and Lemaire, 2000: 967). One of the problems is that the Çineköy statue was not found in situ. Hence, this makes it hard to determine the original place of the monument.

The statue base has two inscriptions. As it is mentioned above, it is a bilingual inscription. The Phoenician inscription was placed in the front, and the HL inscription was incised on the back of the basalt base. Another resemblance of the Çineköy inscription with the Storm-god statue from Karatepe is the use of cursive writing (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 968). The Çineköy inscription states:

“§1-12 I am Warika, son of [ ... ], descendant of Mukasa, (Ah)hiyawan king, [servant of] the Storm-God, [man of the Storm-God]. [I], Warika, extended [(the territory of)] the city of (Ah)hiyawa, [and made prosper] the (Ah)hiyawan plain through the help of the Storm-God and my paternal gods. I added horse to horse; I added army to army. Indeed, the Assyrian king and all the Assyrian dynasty became (like) a father and mother to me, and (Ah)hiyawa and Assyria became a single house. Indeed, I smashed [powerful] fortresses, [and I built] fortresses – eight to the east and seven <to> the west. Indeed, these places were ... for the palace of the River (Land). And I, by myself, [ ... ] in the land ... towns [ ... ] [ ... all ] extremely good things.” (Beckman, et al., 2011: 265)

In an alternative reading of the logograms given by Lanfranchi (2007: 187), the name of the Storm-god was translated as Tarhunzas. Based on the Çineköy bilingual inscription, it can be claimed that it was authored by Warika (Awariku) who is also known from the Assyrian sources, which are dated to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., as Urikki, the king of Que (Bryce, et al., 2011: 265). With the help of the Çineköy bilingual inscription, it is confirmed Assyrian Urikki (WRYK in Phoenician) corresponds to Warika, and Warika is a Luwian name (Bryce, 2012: 155-156). Warika introduces himself as the king of Hiyawa, so he calls his land Hiyawa. Bryce (2011: 266; 2012: 154)

emphasizes that Hiyawa is the apheresized<sup>36</sup> version of Ahhiyawa, a name which was used in the LBA Hittite texts. The Phoenician version of the text calls the land of (Ah)hiyawa as the land of Danunians (DNNYM) (Bryce, 2012: 154). In the inscription, the king gives his identity and continues with his achievements about how he extended the territory of the land and made it prosperous. He mentions his close relationship with the Assyrians and his monumental building program all across his country. Based on the content of the inscription, it can be assumed that this statue, which was dedicated to the Storm-god, was erected as a victory monument. Tarhunzas as a Luwian name, and Ba'al as a Phoenician epithet of Tarhunzas were used in order to refer to the Storm-god. The closest parallel to the Çineköy bilingual inscription is known at Karatepe inscriptions and it will be next subject here (Fig. 32).

### **3.2.2 Karatepe (Azatiwataya)**

The second important bilingual inscription comes from Karatepe. The ancient name of the site is Azatiwataya which was one of the Neo-Hittite city-states. The site is located high in the province of Osmaniye (40 km from the site) and it is 100 km northeast from Adana, and 20 km from Kadirli district (Çambel and Özyar, 2003: 11; Bryce, 2012: 157). It is situated in the northeastern direction of the Ceyhan valley in the Taurus region. One of the tributaries of the Ceyhan River (ancient Pyramos) flows near the site. Since it was placed on a small hilltop and is located on the northeastern edge of Cilicia, Bryce

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<sup>36</sup> The first sound of a word drops.



suggests (2012: 157) that the purpose of Karatepe was to provide security to the northeastern border of the land of Adanawa/Hiyawa.

Both the Karatepe and Çineköy bilingual inscriptions shed light on the history of Adanawa in the IA. The inscriptions carved on the colossal Storm-god statue at Karatepe are in Phoenician although other monuments at the site are bilingual. These two are not the only colossal statues in the region. There are other parallels in Malatya, Zincirli, and even from Tell Tayinat. Hence, this indicates that this is a common tradition among Neo-Hittite city-states. The resemblances and related questions between the colossal statues from Çineköy and Karatepe will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The statue at Karatepe was located in the entrance of the southeast gate. It consists of two pieces which are the colossal male statue and its base (Fig. 32). He wears a round cap without an indication of horns. He has almond-shaped eyes and the eyebrows were shown. His mouth was depicted closed. The ears, eyes, nose (although it is broken), and mouth are large and prominent. His fingers were rendered by thin lines and not very well-formed. The Storm-god wears a long dress which is probably wrapped around his body; however, since the surface of his dress was flattened in order to inscribe the Phoenician script, it is hard to describe the style of his garment. The general appearance of the statue recalls Assyrian features.

The inscription starts under his arms bent from the elbows and ends on the top of the hem of his skirt (Fig. 33). So the inscription covers the whole lower part of his body. There are incised lines on his skirt which represent the fringe of his skirt. Only his ankles are

visible under his skirt. Based on the lines incised on both sides of his feet, it can be assumed that he wears sandals.

The base of the statue<sup>37</sup> is not well-preserved (Fig. 32, 33). Two lions were carved on the sides. On the front, a figure between the lions holds them by their necks. The head of the figure is broken. Only his simple and long dress, which probably hangs down below his knees, is identical. The heads of both lions are very damaged and the rest of their body parts were carved superficially. Thus, it is almost impossible to determine the stylistic features of the felines.

The Phoenician inscription claims that it was authored by a king, named Azatiwata. The name of the mentioned king in the inscription is Awariku (or *Urikki* with his Phoenician name known from Çineköy inscription). Bryce (2012: 154) mentions that Azatiwata was a subordinate king of Awariku. The Karatepe bilingual inscription confirms this because Azatiwata, the author of Karatepe inscription, claims that he took over the authority from Awariku.<sup>38</sup> The name of the country is Adanawa which is the Luwian name, and the land of the Danunians which is the Phoenician version of the country. Although the bilingual inscriptions both from Çineköy and Karatepe coincide in terms of the content, they give two different Luwian names for the kingdom: Adanawa and Hiyawa. The Phoenician version of Adanawa and Hiyawa was expressed with only one, DNYYM, Danunians in both the Çineköy and Karatepe bilingual inscriptions. At that point, it can be proposed that the Adanawa is another Luwian version of Hiyawa. The functions of both the

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<sup>37</sup> Parallels for this base are known from Zincirli and a recent find from Tel Tayinat.

<sup>38</sup>For the translation see Hawkins, 2000: 48-49, (§1-11): “I (am) Azatiwas, the Sun-blessed(?) man, Tarhunza’s servant, whom Awarikus the Adanawean king promoted.”

Karatepe and Çineköy bilinguals are to commemorate the founding of the city (Bryce, 2012: 157).

### 3.2.3 Arsuz 1 and 2

Two stelae referred to as Arsuz 1 and 2 were found within the territory of the Uluçınar (Arsuz) Special Training Centre of the Turkish Navy in 2007 (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 59). Since they were discovered within the territory of the military base, no further investigation could be carried out. The approximate location of the area is situated on the coastal strip in the southwest of İskenderun (35-40 km) and the west of the Amanus mountain range. However, since the two stelae are found in the same spot, they may have been placed close to each other (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 68). Both stelae are quadrangular. The relief was placed at the front without inscription. The inscriptions were inscribed on both sides and back (Fig. 34, 35).<sup>39</sup> The stelae become narrow towards the top which is pointed.

#### *ARSUZ 1:*

Arsuz 1 was broken near the middle into two parts but is complete. It has a height of 2.21 m.<sup>40</sup> The front side of Arsuz 1 has five components: the Storm-god, the male figure, a

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<sup>39</sup> Arsuz 1 has nine-line inscription; and Arsuz 2 has eight-line inscription see Dinçol, et al., 2015: 59-60, fig. 1.

<sup>40</sup> For more detail and information about the dimensions of Arsuz 1 see Dinçol, et al., 2015: 60.

stylized plant, a rosette, and a winged disc (Fig. 36). The focus point is the two figures stepping on a sacred tree.

To the right, the Storm-god figure was placed. To his left, a figure was carved in a smaller scale behind the Storm-god. Both figures face right, and were shown frontally, except their heads and legs which were depicted in profile.

The Storm-god wears a helmet which has two pairs of horns, and a knob at the top. The helmet was decorated with a scallop motif to imitate mountains. Below the helmet, the god's hair hangs down at back of his head as a single curl on his shoulder. His hair and beard merge, hence, his neck is not visible. The Storm-god has a curly beard. He wears a short-sleeved shirt and a short kilt. A wide belt is placed at his waist. The belt was decorated with three horizontal lines in the middle. The fringes of his skirt were also shown by incised lines. The kneecaps were shown with simple curved lines. The Storm-god wears turned-up pointed shoes. His eye is almond-shaped. The nose and ear are large and prominent. His mouth is closed. Both his arms are bent and raised up. He holds a trident with a long handle that ends above his left foot. This is a representation of a thunderbolt (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 70).

To the left, behind the Storm-god, a figure looks similar to the god but there are also a few differences in detail. The Storm-god holds the figure's left hand from the wrist and raises it up above his head. The figure does not wear a hat. His curly hair and beard merge. A long and curled lock of hair hangs down behind his head and rests on his shoulder. He wears the same dress as the Storm-god: a short-sleeved shirt and a short skirt tied up with a waist belt. His belt is simple, without decoration on it. The fringe of

his skirt was also depicted, and he wears turned-up pointed shoes. His left hand is grasped from his wrist and his arm is raised above by the Storm-god. This figure holds an ear of corn in his left hand. His right arm was bent at the elbow and he holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand. The disproportion between the figure's right and left arms is noticeable.

Both figures were depicted standing on a stylized plant representing a sacred tree. Above them, the winged disc was carved, and a rosette depicting a lotus flower was placed.

#### *ARSUZ 2:*

Arsuz 2 was broken into three parts but is also complete. The right side however, seems to have been trimmed back after the relief was carved, and before the inscription was carved. It is 2.17 m high.<sup>41</sup> Like Arsuz 1, it has a relief scene on the front, and an inscription on the other three sides. The front side of Arsuz 2 has four components. The winged disc (top), the Storm-god (center right), a smaller figure (center left), and the bull (bottom) were placed from the top to the bottom respectively (Fig. 37). Again, the two figures are the focus point here.

To the right, under the winged disc, like on Arsuz 1, a similar Storm-god figure was depicted. He faces right. The bodies of two figures were shown frontally and their heads and legs depicted in profile. The iconographic features of the figures are very similar with the one on Arsuz 1, thus, only the differences will be discussed below.

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<sup>41</sup> For more detail and information about the dimensions of Arsuz 2 see Dinçol, et al., 2015: 60.

The Storm-god's hair and beard do not merge, and his neck is visible. In contrast to Arsuz 1, the feet of the figures on Arsuz 2 were depicted naked, which is not usual in Hittite art. Another different aspect is the depiction of the iris which was placed within the eye. The Storm-god on Arsuz 1 has only simple almond-shaped outlines of the eye. The Storm-god holds a trident in his left hand; however, only two prongs are visible and this may be related with reshaping the stele in order to inscribe the HL script.

The smaller figure's dressing style is the same as the Storm-god, except the length of his skirt. In contrast to the small figure on Arsuz 1 who wears a short wrapped skirt with a fringed hemline, this figure wears a plain long skirt. It extends below his knees and ends above his feet. Therefore, his kneecaps are not visible.

The last element of the Arsuz 2 scene is the bull which was depicted under the feet of the Storm-god and the second figure. Alongside the absence of a lotus flower on Arsuz 2, the sacred tree motif was replaced by a bull figure. As it is known, the bull is the sacred animal of the Storm-god. On the Arsuz 2 scene, the Storm-god and the smaller figure are shown standing on a bull rather than a sacred tree on Arsuz 1. The bull moves right. The motion is understood from the fore and hind legs of the bull. It has a long tail which extends down behind its right hind leg. It was depicted completely in profile.

The contrasting elements between the two stelae may be interpreted as the sculptors not being restricted by certain rules and being free to add different details. They may have even been the representations of different gods. According to Dinçol et al. (2015: 74), the differences in details and alterations in iconography can be an indication of two different craftsmen.

As mentioned above, both stelae have tripartite inscriptions on sides except the fronts (Fig. 34, 35). Only the front side was sculpted. The inscriptions on Arsuz 1 and 2 are similar.<sup>42</sup> Arsuz 1 has a nine-line inscription; and Arsuz 2 has an eight-line inscription (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 59). Line dividers were used on both stelae. Arsuz 1 has also a small figure on its right inscribed side (Fig. 34). It was placed above the inscription and bordered by thin lines from the top and the bottom. It is a male figure who holds a lance on his left hand. He looks as if he touches his nose and mouth. This is an elaboration of the introductory hieroglyph EGO “I am”.

Based on the inscription, this is a work of the king Šuppiluliuma, the son of the king Manana (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §1). He gives information about how he made his city prosper (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §3-4) and suppressed the revolt against him by the help of the Storm-god (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §6-10). He continues with the city of Adana and Hiyawa (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §11-14) and claims that he made more progress than his father and grandfather (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §15-17). He states that he is the person responsible for the erection of the Storm-god stele in honor of the Storm-god who helped him and made him powerful (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §18-21). He continues with the curse in order to ensure the security of the stele, thus, he invokes the Grain and Wine-gods, Heaven and Earth, and the Storm-god of Heaven (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 65, §22-27). As it is understood from the inscription, Arsuz 1 and 2 are victory monuments of Šuppiluliuma like the Çineköy and Karatepe statues. Based on the epigraphical discussion<sup>43</sup>, the closest parallels to the Arsuz 1 and 2 inscriptions are the Carchemish

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<sup>42</sup> For the transliterations and the translation of the inscriptions on ARSUZ 1 and 2 see Dinçol, et al., 2015: 64-65.

<sup>43</sup> See Dinçol, et al., 2015: 61-63.

inscriptions dated to the later 10<sup>th</sup> century (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 62). According to Hawkins (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 63), this Šuppiluliuma is Šuppilulima I of Wadastini/Palastini who organized a war against the city of Adana and the land of Hiyawa. Based on the stylistic elements and the inscription and comparison between other parallel inscriptions from the Šuhi-Katuwa dynasty at Carchemish, the stelae of Arsuz 1 and 2 are dated to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.<sup>44</sup>

It is perhaps possible to match the figures on the reliefs with the ones mentioned in the inscription: king Šuppiluliuma, and his three gods.

### **3.3 Landscape Settings of the Iron Age Rock Reliefs**

The number of stone monuments consisting of rock reliefs, stelae, and colossal statues in IA is far larger than the number of LBA rock monuments. The general distribution of IA stone monuments was mainly within the borders of Euphrates region, the anti-Taurus region, western and northern Syria, and southeastern Anatolia. There are also many rock inscriptions in Phrygia and Cappadocia. However, their functions and meanings are not a subject for this thesis which focuses on Cilicia and its close neighbors. In general, the many examples show that executing rock monuments was not only peculiar to Hittites,

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<sup>44</sup> “Most of the parallels for the figures and motifs seen on the ARSUZ stelae appear on objects dated to the tenth to ninth century BC. Considering the features of the inscriptions, such as paleography and style, the most probable date for the stelae seems to be the late tenth century BC. In this case, elements such as the low helmet, the bare feet and the bunch of grapes should be treated as early examples of these motifs, which are generally understood as late features.” (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 76).



but other and later political entities in Anatolia who were also expressing themselves on rocks via visualized discourses.

There are many other rock monuments which were executed in IA; however, the thesis is limited only to the stele of Tavşantepe and İvriz rock monuments which belong to the Tuwana group in the south of the Tabal region; the Çineköy and Karatepe colossal Storm-god statues with bilingual inscriptions, and the stelae of Arsuz 1 and 2 from Cilicia (Fig 2). Now that the monuments have been described, their landscape settings will be examined below.

The stele of Tavşantepe is found in the Altunhisar valley. The valley separates southern and central Cappadocia via the Melendiz and Hasan mountains. The valley runs north-south offering an important route (Lanaro, 2015: 88). The route which connects the Bor plain and central Anatolia is situated on this valley, hence, the Altunhisar valley is one of the important routes connecting Cappadocia with southern Anatolia and Syria. The stele is situated at a mountain pass. Being isolated from any settlement, the stele represents a landscape monument. Lanaro (2015: 88) considers the stele, with its height almost 2.5 m, visible from the bottom of the valley. This means that people passing through this route would have seen the stele. Lanaro (2015: 88-90) mentions two more stelae from the same area. These are Tavşantepe 2 which is c. 6 km away, and Keşlik Yayla is located 2.5 km to the south. Tavşantepe 2 shares almost the same iconographic features with the related stele, while the figure carved on Keşlik Yayla (late 8<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.) represents the Storm-god Tarhunzas holding ears of wheat, and grapes in his both hands. Based on the survey in the Altunhisar valley and the close distances of these stelae from each other, Lanaro

(2015: 90) thinks that they were in use in the same period, the late 8<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E., and they were placed on visible points where the travelers could have seen them. Based on the survey, which was conducted at the foot of the Melendiz and Hasan mountains in order to map the sites (Mora and d'Alfonso, 2010: 124), there was no evidence found showing IA presence in the northern part of the valley but an IA center was found beyond the valley in the area of Göllüdağ. Mora and d'Alfonso (2010: 129) consider that the stelae, located between Kınık Höyük and Göllüdağ, the region's two important IA centers, represent a route which links these two settlements (Fig. 24). The Tavşantepe stele served as a landmark between the IA settlements.

Southwest of Tavşantepe, the İvriz rock relief is situated approximately 14 km southeast of Ereğli. The İvriz rock relief is placed within the Ambarderesi valley, which has been used as a route linking Cappadocia to the Adana plain and the Mediterranean and west to the Konya plain (Harmanşah, 2014: 152). The relief is placed on the rock surface rising above the spring which flows at the base of Kocaburun Kayası. İvriz and its duplicated version are close to each other. Other archaeological remains such as a small fortress, stela, rock altars from different periods around the locale are detected. Using such a natural environment over a long period means that this is a place-making within the landscape. It can be interpreted as a way of using the natural landscape by expressing the ideas via concrete memories with the living space of local people. As Harmanşah (2015: 379; 2014: 152-153) mentions, the geographer Katip Çelebi referred to this spring as a sacred place with healing powers. The presence of İvriz rock reliefs near the spring may have been associated with earlier rituals (Fig. 28). It might have served as a spring sanctuary and related rituals could have been organized there. Similar constructions are

known from the LBA spring monument at Eflatunpınar (east of Ereğli) which may have been a Hittite “Eternal Rock Sanctuary”<sup>45</sup>. By comparing the Eflatunpınar spring monument and the İvriz rock relief near the spring, it can be assumed that the idea of executing rock monuments close to or within the natural elements in the LBA and IA can be interpreted as a similar belief system continuing to work in different regions, an inheritance left behind after the fall of the Hittite state. The iconographic resemblances of İvriz with the LBA rock reliefs support this idea of continuation in the tradition.

The bilingual statue from Çineköy was not found in situ, according to Tekoğlu and Lemaire (2000: 967) who consider that it was removed from its original place, perhaps from Mount Tanriverdi, one kilometer away. It is also 30 km south of the ancient site Magarsus, and 25 km southeast of Mallos, two IA sites of some importance whose gates or buildings could have housed this statue (Tekoğlu and Lemaire, 2000: 967).

The Karatepe bilingual inscriptions and the inscribed Storm-god statue were found within a royal citadel. The colossal statue was placed in the inner entrance of the southeast gate, and the slabs bearing the bilingual inscriptions were placed in the northern gate. The only conclusion which can be drawn from the landscape setting of the inscribed statue and the related slabs is that they were used as architectural elements for decorating monumental buildings and the entrances of the gates. Decorating the gates of the fortified cities with relief slabs and colossal animals and figures can be detected in the Hittite period for instance at Alacahöyük and Hattuša/Boğazköy. It can be claimed that the usage of these

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<sup>45</sup> “... a cult or burial place or an ancestor memorial associated with a rocky outcrop or mountain peak” (Harmanşah, 2014: 43). Eflatunpınar is an exception which is in a completely flat place.

decorated reliefs as architectural elements within the settlements increased in IA for example: in Karatepe, Zincirli (Schloen and Fink, 2009: 206), Tell Tayinat (Harrison, 2009: 178-179), and Carchemish (Gilibert, 2011: 20). Royal citadels in these sites were decorated with many reliefs in contrast to LBA settlements. This might indicate a changed function for the rock monuments in IA.

Most of the rock reliefs were located in ex-urban areas in LBA Anatolia. The number of people who saw them was probably very few but using the similar visual elements within urban settings suggests that the audience of IA relief was different. In other words, the number of stone monuments within urban architectures increased. It can be suggested that the audience of IA rock reliefs can consist of ordinary people and the people who might have visited these settlements besides the royal family and elites in contrast to the LBA non-urban rock reliefs. Does this mean that the sacredness of a place became less important or the interlocutors of the political authority changed in IA? Even though the nature of the reliefs continued without undergoing a change (except adding new elements and compositions to narrated scenes) in the context of religious ideology, the settings of the reliefs were increasingly involved within living spaces.

The recently discovered Arsuz 1 and 2 stelae were found by chance, without the possibility of further investigation. It can be assumed that they were originally located somewhere on the coastal strip near Arsuz. Dinçol, et al. (2015: 66) suggest that they were boundary stelae set up to mark the king's military conquests or his new city.

### **3.4 Some Suggestions on the Origin and Development of the Idea of Carving Figures on the Living Rock**

Although the thesis is restricted to only a few IA rock monuments, it can be claimed that it is enough for revealing the iconographic relations with the LBA rock monuments. As mentioned above, the destruction of the Hittite Empire may have brought about a migration from central Anatolia to the south and southeast, in the small, and independent city states where Hittite art continued and developed. Another reason for maintaining the same tradition was dynastic continuity from the Hittite Empire. Some of the kings of the independent states in southeastern Anatolia referred to themselves with the title “the Great King”; Kuzi-Tešub, the king of Carchemish, was the first of these (Hawkins, 1995: 88). In addition, Hittite dynastic names were maintained as throne names among the rulers of the Neo-Hittite states.

The IA rock reliefs discussed here also show continuity from the LBA period. The iconography at Tavşantepe shows some Hittite influences. The seated goddesses are known from Alacahöyük stone relief (Darga, 1992: 135, Fig. 139), the seated goddesses from Eflatunpınar pool complex (Darga, 1992: 187, Fig. 190), and the Kayalıpınar relief (Müller-Karpe, 2009: 114, Fig. 20). The seated goddess at Fıraktın is a parallel of the same iconography from LBA Hittite art. Some of the examples which are detected in Neo-Hittite sites are at Zincirli, the outer citadel gate; at Arslantepe, the basalt relief bearing a seated goddess; the Darende stele in Malatya province; and from the Processional Entry of Carchemish. The gesture of praying is another familiar

iconography which is known from Hittite art<sup>46</sup> although only on the 13<sup>th</sup> century rock monuments at Sirkeli and Taşçı 2.

Although the style of the hair and beard of both the Storm-god and the king and the style of the king's dress indicate Assyrian influence, turned-up pointed shoes, and the multiple horns share the same iconographic elements with LBA Hittite rock reliefs.

The Çineköy statue stood on a chariot drawn by two bulls. The bull-drawn chariot is a familiar scene from the LBA Storm-god seal of Muršili III, and from the İmamkulu rock relief. The bull is associated with the Storm-god. The continuation of the early Anatolian concept of the deity with the bull is seen on Neo-Hittite reliefs (Green, 2003: 112). The depicted bull on Arsuz 2 is a Neo-Hittite evidence of this continuation, and the god was also shown as standing on a bull.

The Karatepe Storm-god statue is similar to the one from Çineköy (Fig. 31, 32). The position of the god's hand is the same style as the one in Carchemish. Both Karatepe and Çineköy statues reflect the Assyrian influence.

The naked feet of the Storm-god and the small figure on Arsuz 2 are striking and invite discussion. However, the same figures on Arsuz 1 were depicted with turned-up pointed shoes which are typical to the Hittites. In general, the figures and the components of the stelae are known from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.E. onwards in Anatolia and later from Syria and Mesopotamia (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 74). The colossal statues from Çineköy and Karatepe can be proposed as parallel examples. The common features of the statues are

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<sup>46</sup> However, it is not exclusive to Hittites.

the bilingual inscriptions which almost share the same discourses like the one in the stelae of Arsuz; and in terms of their iconography, they may have been the representation of the Storm-god (Tarhunzas) or kings (whose names were inscribed on the statues) again like the one in Arsuz 1 and 2.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **VISUALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS DISCOURSES ON THE LIVING ROCK**

Several Hittite and Neo-Hittite rock monuments dating from the LBA to the IA are described and examined within the scope of this thesis. As clarified at the beginning, the main purpose of the thesis is to find possible answers as to whether rock monuments represent royal ideology via visualized religious discourses, and if so, to interpret the meaning of politico-religious ideology behind the images on the living rock. In order to achieve this objective, several questions need to be proposed. However, the first question which needs to be clarified in order to find a possible answer for the functions of the reliefs is to determine the identity of the subjects depicted on the reliefs.



#### **4.1. Identifying the Subject of the Rock Monuments**

Political power can express itself in various ways, such as in writing, various practices, religious ceremonies, and so on. The situation in the Hittite world was a little different because none of these are expressions addressed ordinary people who lived in Hatti land. Religious ceremonies were carried out by the royal family, elites, and temple personnel. Archives which bear cuneiform texts about administration and religion were not public business. In addition, only trained official scribes of Hatti were able to read and write. Above all, based on the visual, and textual evidence, there is little proof indicating the position of ordinary people within the empire. Because of the lack of solid information about them, it is risky to consider them as an audience addressed by rock monuments in LBA.

One of the important issues which needs to be discussed here is the different versions of the name of the Storm-god which were inscribed on the monuments. Except for the Fıraktin and Hanyeri rock reliefs, none of the LBA rock reliefs mentioned the name of any divine beings. The name of the Storm-god and the sun-goddess were inscribed as Tešub and Hepat on the Fıraktin relief; and Šarruma was inscribed as the mountain god on the Hanyeri relief. The identification of the depicted figures on the Fıraktin relief is almost certain. The royal couple, Ḫattušili III and his wife Puduḫepa are offering libations in front of their personal deities which are the chief divine couple of the Hattian pantheon, Tešub and Hepat. Hanyeri relief represents a divine warrior/hunter figure. In general, the divine warrior/hunter figure was mostly used on the rock reliefs by local princes (İmamkulu, Hemite, and Karabel), even though there are some exceptions. All

figures have single or multiple horns. For instance, the Hittite king Kurunta used this iconography on his relief at Hatip, and Urhi-Tesub used the same iconography on his seal. Although the answer is not explicit, it can be suggested that the related depiction probably refers to a god. Further evaluation of this idea will be made later in this chapter in the discussion of the functions of the rock reliefs.

One of the important questions is to decide whether depicted figures on rock reliefs represent the king or the god or the deceased ancestor. For the relief of Muwatalli at Sirkeli, the gesture of praying can be discussed here in order to make a possible assumption. In Gavurkalesi, two gods facing the seated deity have one hand raised (Darga, 1992: 184, Fig. 188). On the relief slab from Alacahöyük<sup>47</sup>, the king's pose also symbolizes the gesture of praying and it is certain that the male figure is a human not a divine being although he also wears the same dress of the Sun-god (Darga, 1992: 134, Fig. 138). Based on this evidence, it can be proposed that the gesture of praying is not only reserved for the human beings but gods as well. Hence, it is safer to suggest that the relief of Muwatalli may have represent a divine being rather than a human. Is there any possibility that it represents his ancestor if Muwatalli's figure does not represent a god? Based on the inscription accompanying the figure, it is also possible because he also introduces his father as great king. If the figure is not the king himself but his ancestor, Seeher (2009: 129) proposes that this is also claiming the authority of the empire.<sup>48</sup> This can be read as building the king's authority on a solid basis by using religious elements. Furthermore, Seeher (2009: 129) also states that if this is a deceased ancestor, the image

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<sup>47</sup> The offering scene of the king and queen in front of the bull on an altar representing the Storm-god.

<sup>48</sup> Seeher (2009: 129) gives examples of "My father was king, so I am rightful ruler."

can also be interpreted as the living ruler benefiting from the deceased ancestor's extra protection for the well-being of his authority, because the represented ancestor "became a god" after his death according to the Hittite belief system. The style of the dress and long pointed hat, sometimes carrying a lituus; all these aspects indicate that there may have been an intention of imitating a divine being. On the other hand, Durkheim defines an ancestor cult by naming it as "spiritual beings" rather than "god":

"The soul of the dead and spirits of all kinds and ranks, with which the religious imaginations of many diverse peoples have populated the world, are always the objects of rites and sometimes even of regular cults. Strictly speaking, however, they are not gods. Still, all that is necessary to make the definition include them is to replace the word "god" with the more inclusive term "spiritual beings." (Durkheim, 1995: 27)

From this point of view, the figures related to LBA rock monuments can be interpreted as transcendental beings whose role is being agents between the divine realm and mortal world. What if these places were the spots where the king felt himself very close to the deities and communicated with them?

If the image represents Muwatalli himself, it must be also questioned whether he executed the relief when he was alive or his image was depicted after his death. There is no solid evidence which helps to solve this puzzle because the only information about his reign is that he was the king who moved the capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntašša.

Unfortunately, the capital of his city and the archives belonging to this king could not be found yet. Thus, no certain answer can be given to this question until his capital or any solid evidence about his reign in the region can be determined. At least from his seal impressions, a possible assumption can be made. General consensus is that executing rock reliefs started with Muwatalli II's reign and he also applied the same idea to his

seals. If he showed himself with his tutelary god (Tešub) on his seals, he may have carved his image on the rock as well. If the image was put up on the rock after his death, it can be suggested that the relief at Sirkeli represents Muwatalli's funerary monument.

After Muwatalli's new idea of depicting figures on rock and seals, his successors continued to maintain this practice, and then it becomes a tradition. One of the striking features of the images is the various iconographic types. For instance, the warrior/hunter figure which wears short skirt, long pointed hat, equipped with bow and spear, appears as an another group of depictions. The best candidate is In(n)ar(a), <sup>d</sup>KAL in Hittite<sup>49</sup>, Kurunta in Luwian; and later Runta, "Protector God of the Countryside", and "the lord of wild animals and the hunt" (Archi, 2015: 19). The divine warrior figure depicted with a long pointed hat with multiple horns in Chamber 2 at Südburg/Hattusa provides a clue for what he represents, and the function of his image (Darga, 1992: 195, Fig. 201).

This iconography can also be traced on both rock reliefs and contemporary seal impressions. Especially, the seal impression of Muršili III/Urhi-Tešup is a striking example. The Storm-god was depicted on a bull-drawn chariot, and the warrior/hunter figure with his bow and spear stands behind the Storm-god. The iconography of this male figure is identical at Karabel, Hemite, Hatip, İmamkulu, and Hanyeri rock reliefs. The discussion is whether the figure represents the king himself. In contrast to other depictions of the same figures listed above, he wears a typical long pointed hat with multiple horns which is peculiar to the divine being. The figure may have represented Muršili III as a divine warrior. Seeher (2009: 127) thinks that the figures depicted with

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<sup>49</sup> Kurunta in Luwian; and later Runta/Kurunta (Archi, 2015: 19).

short skirts, spears, bows, and long pointed hats with horns recall the representation of a male god. The iconography becomes more controversial and this allows scholars to think whether this is the “self-deified portrait” of the living ruler.<sup>50</sup> However, this figure can be interpreted in two ways: the one who represents god (Hatip, and Karabel); and the one representing a sort of “spiritual being” (Hanyeri, İmamkulu, and Hemite).

The IA reliefs can be seen as developed versions of LBA rock reliefs. The accompanying inscriptions started to get longer. The author of the reliefs may have felt free to record more information about their deeds, identities, and the god who bestowed the administration of the country. Similar iconographic features were maintained since they were influenced by the Hittites. In addition, new elements were added to the depicted scene which was obviously the Assyrian influence because of the political relations and upheavals between the Neo-Hittite states and the Neo-Assyrians. The HL script was maintained to use on the reliefs in IA as well. Unlike LBA rock reliefs, decorating the architectural relief slabs and statues with bilingual inscriptions such as the ones seen on the Karatepe and Çineköy colossal statues became a new tradition. The name of the Storm-god which was written on LBA reliefs was replaced by the name Tarhunzas, a Luwian epithet for the Storm-god in IA. Özyar (2003: 111) states that “in Karatepe deities are not distinguished by horns, winged disc or special headgear”, and thinks that the colossal statue from Karatepe affirms this. This is also true for the bilingual colossal statue of Çineköy. The general iconography of the two statues does not reveal the nature of the depicted figures. They represent either the kings (Warpalawa and Azatiwata) or the god Tarhunza/Ba'al in this case. As mentioned before, the iconography of the statues

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<sup>50</sup> cf. Bonatz, 2007: 125-6.

reflects an Assyrian influence. No special attribute of a god is detected on the Karatepe statue, because the objects he holds in his hands are broken off; however, the Çineköy statue holds possibly a thunderbolt and a mace in both hands. Is it possible to suggest that both statues may have represented the Storm-god, Tarhunzas even though the depictions do not explicitly embody a divine being? Firstly, the inscriptions on both statues start with the identification of the authors of both the statues and the inscriptions. The second important name is the god Tarhunzas/Ba'al, and here the authors who were the kings of the mentioned country based their authority and victory on Tarhunzas/Ba'al. If the way of conceiving the divine beings as sacred and mighty entities did not change after LBA, it seems logical to assume that the statues represent the aforementioned gods.

It is noteworthy to examine the linguistic change on the name of the Storm-god because he is the most frequent figure on the IA reliefs. Although there is no clear indication which shows whether the depicted figures represent the Storm-god on the LBA rock reliefs, it is well-known that the Storm-god had a priority within the Hattian pantheon and was depicted on seals along with the king or the god Šarruma. In addition, the storm-god already had different names throughout Hittite history, and the Hittite pantheon includes hundreds of local weather gods. Therefore, the linguistic evolution of the epithets of the Storm-god will also be examined here.

The first appearance of the Semitic Storm-god goes back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.E. in Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, and his name was called "Hadda" (Schwemer, 2008: 152). "Haddu" took the new form of "Hadda" in these two regions and the important cult centers were Alalakh, Halab, and so on (Schwemer, 2008: 155). In the second half of the

2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.E., part of northern Syria was ruled by the Hittites, and a mixed cultural sphere developed in this period (Schwemer, 2008: 158). Schwemer (2008: 158-9) mentions that different cults of the Storm-god started to appear in different cultures; Haddu (Hadda) continued its existence, the Hurrian designation of the Storm-god Tešub was being used in the Hittite pantheon by the 14<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E.; and Ba‘lu was being used as an epithet of the same Storm-god in the Syro-Palestinian coastal strip. The Storm-god of Halab appeared in the Early Bronze Age (Schwemer: 2008: 162) and also appeared in Hittite pantheon. In the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.E., the name Ba‘al was still in use in the land of Palestine; however, the new Luwian epithet of the Storm-god, Tarhunza, appeared in the south and southeastern Anatolia. The question is whether these different names address the same Storm-god? The consort of Tarhunza was Hepat. As it is known the consort of Tešub was the sun-goddess Arinna, the epithet of the Hurrian name, Hepat. Is this enough to confirm the same nature of both Storm-gods? Because at that point, it can be assumed that there is only an alteration in the name but not in the nature of the god. Schwemer (2008: 18) states that “there is no comprehensive study of Anatolian Storm-gods”, and he makes following assumptions: 1) Taru was the Hattic name for the Storm-god, and his theriomorphic representation was a bull; 2) There are different names for the Storm-god; however, the common root of the names come from *tarh-* which means “powerful”, “overcome”; 3) in the cuneiform Luwian, it was expressed as Tarhun(t); 4) Tarhunza was the HL designation for the same god. Darga (1994: 305) identifies Tarhunza as Tarhu while referring to the Storm-god on the İvriz rock relief. Why is there this difference? Schwemer (2008: 18) mentions that the shorter form of Tarhunza was Tarhu-. These differences indicate that the god who carries the same essence from the

LBA through IA was addressed by using various forms of the similar root. One can observe it in Tarhun(t), Tarhunza, and Tarhu-.

#### **4.2 Deciphering the Functions/Purposes of the Reliefs**

If LBA rock reliefs are taken into account as message boards, and interlocutors of the king were not the ordinary people, it can be assumed that they served another role. This role may have been something transcendental. The king had different roles within the empire. One of them is that he was the chief priest and the intermediary between the gods and his people. Hoffner (2006: 138) mentions that even in the middle of a military campaign, the king was the responsible agent who had to return to his country and discharge his duties in the rituals or festivals organized annually. His attendance to the religious ceremonies was obligatory and the most important reason for this is that he was the chief priest of Hatti. This was crucial in order to maintain his power and the well-being of his country. Hoffner (2006: 140) mentions “a prescribed route” which the king had to travel from one point to another in order to fulfill his religious duties by making offerings and worshipping in important cult zones. As a reminder, the rock reliefs at Fıraktin, Taşçı, Hanyeri, and İmamkulu, which are named in the eastern group above, were executed very close to each other and located on ancient routes which can be identified as ex-urban areas.

The function of the LBA rock reliefs is open to various suggestions. Gurney (1990: 165) claims that these monumental rock reliefs carried the idea of presenting the authority of



the state, and were therefore carved into the rock in that specific king's own lifetime. They may have been used for political propaganda. The way of expressing this political authority addresses a transcendent one, in other words the recipient is a spiritual being as Durkheim defines. According to Darga (1994: 174), one of the purposes of executing rock reliefs was to show gratitude of the great king to the deities and bless them via visual representations. In addition, some scholars suggest that these reliefs were also executed for marking the borders and important itineraries used for military campaigns.<sup>51</sup> For instance, Ullmann states in his conclusion:

“The ancient textual material, in conjunction with GIS modeling, begins to shed light on the interconnections between Hittite sites and the landscape of Anatolia in particular, it becomes evident that the relief carvings were used as places that served to tie the Hittites directly to their gods. Features of the natural topography of the land of the land of Hatti served as waypoints to navigate through and demarcate the landscape. The Hittite monumental reliefs ostensibly merged the natural and constructed spaces of the land of Hatti and created a place for ritual to be performed.”  
(Ullmann, 2014: 120)

According to Ullmann (2014: 120) the possible visitors of the cluster of rock reliefs were the king and his army and these were the points which may have been used as places where rituals were performed and maybe used for stopovers.

If some of these images refer to local princes, another idea can be proposed for the function of these rock reliefs. Imamkulu, Hatip, Hemite, and Karabel are the examples of this group. Since these historical figures were included in the ruler class but still dependent on the Hittite Empire, inscribing the name of the prince and protecting him with the image of the divine warrior/hunter can be interpreted as a way of ensuring his

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<sup>51</sup> see Darga, 1994: 174; Emre, 2002: 228; Yağcı, 2002: 753-4; Ehringhaus, 2005: 106-8; Ullmann, 2014: 120.

authority within a post-Hittite political sphere. Self-representations of the local rulers do not mean that they solely claim their authority but it can include promoting the territory over which authority is exercised.<sup>52</sup> Here, another question can be asked, such as why local rulers did not express themselves by creating or using a different visual manifestation on the rock. It may be another indication that the local rulers were dependent on the main authority and ultimately, using the same iconography, attributes, and theme to benefit from the authority of the Hittite Empire.

Rock monuments of IA looks more explicit than LBA rock reliefs in the context of their functions. As mentioned before, IA monuments became a part of the settlement in contrast to the non-urban installations of LBA reliefs. This makes IA reliefs more visible, thus they may have addressed an audience which consists of a larger mass. Based on this evaluation, it can be suggested that the function of IA monuments differ from LBA ones.

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<sup>52</sup> See Seeher, 2009: 130.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

This thesis has discussed the visual statements on Anatolian rock monuments in LBA and IA as a way of communicating with gods and spiritual beings, and promulgating politico-religious ideology. Rock monuments set up during the Hittite Empire and the time of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms were also examined to determine whether the rock carving tradition was continued by the people who saw themselves as heirs to the Hittite empire in the post-Hittite era. The reason to call the period Neo-Hittite after the destruction of the Hittite state is because it continues some aspects of Hittite culture in Neo-Hittite independent city-states.

The rock monuments in southeast Anatolia are the focus of this thesis, but it includes a few rock reliefs from west and central Anatolia since they share the same narrated scenes and inscriptions of similar content. The review begins with Muwatalli II's relief at Sirkeli, the first known rock relief, which is dated to the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E. It is remarkable that the same composition model was also applied to the seals of this same king. From this point on, Hittite kings maintained the practice of setting up rock

reliefs. It can be claimed that the execution of rock monuments became a Hittite dynastic tradition. Moreover, it became a vehicle for recording deeds of the living ruler and of the ancestor of the living ruler in certain places.<sup>53</sup> Repetition of the same iconography is another aspect of these reliefs. Particularly, it is seen that local princes chose a certain type of iconography when they commissioned a rock relief. However, it is unknown whether using a certain type of iconography was instructed by the affiliated authority. This category of reliefs illustrates a single figure who is a divine warrior/hunter. Examples are found at Hemite, Hanyeri, İmamkulu, Hatip, and Karabel.

The concept of executing rock monuments and carving images with accompanying inscription from around the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E. was not an outlandish event in Hittite Anatolia, because the Hittites were already using such a concept for decorating their cities with sphinxes or orthostats. However, the origin of it goes back to Mesopotamia and Egypt since the earliest examples come from these parts of the ancient Near East. At that point, it can be suggested that the Hittites were influenced by these two. Since the Hittite kings had never attempted to carve their images with their names, the reason behind this is worth questioning. The same model was also applied to the kings' seals. It is certain that this was a new way to declare the kingship. It can be interpreted as a requirement of consolidating authority by direct, and explicit ways. The way of doing this bears religious statements. These were expressed by visualized religious discourses in the LBA Hittite and IA Neo-Hittite states.

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<sup>53</sup> Such as Yalburt and Chamber 2 at Südburg in Hattusa/Boğazköy.

The reason why Muwatalli's relief was executed in Sirkeli, which is located on an important gateway between the upper land and Mesopotamia, is still not known.

However, it can be related to Muwatalli's attempt to move the capital to Tarhuntassa from Hattusa. Until the information about him and his capital is discovered<sup>54</sup>, it will remain a question. When the embrace scenes, which was also started with Muwatalli II and were continued by his successors, are taken into account, it can be proposed that the image of the king with his tutelary deity has a propagandistic purpose. It is an explicit way of consolidating the current authority of the ruler as an official administrator which is attributed to him by his chief god.

Following LBA rock reliefs: Fıraktin, Taşçı (1 and 2), Hanyeri and İmamkulu are located very close to each other around the Zamantı Su river, and its tributaries. They represent the eastern group, and they were on the ancient route which provided access from the capital (Hattusa) to Syria through southeast, and then via Amanus mountain range. It is striking that each relief represents a different subject. Other rock reliefs dated to LBA come from Hemite (situated on the easternmost edge of Kizzuwatna in Cilicia), and Karabel, which provided a passage between the central Anatolia, and coastal region in the west of Anatolia.

The divine warrior/hunter figure at Hemite, Hanyeri, Hatip, and Karabel in the west of Anatolia can be considered as a separate iconographic group. The same divine warrior/hunter image also accompanies the mythological scene at İmamkulu. Although the accompanying inscription give the names and titles of the kings and local princes in

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<sup>54</sup> Since he established a new capital, he may have had archives in Tarhuntašša.

these rock reliefs, the identification of the figures is controversial. The figure at Karabel wears a long pointed hat with a single horn in front of it; and the same figure at Hatip was also depicted with the long pointed hat with two protrusions (horns?). Therefore, it can be suggested that these two figures may have been the representation of the god. The same divine warrior/hunter figures at Hemite, Hanyeri, and İmamkulu wear round caps. Even though the rest of the depiction is the same, due to the round cap, it is safer to propose that the depicted figures at Hemite, Hanyeri and İmamkulu may have been the representations of a sort of “spiritual being”. Based on Durkheim’s definition, it can be claimed that the function of these figures might be a sort of intermediaries between the king and the god/s. On the other hand, these figure can represent the embodied versions of politico-religious statements to the divine being.

Fıraktin rock relief may have represented the deified royal couple, Hattušili III and Puduhepa, offering libation to their gods, Tešub and Hēpat, the chief divine couple of the state pantheon. Based on the style of the dress of Hattušili III with the long pointed hat with multiple horns, and accompanying inscription related to Puduhepa, it can be proposed that the Fıraktin rock relief may have been the funerary monument of deceased king, and queen. Taşçı 1 is possibly the work of Hattušili III since his name was inscribed along with the depicted scene. The three figures may have represented the servants of the king. The reliefs from Taşçı 2, and Sirkeli represent the same iconographic figure. Because of the illegible inscription, the identity of the figure remained a question. Based on the same figure at Sirkeli, similar interpretation can be made for Taşçı 2.

The Īmamkulu relief is the only example which shows a mythological realm. The Storm-god of Halab holding the bridles of the bull is stepping on the back of one of the mountain gods. Furthermore, Šaushga/Ištar standing on a palmette/tree was also added to the scene. A divine hunter/warrior figure was also placed, and the relief bears the name of a local prince, Kuw(wa)lanamuwa. The figure wears a round cap, not a long pointed hat. Based on this iconographic feature, it can be suggested that the figure may have represented the prince within a mythological narration. The relief may have been used for carrying certain rituals, and pleasing the gods as well.

The meaning of the Hanyeri relief is clearer. The bull stepping on mountain gods is Šarruma. The other figure probably represents the protective deity of the countryside (<sup>d</sup>KAL). Although he wears a round cap, the horn is visible in the front.

Kuwalanamuwa's name appears for the second time here, beside him. The third inscription behind the figure (to the right) gives the name of another local prince, Tarḫuntami/Tarḫuntapiyami(?)<sup>55</sup>. Therefore, the figure with the bow may have been the representation of Tarḫuntami as well. The third inscription to the right may have been added later. Carving style indicates that they may have been contemporary. However, the relationship between the name and the depiction is not certain. It is open to question whether it was added later.

It is difficult to detect the audience for these rock monuments as mentioned in the previous chapter; however, it is possible to make suggestions. For LBA rock reliefs, it can be concluded that the interlocutor of the rock reliefs was more likely an intangible

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<sup>55</sup> See footnote 15 in Hawkins, 2000: 39.

thing, like a god, or something that can be called as “spiritual being” if not a full-fledged deity.

This thesis also suggests that the original concept of the monuments continued in the southeastern Anatolia after the fall of the Hittite state. This can be seen explicitly in the shared iconography, such as on the İvriz rock relief. The IA god (Tarhunzas) on the relief was shown with the same style of dress like the ones in LBA. The HL script was likewise maintained to accompany the depicted figures. On the other hand, there are discrepancies which represent the developments made in IA. For instance, long HL inscriptions, and bilingual inscriptions (Luwian and Phoenician) appeared with the depicted images or on statues.

The stele of Tavşantepe is important due to its unusual iconography. The Storm-god Tarhunzas with Neo-Assyrian influence on the iconography is the common depiction among other monuments in Tabal region; however, the seated goddess depicted on the stele of Tavşantepe differs from this conventional depiction. The figure with praying gesture accompanies the goddess. As mentioned before (Chapter 3), the earliest examples of the same iconography of the seated goddess are known from the pre-Hittite period. In addition, IA parallels of the same depiction exist. The stele can be interpreted as a landmark based on the location between two crucial IA centers.

The İvriz rock relief represents the king Warpalawas facing to the Storm-god Tarhunzas. The king depicted with praying gesture looks like saluting the god. Based on the accompanying inscription, and depicted scene, the relief can be interpreted as a king showing his gratitude to Tarhunzas.



The inscriptions on Çineköy and Karatepe statues are the key elements which shed light on the political history of the IA kingdom of Adanawa. Similar discourses were inscribed on the statues by two different authors who knew each other. Both kings attribute their success to the Storm-god Tarhunzas. The Çineköy and Karatepe colossal statues may have been the representations of the related kings or the Storm-god Tarhunzas. The Çineköy statue holds an object which resembles a thunderbolt. The objects held by the Karatepe statue are difficult to identify since they are damaged. Both statues show Assyrian influence, which have very close resemblances with the depictions of the Neo-Assyrian kings. Hence, it is difficult to make a suggestion about the identities of both statues. The inscriptions are useful for revealing the purposes of the statues. Both possibly were used as a tool to claim the celebration of founding, and making the city of Adanawa prosperous with the help of the Storm-god Tarhunzas.

The stelae of Arsuz shows the Storm-god and a second figure together. Based on the inscription, and the objects that the figures hold, the second figure may have been the representation of the god as well. However, the Storm-god's identity is more certain due to his more explicit attributes in contrast to the small figures. The inscriptions on both stelae are similar. The stelae may have been prepared in order to show the gratitude of the king to his gods who helped him to suppress a revolt against him.

One of the popular figures used frequently in LBA, and IA, the Storm-god, was referred to by different names, such as: (Hurrian) Tešub, and Storm-god of Halab. The Luwian epithet of the Storm-god, Tarhunzas appeared in the IA. The differentiation in names mostly depends on the multi-ethnic population and the dominant culture which penetrate

a political entity. Throughout the LBA and IA history, the Storm-god was maintained to be the chief god and was represented frequently in visual art. Different names were attributed to the same god in different languages but the essence of his identity remained same.

To sum up, HL inscription continued to be used on the architectural decorations, statues, and stelae after the fall of the Hittite Empire by the Neo-Hittite states from the LBA through MIA (Harmanşah, 2014: 89; Bryce, 2010: 388). The execution of the rock monuments can be interpreted as “marking territories” or claiming the authority over territories, particularly non-urban areas during the LBA (Seeher, 2009: 129). The influence of the Hittites on art continued in the Neo-Hittite states. The function of the same concept was maintained in IA but the reliefs were displayed publicly in urban areas. While the LBA rock reliefs were situated on important routes, which connected the capital with the Lower Land, and to the southeast, the IA rock monuments had a function of spreading the politico-religious discourses to a wider audience, and thus, making them more visible by decorating the cities with them.

One of the difficulties about studying rock reliefs in general is the lack of a holistic study covering these monuments over the two periods, LBA and IA.<sup>56</sup> Generally, scholars who study rock reliefs have tendency to solely analyze them from an art historical perspective. Since the purpose of this thesis is to examine the cultural transition between the Hittite state and the Neo-Hittite states, it was challenging to propose interpretations, and new

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<sup>56</sup> Ehringhaus’s work on LBA rock reliefs is an exception and very informative as well as useful.

approaches to the rock monuments by using not only archaeological point view but implementing other social sciences to the discussion as well.

Several suggestions can be made for the functions of the rock monuments. They benefit from the HL scripts accompanying the images, which may provide interpretations for the visualized ideas. However, it must be noted that the working on Hittite rock art will always be open to speculations, and the topic can be easily manipulated. It is noteworthy to say that none of the ideas which are proposed here are more than propositions, and possible interpretations. This topic will always remain open to suggestions and new ideas.

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## FIGURES

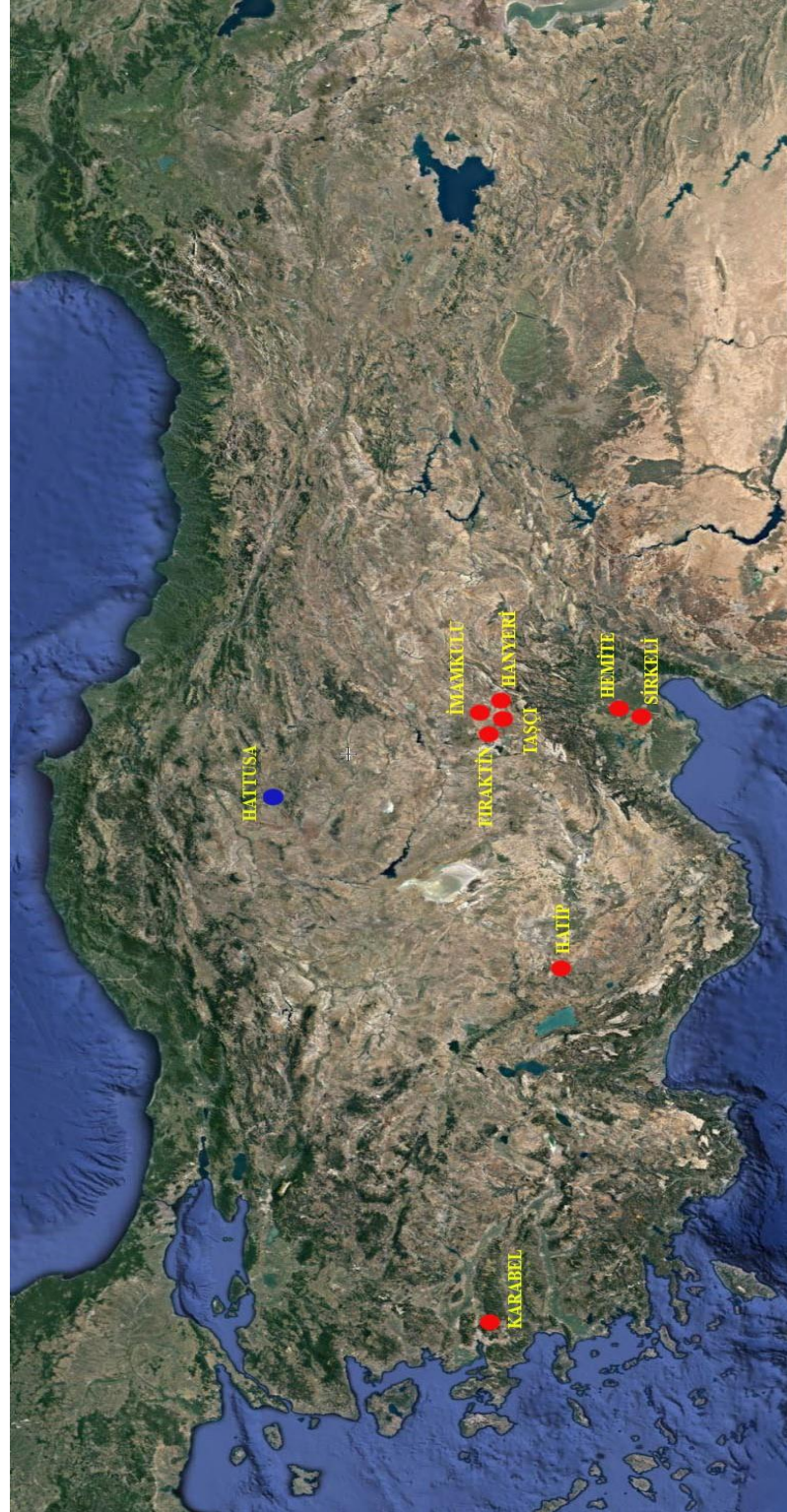


Fig. 1 The distribution map of LBA rock reliefs (adapted from Google maps)





Fig. 2 The distribution of IA rock reliefs (adapted from Google maps)





Fig. 3 Muwatalli II's relief at Sirkeli  
(<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/sirkeli/sirkeli04.jpg><http://www.hittitemonuments.com/sirkeli/sirkeli04.jpg>)





Fig. 4 The illustration of Muwatalli II's relief at Sirkeli  
(Börker-Klaehn, 1982: Fig. 317)



Fig. 5 The Umarmung scene on Muwatalli II's seal (Seeher, 2011: 84, Fig. 91)



Fig. 6 The illustration of the seal impression of Tudhaliya IV from Ugarit (Seeher, 2011: 25, Fig. 16)





Fig. 7 The relief slabs from Sphinx Gate at Alacahöyük  
<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/alacahoyuk/alaca30.jpg>



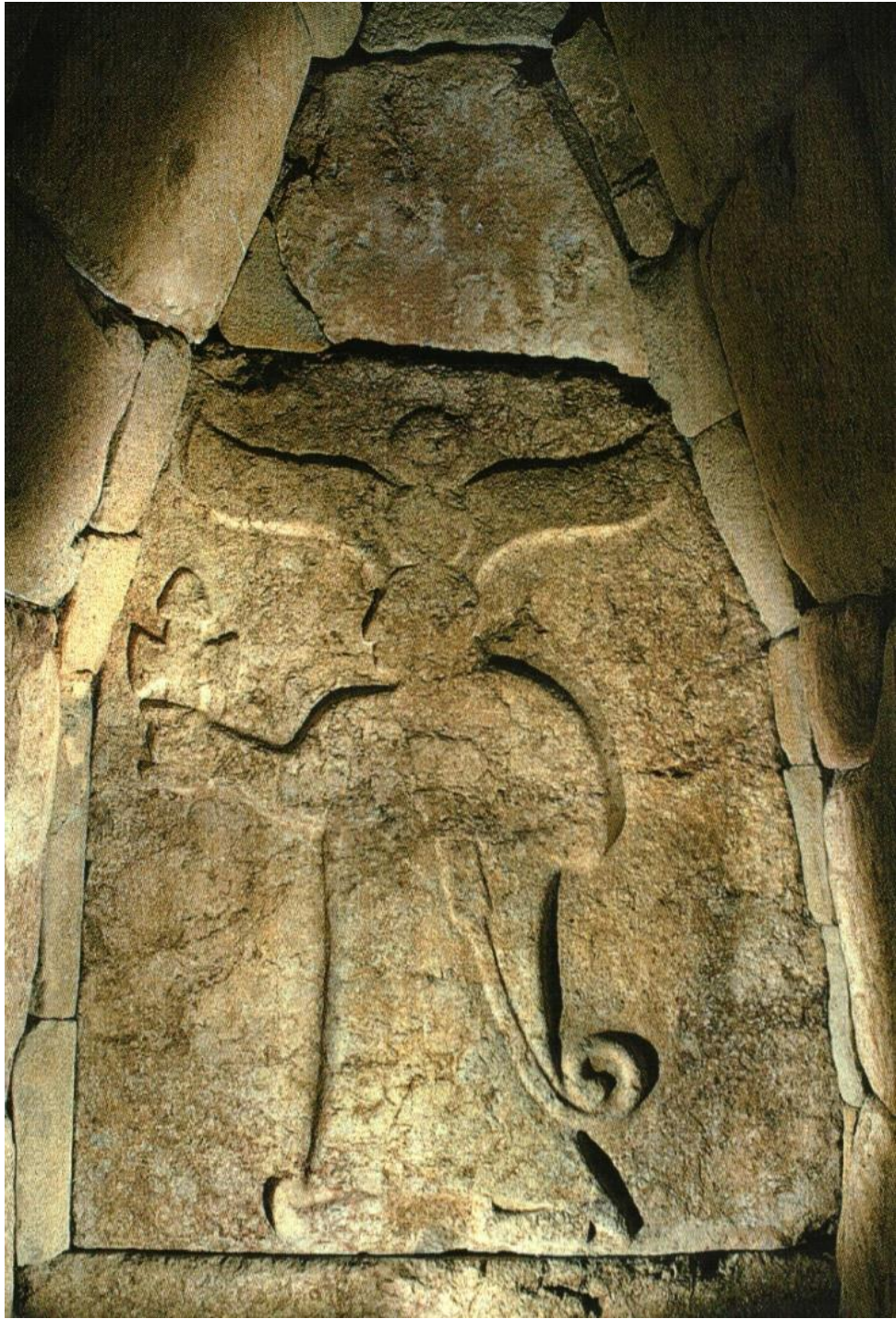


Fig. 8 The Sun-god image in Chamber 2 at Südburg (Southern Fort) in Hattusa (Seeher, 2011: 58, Fig. 54)





Fig. 9 The depiction of a divine warrior figure at Hemite  
<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/hemite/hemite05.jpg>



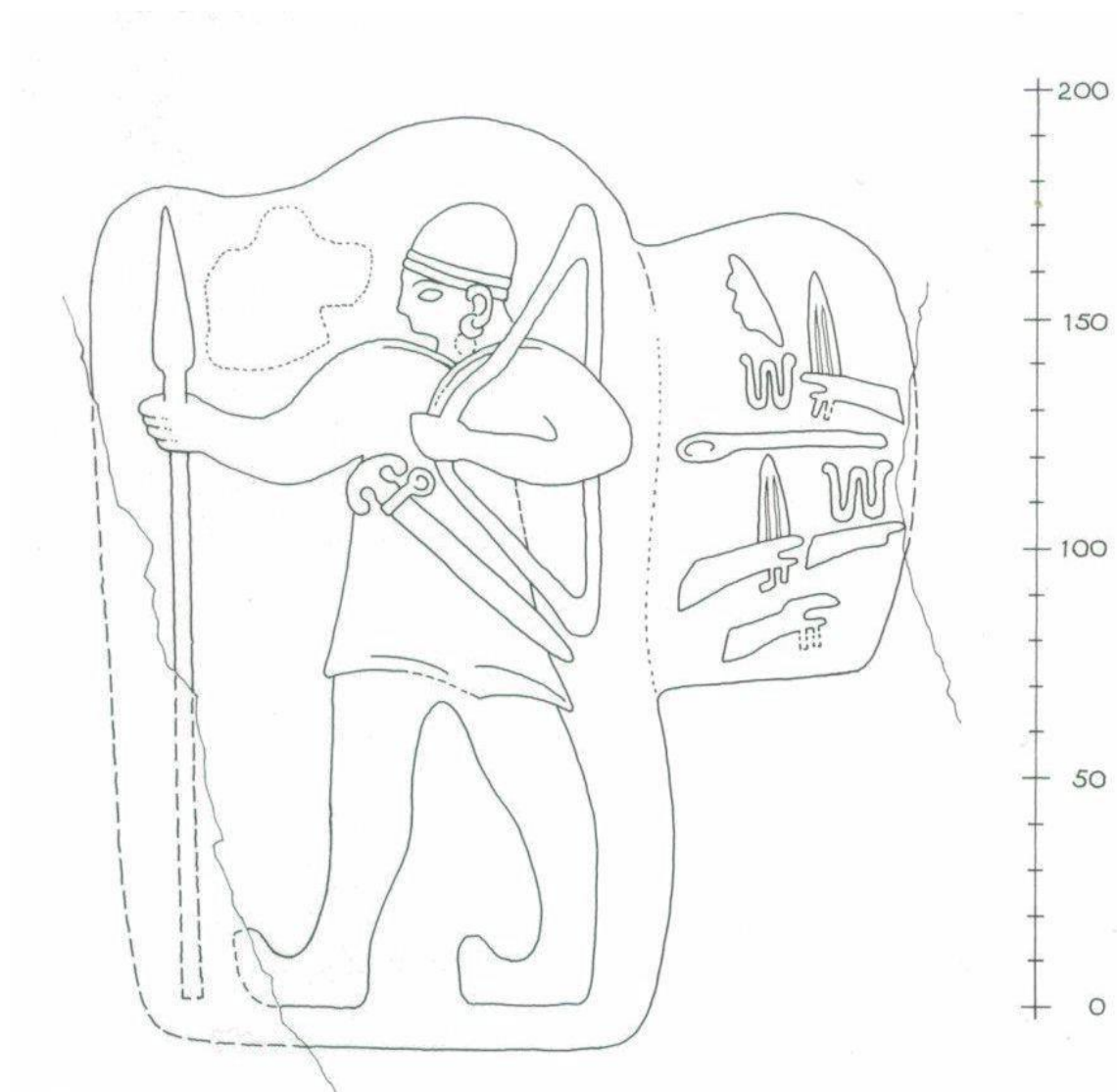


Fig. 10 The illustration of the Hemite rock relief  
(Ehringhaus, 2005: 110, Fig. 194)



Fig. 11 The Fıraktın rock relief  
<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/fraktin/fraktin03.jpg>

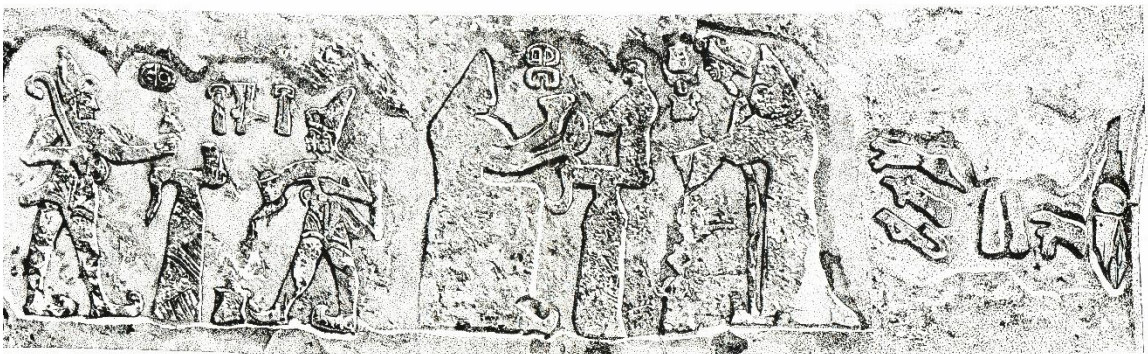


Fig. 12 The illustration of the Fıraktın relief (Börker-Klaehn, 1982: Fig. 318)





Fig. 13 Taşçı 1 relief

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/tasci/tasci03.jpg>



Fig. 14 The illustration of the Taşçı 1 relief (Börker-Klaehn, 1982: Fig. 319a)





Fig. 15 Taşçı 2

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/tasci/tasci10.jpg>





Fig. 16 The Īmamkulu relief (Darga, 1992: 178, Fig. 183)



Fig. 17 The Illustration of the Īmamkulu rock monument (Börker-Kalehn, 1982: Fig. 315)





Fig. 18 The Hanyeri rock relief

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/gezbeli/gezbeli07.jpg>



Fig. 19 The illustration of the Hanyeri relief (Börker-Klaehn, 1982: Fig. 314b)





Fig. 20 The Hatip rock relief

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/hatip/hatip04.jpg>

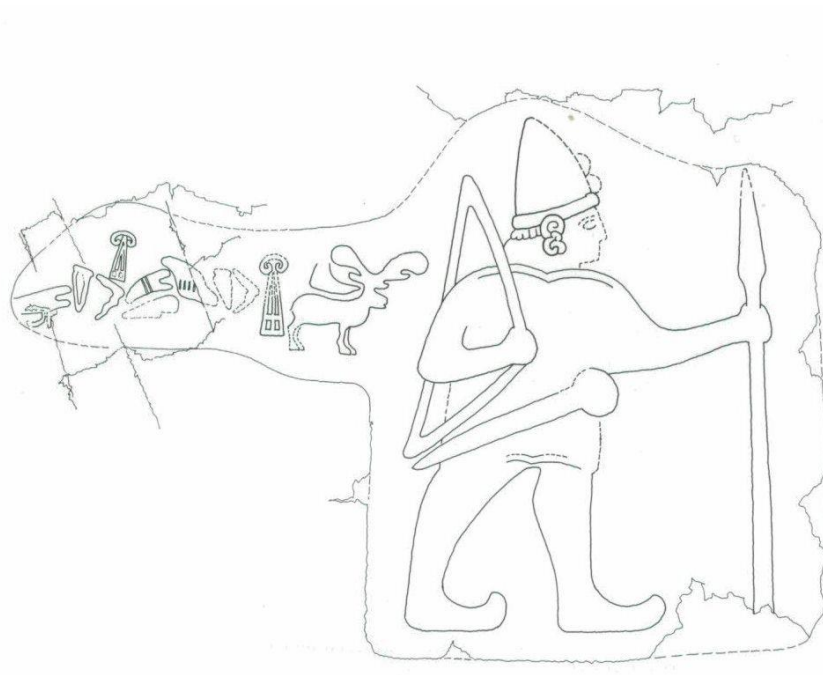


Fig. 21 The illustration of the Hatip relief (Ehringhaus, 2005: 104, Fig. 186)



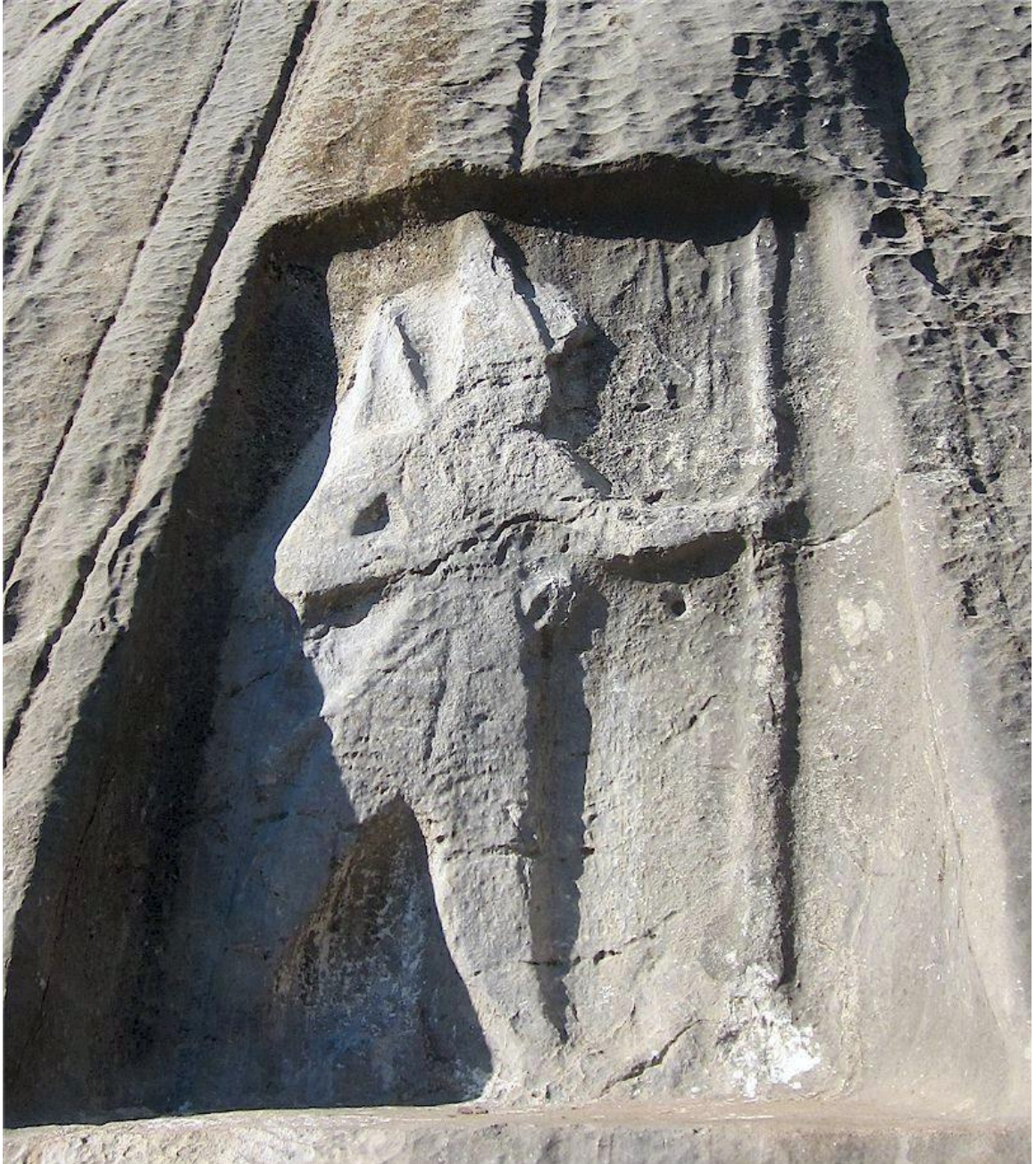


Fig. 22 The Karabel rock relief

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/karabel/karabel02b.jpg>





Fig. 23 The illustration of Karabel (Börker-Klaehn, 1982: Fig. 311a)



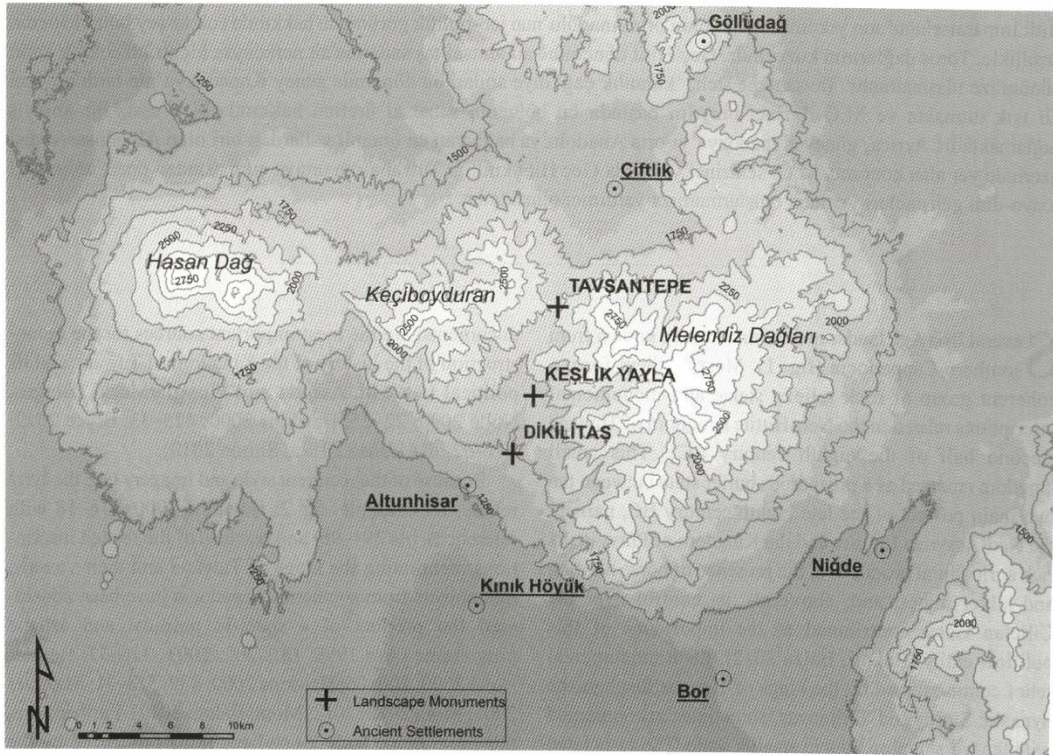


Fig. 24 The location of Tavşantepe (Lanaro, 2015: 80, Fig. 3)



Fig. 25 The stela of Tavşantepe (Lanaro, 2015: 82, Fig. 6)



Fig. 26 The drawing of the stele of Tavşantepe (Lanaro, 2015: 82, Fig. 7)





Fig. 27 Various examples of seated deities (Müller-Karpe, 2009: Plate XII)



Fig. 28 The spring which the İvriz rock relief over looks

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/ivriz/ivriz01.jpg>





Fig. 29 The Ivriz rock relief

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/ivriz/ivriz02.jpg>



Fig. 30 The drawing of the Ivriz relief

<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/ivriz/ivriz08.jpg>



Fig. 31 The Çineköy statue with bilingual inscription  
<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/cinekoy/cine02.jpg>





Fig. 32 The statue of  
Tarhunzas/Ba'al  
inscribed with  
Phoenician language  
(Çambel and Özyar,  
2003: Fig. 218)



a



b

Fig. 33 The Karatepe statue (Çambel and Özyar, 2003: Fig. 219)





Fig. 34 The stele of Arsuz 1 (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 60, Fig. 1)



Fig. 35 The stele of Arsuz 2 (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 62, Fig. 3)



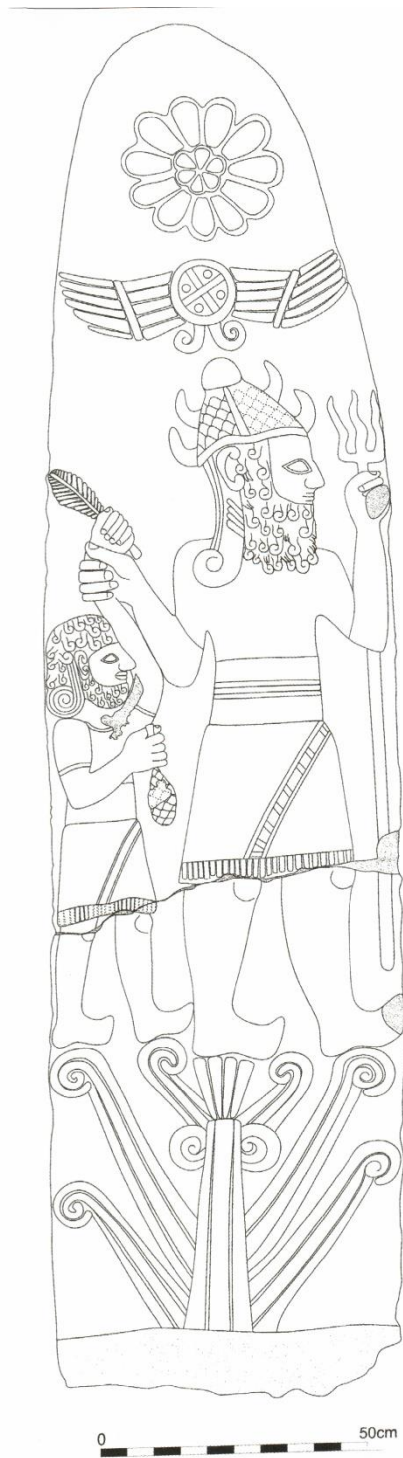


Fig. 36 The Storm-god with a figure standing on a tree in Arsuz 1 (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 69, Fig. 6)



Fig. 37 The Storm-god with a figure standing on a bull in Arsuz 2 (Dinçol, et al., 2015: 72, Fig. 9)