

HEAVEN ON EARTH

HEAVEN ON EARTH
TEMPLES, RITUAL, AND
COSMIC SYMBOLISM IN THE
ANCIENT WORLD

edited by

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with contributions by

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PREFACE

The present volume is the result of the eighth annual University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminar, held in Breasted Hall on Friday, March 2, and Saturday, March 3, 2012. Over the course of the two days, seventeen speakers, from both the United States and abroad, examined the interconnections among temples, ritual, and cosmology from a variety of regional specializations and theoretical perspectives. Our eighteenth participant, Julia Hegewald, was absent due to unforeseen circumstances, but fortunately her contribution still appears as part of this volume.

The 2012 seminar aimed to revisit a classic topic, one with a long history among scholars of the ancient world: the cosmic symbolism of sacred architecture. Bringing together archaeologists, art historians, and philologists working not only in the ancient Near East, but also Mesoamerica, Greece, South Asia, and China, we hoped to re-evaluate the significance of this topic across the ancient world. The program comprised six sessions, each of which focused on the different ways the main themes of the seminar could interact. The program was organized thematically, to encourage scholars of different regional or methodological specializations to communicate and compare their work. The two-day seminar was divided into two halves, each half culminating in a response to the preceding papers. This format, with some slight rearrangement, is followed in the present work.

Our goal was to share ideas and introduce new perspectives in order to equip scholars with new questions or theoretical and methodological tools. The topic generated considerable interest and enthusiasm in the academic community, both at the Oriental Institute and more broadly across the University of Chicago, as well as among members of the general public. The free exchange of ideas and, more importantly, the wide range of perspectives offered left each of us with potential avenues of research and new ideas, as well as a fresh outlook on our old ones.

I'd like to express my gratitude to all those who have contributed so much of their time and energy to ensuring this seminar and volume came together. In particular, I'd like to thank Gil Stein, the Director of the Oriental Institute, for this wonderful opportunity, and Chris Woods, for his guidance through the whole process. Thanks also to Theo van den Hout, Andrea Seri, Christopher Faraone, Walter Farber, Bruce Lincoln, and Janet Johnson, for chairing the individual sessions of the conference. I'd like to thank all the staff of the Oriental Institute, including Steve Camp, D'Ann Condes, Kristin Derby, Emma Harper, Anna Hill, and Anna Ressman; particular thanks to John Sanders, for the technical support, and Meghan Winston, for coordinating the catering. A special mention must go to Mariana Perlinac, without whom the organization and ultimate success of this seminar would have been impossible. I do not think I can be grateful enough to Tom Urban, Leslie Schramer, and everyone else in the publications office, not only for the beautiful poster and program, but also for all the work they have put into editing and producing this book. Most of all, my thanks go out to all of the participants, whose hard work, insight, and convivial discussion made this meeting and process such a pleasure, both intellectually and personally.

Deena Ragavan



Seminar participants, from left to right: Top row: John Baines, David Carrasco, Susanne Görke;
Middle row: Matthew Canepa, Uri Gabbay, Gary Beckman, Elizabeth Froid, Claus Ambos;
Bottom row: Yorke Rowan, Ömür Harmanşah, Betsey Robinson, Michael Meister, Tracy Miller, Karl Taube, Clemente Marconi; Front: Deena Ragavan. Not pictured: Julia Hegewald and Richard Neer

INTRINSIC AND CONSTRUCTED SACRED SPACE IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

Gary Beckman, University of Michigan

In this essay I discuss the venues at which reverence was shown by the Hittites to the para-human providers of life-sustaining water. Some of these loci were natural features of the landscape, whether situated in the countryside or within a town or city. Others had been fashioned by human hands, generally following a model presented by nature. In particular, a number of pools and reservoirs, imitative of natural ponds and lakes, served both as cultic sites and as sources of water for a settlement.

A well-known mythologeme featured in several rituals of the Hittite culture of Late Bronze Age Anatolia describes the consequences for the world when an angry god or goddess abandons his or her post:

Mist seized the windows. Smoke seized the house. On the hearth the logs were stifled. [On the altars] the gods were stifled. In the fold the sheep were stifled. In the corral the cows were stifled. The sheep refused her lamb. The cow refused her calf.

[The deity] went off and took away grain, the fertility of the herds, growth(?), plenty(?), and satiety into the wilderness, to the meadow and the moor. [The deity] proceeded to disappear into the moor. The *halenzu*-plant spread over him. Barley and wheat no longer grew. Cows, sheep, and humans no longer conceived, and those who were (already) pregnant did not give birth in this time.

The mountains dried up. The trees dried up, so that buds did not come forth. The pastures dried up. The springs dried up. Famine appeared in the land. Humans and gods perished from hunger.¹

The sterility occasioned by the divinity's absence is here epitomized through the imagery of drought, for water was perceived by the Hittites as the most important among the elements that sustained the thriving of nature and humans.² This essential substance was provided by rivers and springs as well as by precipitation sent by the Storm-gods resident upon the numerous mountain peaks of the region.

To begin with water from above: the Storm-god of *Ḫatti* — or of heaven, personification of the rains — stood atop the Hittite pantheon, along with the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna, who embodied the generative powers of the earth. In the central panel of the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya³ located just outside the gates of the capital *Ḫattuša* (fig. 7.1), the two deities greet each other at the head of converging processions of gods and goddesses,

¹ KUB 17.10 (CTH 324.1.A) i 5'–18'. Translation slightly modified from my rendering in Hallo and Younger 1997, p. 151.

² For a survey of the place of this element in Hittite cult, see Erbil and Mouton 2012.

³ The standard work on this shrine is Bittel et al. 1975; see also Seeher 2011.

respectively. Note that the Storm-god stands upon two heavily burdened mountain deities, identifiable by their scalloped skirts.⁴ This iconographic feature, probably symbolic of a rocky hillside, is also visible in the anthropomorphic Anatolian Hieroglyphic sign (𐎗𐎗) for divine mountain around which what we might call the “coat of arms” or *tuğra* of Hittite king Tudhaliya IV is assembled (fig. 7.2).

Among the “Thousand Gods of Ḫatti,” the Storm-god was joined by innumerable local avatars, most connected with particular towns or mountains, as in the instance of Zaliyanu of the city of Kaštama, whose name might be written with either the cuneiform determinative for god or with that for mountain,⁵ thus demonstrating the close association — or even identity — of deity and topographical component. Of course, this relationship is also expressed by the depiction of the Storm-god supported by mountains just mentioned. Zaliyanu’s contribution to fertility is clearly stated in the following excerpt from an incantation: “Mount Zaliyanu is first (in rank) among all (the gods). When he has allotted rain in (the town of) Nerik, then the herald brings forth a loaf of thick bread from Nerik.”⁶

Storm-gods were worshipped in most Hittite cities, as were mountains in various towns. In a long prayer of King Muwattalli II, many of the sections invoking the gods of particular localities conclude by calling upon their “mountains and rivers.”⁷ And for the sake of completeness, anonymous “mountains, rivers, springs, the great sea, heaven and earth, winds, and clouds”⁸ might be included in the lists of deities summoned to witness treaties concluded by the Great King.

Within Ḫattuša, the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess were almost certainly the proprietors of the expansive Tempel I,⁹ the only one of the more than thirty religious structures thus far excavated there to be provided with twin cellas. In the town of Zippalanda, cultic activity centered on the eponymous Storm-god and the nearby Mount Daḫa, the distinction between whom is not entirely clear.¹⁰ This worship was conducted not only within the settlement but also at a stele¹¹ erected on Mount Daḫa itself, where a tent had previously been set up to accommodate the ritual preparations.¹² On the road between the capital and Zippalanda¹³ was situated Mount Puškuruwuwa, on whose slopes each year the king made offerings to a herd of sacred deer and a number of deities, including the mount itself,¹⁴ during his spring progress known as the Festival of the Crocus (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}).¹⁵ A portion of these ceremonies took place at the gate of an *ḫilamar*-building,¹⁶ a substantial structure whose presence shows that the sacred site had been modified.

⁴ For the iconography of this figure, see Danrey 2006.

⁵ For attestations, see van Gessel 1998, pp. 571–72; and del Monte and Tischler 1978, p. 489.

⁶ KBo 3.7 (CTH 321.A) ii 21’–24’, ed. Beckman 1982.

⁷ KUB 6.45 + KUB 30.14 and duplicates (CTH 381), ed. Singer 2002, pp. 87–91.

⁸ For instance, §20 of the treaty between Mursili II and Tuppi-Teššup of Amurru (CTH 62), translation in Beckman 1999, p. 63.

⁹ Bittel 1976.

¹⁰ Popko 1994, p. 32–39.

¹¹ Hittite *ḫuwaši-*; see Hutter 1993.

¹² Popko 1994, pp. 209–13; for mountains as sites of worship, see Popko 1999; Birchler 2006; and Mazoyer 2006, pp. 262–66.

¹³ See del Monte and Tischler 1978, pp. 324–25.

¹⁴ For a particularly generous offering to mountain, see KUB 29.1 and duplicates (CTH 414) iii 13–17 (§34): “When (the king) builds a palace in a town anywhere, whatever carpenter goes to the mountains to cut the beams takes from the palace one bull, three sheep, three jugs of wine, one jug of *marnuwa*, ten snack-loaves, twenty ‘tooth’-loaves, and fifty ration-loaves.” I have fully translated this text at Beckman 2010, pp. 72–75.

¹⁵ KUB 25.18 (CTH 618) ii 1–11; see Mazoyer 2006, pp. 263–64.

¹⁶ KUB 25.18 ii 4–5: ^ḫ*ḫi-lam-na-aš* ^{GIŠ}*KÁ.GAL-aš pí-ra-an*.

On the occasion of major festivals, distant mountains such as Mount Šarišša, Mount Tudḫaliya, and Mount Arnuwanda¹⁷ could be summoned to Ḫattuša to participate in the ceremonies. For instance, note this invocation:

Hey, Mt. Šarišša, get up! Hasten back to His Mighty Majesty and the Mighty Queen (Tawananna), the watchmen (of the land of Ḫatti), for the fattened oxen and rams! Let it come about that they are strong and protected! Let good news always find them, His Mighty Majesty and the Queen, on the throne of iron! Let it happen that only joy is present!¹⁸

To the extent that this participation involved the actual physical presence of the mountains, this was undoubtedly achieved through the use of their cultic representations, which might be either anthropomorphic with various attributes or in the form of a mace.¹⁹

Furthermore, the numinous nature of mountains,²⁰ which after all constituted the most impressive features of the topography of the Hittite homeland, rendered them an appropriate location — that is, sacred space — for making contact with para-human elements of the cosmos beyond Storm-gods and the mounts themselves. “Stone Peaks” (NA₄ *ḫekur*)²¹ were frequent sites for various religious activities, including the royal ancestor cult. As demonstrated by Theo van den Hout, mausolea constituted a subset of the “Peaks,” themselves labeled “Stone Houses” (É.NA₄). Cuneiform texts inform us that such royal structures could be endowed with extensive agricultural lands and personnel,²² whose surplus would yield economic support for the continuing cult of the deceased ruler. Unfortunately, no *ḫekur* is so clearly described in the cuneiform records that we can with certainty identify it on the ground today, but we do know of a number of likely candidates for this designation.

The most well known of these prominences modified for religious purposes is Yazılıkaya (fig. 7.3), a shrine that incorporated and extended a large limestone outcropping.²³ Erosion and the carrying off of building stones by local villagers have made the recovery of the earlier stages of construction problematic, but it is clear that by the thirteenth century the massif had been complemented and indeed closed off from unauthorized entry by structures erected before it. The reconstruction in figure 7.4 indicates a melding of natural and man-made elements by which the products of human activity have been integrated into the natural environment. In the absence of any recognized ancient textual reference to Yazılıkaya, its particular religious function remains uncertain. Undoubtedly Chamber A, with its files of deities culminating in the meeting of the Storm-god and Sun-goddess (fig. 7.1), was the primary cult room of the complex and was perhaps the scene of the New Year’s ceremonies of the Hittites.²⁴

Chamber B, on the other hand, which has its own entrance, may well have served as the mausoleum of King Tudḫaliya IV, whose image in the embrace of his patron deity Šarruma graces one of its walls (fig. 7.5). Mortuary interpretation of the cleft is supported by carvings of an underworld deity in the shape of a dagger with an elaborate pommel composed

¹⁷ The last two of these oronyms were adopted as personal names by several Hittite monarchs; see Freu 2006, pp. 239–41, and Lebrun 2006, pp. 253–54.

¹⁸ KBo 21.67+ (CTH 591) iii 19’–27’, ed. Klinger 1996, pp. 320–21. The fattened animals here should be understood as the offering presented to attract the divine mountain.

¹⁹ See Haas 1994, pp. 496–98.

²⁰ Note KUB 9.28 (CTH 442) i 10’f.: ḪUR.SAG-*i šu-up-pa-i pí-di ku-wa-pí-it* [wa]-a-tar e-eš-zi “on the mountain, in a pure place, wherever there is water.”

²¹ See van den Hout 2002 and Imparati 1977.

²² KUB 13.8 (CTH 252), ed. Otten 1958, 106–07.

²³ For relevant literature, see note 3.

²⁴ See Otten 1956.

of four lions²⁵ (fig. 7.6) and a file of twelve chthonic gods²⁶ (fig. 7.7). Also lending support to this understanding of the passage's use are the artificial niches,²⁷ which could have accommodated the cremated remains²⁸ of the ruler and funerary gifts.

Another remarkable peak is that of Gavurkalesi, a massif situated 60 km southwest of Ankara bearing a large relief in which two gods approach a seated goddess (figs. 7.8–9). Recent renewed exploration²⁹ at the site has shown that in Hittite times the entire precinct was surrounded by a wall and that the prominent outcropping was incorporated within a cyclopean enclosure, cutting off view of the relief from the outside (fig. 7.10).³⁰ In addition, a small cell was cut into the rear of the rock. Although now empty, this space may well once have held the ashes of an important person; it is certainly too small for most other purposes. That is, Gavurkalesi might represent another “Stone House,” although probably not the mausoleum of a Great King, given that its location is more than 250 km from the Hittite capital.

Within Ḫattuša itself, several outcroppings deserve our attention.³¹ Nişantepe³² (fig. 7.11), which bears the severely weathered Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription referred to as Nişantaş³³ (fig. 7.12), is an alternate candidate for the mausoleum of Tudḫaliya IV. It may well be the “Eternal Peak” that the latter's son Šuppiluliuma II claims to have fashioned for him, since the cuneiform record in which he mentions this act of filial piety duplicates at least in part the content of the Hieroglyphic Nişantaş text.³⁴ Perhaps Tudḫaliya himself had intended Yazılıkaya to be his final resting place, but for some reason his heir decided that it was not well suited for this purpose and constructed a different “Stone House” for him.

It is also possible that Yenicekale³⁵ and Sarıkale,³⁶ yet other massifs within the walls of the capital, as well as Cihanpasha in the wider vicinity of Ḫattuša³⁷ and Kızıldağ³⁸ farther afield, were *ḫekur*. All of these elevations feature human modifications to the natural topography to be dated to the Hittite period.

I turn now to earthly sources of water. The Hittites conceived of rivers and springs as minor goddesses and therefore as sacred spaces.³⁹ We saw earlier that they could be included within general enumerations of the *numina* of a particular locality, and they might also be the focus of reverent attention.⁴⁰ Thus when drawing water from a particularly hallowed source, it might be advisable to make an offering. For example, in a rite imported into Ḫatti from a southern province, we read,

When Palliya, King of Kizzuwatna, set up the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna and worshipped him in fulfillment of a vow, from seven springs he took water of purification

²⁵ Seeher 2011, pp. 113–15.

²⁶ For a meditation on this group, see Masson 1989.

²⁷ For a photo of these cavities, see Seeher 2011, p. 107, fig. 115. According to Seeher (p. 106), these hollows had once been provided with doors or lids that allowed them to be closed securely.

²⁸ See the royal cremation rite described in Kassian, Korolev, and Sidel'tsev 2002, pp. 260–81.

²⁹ See Lumsden 2002 and cf. Kühne 2001. The site was already explored by von der Osten (1933, pp. 56–82).

³⁰ Thus the carvings were not intended for public view like so much Hittite rock art. On the socio-political function of ostentatious monumental display in ancient Anatolia, cf. Glatz and Plourde 2011 and Seeher 2012.

³¹ See Schachner 2011, pp. 164–72.

³² See van den Hout 2002, pp. 78–80.

³³ Laroche 1970.

³⁴ See Güterbock 1967.

³⁵ Schachner 2011, pp. 164–65.

³⁶ Naumann 1983.

³⁷ Strobel 2010.

³⁸ Bittel 1986.

³⁹ See Haas 1994, pp. 464–66, and Haas and Koch 2011, pp. 175–76. To judge from the number of texts mentioning their worship, it seems that springs were more important in cult than streams. On sacred space in Hittite religion, see Beckman 2004.

⁴⁰ See KBo 16.71+ and dupl. (CTH 635, ed. Popko 1994, p. 103) i 10' for the sacrifice of oxen to a *luli-*, “pond.”

of the city of Lawazantiya, and for the water of purification (in payment) he [took] these things: one shekel of silver, one blindfold, one woolen *kišri*, one bolt of [blue] woolen cloth, one bolt of red woolen cloth, one flask of fine oil, three unleavened breads of moist flour, and one jug of wine to the seven springs.⁴¹

Such activity obviously took place onsite, but springs could also be honored in ceremonies performed within a temple, although in one instance the spring Kuwannaniya receives her sacrificial loaves out through the window of the shrine, as befits a component of the landscape!⁴²

An essential component of Hittite urbanism was the storage of water for drinking, washing, industrial use, the extinguishing of fires, and so on. At present, more than twenty reservoirs have been identified at seven sites,⁴³ most of which were supplied through the damming of small streams. But aside from their obvious practical functions, several of these artificial bodies of water have yielded deposits of cultic vessels,⁴⁴ suggesting a sacred character. Particularly interesting is a small, tapered, quasi-trapezoidal basin (22.5–24.0 × 1.5–5.0 m) situated next to Gebäude J on the royal citadel Büyükkale,⁴⁵ which was apparently filled solely by rainwater. This sink was divided by a cross wall into two unequal parts, from the smaller of which were recovered numerous votive vessels recognizable by their miniature size and/or specialized shapes, as well as three of the ritual objects known as “libation arms.”⁴⁶ This was definitely a site of worship.⁴⁷

Of exclusively cultic use, as shown by its slight dimensions (5.19 × 1.40 m) and limited accessibility, is a grotto that Hittite builders excavated just south of the workshop annex of Tempel I in the capital in order to reach a small spring.⁴⁸ The capstone over the narrow entryway depicts a king in his priestly garb, while a stele set at the head of the stairway bears a worn Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription that seemingly mentions “the divine spring Lurahu(ta).”⁴⁹

Since it is situated on a mountain terrace too distant from any settlement to serve as its water supply, we may conclude that an artificial pond fed by springs about two and a half miles from the Hittite town of Kuşaklı/Šarišša (fig. 7.13)⁵⁰ was also solely a focus for worship. Together with its plastered skirt, the nearly round basin measures approximately 135 m in diameter. Nearby were excavated the remains of a structure that displays similarities to that of Hittite temples. Festival texts from both Ḫattuša⁵¹ and Šarišša⁵² describe ceremonies to be conducted at a stele (*ḫuwaši*) erected at the Šuppitaššu spring outside the latter town. Our complex is surely to be identified with this Šuppitaššu.

Another very impressive manmade sacred pond is to be found at Eflatun Pinar⁵³ (fig. 7.14) near Lake Beyşehir, which features a monumental facade presenting a schematic

⁴¹ KUB 7.20 (CTH 475.A) i 1–9, ed. Beckman, forthcoming.

⁴² KUB 2.8 (CTH 617.1) ii 27–28, translit. Groddek 2009, p. 63.

⁴³ Data collected in Hüser 2007, p. 144.

⁴⁴ For such finds in the ponds of the capital, see Ökse 2011, p. 226 with n. 36. Whether these accumulations are evidence for ritual practice at the reservoirs themselves or represent *favissae* for the disposal of sacred utensils employed elsewhere, their presence in any case indicates a religious significance.

⁴⁵ Neve 1971, pp. 13–16.

⁴⁶ On these cultic utensils, see Haas 1994, p. 538; for examples, see Fischer 1963, pp. 72–73, pls. 122–24.

⁴⁷ Additional major reservoirs from the Hittite era are Karakuyu (Hüser 2007, pp. 134–37), Köylütolu (Hüser 2007, p. 142), and Yalburt (Temizer apud Özgüç 1988, pp. xxv–xxvii; Hüser 2007, p. 145).

⁴⁸ Neve 1970.

⁴⁹ For the text, see Güterbock 1969, pp. 49–52.


⁵⁰ Hüser 2007, pp. 120–26.

⁵¹ CTH 636. The attestations of Šuppitaššu are KUB 20.99 ii 14, 20, 22.

⁵² Wilhelm 1997, pp. 18–19, no. 1.

⁵³ Bachmann and Özenir 2004; Hüser 2007, pp. 144–45.

representation of the Hittite cosmos (fig. 7.15). At its center are enthroned the rather worn images of a male and a female figure, presumably depicting the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess. Above them hover symbols of the sun, while below, supporting them, are five mountain gods. The installation beneath and in front of the deities was formed by the diversion of the waters of an adjacent natural spring around the periphery of an artificially shaped basin. An ingenious mechanism adjacent to the facade allowed the direction of the flow so that water would, if the operator so desired, issue into the pond from holes in the lower portion of the mountain deities rather than flow in directly from the main channel and seep in through vents on the lateral embankments. In the pool and next to the platform situated directly opposite the central facade (fig. 7.16) were recovered the remains of offerings and votive vessels. This constitutes another definite locus of cultic activity, although the reservoir might also have had secular purposes in connection with an unexcavated urban site not too far away.

Created entirely through human effort without the advantage of a natural spring was the Ostteich/Südburg⁵⁴ complex at Hattuša (fig. 7.17). Here a 6,000 sq. m rectangular hollow was excavated and buttressed with thick earthen banks, then filled with water piped in from the wooded slopes south of the city. In the sediments that collected in the pond thus constructed, archaeologists found many fragments of votive vessels. Subsequently, stone-built chambers were installed into both the western and northern corners of the pond's embankment. The western structure has been largely destroyed, but the northern one has survived almost intact, thanks to the protection afforded by the later Phrygian city wall constructed over it (fig. 7.18). Within this Chamber 2 were erected two relief slabs, one depicting the Sun-god and the other the building's patron, Šuppiliuma II, the last attested Hittite Great King (fig. 7.19). The furnishings were completed by an Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription (fig. 7.20) wherein this ruler sets forth his great martial deeds. He concludes this text with this statement: "Here ... I constructed a 'Divine Earth Road'" (line 18), obviously referring to the chamber itself. This term (DEUS. ) corresponds to the cuneiform ideogram KASKAL.KUR, literally, "road to the underworld,"⁵⁵ which the Hittites employed to designate those openings in their karst landscape into which streams disappeared, only to emerge again at some distance.

For the ancient Anatolians, these dolines were sacred spaces, paths to the chthonic realm, and accordingly they received reverent attention.⁵⁶ At the Südburg, Šuppiliuma has constructed a personal gateway to the netherworld, possibly in anticipation of his own funerary obsequies. Note that in his depiction within the shrine, he wears the horns of divinity, while traditionally Hittite monarchs were divinized only upon their deaths.⁵⁷

In summation: I have shown that while the cosmic forces immanent in the world as experienced by Hittite men and women could be worshipped in urban temples and at unmodified natural features in the countryside, sacred space in which these powers might be honored and served was also constructed by this civilization through the modification of peaks and springs, both within and outside of settlements. At the extreme, as in the case of the Südburg at Hattuša, the Hittites created a sacred space *ex nihilo*, albeit in imitation of naturally occurring numinous places.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Neve apud Hawkins 1995, pp. 9–12; Hüser 2007, pp. 138–40.

⁵⁵ See the pioneering study by Gordon (1967).

⁵⁶ On Hittite conceptions of the netherworld, see Haas 1994, pp. 127–34; Hoffner 1988.

⁵⁷ On Hittite monarchs, their deaths, and their iconography, see van den Hout 2002.

⁵⁸ The role of the king as mediator between the human and divine spheres of the universe allowed him as patron of all official building activities to render a constructed space sacred. See the rite translated in Beckman 2010, pp. 77–78.



Figure 7.1. Central panel in Chamber A at Yazılıkaya (after Akurgal 1961, fig. 19)

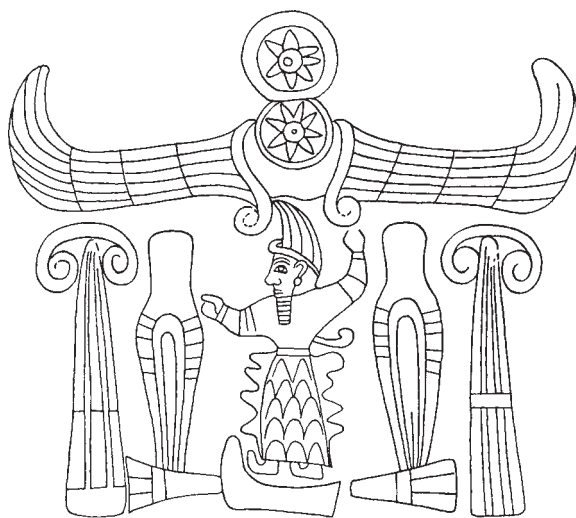


Figure 7.2. Anatolian Hieroglyphic "arms" of Tudḫaliya IV in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (after Bittel et al. 1975, p. 183)

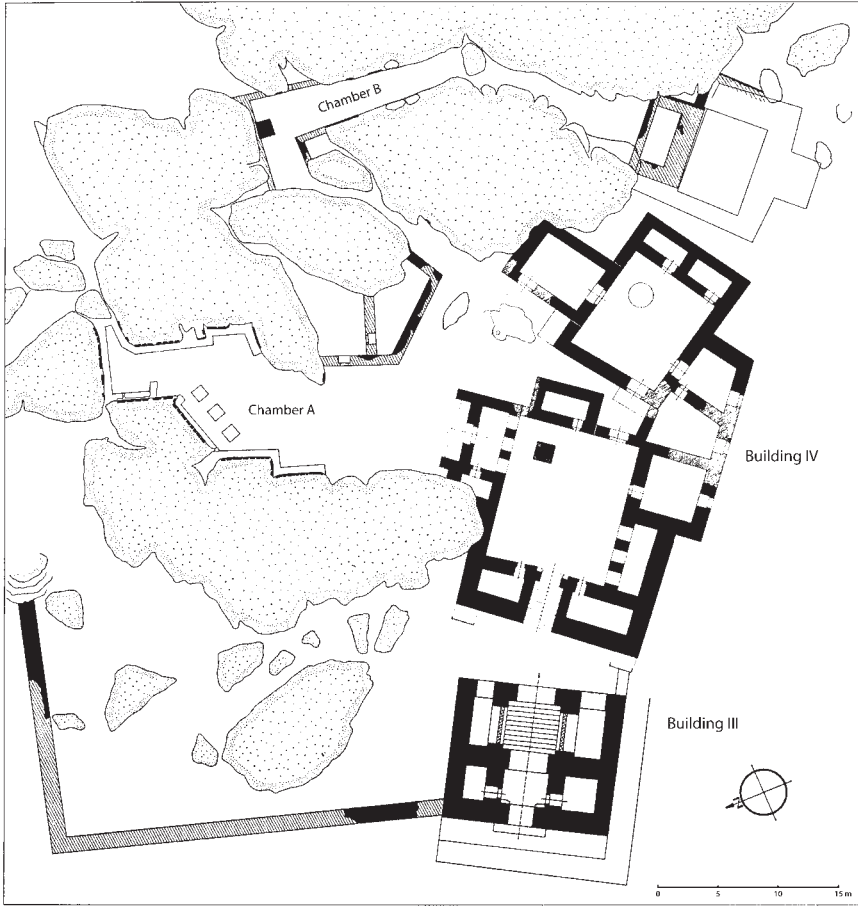


Figure 7.3. Plan of late thirteenth-century structures at Yazılıkaya (after Seeher 2011, fig. 142)

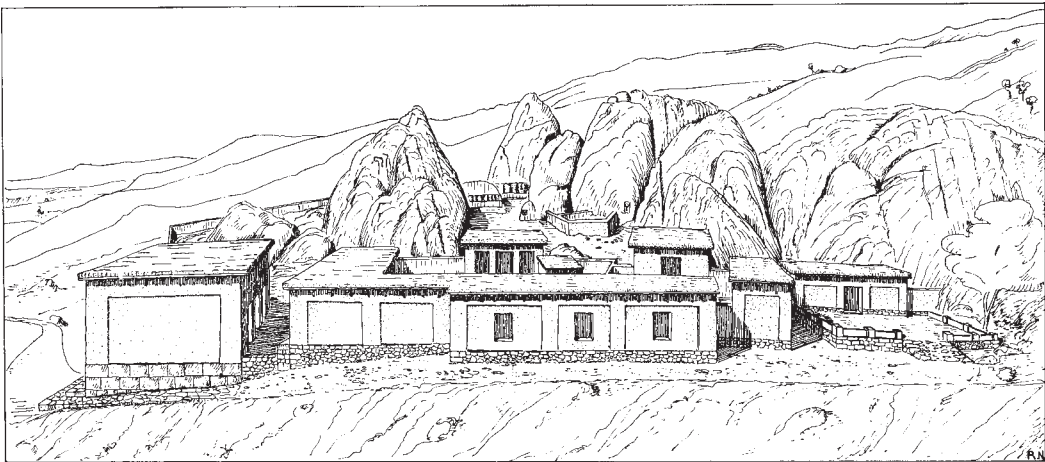


Figure 7.4. Reconstruction of late thirteenth-century structures at Yazılıkaya (after Bittel et al. 1975, fig. 111)



Figure 7.5. Tudḫaliya IV in the embrace of his patron god Šarruma at Yazılıkaya (photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)



Figure 7.6. Sword-god in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)



Figure 7.7. File of chthonic deities in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)



Figure 7.8. Portion of the reliefs at Gavurkalesi (photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)



Figure 7.9. Reliefs at Gavurkalesi (after Kohlmeyer 1983, fig. 16)

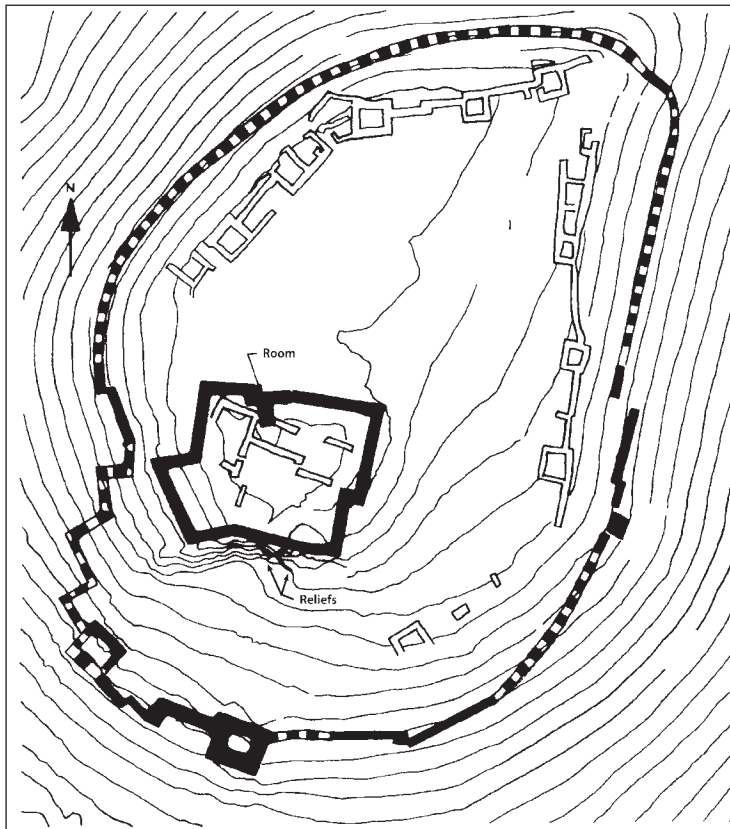


Figure 7.10. Plan of Gavurkalesi (after Kühne 2001, fig. 11)

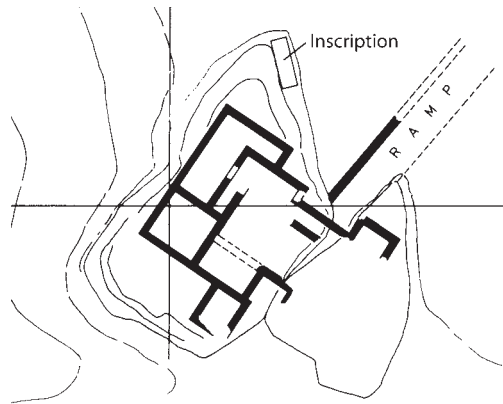


Figure 7.11. Plan of Nişantepe (Boğazköy) (after Neve 1993, fig. 122)



Figure 7.12. Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription at Nişantepe (Boğazköy) (photo by the author)

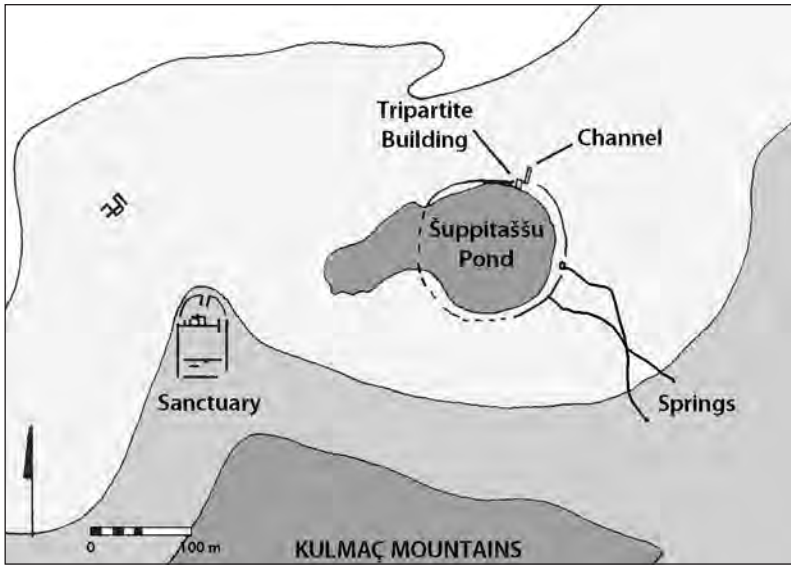


Figure 7.13. Plan of Šuppitaššu (after Ökse 2011, fig. 5)

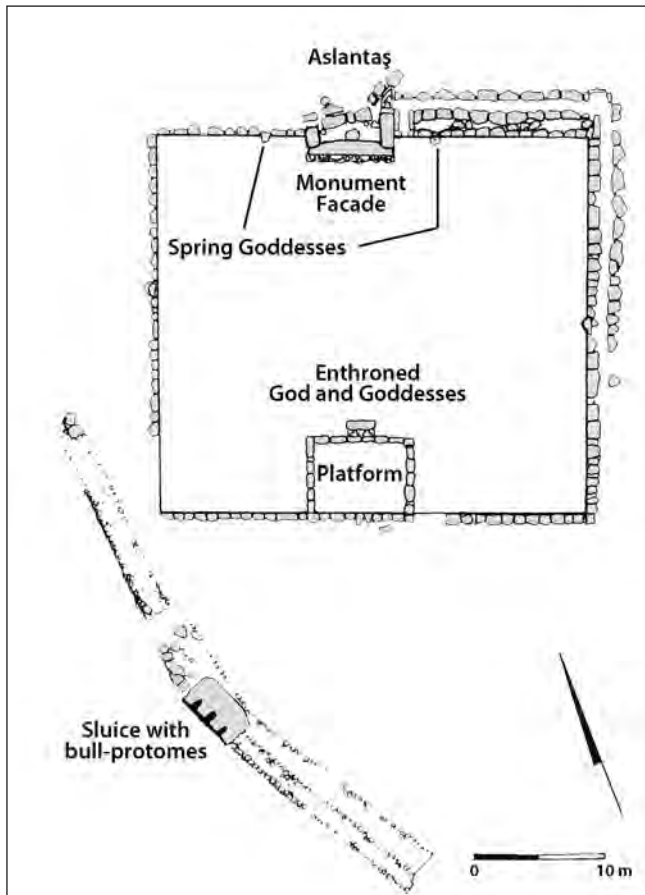


Figure 7.14. Plan of Eflatun Pınar (after Ökse 2011, fig. 2)

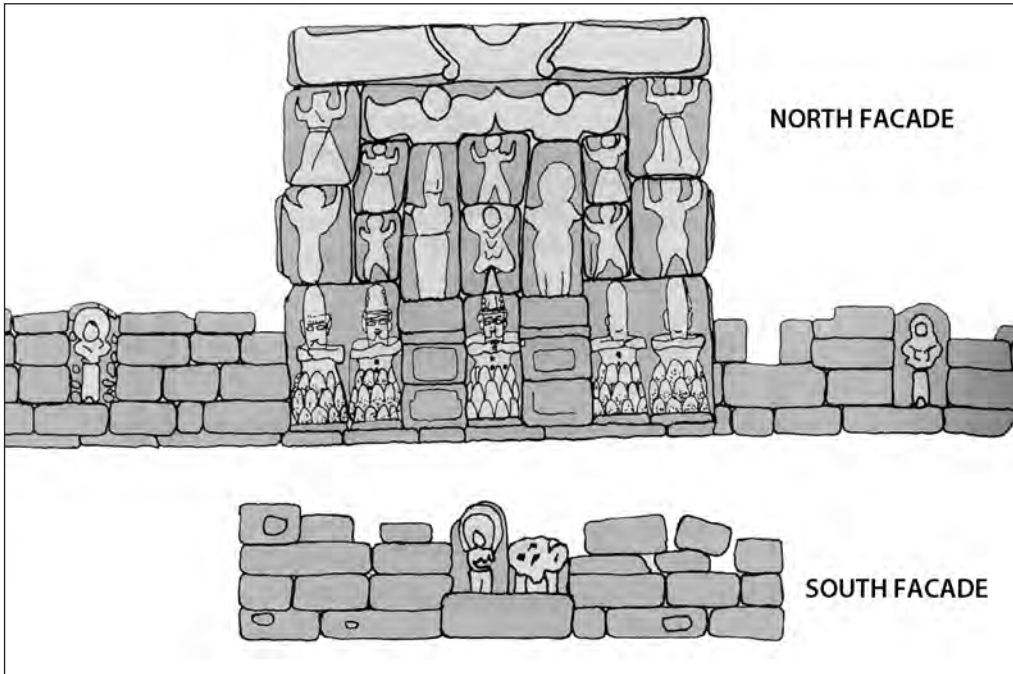


Figure 7.15. Eflatun Pinar facade (after Ökse 2011, fig. 3)

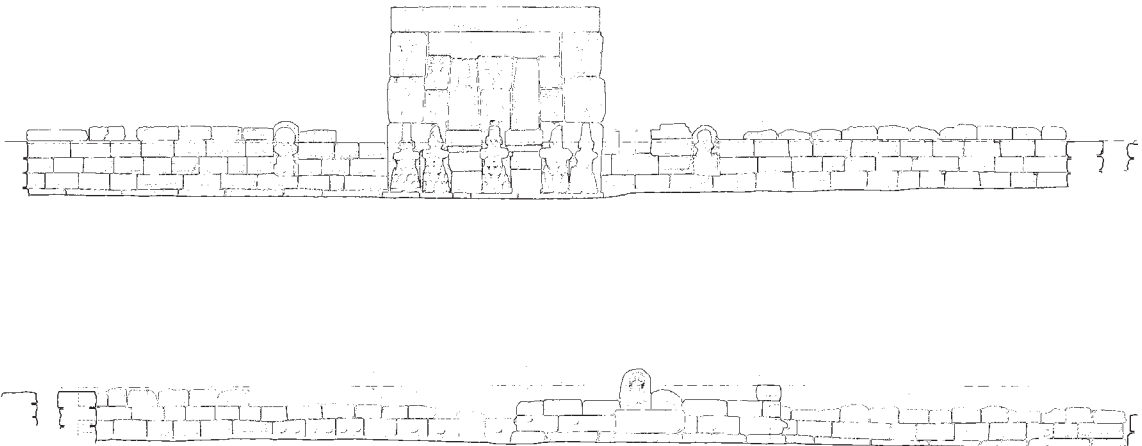


Figure 7.16. Constructions on the long sides of the pool at Eflatun Pinar (after Bachman and Özenir 2004, fig. 32)

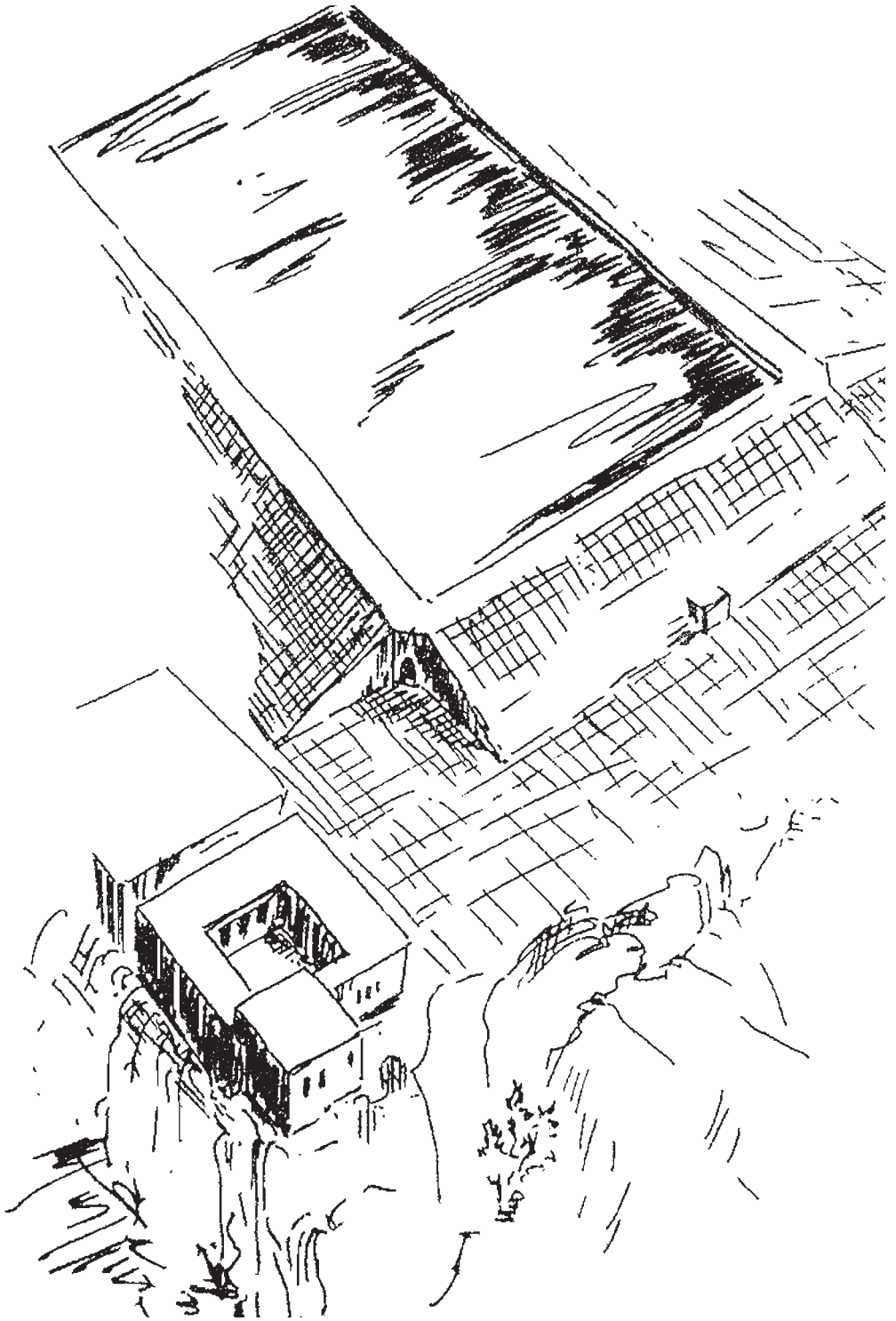


Figure 7.17. Südberg/Ostteich at Boğazköy (after Neve 1993, fig. 218)



Figure 7.18. Südberg Chamber 2 entrance (Boğazköy)
(photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)



Figure 7.19. Relief of Šuppiluliuma II in Südberg Chamber 2 (Boğazköy) (photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)

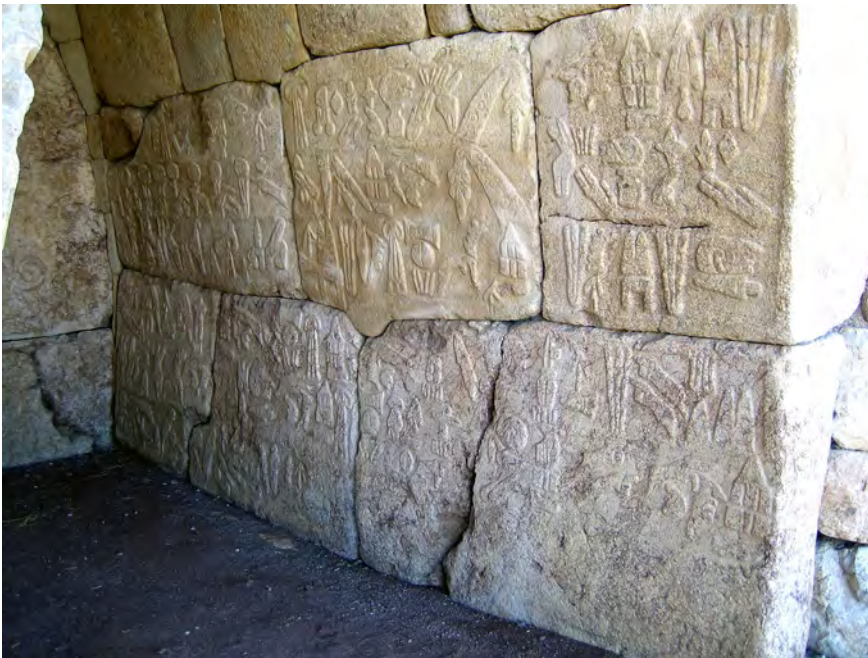


Figure 7.20. Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription in Südberg Chamber 2 (Boğazköy)
(photo by R. Tayfun Bilgin)

Abbreviations

CTH	Emmanuel Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> , 2nd ed. Études et commentaires 75. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> (vols. 1–22 are a subseries of WDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft). Leipzig, Berlin
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin

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