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Front cover photo: 2013 aerial view of Uşaklı Höyük – Area A (Archivio della Missione Archeologica a Uşaklı Höyük)

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## Presentation

This journal is the result of collaboration between a group of scholars of varying disciplines and backgrounds who for many years, and often together, have studied different (philology, epigraphy, linguistics, art and material culture) aspects that make up the rich and complex tapestry of cultures of the Ancient Near East.

AsiAnA responds to the desire for a shared forum to exchange research experiences by these scholars as well as a space open to further research and methodological and interpretative trends. The journal reflects a multidisciplinary approach, it involves even distant chronological-cultural and geographical horizons, and focuses on the analysis of multicultural processes from different perspectives.

In particular, the journal will include a wide range of contributions presenting unpublished research in history, archaeology and related social sciences in a period stretching from the fourth to the end of the first millennium B.C. and to a geographical area centred upon Anatolia, the Levant, Mesopotamia and Persia.

The core of the journal will consist of in-depth historical, economic and cultural studies, preliminary excavation reports and materials relating to field-work so as to provide a useful tool and to furnish the academic world with unpublished information concerning on-going research. In line with its multi-disciplinary aims, it will also include papers on the applied sciences employed in the realm of Near Eastern studies (e.g. radiocarbon dating, dendrochronology, archaeometry) together with studies on research methodologies and their potential.

Alongside the section dedicated to articles and in-depth research, AsiAnA will include shorter contributions on archaeological topics addressing specific questions and problems.

The first issue presents the research projects conducted by the scholars who have worked to bring the journal into existence, and who form its editorial board; at the same time it hosts articles based on MA and PhD dissertations by some young scholars. The initial concept of this publication derives, however, from the will and constant dedication demonstrated by Franca Pecchioli Daddi in developing, in her own university, an area of oriental studies which would extend and complement those sectors of research on the Ancient Near East that already enjoyed a strong tradition in Florence, leading to new synergies and directions for further research.







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## Considerazioni sui culti ittiti connessi al ciclo lunare<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** The Hittite sources document the existence of two different religious ceremonies connected to the lunar cycle, both defined as EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU<sup>KAM</sup>, “festival of the month”. The first one is performed either at the beginning of the month or at full moon, and it is often attested in the cult inventory texts as part of the cult due to local deities. In addition to these regular ceremonies, which should more correctly be indicated as “monthly festivals”, a “festival of the month” is performed by the Hittite king at the beginning of every month in order to sacralize a time perceived as particularly meaningful. In this official ceremony, whose fragments are currently filed under CTH 591, several originally autonomous rites directed to the moon in particular lunar phases were included. This paper, besides providing a general overview of the Hittite religious ceremonies connected to the moon cycle, briefly analyzes some of these rituals, trying to determine their potential relationship to CTH 591.

**Keywords.** Hittite religion, Hittite festivals, Cult calendar, Moon, .

### 1. INTRODUZIONE

In un passo ben noto della preghiera di Muršili II al dio Telipinu, CTH 377, KUB 24.1+, Ro II 3-6,<sup>2</sup> replicato nella preghiera dello stesso sovrano alla dea Sole di Arinna CTH 376.A, vengono elencate le celebrazioni religiose che caratterizzano il culto di Ḫatti rispetto a quello di altri Paesi: EZEN<sub>4</sub><sup>HL.A</sup>-it=ta EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU EZEN<sub>4</sub><sup>HL.A</sup> MU-aš meanaš / gimmantaš ḫamešḫandaš / zenandaš auliuš mukišnašš=a / EZEN<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> INA KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ḫatti=pat ešzi, “per te (scil. Telipinu) nella terra di Ḫatti ci

<sup>1</sup> Desidero ringraziare Giulia Torri e Marina Pucci, per avermi invitato a contribuire al primo numero della rivista *Asia Anteriore Antica*. A Giulia Torri e a Michele Cammarosano sono debitore di preziosi suggerimenti e consigli in fase di redazione dell’articolo. Eventuali errori sono di mia esclusiva responsabilità. Le abbreviazioni usate seguono quelle del *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> La preghiera è stata pubblicata da Kassian – Yakubovich 2007: 428-451.

sono la festa del mese, le feste annuali: dell'inverno, della primavera, dell'autunno, e le feste dei rituali sacrificali".<sup>3</sup> Accanto a feste dal chiaro carattere stagionale e celebrate a cadenza annuale, emerge per la sua importanza la cerimonia definita con l'espressione logografica EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU. Lo stesso si osserva già nella preghiera di Arnuwanda e Ašmunikal CTH 375, dove si lamenta l'abbandono dei culti e la mancata celebrazione dei riti e delle feste "giornaliere, mensili e annuali", UD-aš ITU-aš MU-ti meyanīyaš SÍSKUR<sup>HI.A</sup> EZEN<sub>4</sub><sup>HI.A</sup> (KUB 17.21, Ro I 21'-22'; Vo III 14'-15') a causa delle incursioni dei Kaška nel Nord del Paese.<sup>4</sup>

Se i riti giornalieri fanno evidentemente riferimento all'offerta quotidiana rivolta alle divinità all'interno dei loro templi o nei santuari ad essi dedicati,<sup>5</sup> e le feste annuali sono da identificare con le cerimonie stagionali celebrate a cadenza annuale e già menzionate nella preghiera di Muršili II, il reale significato dell'espressione logografica EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU risulta più difficile da definire con esattezza. Le diverse traduzioni qui proposte nei due passi, rispettivamente "festa del Mese" in CTH 377 e "feste mensili" in CTH 375, mi sembrano in questo senso indicative dell'ambiguità che caratterizza tale espressione e della difficoltà nel determinare con precisione il significato e la natura delle cerimonie religiose così indicate nelle fonti. La traduzione, in altre parole, non può prescindere da una analisi precisa del senso dell'espressione logografica EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU e da una attenta valutazione del contesto in cui questa è inserita.

Benché essa venga spesso tradotta indifferentemente nei due modi, come "festa mensile" o "festa del Mese",<sup>6</sup> mi pare infatti che la scelta della traduzione implichi di per sé una differenza semantica: se con l'espressione "festa mensile" si definisce infatti una cerimonia religiosa che si ripete o si rinnova ogni mese, a prescindere dalla sua natura, che può variare a seconda delle consuetudini e delle tradizioni, una traduzione come "festa del Mese" pone invece l'accento sulla natura e l'oggetto della cerimonia più che sulla collocazione temporale della sua celebrazione. In questo senso, mi sembra che occorra ancora una volta sottolineare l'importanza della distinzione operata da Ph. Houwink ten Cate, secondo cui l'espressione EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU: "admits two meanings: The first is "monthly festival, and in that case it may concern the cult of any one deity (...). The second meaning is "Festival of the Month" in the strict sense; in that case taking place during the final days of the preceding month up to and presumably including the first day of the next month (...)".<sup>7</sup> Il primo tipo di cerimonia, pur essendo generalmente eseguito in momenti prestabiliti del mese, che coincidono con fasi precise del ciclo lunare,<sup>8</sup> non è necessariamente collegato all'astro lunare in quanto tale, se non nella misura in cui esso ne determina il momento di esecuzione.<sup>9</sup> Tale cerimonia rientra, assieme alle offerte quotidiane e alle grandi feste annuali, nel culto regolare tributato alle divinità poliadi a cui si fa riferimento nella già menzionata preghiera di Arnuwanda e Ašmunikal CTH 375.

Il secondo tipo di festa indicata nelle fonti come EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU, invece, ha lo scopo ultimo di sacralizzare un passaggio temporale sentito come particolarmente significativo, il transito da un ciclo lunare all'altro, e dunque l'inizio del mese nuovo nel calendario ittita, e in questo senso prevede riti che si rivolgano direttamente, seppur non esclusivamente, alla luna, che con la sua evidenza visiva segnala tale momento di passaggio. A questo proposito è opportuno ricordare come il termine *arma-*, il quale identifica in ittita la luna (e la divinità lunare, dietro l'espressione logografica <sup>D</sup>EN.ZU o <sup>D</sup>30<sup>10</sup>), venga significativamente usato anche per indicare il mese.<sup>11</sup> Tale cerimonia religiosa costituisce la "festa del Mese" propriamente detta, la cui celebrazione è documentata a livello del culto di stato.

<sup>3</sup> Si veda anche la traduzione di Singer 2002: 54-56.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Singer 2002: 49-54.

<sup>5</sup> Si tratta dell'operazione culturale generalmente indicata negli inventari di culto con l'espressione NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA UD<sup>KAM</sup> / UD<sup>MI</sup> / UMI, "pagnotta giornaliera", su cui si veda Cammarosano 2012a: 159-160; *id.* 2018: 114.

<sup>6</sup> Si vedano ad esempio, in riferimento alla preghiera di Muršili II a Telipinu CTH 377, le traduzioni di Singer 2002: 55 ("festival of the month") e HW<sup>2</sup> A: 318 ("Fest des Monats") rispetto a quella di Kassian-Yakubovich 2007: 433 ("monthly festival").

<sup>7</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1992: 93-94.

<sup>8</sup> Il carattere lunare del mese ittita è stato ormai stabilito con certezza. Si veda in particolare Del Monte 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Per una interpretazione diversa si veda Cammarosano, 2018: 114-115, secondo cui le feste mensili e le feste per la luna nuova rappresenterebbero la medesima cerimonia religiosa.

<sup>10</sup> Laroche 1955: 13-14. Per le attestazioni relative <sup>D</sup>EN.ZU e <sup>D</sup>30 (<sup>D</sup>XXX), si veda van Gessel 1998: 624-626, 909-915.

<sup>11</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> A: 313-323, Laroche 1955: 21.

Dal momento che la celebrazione regolare della festa del Mese rientrava tra gli obblighi culturali del sovrano, essa assunse infatti già in epoca antico ittita il carattere di una festa di stato. Nelle istruzioni per il personale templare CTH 264 tale cerimonia è infatti menzionata tra le feste “statali” della cui corretta esecuzione sono responsabili i membri dell’amministrazione templare di Ḫattuša (cf. KUB 13.4, Ro I 39).<sup>12</sup> I frammenti pervenuti che testimoniano tale celebrazione sono attualmente raccolti sotto il numero 591 del *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, e sono stati pubblicati estensivamente da J. Klinger (1996: 286-614). La composizione mostra una lunga fase redazionale e, seppure ricostruita sulla base di testi essenzialmente di età imperiale e dalla difficile collocazione, deriva senza dubbio da una tradizione antico-ittita, come sembra indicare anche la presenza di recitazioni hattiche.

In età imperiale la festa del Mese fu poi inglobata tra le celebrazioni della grande festa di primavera dell’AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup>, come testimoniato dalle tavole di riepilogo che ne riassumono l’articolazione giornaliera, dove essa viene menzionata tra i rituali previsti per il quarto e il quinto giorno.<sup>13</sup>

Nella struttura complessiva della festa del Mese, a loro volta, sembrano essere confluiti alcuni riti di carattere purificatorio rivolti alla divinità lunare e probabilmente riconducibili ad una tradizione rituale autonoma. Tali riti, riconoscibili per struttura, natura delle operazioni culturali eseguite, partecipanti al culto e divinità venerate, erano celebrati fin dall’età antico ittita in concomitanza con la luna nuova, allo scopo di tutelare il sovrano nella fase di transito da un mese all’altro, un momento particolarmente importante nel quadro di un calendario culturale basato sul ciclo lunare (Del Monte 1988). Molti frammenti di rituali dedicati alla luna sono attualmente raccolti sotto il numero di catalogo CTH 645, tra i frammenti di cerimonie religiose in onore delle divinità inferie, ma la effettiva collocazione di molti di loro, in considerazione della loro possibile appartenenza al corpus della festa del Mese CTH 591, è ancora da stabilire con certezza. Considerando che nel medesimo numero di catalogo sono presenti anche documenti attribuibili ai riti celebrati per la dea Lelwani nella casa *hešta*,<sup>14</sup> un lavoro complessivo che analizzi i frammenti ittiti relativi al culto lunare nel loro complesso e ne restituisca il *Sitz im Leben*, attribuendo quelli riconducibili con certezza alla festa del Mese al corpus CTH 591 e collocando gli altri sotto un diverso numero di catalogo, si pone oggi a mio avviso come un importante *desideratum* degli studi sul calendario culturale ittita.

Nel presente articolo si cercherà di fornire, in una prima parte, una panoramica delle cerimonie religiose mensili documentate nelle fonti ittite e, in una seconda parte, una breve analisi dei frammenti in cui è contenuta la descrizione di rituali connessi alla luna, nel tentativo di comprendere se, e in che misura, questi possano essere ricondotti al corpus di CTH 591, e quali rapporti intercorrano tra essi e la festa statale del mese.

## 2. LE FESTE MENSILI NEL CULTO ITTITA

Le fonti ittite documentano l’esistenza di un gran numero di feste periodiche legate ai movimenti lunari, e dunque celebrate a cadenza mensile in molti centri religiosi dello stato. La regolarità con cui la festa veniva celebrata ogni mese sembra essere confermata dai frequenti riferimenti all’esecuzione di 12 cerimonie definite EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU nel corso dell’anno, presenti nei documenti generalmente noti come inventari di culto.<sup>15</sup> È proprio da questa tipologia di testi, nei quali la festa mensile risulta tra le cerimonie più documentate,<sup>16</sup> che ci proviene la gran parte delle attestazioni relative a questa cerimonia religiosa. Gli inventari si limitano, nella gran parte dei casi, a menzio-

<sup>12</sup> Si veda l’edizione del testo di Taggar-Cohen 2006: 33-107.

<sup>13</sup> *Infra*. Secondo Houwink ten Cate 1992: 96, nel testo KUB 59.1 (CTH 619), in cui è contenuta la descrizione di alcune operazioni del 34° e del 35° giorno della festa di primavera (in accordo con la tavola di riepilogo B=KUB 30.39+), sarebbero riconoscibili alcuni riti attribuibili alla festa del Mese. La presenza di due cerimonie legate al mese alla distanza di 29 o 30 giorni nell’articolazione complessiva della festa AN.TAḪ.ŠUM sembrerebbe dunque confermare la necessità della celebrazione regolare, da parte del sovrano ittita, della festa connessa al passaggio del mese.

<sup>14</sup> Su questi riti si veda Torri 1999: 21-29.

<sup>15</sup> Su questa tipologia testuale si veda il lavoro, ormai classico, di Carter 1962 e, più di recente, Hazenbos 2003 e Cammarosano 2012b, 2013, 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Per un parziale elenco di attestazioni si veda HW<sup>2</sup>, A: 319.

nare la festa in relazione ad una particolare località o ad una divinità cittadina, riportando sintetiche informazioni sul totale delle offerte culturali previste o sul personale templare coinvolto. Relativamente alle modalità di svolgimento delle feste mensili, non si ricavano però dagli inventari culturali che scarse indicazioni. Esistono tuttavia significative eccezioni. L'inventario KUB 27.68+<sup>17</sup> (CTH 673), relativo alla città di Nerik, fornisce informazioni dettagliate sui riti che formano le feste mensili celebrate in onore del dio della Tempesta di Zaḫalukka, i quali consistono sostanzialmente in una ripetuta serie di offerte di pani *ḫarši* (indicati dal sumerogramma NINDA GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA) e pani umidi (NINDA LABKU) da parte del sacerdote SANGA in diversi luoghi dell'edificio *dahanga*,<sup>18</sup> accompagnate da invocazioni alla divinità (cf. KUB 27.68, Ro I 13: <sup>DU</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *Zaḫaluqa andan ḫalzai...*). L'inventario è organizzato per sezioni, ciascuna dedicata ad una diversa divinità di Nerik: in ognuna di esse si elencano le feste destinate al dio nel corso dell'anno, il totale delle forniture necessarie, di cui dovrà essere responsabile il sacerdote addetto alla celebrazione delle feste, e il personale templare adibito al culto della divinità. Dal documento si evince che in un singolo centro di culto potevano aversi più feste mensili celebrate in onore di divinità diverse. In esso si menzionano infatti, oltre alla festa mensile per il dio della Tempesta di Zaḫalukka,<sup>19</sup> anche quella per il dio della Tempesta del cielo e quella per Telipinu. Almeno tre diverse cerimonie definite EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU erano dunque celebrate a Nerik. Come osservato poco sopra, l'inventario registra dodici feste di questo tipo per ciascuna divinità, il che conferma la cadenza mensile della loro celebrazione.

A queste si deve poi aggiungere la festa mensile per il dio della Tempesta di Nerik, oggetto dell'editto CTH 672,<sup>20</sup> curiosamente non menzionata nell'inventario culturale ma ben documentata altrove.<sup>21</sup>

Si deve immaginare che lo stesso si verificasse in altri centri religiosi, perlomeno quelli di maggiori dimensioni e caratterizzati dalla presenza di un pantheon articolato costruito attorno alla principale divinità cittadina.

Non essendo direttamente legata al momento di passaggio tra un mese e l'altro, la festa mensile poteva essere celebrata in occasione della luna nuova oppure durante la fase di plenilunio. Il collegamento con le fasi lunari si deve a mio avviso non tanto ad una particolare valenza religiosa dell'astro notturno, quanto alla necessità di ancorare la cerimonia ad una data fissa e facilmente prevedibile, garanzia di una esecuzione periodica e regolare del culto.

Dal momento che la festa mensile ittita non si riferisce al mese in quanto tale, ma rientra nell'ambito del culto rivolto alle divinità poliadi, è evidente che non esiste una versione che si possa definire "canonica" di tale cerimonia. In ogni centro religioso essa assume caratteristiche diverse, che dipendono dalle tradizioni religiose locali e dalle divinità per cui è celebrata. Nei centri religiosi di maggior rilievo, come le "città sante" di Nerik o di Arinna, si deve presumere che le feste mensili avessero una struttura ben diversa rispetto alle analoghe cerimonie celebrate in centri di minori dimensioni.

La festa mensile celebrata a Nerik e descritta nel testo CTH 672,<sup>22</sup> in particolare, prevedeva due momenti diversi di celebrazione, ciascuno della durata di tre giorni, rispettivamente all'inizio del mese, e dunque in fase di novilunio, e a partire dal quattordicesimo giorno, in concomitanza con la luna piena. Come emerge chiaramente dall'*incipit* conservato in KUB 56.48 Ro 1-4,<sup>23</sup> il testo costituisce un editto promulgato dal sovrano Tuthaliya IV allo scopo di regolamentare il culto del dio della Tempesta di Nerik, con particolare riguardo per lo svolgimento della festa mensile in onore di questa divinità. Il documento si chiude infatti con l'elenco delle materie prime e degli animali necessari per la celebrazione della festa e dei responsabili delle forniture di ciascun bene, analogamente a quanto avviene negli inventari di culto.

<sup>17</sup> KUB 27.68+KBo 26.181+KUB 42.100. Si vedano le parziali edizioni di Haas 1970: 301-303 e Hazenbos 2003: 15-24.

<sup>18</sup> Su cui si veda ora Lamante 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Per le attestazioni del teonimo si veda van Gessel 1998: 669, 809.

<sup>20</sup> *Infra*.

<sup>21</sup> *Infra*.

<sup>22</sup> Si veda l'*editio princeps* di Haas 1970: 278-299 e, più di recente, Součková 2010: 279-300.

<sup>23</sup> Pubblicato in Součková 2010: 288.

La prima fase di celebrazione prende avvio con l'azione di chiamare il dio della Tempesta di Nerik, compiuta la sera precedente l'inizio della festa vera e propria dal LÚ DIM URU Nerik, l' "uomo del dio della tempesta di Nerik", davanti al tempio cittadino della divinità. Come esplicitamente registrato nel riepilogo contenuto alle righe KBo 2.4 Vo IV, 16'-21', la cerimonia che prende avvio la mattina del giorno successivo prevede sacrifici ed offerte in onore, oltre che della massima divinità poliade, degli altri dèi del pantheon cittadino, rispettivamente di Zaḥpuna, Tazzuwašši, la montagna Ḫaḫarwa e Zašḫaluqa. A partire dal quattordicesimo giorno del mese ha luogo la seconda cerimonia di offerta mensile in onore del dio della Tempesta di Nerik, descritta in KBo 2.4 Ro I, 23ss. Anche in questo caso, l'avvio della cerimonia è preceduto da un'invocazione al dio effettuata dall' "uomo del dio della Tempesta" la sera precedente. Come precisato in Ro I 24, la notte (*nekuzza meḫur*) del tredicesimo giorno è anche il momento in cui ha luogo il *warpuwar*, il "lavaggio" rituale. Dal giorno successivo, il quattordicesimo del mese, prende avvio la seconda offerta mensile, e i prodotti necessari alla cerimonia vengono portati nel *dahanga*. Stando al riepilogo delle righe Vo IV 16'-21' sopra menzionato, i riti previsti in questa seconda fase della festa mensile non si rivolgono alle divinità cittadine, ma solamente al dio della Tempesta. Non mancano in realtà offerte anche per Zaḥpuna e per il dio Zababa.

È interessante notare come, nonostante la festa costituisca una importante cerimonia religiosa, al punto che le modalità della sua celebrazione vengono stabilite direttamente dall'amministrazione centrale di Ḫattuša, essa non preveda la presenza del sovrano in qualità di officiante dei riti. Il dato conferma il carattere di "festa locale" della cerimonia, la quale non entrò a far parte del circuito del culto ufficiale ittita.

Lo stesso si osserva a proposito della festa mensile celebrata per la diade formata dal dio della Tempesta e dalla dea Ḫepat di Kizzuwatna, attualmente catalogata come CTH 706. Tale cerimonia è stata ricostruita da Trémouille (1996: 79-104) grazie al *join* indiretto di quattro diversi frammenti di epoca imperiale: KUB 54.36 (+) KUB 46.48 (+) KBo 17.103 (+?) KUB 46.49. La festa così ricomposta ha luogo durante gli ultimi giorni del mese, durante la fase di oscuramento che precede la luna nuova, come confermato dall'*incipit* del testo, in Ro I, 2: [...] ITU-*aš taruḫtari tuḫḫuišzi*, "[...] il mese termina (e) finisce". Come osservato da Trémouille (1996: 99; *ead.* 1997: 81), i toponimi menzionati lasciano pensare che la cerimonia si svolgesse interamente a Kizzuwatna e nelle località limitrofe. Essa costituisce un esempio di culto locale, diverso sia dalle altre feste mensili documentate nei testi ittiti, sia dalla festa ufficiale celebrata in occasione del mese nuovo dal re e dai funzionari religiosi della capitale. In una prima fase del rito i vasi cultuali delle diverse divinità della cerchia di Teššup e Ḫepat vengono portati dentro una borsa *kurša* presso il mare, dove vengono apparentemente lavati e purificati (Ro I 5'-22'), per essere poi usati in un rito di invocazione alle divinità (Ro I 23'-26'), seguito da un rito *ambašši*, durante il quale una serie di offerte animali e vegetali vengono bruciate.<sup>24</sup> A queste azioni segue la manipolazione di ciottoli e sostanze profumate, gettate dentro una brocca d'argento per il dio della Tempesta di Winuanda. Tali azioni sembrano poi venire ripetute nel *halentiu*-di Winuanda, ma il contesto estremamente frammentario del passo non consente di determinare con esattezza la natura e il significato del rito.<sup>25</sup> In una seconda fase della cerimonia, descritta sul verso della tavoletta, vengono effettuati riti che prevedono la manipolazione di oggetti magici ed uccelli attorno alle statue delle divinità,<sup>26</sup> apparentemente all'interno dei rispettivi templi cittadini.

È possibile, come ipotizzato da Trémouille, che le operazioni rituali descritte nel testo siano da collegare direttamente al passaggio del mese, in quanto azioni destinate a rinnovare, tramite il lavaggio rituale (*lavatio*), le divinità cittadine, e ad assicurare, tramite l'invocazione (*evocatio*), il favore degli dèi nei confronti del sovrano ittita. In questo caso il riferimento alla fase di oscuramento della luna non avrebbe soltanto lo scopo di ancorare la cerimonia ad una data fissa, ma si collegherebbe direttamente a quella che è la natura profonda del rito, il quale mirerebbe a ristabilire ad intervalli regolari il legame con le divinità cittadine garantendosi il loro sostegno in passaggio temporale di particolare evidenza visiva quale il transito da un mese all'altro.

<sup>24</sup> Su questa pratica rituale si veda Schwemer 1995; Strauß 2006: 11-119.

<sup>25</sup> Secondo Trémouille 1996: 99-100, i sacrifici menzionati in questa sezione del testo potrebbero essere messi in relazione con quelli descritti in KUB 46.47 (CTH 628), un frammento in ductus imperiale da lei attribuito alla festa mensile, sebbene l'editrice di KUB 46, Jakob Rost, 1976: VI, assegni il testo alla festa *hišūwa*.

<sup>26</sup> Su questa tipologia di azioni rituali si vedano le osservazioni di Strauß 2006: 72-76.

In diversi aspetti, la cerimonia ricorda la festa mensile celebrata in onore della dea *IŠTAR* di Ninive e descritta nel frammento KUB 27.16 (CTH 714).<sup>27</sup> Il colofone di una redazione più breve dello stesso documento, conservato in KUB 10.27+ VI, riporta l'indicazione: DUB 1<sup>KAM</sup> *ma-a-an* MUNUS.LUGAL / ANA<sup>D</sup> *IŠTAR* URU *Ne-i-nu-wa* / KASKAL-*ši* EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU *i-ya-zi* 'QA-TT', "Prima tavola: quando per la dea *Ištar* di Ninive la regina celebra per tempo la festa mensile.<sup>28</sup> Completa". L'espressione KASKAL-*ši*, itt. *palši*<sup>29</sup> viene tradotta da Wegner, pur in mancanza di un numerale, come "zum ersten Male" (Wegner 1981: 126), "la prima volta", e interpretata come indizio di una celebrazione mensile della festa. Il dato sarebbe confermato dall'indicazione, in KUB 10.27, I 19-27 e KUB 27.16, I 9'-13', relativa all'offerta alla divinità di frutta diversa a seconda della stagione, il che sembrerebbe indicare una celebrazione ripetuta nel corso dell'anno. La traduzione qui proposta, più neutra, tiene conto della mancanza di un numerale o dell'aggettivo *hantezzi* nel colofone. Ipotizzando un errore scribale nella redazione o nella copiatura del manoscritto, infine, è anche possibile emendare il passo come segue: KASKAL-*ši* <KASKAL-*ši*>, traducendo quindi l'espressione "ogni volta". Anche in tal caso il passo indicherebbe una celebrazione ripetuta della festa, laddove la traduzione proposta si focalizza piuttosto sulla necessità di eseguire la cerimonia al tempo stabilito.

In conformità con la durata abituale delle feste mensili ittite, anche la festa per *IŠTAR* di Ninive durava almeno tre giorni, ma è possibile che alcuni riti potessero estendersi almeno per un quarto giorno (Wegner 1981: 130). Non abbiamo purtroppo indicazioni relative al momento di inizio della cerimonia anche se, alla luce di quanto osservato finora, è ragionevole ipotizzare che questo sia da collocare alla metà del mese oppure nella fase di novilunio. Al centro della festa si colloca il lavaggio rituale della statua della divinità,<sup>30</sup> effettuato in prima persona dalla regina, come descritto in KUB 27.16 I, 22'-24', o nel testo parallelo KUB 10.27+ I, 28-33. Il rito è seguito dall'immersione di sette ciottoli nei vasi cultuali colmi d'acqua già usati per il lavaggio dell'immagine divina, operazione che ricorda quella descritta in CTH 706. La divinità viene quindi ricollocata sull'altare, e ha luogo una serie di riti di purificazione identificati da termini hurriti,<sup>31</sup> oltre ad offerte per le divinità della cerchia di *IŠTAR*, tra cui le ierodule Ninatta e Kulitta. Il terzo giorno, infine, la regina effettua l'invocazione alla dea (KUB 27.16, III 14-15), nel cui tempio si celebrano libagioni e riti *ambašši* e *keldi*.

Il testo pervenutoci non conserva toponimi, ed è dunque difficile comprendere se, e in tal caso in che misura, la festa descritta rientri nel circuito ufficiale del culto ittita, oppure se sia da considerare una festa locale. L'assenza di riferimenti alla presenza del re, oltre al fatto che altri documenti simili, relativi alla festa annuale (EZEN<sub>4</sub> MU-*ti meyani*) per Šaušga di Tameniga celebrata a Šamuḫa,<sup>32</sup> menzionino la regina come officiante principale del rito, rendono probabile che anche la festa mensile per *IŠTAR* di Ninive sia in effetti l'espressione di un culto locale, sia pur di rilievo tale da prevedere la presenza della regina. In considerazione della crescente importanza di Šamuḫa come centro di culto della dea *IŠTAR* in epoca imperiale,<sup>33</sup> è anche possibile ipotizzare che la festa mensile in onore di questa divinità facesse in effetti parte del calendario culturale di Šamuḫa.

La celebrazione di una o più feste mensili in onore delle divinità poliadi costituiva dunque un evento ricorrente nella pratica religiosa dei centri locali ittiti. La concomitanza di tali cerimonie con determinate fasi lunari inseriva l'evento in un ritmo ciclico che era alla base del calendario culturale ittita, articolato attorno al regolare ripetersi di eventi sacri sottratti allo scorrere ordinario, profano, del tempo.

A livello del culto di stato, si osserva anche l'esistenza di grandi feste stagionali le quali, seppur non indicate dal logogramma EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU in quanto non celebrate a cadenza mensile, avevano comunque luogo in momenti precisi dell'anno ittita, rigidamente stabiliti in concomitanza con determinate fasi lunari. La festa *pudaḫa-*, di

<sup>27</sup> Pubblicato in Wegner 1995: 149-156; *ead.* 1981: 127-131.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Wegner 1981: 127.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. CHD, P: 76-77.

<sup>30</sup> Su questa pratica rituale si veda Strauß 2006: 68-70.

<sup>31</sup> Su cui si veda Wegner 1981: 129, con riferimento a Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 75-77.

<sup>32</sup> KUB 12.5 (CTH 713).

<sup>33</sup> Su cui si veda Lebrun 1976: 19-25.

derivazione nord-siriana e celebrata in epoca imperiale per la diade formata da Teššup e ʿHepat di Aleppo, dovette diventare una cerimonia rilevante nel culto ufficiale della corte ittita, al punto da essere menzionata, nelle già ricordate Istruzioni per il personale templare CTH 264, tra le grandi feste regolari entrate a far parte del culto di stato. Essa aveva luogo l'ottavo mese dell'anno, e dunque in autunno, per una durata di tre giorni, a partire dal quattordicesimo giorno del mese,<sup>34</sup> come documentato da un catalogo di feste relative al culto di Aleppo, KBo 14.142.<sup>35</sup> Contrariamente a quanto affermato da Haas (1994: 556), non si tratta dunque di una "festa mensile" in senso stretto, nonostante la fase di celebrazione e la durata della festa possano ricordare alcune caratteristiche di queste cerimonie,<sup>36</sup> dal momento che la sua celebrazione sembra avvenire a cadenza annuale.

### 3. I RITUALI PER LA LUNA E LA FESTA ITTITA DEL MESE

Nel quadro di un calendario culturale articolato attorno al ciclico ripetersi delle fasi lunari, il momento di passaggio da un mese a quello successivo ha un particolare valore simbolico e prevede di conseguenza cerimonie culturali in onore della luna e della divinità lunare che segnalano, con la loro evidenza, tale passaggio. Se alcune cerimonie locali, come il primo rito di offerta per il dio della Tempesta di Nerik descritto in CTH 672 o la festa per il dio della Tempesta e ʿHepat di Kizzuwatna CTH 706, avevano luogo rispettivamente all'inizio e alla fine del mese, e dunque nella fase di novilunio, è soprattutto nella grande festa statale CTH 591, celebrata al passaggio del mese dalla coppia reale ittita, che l'importanza di tale fase emerge in tutta la sua evidenza. Non intendo in questa sede effettuare un'analisi del testo, già pubblicato ed ampiamente studiato da Klinger (Klinger 1996: 285-614). Mi limiterò piuttosto ad evidenziare come alcuni riti effettuati durante i tre giorni in cui si articola la festa del mese sembrino rivolgersi direttamente all'astro lunare, il che consente di tracciare dei paralleli con alcuni rituali attualmente collocati sotto il numero di catalogo CTH 645 ma la cui attribuzione è assai discussa.<sup>37</sup>

Il colofone del testo in *ductus* recente KBo 54.117+KUB 55.39<sup>38</sup> menziona contestualmente la luna e la festa del Mese:

KBo 54.117+, Vo IV

27' DUB 1<sup>KAM</sup> QA-TI ma-a-an D30-aš ti-ya-zi  
 28' LUGAL-uš GIM-an A-NA E[ZEN<sub>4</sub>] ITU<sup>KAM</sup>  
 29' šu-uh-ḫa pa-iz-z[i pár-ku-i (?)]<sup>39</sup> TUP-PU

(27'-29') "Una tavola. Completa. Quando compare la luna. Quando il re per la fe[sta] del Mese va sul tetto. Tavola [corretta?...]".

L'azione del sovrano di salire sul tetto per le celebrazioni della festa del Mese viene dunque direttamente collegata con il primo apparire della luna nuova.

L'interpretazione di KBo 54.117+ e la sua collocazione sono però estremamente discusse. Il testo viene generalmente attribuito a CTH 591, la grande festa del Mese, oppure inserito in CTH 645, numero di catalogo sotto

<sup>34</sup> KBo 14.142, Ro II 5-7 (CTH 698).

<sup>35</sup> Su cui si veda Trémouille 1997: 83-84.

<sup>36</sup> Così anche Trémouille 1997: 94.

<sup>37</sup> Si veda, su questo gruppo di testi e sulle divinità in esso attestate, Steitler 2017: 77-83.

<sup>38</sup> Groddek 2002: 65-69.

<sup>39</sup> Integrazione di Del Monte 1988: 55. La formula consueta sarebbe *kī parkui TUPPU*, seguita dall'indicazione *ANA GIŠ.ḪUR=kán ḫandan*, "conforme alla tavola di legno". Si vedano le attestazioni in CHD, P: 166. Lo spazio in lacuna sembra tuttavia essere insufficiente per l'inserimento del dimostrativo.

il quale sarebbero raccolti i frammenti relativi a cerimonie in onore delle divinità inferre.<sup>40</sup> Il recto, mancante della prima parte, si apre con una serie di libagioni e di offerte, tra cui quella di un agnello nero all'oscura divinità Kuwašša (al dat./loc. pl.),<sup>41</sup> presso un focolare. Vale la pena notare come lo stesso teonimo sia menzionato anche in KUB 2.13, Ro II 54', testo attribuito con certezza alla festa del Mese, dove la divinità riceve una pecora assieme a <sup>D</sup>Šiwatt, il giorno divinizzato. Le operazioni, in entrambi i testi, hanno luogo su un tetto. Alle righe Ro I, 11'-12' di KBo 54.117+, si descrive infatti come il re scenda dal tetto per recarsi nel *tunnakkešsar*, la camera interna, e successivamente (r. 13') nel *halentiu-*. Due impiegati di palazzo portano giù dal tetto una brocca *KUKUBU* e un oggetto identificato dal sostantivo <sup>GIŠ</sup>*wera-*, forse un vassoio.<sup>42</sup> Dopo che su di esso sono stati deposti sette pani sottili, il <sup>GIŠ</sup>*wera-* viene collocato davanti alla finestra. Il re si inginocchia e si reca nuovamente sul tetto. La parte rimanente della prima colonna del recto e la seconda sono troppo frammentarie per comprendere la prosecuzione della cerimonia, che prevede, dopo la manipolazione del legno di ginepro, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hullis*, da parte di un <sup>LÚ</sup>Ú.ĤÚB, un "sordo",<sup>43</sup> presso il <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠEN, forse da identificare con la grondaia (rr. 21'ss),<sup>44</sup> e dell'olio puro da parte del capo degli impiegati di Palazzo, una serie di offerte per gli dèi maschili e Maliya. La presenza del particolare operatore cultuale definito "sordo" e la materia utilizzata per il rito rimandano senza dubbio ad una cerimonia di purificazione del sovrano. Il *hullis* è oggi ragionevolmente identificato con il legno di ginepro.<sup>45</sup> In contesti rituali, dopo essere stato bruciato e successivamente immerso nell'acqua, viene spesso usato per aspergere il sovrano in un rito dal chiaro carattere purificatorio. Il <sup>LÚ</sup>Ú.ĤÚB è a sua volta documentato in testi festivi e in rituali in stretta associazione con azioni di purificazione del re.

La colonna III del verso contiene, alle righe 4'-8', 16'-22', 26'-32' e dalla riga 37' (Vo III termina alla r. 39'), una lista divina molto particolare, che include, oltre al dio della Tempesta e alla dea Inara, una serie di parti del corpo divinizzate: lo spirito *istantzana-*, l'occhio *šakui-*, la fronte *hanta-*, l'orecchio *ištamana-*, la mano *kešsar-*, il ginocchio *genuwa-*, da identificarsi evidentemente con divinità protettrici delle rispettive parti corporee. La quarta colonna del verso, infine, sembra descrivere, in contesto molto frammentario, libagioni e frazioni di pane per alcune ipostasi del dio della Tempesta, tra cui il dio della Tempesta di Nerik, e la dea Ĥulla. La cerimonia si conclude con la frazione di nove pagnotte sull'altare e l'offerta di vino ad un gruppo di nove divinità, tra cui: Mezzulla, il dio Luna, <sup>D</sup>KAL, Ĥulla, gli dèi della Tempesta di Zippalanda e di Nerik.

In considerazione delle corrispondenze, formali e contenutistiche, con alcuni frammenti di rituali per la luna raccolti sotto CTH 645, e in particolare con il testo KBo 11.32, l'appartenenza di KBo 54.117 a CTH 591 è stata messa in dubbio da J. Klinger nella sua edizione della Festa del Mese (Klinger 1996: 270). Alla conclusione opposta sono giunti studiosi come M. Popko, nella pubblicazione di KUB 58.38 (Popko 1988: V; *id.* 1991: 244), e Ph. Houwink ten Cate (1992: 94).

Il rituale KBo 11.32 prevede tre cerimonie di offerta distinte, descritte in sezioni della tavoletta separate tra loro da doppie linee di paragrafo.<sup>46</sup>

La luna è al centro della prima della serie, la cui descrizione è contenuta sul recto della tavoletta (Ro 1-9). Il fatto che essa venga definita tramite l'aggettivo <sup>GE</sup>₆, "nera" (KBo 11.32, Ro 2-3) lascia pensare che si trovi nella fase di oscuramento che precede la luna nuova, il che conferma la collocazione del rito al momento di passaggio tra un mese e l'altro. Il rito inizia con l'atto di inginocchiarsi, da parte del re, alla luna nera. Le operazioni rituali che seguono includono l'offerta di una pecora, anch'essa di colore nero, da parte del sovrano alla Luna, e la frazione,

<sup>40</sup> S. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (v. 1.91). Una parziale edizione di alcuni testi inseriti in CTH 645, KBo 17.15 e KBo 17.40, si trova in Haas – Wäfler 1976: 82-88. Cf. Steitler 2017: 77-83.

<sup>41</sup> Su cui si vedano le considerazioni di Klinger 1996: 579-580.

<sup>42</sup> HHW<sup>2</sup>: 226; HEG, W-Z: 494-496.

<sup>43</sup> Sul ruolo dei sordi nella ritualistica ittita si veda Velhartická 2009: 324-339.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Weeden 2011: 611-612.

<sup>45</sup> Così anche HW<sup>2</sup>, Ĥ: 807-810, dove si trova l'analisi più recente del termine; Christiansen 2006: 88. Cf. però anche Rieken 1999: 398-401, la quale traduce ipoteticamente il termine come *Holzkohle*, "carbone".

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Haas 1994: 273-274.



da parte di un capo dei funzionari di Palazzo, di dodici pani *tuhurai*,<sup>47</sup> corrispondenti forse ai 12 mesi dell'anno, seguita dalla loro deposizione in trenta ceste, in cui si è voluto vedere un riferimento ai trenta giorni del mese lunare (Haas 1994: 274). Il secondo rito, descritto a partire da Ro 10, prevede offerte in onore del focolare, indicato dal logogramma GUNNI. Il responsabile degli impiegati di Palazzo porta dal tetto un vassoio, che viene successivamente deposto presso la finestra nella camera interna del *halentiu*-. Dopo questa operazione vengono effettuate offerte per gli dèi maschili e il re si reca sul tetto. Al centro della terza cerimonia di offerte, descritta a partire da Ro 19, sono gli dèi maschili e Maliya, davanti a cui il re si inginocchia. Seguono la manipolazione del legno di ginepro, da parte del sordo, presso la grondaia, e dell'olio puro da parte dell'impiegato di Palazzo, a cui fanno seguito, analogamente a KBo 54.117+, offerte per gli dèi maschili e Maliya. Al termine della cerimonia si chiama un gruppo di divinità elencate per coppie: dio della Tempesta del cielo-“Madre (della) Terra” (*annaš daganzipaš*), dea Sole-Mezzulla, NIN.UR.TA/Šuwaliyat-Ḫalki, dio Luna-Išpanzašepa, focolare divinizzato-Ḫilašši, dèi maschili-Maliya, Waškuwattašši-Kuwanšeš.<sup>48</sup>

A KBo 11.32, duplicato in KUB 57.110+Bo 6168,<sup>49</sup> viene generalmente associata una serie di testi la cui collocazione, analogamente a KBo 54.117+, oscilla tra CTH 591 e CTH 645:

- KUB 43.30 (con il duplicato Bo 3991 e, nelle righe Vo III 3'-12', KBo 43.75)
- KBo 43.75 (con il duplicato Bo 4881)
- KUB 58.35
- Bo 3752 (con il duplicato KBo 25.104)
- KUB 20.24 (+) KUB 58.38
- Bo 3302
- Bo 3390

Molti dei testi sono in condizioni estremamente frammentarie. Mi limiterò pertanto nelle righe seguenti a descrivere brevemente alcuni tra i documenti meglio conservati.

Nella parte preservata di KUB 43.30<sup>50</sup> (in *ductus* antico ittita), che comprende all'incirca venti righe della seconda colonna del recto e della terza del verso, sono descritte offerte di vino e bevanda *marnuwan*, effettuate da parte del responsabile dei cuochi e del responsabile degli addetti al tavolo, presso la borsa *kurša*- e il focolare. Il sovrano effettua quindi una libagione in onore di un gruppo divino così composto: dea Sole di Arinna, dio della Tempesta, Mezzulla, Inara, Ḫulla (il testo è qui in lacuna ma l'integrazione del teonimo è probabile), Telipinu. Il verso della tavola, alle righe 3'-12', contiene una lunga serie di offerte allo stesso gruppo di divinità elencate per coppie che era oggetto della cerimonia di offerte conclusiva nel rituale KBo 11.32. Nella parte rimanente, un funzionario, il cui titolo cade in lacuna, e un capo degli impiegati di Palazzo versano (*šuhha*-) tritello, *šemehuna*- e fegato per il responsabile dei sordi, l'UGULA<sup>LÚ.MEŠÚ.ḪÚB</sup>, tramite un vaso *huppi*-. Lo stesso impasto viene in seguito versato dal tetto per gli dèi maschili.

In Bo 3752 (duplicato in KBo 25.104) troviamo, alle righe x+1-2', la frase *šara šuhha paizzi*, “sale sul tetto”. Alla riga immediatamente successiva è invece menzionato, in contesto frammentario, un agnello nero. Alla riga 12' il re si inginocchia davanti alle divinità Kuwanšeš, che abbiamo visto menzionate anche in KUB 2.13, oltre che in KBo 54.117+.

KUB 20.24+KUB 58.38 contiene, nella terza colonna del recto, la descrizione di una serie di operazioni culturali che hanno luogo presso la grondaia, e che comprendono riti di purificazione del re effettuati, anche in questo caso, da un “capo dei sordi”, GAL Ú.ḪÚB (da identificarsi con l'UGULA<sup>LÚ.MEŠÚ.ḪÚB</sup> di KUB 43.30), alternati

<sup>47</sup> Su cui si veda Hoffner 1975: 187.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Yoshida 1996: 85-86; Steitler 2017: 77-83. Su questa tipologia di liste divine si veda anche Neu – Otten 1972: 183-185.

<sup>49</sup> Redatto secondo il colofone, conservato in Vo III 4'-6', da [GUR-Šar]r<sup>uma</sup>, allievo di Ḫalwaziti. Il testo viene a sua volta associato a KUB 27.59 (CTH 832) nelle concordanze di S. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (v. 1.91).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Neu 1980: 76-78. Il testo viene erroneamente attribuito alla Festa della Luna e del Tuono da Velhartická 2009: 326.

a frazioni di pane eseguite da un impiegato di Palazzo. Direttamente collegata a queste operazioni è l'invocazione delle divinità del gruppo già osservato in KUB 43.30 e in KBo 54.117+. Il verso riporta invece frazioni di pane ed offerte alle parti del corpo divinizzate, inserite nel medesimo gruppo divino di KBo 54.117+.

Bo 3302, un piccolo frammento in *ductus* recente, sembra descrivere, seppur in contesto estremamente frammentario, la medesima situazione: indicative sono le menzioni di <sup>GIS</sup>*wera-* alle rr. x+1, 3'(?) 8', la presenza della frase [LUGAL-*u*]š *šuhhaz paizzi*, "il re viene dal tetto" alla r. 4' e delle divinità maschili e Maliya alla r. 11'. Presente è anche il GAL <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>Ū.HUB, il "capo dei sordi" alla r. 12'.

Al medesimo gruppo sembrerebbe infine appartenere il frammento inedito Bo 3390 (a sua volta parallelo a KUB 57.110+).<sup>51</sup>

L'immagine che si ricava dall'analisi di questo gruppo di testi è indiscutibilmente quella di una forte omogeneità contenutistica e strutturale. La natura delle operazioni eseguite, i luoghi ed i partecipanti alle cerimonie sono indicativi dell'esistenza di una pratica rituale ben precisa, eseguita a mio avviso in occasione della luna nuova, forse per tutelare il sovrano da eventuali influssi negativi attribuiti all'astro lunare in questa fase,<sup>52</sup> il che giustificherebbe la presenza, nel corso delle, cerimonie di operazioni dal chiaro carattere purificatorio.

D'altro canto occorre fare i conti con il colofone di KBo 54.117+, dove il rituale descritto nella tavola è esplicitamente collegato alle celebrazioni della festa del Mese. Ph. Houwink ten Cate (1992: 94) ha sottolineato le consonanze, per quanto riguarda il luogo, i partecipanti e la tipologia di cerimonie, tra KBo 54.117+ e KUB 2.13, documento riconducibile con certezza a CTH 591. In questo testo,<sup>53</sup> che costituisce, come indicato nel colofone, l'ottava tavola della composizione, sono descritte le cerimonie del mattino del terzo e ultimo giorno della festa del Mese. Come osservato da Klinger (1996: 299), la presenza di varianti antiche e recenti dei medesimi segni sulla tavola sembrerebbe indicare che si tratti di una copia tarda di un esemplare più antico, redatta, come indicato dal colofone, dallo scriba Tarhüntaziti, figlio di Pidda, sotto la supervisione di Anuwanza.<sup>54</sup>

Le operazioni del terzo giorno cominciano quando il sovrano si reca nella casa del lavaggio per indossare i suoi paramenti rituali. Quando esce dall'edificio si reca nel Palazzo. Un "sordo" porta dell'acqua con un contenitore *akutalla-* d'argento e il re si lava le mani. Seguono una serie di operazioni che si svolgono nella camera interna: essenzialmente frazioni di pane e libagioni in onore di un gruppo di tredici divinità. Non vi sono riferimenti ad operazioni cultuali che si svolgono su un tetto, ma lo stato estremamente lacunoso della seconda colonna del recto rende a mio avviso estremamente probabile che queste fossero descritte in questa parte della tavola. L'espressione *katta ui[zzi]*, "scende", conservata in Ro II 18', potrebbe fare riferimento all'azione del sovrano di scendere dal tetto (cf. LUGAL-*u*š...š<sup>u</sup>-*uh-ḥa-az* GAM *ú-iz-zi* in KBo 54.117+, Ro I 11'). La seconda colonna della tavola, in particolare, mostra notevoli affinità con alcune operazioni cultuali descritte in KBo 54.117+. Alla riga Ro II 24' viene menzionato il vassoio <sup>GIS</sup>*wera-*, che viene deposto presso la finestra subito prima di una libagione in onore degli dèi maschili. "Teste", SAG.DU<sup>MES</sup> e "piedi", GÌR<sup>MES</sup> di un animale sacrificato vengono portati dal responsabile dei cuochi alla riga Ro II 34', cotti su un braciore e deposti presso i luoghi sacri dell'edificio. Dalla riga 51' il testo descrive la già menzionata offerta di una pecora al giorno divinizzato e alle divinità Kuwanšeš. La pecora viene successivamente sacrificata ed il fegato cotto sul fuoco. La colonna si chiude con libagioni di birra e vino davanti al tavolo. La colonna III, il cui inizio si perde in lacuna, prevede libagioni in onore del gruppo divino: Šiwatt-, Ḥašamili, dèi di Kaneš, Ḥilašši, <sup>D</sup>U.GUR e Zuliya. Il resto della colonna descrive la preparazione di pani e la loro frazione per un altro gruppo divino composto da dodici divinità: Aškašepa, <sup>D</sup>MUNUS.LUGAL, Pirwa, <sup>D</sup>IMIN. IMIN.BI, gli dèi maschili di Maliya, gli dèi maschili di <sup>D</sup>KAL, gli dèi maschili del giorno divinizzato, gli dèi di Kaneš, Ḥašamili, Ḥilašši, <sup>D</sup>U.GUR e "i fiumi". Come si nota, già a partire dalla terza colonna il testo diverge sensibilmente rispetto alle cerimonie per la luna nuova analizzate poco sopra.

<sup>51</sup> Duplicato di KBo 11.32 secondo Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (v. 1.91).

<sup>52</sup> Sulla valenza negativa della luna, si vedano le osservazioni di Laroche, 1955: 18.

<sup>53</sup> Edito da Klinger 1996: 544-589.

<sup>54</sup> Sulla scuola scribale di Anuwanza si veda Gordin 2011: 184-198.

Il terzo giorno della festa del Mese prevede dunque cerimonie molto simili a quelle documentate in alcuni testi attualmente collocati in CTH 645, come frammenti di una festa in onore delle divinità inferie. KBo 54.117+, il cui colofone collega direttamente la cerimonia descritta alla festa del Mese, sembra presentare però una descrizione delle attività culturali più dettagliata rispetto a KUB 2.13.

Secondo Klinger, quanto descritto nei testi di CTH 645 non può essere attribuito con semplicità alla festa del Mese in quanto, sulla base dei colofoni conservati di CTH 591, tale cerimonia non potrebbe essere inserita che tra quelle del primo giorno (Klinger 1996: 270), il che contrasta con la formula *QA-TI* nel colofone di KBo 54.117+, la quale esclude una eventuale prosecuzione del documento. In realtà, come osservato poco sopra, a mostrare le maggiori affinità con le cerimonie relative alla luna è proprio la seconda colonna di KUB 2.13, dove sono descritte le attività del terzo e ultimo giorno della festa del Mese. Attribuendo il documento alla terza giornata della festa, la formula *QA-TI* di KBo 54.117+ risulterebbe assolutamente logica.

Come riportato nel colofone di KUB 2.13, la tavola rappresenta l'ottava e ultima della composizione, e contiene interamente la descrizione delle attività del terzo giorno. Per strano che possa apparire, l'ultima giornata della festa era quindi contenuta su una tavola sola su otto, con una notevole disomogeneità nell'organizzazione complessiva del materiale, a meno di non voler pensare all'esistenza di più serie con estensioni diverse (Klinger 1996: 258). Due soluzioni sono a questo punto possibili a mio avviso: si può identificare in KBo 54.117+ un documento appartenente ad una serie distinta di tavole relative alla festa del Mese, organizzate in maniera diversa rispetto alla serie di KUB 2.13. In alternativa, considerando che solo la seconda colonna di KUB 2.13 sembra duplicare le operazioni descritte in KBo 54.117+, sembra ragionevole ipotizzare che quanto contenuto in KBo 54.117+ costituisca la descrizione dettagliata di una cerimonia tra quelle che compongono la festa del Mese, eseguita nel corso del terzo giorno di celebrazioni. Una cerimonia del tutto particolare già presente in epoca antico ittita (cf. KUB 43.30), celebrata in onore della divinità lunare in occasione della luna nuova, e inserita tra i riti che compongono la festa del Mese in epoca più tarda. Potrebbe trattarsi a mio avviso dello stesso rito denominato con l'espressione  $EZEN_4$   $^D$ EN.ZU, "festa del dio luna", nell'*incipit* del componimento CTH 630,<sup>55</sup> in cui sono raccolti i testi relativi alla festa congiunta della luna e del tuono, eseguita quando un tuono interrompe la celebrazione della festa del dio luna e rende necessario un adattamento della cerimonia secondo le modalità delle feste ittite del tuono. L'espressione  $EZEN_4$   $^D$ EN.ZU, un *hapax* nella documentazione ittita, potrebbe a mio avviso indicare i particolari riti di purificazione eseguiti dal sovrano in occasione della luna nuova e descritti nel gruppo di testi attualmente raccolto sotto CTH 645.<sup>56</sup> L'indicazione *ma-a-an*  $^D$ EN.ZU-*aš*  $EZEN_4$ -*ni wa-ar-pu-wa-an-zi* / LUGAL-*uš wa-ar-ap-zi* (KUB 32.135, Ro I 1-2<sup>57</sup>), "quando (ha luogo) il lavaggio rituale<sup>58</sup> per la festa del dio luna, il re si lava", deve intendersi a mio avviso come un riferimento al rito effettuato dal re in occasione della luna nuova, inglobato nei riti della festa del Mese (KUB 2.13), ma attestato anche in redazioni indipendenti (i frammenti relativi al culto lunare attualmente inclusi in CTH 645).

Al momento di passaggio ad un mese nuovo sembra alludere l'espressione  $REŠ$  ITU<sup>KAM</sup>, "testa del mese", documentata in KBo 9.136,<sup>59</sup> anch'esso un testo probabilmente facente parte della festa del Mese e inserito in CTH 591:

<sup>55</sup> Su cui si veda ora Barsacchi 2014: 329-399.

<sup>56</sup> Contrariamente a quanto sostenuto da Houwink ten Cate 1992: 96, secondo cui i riti di CTH 630 sarebbero celebrati in occasione della luna piena.

<sup>57</sup> Duplicato in KBo 20.63, Ro 1-2.

<sup>58</sup> Letteralmente "il lavare", considerando che la forma *warpuwanzi* è da interpretarsi grammaticalmente come un infinito sostantivato. Cf. Barsacchi 2014: 353-354.

<sup>59</sup> Editto da Alp 1983: 334.

## KBo 9.136, Ro I

- 1 *I-NA RE-EŠ ITU<sup>KAM</sup> LUGAL-uš a-ra-ah-za pa-iz-zi* [  
 2 *an-da-aš-ša-an ú-iz-zi nu-za-kán SAG.DU-ZU* [  
 3 *wa-ar-ap-zi LUGAL-uš-ta <sup>E</sup>ha-le-en-t[i-u-az]*  
 4 *pa-ra-a ú-iz-zi ta-aš ar-ki-ú-i ti-[ya-zi]*

(1-4) “All’inizio del mese il re va fuori. [...] va dentro e la sua testa [...] lava. Il re esce [dal] *halentiu-* ed en[tra] nell’*arkiu-*.”

Anche in questo caso il rito prevede un lavaggio purificatorio indicato dal verbo *warp-*, eseguito con ogni probabilità nell’ambiente denominato É.DU<sub>10</sub>.ÚS.SA, verosimilmente parte del *halentiu-*, la residenza reale. È proprio lo scoppio di un tuono durante lo spostamento del sovrano dalla “casa del lavaggio”, a segnalare in CTH 630 la necessità di associare la “festa della luna” alla celebrazione di una festa del tuono.

In altre parole, è a mio avviso possibile ipotizzare che dei riti originariamente eseguiti in concomitanza con la luna nuova, allo scopo di purificare il sovrano in occasione di un passaggio temporale di particolare significato sacrale, siano in qualche modo stati inclusi in una cerimonia festiva più ampia, della durata di tre giorni e celebrata in occasione del mese nuovo.

Altri testi documentano l’esistenza di rituali analoghi eseguiti nella medesima circostanza.

L’inizio del mese è segnalato dall’arrivo della luna nuova anche in KUB 60.121 (CTH 500),<sup>60</sup> una tavola a colonna singola contenente due rituali di derivazione kizzuwatnea. Il secondo di questi veniva celebrato per la divinità lunare al passaggio del mese:

## KUB 60.121, Vo

- 14 *ma-<sup>r</sup>a-an<sup>1</sup> ITU GIBIL ku-wa-pí ti-i-e-zi nu-za A-NA <sup>D</sup>EN.ZU i-ya-at-ti-ya*  
 15 *ši-pa-an-ti nu ki-i da-an-zi*
- 
- 16 *9 NINDA.G[UR<sub>4</sub>.RA] nu<sup>61</sup> 1-iš-ša ŠA ½ tar-na-aš 1 ne-pí-iš ZÍD.DA ŠA ½ UP-NI*  
 17 *nu-uš-ša-an an-da MUL<sup>HI.A</sup> i-ya-an NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ<.A> me-ma-al 1 GAL KAŠ-ya*
- 
- 18 *nu ma-a-ah-<sup>h</sup>a-an GE<sub>6</sub>-an-za ki-ša-ri ITU-kán ú-iz-zi nu A-NA <sup>MUNUS</sup>ya-ru-hé-pa*  
 19 *ME-E QA-TI pí-an-zi nu-za-kán QA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU a-ar-ri nu 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA <1/2> tar-na-aš*  
 20 *[pá]r-ši-ya na-an-kán A-NA 8 NINDA.ṚGUR<sub>4</sub>.RA kat-ta da-a-i*
- 
- 21 [ *x x-an<sup>62</sup> šu-uh-<sup>h</sup>a ša-ra-a pé-e-da-a-i*  
 22 [ *A-NA] <sup>D</sup>EN.ZU pá-r-ši-ya nu NINDA<.Ì>.E.DÉ.A*  
 23 [ *x-da IŠ-TU <sup>DUG</sup>GAL KAŠ*  
 24 [ ]
- 

<sup>60</sup> Testo edito da Popko 1991: 239-245. Cf. anche Groddek 2006: 119-123; Steitler 2017: 250-251.

<sup>61</sup> Miller 2004: 113 propone la lettura 9 NINDA.S[ÍG<sup>2</sup> UP]-NU per la riga Vo 16, rinviando a Popko 1991: 241-242, 246 per ulteriori commenti.

<sup>62</sup> Popko 1991: 241 legge ipoteticamente [...<sup>NIND</sup>A<sup>3</sup>pár<sup>2</sup>-ša<sup>2</sup>-an, ma la collazione sulla fotografia non sembra fornire certezze in proposito.

(14-15) “Quando da qualche parte comincia un mese nuovo, si fanno libagioni per il dio luna *iyattiya*<sup>63</sup> e si prende questo: (16-17) nove pag[notte], ciascuna di mezzo *tarna*-, un cielo di mezzo pugno di lievito in cui sono fatte stelle, pane unto, lievito e una coppa di birra. (18-20) E quando è notte e viene il mese, si dà acqua per le mani alla donna Yaruḥepa, e (lei) si lava le mani. Spezza una pagnotta di <mezzo> *tarna*- e la depone sulle (altre) otto pagnotte. (21-24) [...] porta sul tetto [...]per] il dio Luna spezza, e il pane unto [...] birra da una coppa [...]”

Il rituale per il mese nuovo viene dunque direttamente collegato al culto del dio luna. La frase *mahhan* GE<sub>6</sub>-*an=za kišari* ITU=*kán uizzi* indica che il rito comincia di notte con il primo apparire della luna nuova. Il rituale eseguito in tale occasione prevede una sequenza di operazioni che hanno luogo sul tetto. Il lavaggio delle mani eseguito dalla donna Yaruḥepa, un nome di chiara origine hurrita, può essere interpretato come una cerimonia di purificazione.

Anche il primo rituale contenuto nella tavola, di cui è purtroppo perso l’inizio, può essere ricondotto in una certa misura al mese. In una prima fase viene descritta una ripetuta serie di sacrifici cruenti e libagioni effettuate dal sacerdote LU<sup>U</sup>AZU in onore di un gruppo di tre divinità, (non indicate nella parte preservata di testo) e frazioni ed offerte di pane di varie qualità agli dèi Ḥašamili, DUD.SIG<sub>5</sub>, “il giorno positivo”, forse un eufemismo per indicare il giorno della morte<sup>64</sup>, e *dankuliyas* DUTU, “la divinità solare dell’oscurità”, un epiteto dall’interpretazione ancora discussa.<sup>65</sup> In una seconda fase, il rituale prevede riti che hanno luogo di notte, come indicato alla riga Vo 5, dove troviamo l’espressione *mahhan=ma nekuzzi*, “quando viene la notte”. Il sacerdote AZU effettua una triplice libagione al dio Ḥašamili, dopodiché il testo specifica che i funzionari denominati LU<sup>U</sup>.MES<sup>Š</sup>*hilammes*<sup>66</sup> escono ed effettuano un’azione dal significato sconosciuto indicata dalla forma verbale *dayawanzi*,<sup>67</sup> “come fanno per la festa del Mese”, [EZE]N<sub>4</sub> ITU<sup>1</sup> *mān iyanzi* (KUB 60.121, Ro II 10). Una determinata azione rituale, se l’interpretazione di Popko è corretta, verrebbe dunque esplicitamente collegata alla festa del Mese, il che potrebbe essere interpretato come possibile conferma del fatto che particolari riti notturni, pur facendo parte di una tradizione indipendente, entrarono a far parte della più vasta cerimonia festiva celebrata dal sovrano in occasione del mese nuovo.

La festa del Mese, nella cui articolazione culturale potrebbero dunque essere confluiti dei riti in origine autonomi celebrati dal sovrano in occasione della luna nuova, sembra a sua volta entrare a far parte delle cerimonie della grande festa di primavera dell’AN.TAḤ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup>.

La tavola di riepilogo catalogata come CTH 604 e conservata negli esemplari A = KBo 10.20 // B = KUB 30.39+ // C = KUB 10.94 // D = KBo 45.16(+ // E = KUB 44.39 elenca, tra le cerimonie del 4° e del 5° giorno, una purificazione effettuata dal sovrano in occasione della festa del Mese, a cui segue, il giorno successivo, l’azione di salire sul tetto.

	Ro I
26	[( <i>lu-uk-kat-t</i> ) <i>i-ma</i> ( <sup>KUŠ</sup> <i>kur-ša-(aš</i> <sup>URU</sup> <i>ta-ú-i-n</i> )] <i>i-ya pa-iz-z</i> [( <i>i</i> )]
27	[(LUGAL- <i>uš-ma-za</i> ) <i>A-N</i> ( <i>A EZEN</i> <sub>4</sub> ITU <i>wa-ar</i> )]- <i>ap-z</i> [( <i>i</i> )]
-----	
28	[( <i>l</i> )] <i>u-u</i> [( <i>k-kat</i> )- <i>ti-(ma</i> <sup>KUŠ</sup> <i>kur-ša-aš</i> <sup>URU</sup> )] <i>t</i> [( <i>a-ú-i</i> )]- <i>ni-ya-az ú-iz-z</i> [( <i>i</i> )]
29	<i>na-aš</i> [ <sup>UR</sup> ( <sup>U</sup> <i>hi-ya-aš-na še-eš-zi</i> ) LUGAL- <i>u(š-ma</i> <sup>š</sup> <i>u-uh-ḥa p</i> )] <i>a-iz-z</i> [( <i>i</i> )]

<sup>63</sup> Il significato di *iyattiya* nel passo in questione è oscuro. Si veda, per una possibile interpretazione, Popko 1991: 244, secondo cui il termine potrebbe essere interpretato come un epiteto (hurrita?) della divinità lunare.

<sup>64</sup> Si vedano in proposito le considerazioni di Archi 2008: 191-192, con riferimenti bibliografici.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Beckman 2011: 623 con riferimento a Popko 1991: 243 (citato erroneamente come Poetto 1991: 243).

<sup>66</sup> Una particolare categoria di lavoratori impiegati in ambito palatino e templare, con ogni probabilità legati alla struttura denominata *hilamm*. Cf. Rieken 1999: 371-371, con riferimenti bibliografici; HW<sup>2</sup>, Ḥ: 591-592.

<sup>67</sup> Si vedano le considerazioni di Popko 1991: 243.

(26-29) “Il giorno dopo la borsa da caccia *kurša*-<sup>68</sup> va a Tawiniya e il re si purifica per la festa del Mese. Il giorno dopo la borsa da caccia *kurša*- viene da Tawiniya, trascorre la notte a Hiyašna e il re va sul tetto.”

Nella sua editio princeps della tavola, basata sulle redazioni A, B e C, Güterbock integrava il testo facendo il soggetto dell'azione di andare (*paizzi*), alla riga 29, la borsa *kurša*- (Güterbock 1960: 81). Grazie al frammento KBo 24.112 è oggi assicurata la lettura [LUGAL-*u*]*š*-*ma-aš* in B, Vo 23'. Questo sembra del resto confermato anche da KBo 54.117+, I 11'-20'.

Il testo è duplicato nella tavola KUB 25.27 (CTH 629), un interessante documento contenente l'elenco delle feste regolari (SAG.) che il sovrano ittita è tenuto a celebrare nel corso dell'anno, e in cui sono contenute sezioni relative alle tavole di riepilogo delle feste AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> e *nuntarriašhaš*:<sup>69</sup>

KUB 25.27, Ro I

7' [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma <sup>KUS</sup>*ku*]r-ša-aš <sup>URU</sup>ta-ú-i-ni-ya  
 8' [pa-iz-zi I-NA] É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup>-ma A-NA EZEN<sub>4</sub> ITU<sup>KAM</sup>  
 9' [wa-ar-ap]-pu-wa-an-zi (...)

(7'-9') “[Il giorno dopo la borsa da caccia *ku*]*rša* [va] a Tawiniya, e [nel] tempio (ha luogo) il lavaggio rituale per la festa del Mese.”

L'indicazione relativa al lavaggio rituale eseguito in occasione della festa del Mese richiama evidentemente l'*incipit* della festa della luna e del tuono CTH 630 già ricordato. Più che la festa del Mese nel suo complesso, l'infinito sostantivato *warpuwanzi* mi sembra indicare un momento particolare della cerimonia, il rituale di purificazione effettuato dal sovrano in concomitanza con la luna nuova. Anche l'indicazione relativa al salire sul tetto da parte del re, contenuta nella tavola di riepilogo alla riga Ro I 29, richiama gli elementi tipici delle cerimonie descritte nei documenti inclusi in CTH 645 menzionati in precedenza.

Si delinea in altre parole un complesso di operazioni rituali destinate ad essere effettuate nella fase di oscuramento della luna, che segnala il passaggio da un mese all'altro, o al primo apparire della luna nuova. Tali riti sembrano essere stati inglobati nelle celebrazioni della grande festa del Mese, ma vengono descritti anche in tavolette non attribuibili direttamente al corpus documentario in cui questa ci è attestata. L'importanza di tali riti ha fatto sì che essi venissero descritti nel dettaglio in una serie autonoma di tavolette, la cui esistenza potrebbe essere testimoniata dal colofone di KBo 54.117+, il quale, pur menzionandola, non attribuisce la tavola direttamente alla festa del Mese ed è difficilmente collocabile all'interno del corpus di documenti ad essa relativi. Molti dei frammenti raccolti in CTH 645, ed altri simili ma attualmente raccolti sotto numeri di catalogo diversi, potrebbero far parte di questa tradizione testuale. Un'attribuzione più precisa di tali documenti, e una valutazione complessiva del significato da questi assunto nel quadro della festa ittita del Mese, saranno possibili soltanto con uno studio sistematico che consenta di distinguere tra redazioni originali, duplicati e semplici paralleli, valutando per ciascun documento la possibile appartenenza al corpus di CTH 591 o l'inclusione sotto un nuovo numero di catalogo che raccolga in un corpus unitario i rituali ittiti celebrati in occasione della luna nuova.

<sup>68</sup> Sul significato del termine *kurša*- si veda soprattutto Popko 1975: 65-70; *id.* 1978: 108-120; Güterbock 1989: 113-123; Watkins 2000: 1-14.

<sup>69</sup> Testo pubblicato da Nakamura 2002: 73-77.

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## Sorveglianti e custodi nei testi di Ebla, fra lessico e prosopografia<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** The article focuses on the attestations of the Sumerograms en-nun-ak and igi-sig in the Ebla texts. Confirming that the two terms indicate activities of surveillance and custody, the discussion of various prosopographical and lexical matters permits to distinguish their different uses, as names of functions and, in the case of igi-sig, as qualification of prized goods kept in important buildings and places. Furthermore, the gathered materials can be added to those of other investigations on further personnel in charge of guard functions, in view of a comprehensive evaluation of watching activities at the time of the Palace G texts.

**Keywords.** Ebla, watch, prosopography, lexicon.

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Il presente studio riguarda i funzionari che, nei testi del Palazzo G di Ebla, sono indicati dai sumerogrammi en-nun-ak / en-nu-ak e igi-sig / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig.<sup>2</sup> Si tratta di persone incaricate di importanti attività di guardiana che – risultando complementari a quelle svolte dall’“addetto alla porta” (KÍD-SAG (ká) = *ša-ḥa-lum*, *taġġārūm*) già ampiamente studiato<sup>3</sup> – sono caratterizzate dalla sorveglianza e dalla custodia di luoghi e beni<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Questo studio è stato redatto nel quadro del progetto “The Prosopography of Ebla” (<http://www.sagas.unifi.it/vp-336-prosopographyebbla.html>). Ringrazio Alfonso Archi, che mi comunicato i passi inediti [8], [28], [31], [71], [84-86]. Ringrazio inoltre Pelio Fronzaroli e Marco Bonechi per i loro utili suggerimenti.

<sup>2</sup> Studi precedenti sui due termini si trovano in Fronzaroli 1993: 41, 78, Fronzaroli 1997: 4, 13, e Archi 1998.

<sup>3</sup> Si vedano Archi 2002a, Bonechi 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Si confronti Radner 2010 per i vari funzionari assiri incaricati del controllo e della supervisione delle “gateways and doors of the palaces”, p. 271: *atu u* ‘gatekeeper’, *ša maššarti* ‘watchman’, *ša pān nērebi* ‘entrance overseer’ e *rab sikkāte* ‘lock master’ “... gatekeepers and lock masters, are also found in the context of temples”; p. 273 “The title *ša maššarti* means ‘watchman’, literally ‘He of the guard’, and is used to designate a person who guards a concrete object”, p. 274 “His task is to protect specific person or things”, p. 274 “*ša pān nērebi* did not physically stand guard in front of an entrance but

il cui valore era evidentemente ritenuto assai grande dall'amministrazione palatina e dunque anche dall'élite che governava Ebla.

## 1. EN-NUN-AK

Ad Ebla la grafia en-nun-ak e la sua rarissima variante en-nu-ak sono attestate sia nei testi lessicali che in quelli amministrativi e di cancelleria.

### 1.1. Liste lessicali

Nelle liste lessicali rinvenute nel Palazzo G la nozione di “sorvegliare, guardare” è chiaramente espressa dalle attestazioni seguenti:

- [1] MEE 3 44 r. IV 13 (*Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary D*)<sup>5</sup>
- [2] MEE 3 59 v. III 4 (*Lista di nomi di persona e termini sumerici*)<sup>6</sup>
- [3] MEE 15 4 v. I' 3'
- [4] MEE 15 26 v. V 31
- [5] MEE 15 48 r.<sup>2</sup> IV 1<sup>7</sup>
- [6] MEE 15 1 v. IX 7
- [7] VE 908, en-nun-ak = *na-za-lum* (B, C)

Il termine sumerico en-nun-ak va confrontato con en-nu-un e varianti (\*ennuĝ) = *maššartu(m)* dei testi mesopotamici, dove designa l'attività di “osservazione, guardia”, la “veglia” (come parte della notte) e l'“imprigionamento”.<sup>8</sup> La glossa semitica eblaita è stata generalmente interpretata come un infinito 0/1, *naššārum* (< \*nšr, “sorvegliare”,<sup>9</sup> da cui anche deriva l'accadico *maššartu(m)*), e più raramente come *naššārum*, “sorvegliante”.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2. Testi amministrativi e di cancelleria

In queste tipologie testuali le attestazioni di en-nun-ak (variante en-nu-ak in [9]) che, su base contestuale, hanno il significato di “sorvegliante” possono essere organizzate nel modo seguente:<sup>11</sup>

- [8] TM.75.G.2503 r. IV 16 ss.:<sup>12</sup> 1 sal<sup>tūg</sup> [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>9</sup>, en-nun-ak é d<sup>1</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sup>l</sup>(KUL)  
“1 tessuto per [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>9</sup>, il sorvegliante del tempio di Hadda-ba'al”

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held an administrative function controlling admittance to the palace”.

<sup>5</sup> Su questo testo si veda Civil 2008: 3.

<sup>6</sup> Su questo testo si veda Bonechi 2016a: 2 s., con bibliografia.

<sup>7</sup> Si noti che qui en-<sup>r</sup>nun-<sup>ak</sup> precede igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig, su cui si veda più oltre il passo [26].

<sup>8</sup> Si vedano Steinkeller 1991: 230 n. 15; Civil 1993: 75; PSD A/3 (1998): 122.

<sup>9</sup> Si vedano Krebernik 1983: 34; Fronzaroli 1984: 175.

<sup>10</sup> Si veda Bonechi 2006: 87, che menziona anche “en-nun in Uruk ‘Officials’ // SF 59 // MEE 3 50 l. 14”.

<sup>11</sup> Da notare che en-nu(n)-ak non compare nei testi del periodo di *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, cronologicamente più antichi, pubblicati in *ARET* XV (Pomponio 2008 e 2013).

<sup>12</sup> Citato in Archi 1998.

- [9] *ARET* IV 15 r. VII 4-8:<sup>13</sup> 1 gu-mug<sup>túg</sup> / *Ì-lum-bal* / en-nu-ak / ambar<sup>ki</sup> / <sup>d</sup>Utu
- [10] *ARET* XII 282 I' 1'-4':<sup>14</sup> [1 gu-mug<sup>túg</sup>]\* / *Ì-lum-bal* / en-nun-ak / ambar / <sup>d</sup>Utu / [
- [11] *ARET* XII 1319 I' 1-4': [1] gu-[m]ug<sup>túg</sup> / <sup>r</sup>*Ì-lum-bal* / en-nun-ak / [amba]r / [<sup>d</sup>Utu]  
 “1 tessuto per *Ì-lum-bal*, il sorvegliante della palude di Utu”
- [12] *ARET* III 468 r. IV 13-17: 1 gu-dùl<sup>túg</sup> / *Ì-lum-bal* / lú *Má-LUM* / en-nun-ak / 1 <sup>giš</sup>tir  
 “1 tessuto per *Ì-lum-bal*, il dipendente di *Má-LUM*, il sorvegliante del bosco”
- [13] *ARET* III 272 III 1'-6': [... *En-na*]\*-*ma*-[*lik*]\* ur<sub>4</sub> / en-nun-ak / é-nun / en / in / <sup>À</sup>-*da-NI*<sup>ki</sup> / [...]
- [14] TM.75.G.1792 v. V 6 ss.:<sup>15</sup> *En-na-ma-lik* ur<sub>4</sub> en-nun-ak é-nun <sup>À</sup>-*da-NI*<sup>ki</sup>  
 “... *En-na-ma-lik* il collettore, sorvegliante dell' é-nun (del re di Ebla in) <sup>À</sup>-*da-NI*<sup>ki</sup>”
- [15] TM.75.G.1785 v. VI 3 ss.:<sup>16</sup> *Ab-ba Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> en-nun-ak su<sub>7</sub>-ki *Ib-ri-um* lú *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>
- [16] TM.75.G.2489 v. II 2 ss.:<sup>17</sup> *Ab-ba Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> en-nun-ak su<sub>7</sub>-ki *Ib-ri-um* lú *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>
- [17] TM.75.G.10254 r. XI 5 ss.:<sup>18</sup> *Ab-ba Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> en-nun-ak su<sub>7</sub>-ki *Ib-ri-um* lú *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>  
 “... *Ab-ba* di *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, il sorvegliante del su<sub>7</sub>-ki di *Ib-ri-um*, quello (della sua proprietà) a *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>”

In [8-17] sono menzionati cinque “sorveglianti”: *Ab-ba* di *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, *En-na-ma-lik* il “collettore” (ur<sub>4</sub>), *Ì-lum-bal* il “dipendente” (lú) di *Má-LUM*, un altro *Ì-lum-bal* non qualificato, e [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>9</sub>.<sup>19</sup> Piuttosto che pensare a casi di omonimia, si dovrebbe ritenere che almeno tre di essi siano gli stessi uomini registrati in altri passi nei quali, come si vedrà, i loro nomi di persona sono qualificati non da en-nun-ak, ma da igi<sup>(l)</sup>-sig, “custode”. In tal senso, per *Ab-ba* di *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> di [15-17] si veda più oltre il passo [37], per *Ì-lum-bal* di [9-11] si veda più oltre [30], e per *Ì-lum-bal* lú *Má-LUM* di [12] si veda più oltre [46] e anche [44-45].<sup>20</sup> Inoltre, si può supporre che anche [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>9</sub> di [8] sia menzionato implicitamente altrove, si veda più oltre [29].

Forse ancora più significativo è però il fatto che i cinque “sorveglianti” (en-nu(n)-ak) di [8-11] e [13-17] svolgano la loro funzione per il “tempio di Hadda-ba'al”, per la “palude di Utu”, per l' é-nun del re (di Ebla) in <sup>À</sup>-*da-NI*<sup>ki</sup> e per il “su<sub>7</sub>-ki di *Ib-ri-um*, quello (della sua proprietà) a *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>”, chiaramente tutti luoghi connotati in senso religioso, culturale e politico. È poi verosimile che tale connotazione valga anche nel caso del non meglio precisato “bosco” di [12].<sup>21</sup>

Inoltre, sulla base di quanto ora osservato, il fatto che nei tre passi seguenti ([18-20], dal testo di cancelleria *ARET* XIII 15) en-nun-ak preceda il termine per “olio” (ì-giš) potrebbe essere spiegato sottintendendovi il termine per il magazzino dove era conservato tale olio, in ogni caso di nuovo un bene sicuramente dalla connotazione religiosa, culturale e politica:

<sup>13</sup> Si vedano L. Milano in Biga - Milano 1984: 147, e Archi 1998: 81 (“(1 cloth to) PN (for) guarding the reed marsh of the Sun-goddess”).

<sup>14</sup> Citato già in Archi 1998: 81 come TM.75.G.4447.

<sup>15</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>16</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>17</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>18</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>19</sup> Quanto a *En-na-ma-lik* il “collettore” (ur<sub>4</sub>) di [13-14] non sembrano per ora possibili ulteriori identificazioni. Sia *En-na-ma-lik* che *Ì-lum-bal* sono antroponomi molto comuni; si noterà che un *Ì-lum-bal* ricorre in liste nominative di KÍD.SAG / ur<sub>4</sub> (si veda Archi 2002a: 24).

<sup>20</sup> Per ulteriori attestazioni di *Ì-lum-bal* lú *Má-LUM* si vedano *ARET* IV 4 r. IV 4-6 (1 gu-mug<sup>túg</sup> 1 aktum<sup>túg</sup> 1 íb<sup>túg</sup>-3 gùn / *Ì-lum-bal* / lú *Má-LUM*), *ARET* XII 99 I' 1'-3' ([... í]b<sup>túg</sup>-<sup>r</sup>3' gùn / *Ì-lum-bal* / lú *Má-LUM* / níg-mul(-an) / *Zu-si-ma-ri* / [x-G]U-[...]) e *ARET* XII 686 III' 1'-3' (1 akt[um<sup>túg</sup>] 1 íb<sup>túg</sup>-3 gùn / *Ì-lum-bal* / lú *Má-L*[UM] / [...]).

<sup>21</sup> In linea generale, si confrontino a Mari paleobabilonense <sup>l</sup>*I-din*-<sup>d</sup>Su'en ša giš-t[i]r-[r]a, “garde forestier” per Ziegler 1999: 49 n. 298 (si vedano anche van Koppen 2002: 359 e Sasson 2015: 152, “forester”), e i dati su Umma neosumerica raccolti in Steinkeller 1987.

- [18] *ARET XIII 15 r. IV 3-18*:<sup>22</sup> *wa* / ʿmuʿ-ti / gú-zi-gú-zi / ì-giš / *si-in* / zag-10 / KIBgunû.NUN.A / *wa* / a-am-am / a / za<sub>x</sub>-ga-ù / *wa* / gišgal / lú / en-nun-ak / ì-giš  
 “E furono ricevuti i recipienti di olio per la decima dell’Eufrate, (per) gli a-am-am dell’acqua del santuario e (per) la residenza del sorvegliante dell’olio.”
- [19] *ARET XIII 15 r. VI 10-14*:<sup>23</sup> *wa* / šu-du<sub>8</sub>-sù / en-nun-ak / ì-giš / nu inim  
 “E lo prese in consegna il sorvegliante dell’olio senza ordine.”
- [20] *ARET XIII 15 r. VI 20-VII 3*:<sup>24</sup> *wa* / šu-ra / en-nun-ak / ì-giš  
 “E (lo) controllò il sorvegliante dell’olio.”

Sulla base di [92] (si veda più oltre), nel passo seguente della seconda versione del *Rituale della regalità* eblaita il sumerogramma en-nun-ak deve invece nascondere una forma verbale finita di *našārum*, anche se non cambia il riferimento alle sfere religiose, culturali e politiche:

- [21] *ARET XI 2 v. IV 10-13*: *wa* / en-nun-ak / u<sub>4</sub> è / <sup>4</sup>Utu  
 “e sorvegliamo il momento del sorgere del dio Sole”.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. IGI-SIG

Ad Ebla la grafia *igi-sig*, la sua frequente variante *igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig<sup>26</sup>* e quella rarissima *lú-igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig* ([31]) sono attestate sia nei testi lessicali che in quelli amministrativi e di cancelleria.

### 2.1. Liste lessicali

È verosimile che la grafia *igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig* fosse attestata nella linea 154, oggi perduta, della copia della lista lessicale *Ed Lú E* rinvenuta nel Palazzo G ([22]). Solo le fonti da Abu Salabikh attestano in effetti la sequenza seguente,<sup>27</sup> che fornisce un significativo contesto semantico:

(151)	“prigioniero” <sup>28</sup>
ʿAS <sub>1</sub> ʿAS <sub>2</sub> ʿAS <sub>3</sub>	še <sub>29</sub> (LÚ×ÉŠtenû)
AS <sub>4</sub> E G	[...]
(152)	“ladro” <sup>29</sup>
AS <sub>2</sub> AS <sub>3</sub>	nu-zuḥ

<sup>22</sup> Il passo è così tradotto in Fronzaroli 2003: 165, “E furono ricevuti i recipienti di olio per la decima di ND, (per) gli NF dell’acqua del santuario e (per) la residenza dell’uomo che custodisce l’olio”, e in Sallaberger 2008: 98: (6a) “Und es waren bereitgestellt die Gefäße von Öl für den Zehent des Euphrat(handel)s und (für) die a-am-am-Leute des Wassers, für Clan-Festmahl und Standort. (6b) Ein Mann bewachte das Öl”.

<sup>23</sup> Il passo è così tradotto in Fronzaroli 2003: 166, “E lo prese in consegna il custode dell’olio senza ordine”, e in Sallaberger 2008: 98: (13) *wa* / šu-du<sub>8</sub>-sù / en-nun-ak / ì-giš / nu-zuh / <sup>(14)</sup> *wa* / á-dah / ma-ri<sup>ki</sup> / in / ġi<sub>6</sub>-an, (13) “Und der Dieb <sup>(14)</sup> und der Helfer von Mari (= der neue ‚Berater‘) ergriffen ihn, den Wächter des Öls, in der Nacht”.

<sup>24</sup> Si vedano Fronzaroli 2003: 166 (“E (lo) controllò il custode dell’olio”) e Sallaberger 2008: 99: (15) (“Und sie schlugen den Wächter des Öls nieder”).

<sup>25</sup> Il passo è così tradotto in Fronzaroli 1993: 63.

<sup>26</sup> Si veda Fronzaroli 1997: 4.

<sup>27</sup> Le fonti sono le seguenti: AS<sub>1</sub> = *IAS* 54+56+58; AS<sub>2</sub> = *IAS* 55+59; AS<sub>3</sub> = *IAS* 60; AS<sub>4</sub> = *IAS* 57; E = *MEE* 3 7+8+9+10+11+; G = *HSS* X 222. V. Civil 1969: 19 e Pettinato 1976: 171.

<sup>28</sup> Si veda Catagnoti 2012b: 49, con bibliografia.

<sup>29</sup> Si veda Fronzaroli 2003: 71-72, con bibliografia.

AS <sub>1</sub> AS <sub>4</sub> E G (153)	[...] “seminomade / vagabondo” <sup>30</sup>
AS <sub>2</sub> AS <sub>3</sub> AS <sub>1</sub> AS <sub>4</sub> E G (154)	lú-sa-gáz [...] “custode”
AS <sub>2</sub> AS <sub>3</sub> AS <sub>1</sub> AS <sub>4</sub> G E	lú-igi <sup>1</sup> (ME)-sig [...] [igi <sup>1</sup> (ME)-sig] <sup>31</sup>

Positivamente, ad Ebla sia una lista lessicale sumerica di tipo éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> sia la lista lessicale bilingue che da quella dipende attestano il termine sumerico della l. 154 della *Ed Lú E*:

[23] *MEE* 15 1 v. IV 14: igi-sig

[24] VE 722: igi-sig = *na-zi-bù-um* (A), *na-zi-bù* (B); D senza glossa

La glossa in [24] è stata interpretata come un participio 0/1 (*nāšibum*), da \**nšb* “stare eretto”.<sup>32</sup>

In altre liste lessicali eblaite di tipo éš-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> ulteriori attestazioni del sumerogramma in esame, ma nella sua grafia igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig, sono:

[25] *MEE* 15 26 v. VI 22

[26] *MEE* 15 48 r. IV 2<sup>33</sup>

## 2.2. Testi amministrativi e di cancelleria

Oltre a [23-24], la grafia igi-sig si trova per ora attestata soltanto nei testi dell’Archivio L.2712 (*ARET IX*) e in alcune lettere di *ARET XVIII*,<sup>34</sup> rinvenute nel vestibolo L.2875. Tutti questi testi devono essere datati agli ultimissimi anni di vita del Palazzo G di Ebla. Nei testi di datazione precedente, provenienti dall’archivio L.2769, la grafia del termine è invece sempre igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig, mentre isolata è la variante lú-igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig di [31].

In molti di questi testi, comunque, igi-sig / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig (= *nāšibum*) è stato generalmente inteso come un nome di funzione, e un suo significato “custode”<sup>35</sup> appare adeguato per spiegare non solo [22-26], ma anche una metà circa dei molti passi di testi amministrativi o di cancelleria in cui ricorrono le due grafie del sumerogramma. Si tratta dei passi nei quali certamente questo sumerogramma identifica un nome di funzione, indipendentemente dal fatto che esso sia o no precisato da un nome di persona anteposto.

Sulla base dei contesti, i passi in questione ([27-60]) possono essere organizzati come segue.

I passi [27-29] documentano il “custode” dei “templi” (é) di <sup>d</sup>À-da e degli “dèi” (dingir-dingir-dingir):

<sup>30</sup> Si vedano Conti 1990:116s.: “vagabondo, lavoratore emigrante”, Fronzaroli 2003:158, 292 “seminomade”, e Bonechi 2006: 82 con ulteriore bibliografia, “seminomade”.

<sup>31</sup> Si veda quanto osservato da Bonechi 2006: 81 e 83 circa la semplificazione dei sumerogrammi indicanti nomi di professione e di funzione che nelle liste lessicali bilingui eblaite è ottenuta omettendo lú, presente invece nelle fonti di Abu Salabikh.

<sup>32</sup> Si vedano Fronzaroli 1997: 4 e 13, “aspettare, essere in attesa” (il testo TM.76.G.86 sarà ripubblicato come *ARET XVIII* 9) e Catagnotti 2012a: 216 *nāšābum*.

<sup>33</sup> Si noti che qui igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig segue en-<sup>r</sup> nun<sup>-</sup>ak, su cui si veda sopra il passo [5].

<sup>34</sup> *ARET XVIII* 7, 9, 18 e 20.

<sup>35</sup> Si vedano Fronzaroli 1997: 13 e nn. 15-16, “attendente, custode”, Waetzoldt 2001: 264 “Aufseher”, e 344; Lahlouh - Catagnotti 2006: 549 “attendente; custode”; Bonechi 2006: 83, “custode, guardiano”; Catagnotti - Fronzaroli 2010: 82, 238 “guardiano”; Pomponio 2013: 457 “guardiano”.

- [27] *ARET XV 57 r. V 10-VI 2: 1 íb<sup>túg</sup>-3 gùn / Ír-i-ba / igi<sup>i</sup>(ME)-sig / é / <sup>d</sup>Á-da / Ki-ti-ir / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti*  
 “1 tessuto per Ír-i-ba, il custode del tempio di <sup>d</sup>Á-da, Ki-ti-ir<sup>36</sup> ha ricevuto”
- [28] *ARET XX 20 r. VIII 13 - IX 3: 1 gu-dùl<sup>túg</sup> 1 aktum<sup>túg</sup> 1 íb<sup>túg</sup>-3 sa<sub>6</sub> gùn / Du-bí-ga-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>r</sup> / igi<sup>i</sup>(ME)-s[ig] // é / dingir-dingir-dingir / gibil<sup>37</sup>*  
 “1+1+1 tessuti per Du-bí-ga-lu, il custode del tempio rinnovato degli dèi”

In questi due passi la funzione di custode templare è svolta in [27] da Ír-i-ba (un nome di persona molto frequente nei testi di Ebla)<sup>38</sup> nel caso del tempio di <sup>d</sup>Á-da, e in [28] da Du-bí-ga-lu (quasi certamente lo stesso uomo che in due testi inediti<sup>39</sup> è qualificato come KÍD-sag é dingir-dingir-dingir) nel caso del tempio degli dèi.

In [29] il “custode”, anonimo, che viene menzionato è invece quello della statua del dio <sup>d</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sup>l</sup>, come si deduce dal suo contesto nella lettera scritta da I-bí-zi-kir al figlio Ru<sub>12</sub>-zi-ma-lik (e si confronti più oltre il passo [91]):

- [29] Fronzaroli 1997 = *ARET XVIII 9 r. II 4 - III 2: wa / ní-ti / alan<sub>x</sub>(KÍD.ALAM) / -ga / igi-sig / alan<sub>x</sub>(KÍD.ALAM) / a / níg-te / na-se<sub>11</sub> / šu-du<sub>8</sub>*  
 “E io temo che il custode della statua davvero abbia trattenuto la tua statua per il desiderio della gente”

Si può supporre che il custode della statua menzionato in questo passo non fosse altri che il guardiano del tempio del dio, e, in tal caso, forse anche che egli sia l'uomo registrato altrove come “sorvegliante” di quel tempio, e cioè [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>9</sub> en-nun-ak é <sup>d</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sup>l</sup> in [8].

Chiaramente comparabile a [9-11] è in ogni caso il passo seguente, che reca igi<sup>(l)</sup>-sig al posto di en-nun-ak subito dopo lo stesso nome di persona e subito prima della stessa peculiare località:

- [30] *TM.75.G.2252 v. II 2-5:<sup>40</sup> (1 tessuto) Í-lum-bal igi<sup>i</sup>(ME)-sig ambar <sup>d</sup>Utu*  
 “1 tessuto per Í-lum-bal, il custode della palude di Utu”

In vari casi il termine in esame è chiaramente connesso con il re del Palazzo G e con membri dell'élite eblaita, anche se non mancano casi di membri di élites straniere. Vi sono poi passi in cui igi<sup>(l)</sup>-sig qualifica uomini che svolgono le loro funzioni in relazione a beni di pregio.

Si considerino in primo luogo i passi seguenti, dove sono menzionati il re di Ebla ([31-32]), Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM ([33]), Ib-rí-um ([34-37]), I-bí-zi-kir ([38]) e Ír-<sup>r</sup>à-ag-da-mu ([39-40]):

- [31] *TM.75.G.1997 r. II 2-4: 1 <sup>r</sup>h<sup>a</sup>-zi / <sup>r</sup>Á-zi / lú-igi<sup>i</sup>(ME)-sig<sup>41</sup> / ká en / (anep.)*  
 “1 ascia per <sup>r</sup>Á-zi, il custode della porta (degli appartamenti palatini) del re”
- [32] *MEE 7 35 r. IV 9-13: 1 gu-mug<sup>túg</sup> 1 sal<sup>túg</sup> 1 íb<sup>túg</sup>-3 gùn / En-na-NI / igi<sup>i</sup>(ME)-sig / za<sub>x</sub> / en*  
 “1+1+1 tessuti per En-na-NI, il custode del forziere del re”

<sup>36</sup> Su Ki-ti-ir si veda [https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/dbase\\_prosopografia/g.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/dbase_prosopografia/g.pdf), s.v. Gi-ti-ir, Ki-ti-ir, p. 42 ss.

<sup>37</sup> Nella parte precedente del testo si registrano lavori edilizi (i-dím) al tempio.

<sup>38</sup> Un Ír-i-ba è qualificato, tra l'altro, da ur<sub>4</sub> (su questo termine è in corso uno studio da parte di Elisabetta Cianfanelli), e anche da ur<sub>4</sub> KÍD-sag, si veda *ARET XV 28 v. X 9-17: 1 kin siki / Ír-i-ba ur<sub>4</sub> / KÍD-sag / in u<sub>4</sub> / dumu-nita en / è / é / <sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap / gú-nu*; si vedano anche i passi in Archi 2002a: 24.

<sup>39</sup> *TM.75.G.1946 r. VI 18-20* e *TM.75.G.2369 v. IV 6-9*, citati in Archi 2002a: 25. Casi di omonimia sono probabilmente quelli di Du-bí-ga-lu ur<sub>4</sub> / pa<sub>4</sub>:šeš / Ír-<sup>r</sup>à-ag-da-mu (*ARET IV 14 r. IV 22-V 4*) e Du-bí-ga-lu / maškim / Ír-<sup>r</sup>à-ag-da-mu (*ARET VIII 527 v. I 28-II 4*).

<sup>40</sup> Citato in Archi 1998 “(1 cloth to) PN (for) guarding the reed marsh of the Sun-goddess”.

<sup>41</sup> La grafia lú-igi<sup>i</sup>(ME)-sig di questo testo inedito è interessante, in quanto è l'unica attestazione a me nota del nome di funzione nella sua forma attestata ad Abu Salabikh, si veda sopra il passo [22].

- [33] *ARET XV 42 v. VIII 11-16*:<sup>42</sup> 1 gu-dùl<sup>túg</sup> 1 íb<sup><túg></sup>-3 gùn / Ír-pés<sup>ki</sup> / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM / 1 sal<sup>túg</sup> 1 íb<sup><túg></sup>-3 gùn / maškim-sù  
 “1+1 tessuti per (l’uomo di) Ír-pés<sup>ki</sup>, custode (del forziere?) di *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM, (1+1 tessuti) per il suo agente”
- [34] *ARET XIX 2 (TM.75.G.1263) r. XI’ 3-10*: 1 gu-mug<sup>túg</sup>-1 / dumu-mí / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / ti-TÚG / *Ib-ri-um* / in / é / *Da-ra-um*<sup>ki</sup>  
 “1 tessuto per la ragazza custode dei (tessuti di tipo) ti-TÚG di *Ib-ri-um* nella (sua) proprietà a *Da-ra-um*<sup>ki</sup>”
- [35] *TM.75.G.1835 v. V 7 ss.*:<sup>43</sup> (1 tessuto) dumu-mí igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig ti-TÚG *Ib-ri-um* lú é *Dur-bi-du*<sup>ki</sup>  
 “1 tessuto per la ragazza custode dei (tessuti di tipo) ti-TÚG di *Ib-ri-um*, quelli della (sua) proprietà a *Dur-bi-du*<sup>ki</sup>”
- [36] *TM.75.G.1795 r. X 5 ss.*:<sup>44</sup> (1 tessuto) dumu-mí igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig ti-TÚG *Ib-ri-um* in *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>  
 “1 tessuto per la ragazza custode dei (tessuti di tipo) ti-TÚG di *Ib-ri-um* (nella sua proprietà) a *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>”
- [37] *TM.75.G.1741 v. X 5 ss.*:<sup>45</sup> (1 tessuto) *Ab-ba Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig su<sub>7</sub>-ki *Ib-ri-um A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>  
 “1 tessuto per *Ab-ba* di *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, il custode del su<sub>7</sub>-ki di *Ib-ri-um*, quello (della sua proprietà) a *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>”
- [38] *ARET XVI 11 r. I 3-II 1*: *Ti-la-NI* / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / za<sub>x</sub> / *I-bi-zi-kir* / áš-du / *I-bi-zi-kir* / ì-ti  
 “*Ti-la-NI*, il custode del forziere di *I-bi-zi-kir*, (provenendo) da (dove) *I-bi-zi-kir* (si trova), è arrivato (a Ebla)”
- [39] *ARET XVI 10 r. VII 3-10*: du-du / *kam*<sub>4</sub>-mu / áš-ti / *ga-lu* / iš-bi-na / *A-si-da-an* / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / Ír-’à-ag-da-mu  
 “Faccia andare *A-si-da-an*, il custode (del forziere) di Ír-’à-ag-da-mu, le famiglie (a prendere) la nostra (du.) farina dal magazzino”
- [40] *ARET XVI 10 v. III 7-IV 1*: wa / du-du / é-na-a / šu / áš-ti / du-du / wa-ad-ma / é-na-a / šu / *A-si-da-an* / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / Ír-’à-ag-da-mu / wa-ad-ma  
 “E vada alla nostra (du.) casa chi è di ritorno dal viaggio da solo, alla nostra (du.) casa quello di *A-si-da-an*, il custode (del forziere) di Ír-’à-ag-da-mu”

Dai passi [31-40] si ricava che sia la “porta (degli appartamenti palatini)” (ká) che il “forziere” (za<sub>x</sub>(LAK-384)) del re eblaita<sup>46</sup> avevano un loro “custode”, Á-zi nel primo caso ([31]), *En-na-NI* nel secondo ([32]). Inoltre, stando a [38], il nome del “custode” del “forziere” (za<sub>x</sub>) di *I-bi-zi-kir* era *Ti-la-NI*. Questi tre passi sono importanti perché suggeriscono che il nesso (NP<sub>1</sub>) igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / NP<sub>2</sub> debba sempre sottintendere un bene di proprietà di NP<sub>2</sub> custodito da un funzionario di quest’ultimo. Di conseguenza, sebbene gli scribi dei passi [33] da una parte e [39-40] dall’altra non abbiano reso esplicito su quali beni (rispettivamente di *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM e Ír-’à-ag-da-mu) quelli che indubbiamente furono due differenti “custodi” svolsero la loro funzione, si può supporre che in entrambi i casi essi siano stati i “forzieri” (za<sub>x</sub>) o, forse meno verosimilmente, le residenze di quei due uomini di alto rango.<sup>47</sup>

Il caso di *Ib-ri-um* differisce invece dagli altri, perché in [34-36] compare l’espressione (senza paralleli a me noti) dumu-mí igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig ti-TÚG, perché in [37] si registra come igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig quell’*Ab-ba* di *Ib-al*<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> già visto come en-nun-ak in [15-17], e infine perché in [34-37] si constata non il riferimento a Ebla, ma piuttosto a tre importanti città del regno eblaita – *A-te-na-at*<sup>ki</sup>, *Da-ra-um*<sup>ki</sup> e *Dur-bi-du*<sup>ki</sup> – strettamente legate all’uomo di grandissimo potere che fu appunto *Ib-ri-um*. Mentre i termini ti-TÚG e su<sub>7</sub>-ki – assai connotati e peculiari, e in ogni

<sup>42</sup> Pomponio 2013: 31 “Tessili (1; 1) per (l’uomo di) NL, il guardiano di NP; tessili (1; 1) per il suo commissario”.

<sup>43</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>44</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>45</sup> Citato in Archi 1998: 82.

<sup>46</sup> Su ká en ed espressioni correlate si veda Bonechi 2016b: 20-22 e 28-29; sul significato “forziere” di za<sub>x</sub>(LAK-384) si veda Catagnotti, in stampa.

<sup>47</sup> In *TM.75.G.1727 r. XIII 11-13*, citato in Archi 2002a: 24, è menzionato un KÍD-sag ká *Ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM.

caso designanti beni e luoghi di grande importanza – meritano una discussione particolareggiata, non possibile in questa sede,<sup>48</sup> la mia interpretazione di *dumu-mí igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig ti-TÚG* come “la ragazza custode dei (tessuti di tipo) *ti-TÚG*” (e non “la figlia del custode dei (tessuti di tipo) *ti-TÚG*”) dipende dal suo verosimile parallelismo con per esempio *dumu-mí nar*, “ragazza musicista”,<sup>49</sup> e *dumu-mí NE-di*, “ragazza danzatrice”.<sup>50</sup> Risulta così che *Ib-ri-um* aveva alle sue dipendenze tre giovani donne incaricate della stessa funzione in tre sue differenti residenze. Seppur anonime, queste tre ragazze sono le uniche custodi donne nella documentazione eblaita finora nota.

Ulteriori osservazioni prosopografiche possono poi essere qui proposte. Tralasciando il caso del finora isolato *A-si-da-an* di [39-40] e quello troppo complesso (a causa delle numerosissime attestazioni) di *En-na-NI* di [32], non è impossibile che *’Á-zi* di [31] sia lo stesso uomo altrove attestato nella sua funzione occasionale di *šeš-2-ib*.<sup>51</sup> Più interessante è però il caso del *Ti-la-NI* attestato in [38].

*Ti-la-NI* è un antroponimo assai comune a Ebla, ma forse conclusioni significative possono essere tratte dal confronto di [38] (un passo della lettera *ARET XVI 11* che l’ultimo re di Ebla, *Iš<sub>11</sub>-ar-da-mu*, scrisse a un destinatario stranamente non indicato) con tre piccoli testi amministrativi certamente anch’essi di datazione tardissima. Appare infatti in primo luogo che *Ti-la-NI* era il nome portato da due funzionari attivi contemporaneamente, il primo come *igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig za<sub>x</sub>*, “custode del forziere”, di *I-bi-zi-kir* ([38]) il secondo come *ugula za<sub>x</sub>*, “soprintendente del forziere”, di *Ib-du-ra*<sup>52</sup> (*ARET VII 102 r. I 1 - II 4, v. I 6 - II 4, e ARET VII 103*). Inoltre, è possibile che il primo di questi due *Ti-la-NI* operasse contemporaneamente al “soprintendente del forziere” (*ugula za<sub>x</sub>*) di *I-bi-zi-kir*, il cui nome era *Šè-ma<sup>d</sup>KU-ra* stando a *ARET VII 109*.<sup>53</sup> Quest’ultimo aspetto è importante, perché illustra una complementarietà fra l’attività del soprintendente e quella del custode di uno stesso bene.<sup>54</sup>

Una significativa informazione accessoria è infine costituita dal peculiare bene ricevuto dal custode *’Á-zi* in [31], un’“ascia” (*ha-zi*)<sup>55</sup> e non uno dei più consueti corredi tessili: questo suggerisce che l’uomo che agiva come “custode della porta (degli appartamenti palatini) del re (di Ebla)” fosse armato.

Non solo membri dell’élite eblaita, comunque, sono menzionati nei passi che registrano “custodi”. Un primo esempio è fornito dai due passi seguenti, paralleli:

[41] *MEE 2 22 = ARET I 17 v. IX 13 - X 12: 4 gu-zi-mug<sup>túg</sup> 4 íb<sup>túg</sup>-2 gùn / Sùr-si / lú Ba<sub>4</sub>-a-sa / En-na-NI / lú BAD-é / En-na-NI / lú Gár-ra-nu / Ír-ga-bù / lú Du-bi-šum / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig<sup>56</sup> / Ša-ba<sub>4</sub> / Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>kí</sup>*

[42] *ARET XIX 6 (TM.75.G.1319) v. IX 4-14: 4 gu-zi-mug<sup>túg</sup> / Sùr-si<sup>7</sup> / lú Ba<sub>4</sub>-a-sa / En-na-NI / lú BAD-é / En-na-NI / lú Gár-ra-nu / Ír-ga-bù / lú Du-bi-šum / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / Ša-ba<sub>4</sub>*

“4+4 tessuti per *Sùr-si* dipendente di *Ba<sub>4</sub>-a-sa*, *En-na-NI* dipendente di *BAD-é*, *En-na-NI* dipendente di *Gár-ra-nu*, (e) *Ír-ga-bù* dipendente di *Du-bi-šum*, custode/i (del forziere?) di *Ša-ba<sub>4</sub>* (di *Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>kí</sup>*)”

<sup>48</sup> Intanto, per *ti-TÚG* si veda Fronzaroli 1993: 41 e 84, e per *su<sub>7</sub>-ki* Pasquali 2009 e Bonechi 2016b: 6-7.

<sup>49</sup> Si veda Toniatti 1997: 482.

<sup>50</sup> Si veda Catagnoti 1989: 152-153.

<sup>51</sup> Su *’Á-zi* (lú *Lá-a-LUM*) *šeš-2-ib* si veda Archi 2002b: 33. Lo *’Á-zi* / lú-*igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig* / *ká en* di [31] potrebbe ugualmente essere l’uomo di alto rango menzionato in *ARET IV 7 r. V 3*.

<sup>52</sup> Sul sigillo posseduto da questo funzionario di alto rango si vedano di recente Micale - Nadali 2010: 15ss., Pinnock 2013: 67s. e Peyronel - Vacca 2013: 435.

<sup>53</sup> Si veda già Archi 1988a: 137 e Archi - Biga 2003: 18 (“the overseer of the property”).

<sup>54</sup> Rimando ad un ulteriore lavoro in preparazione per un ulteriore approfondimento di questi argomenti, e per le motivazioni della traduzione “forziere” di *za<sub>x</sub>*, ma per il momento ci si può chiedere se una contemporanea attività di due distinti funzionari, l’*ugula* e l’*igi<sup>1</sup>-sig*, che erano addetti alla cura di uno stesso *za<sub>x</sub>* non dipenda dalla differenza fra la piena disponibilità e la semplice custodia di questo bene e anche da dove nei fatti si trovavano lo *za<sub>x</sub>* e il suo proprietario *I-bi-zi-kir*, se nello stesso luogo o no, quando i testi vennero scritti.

<sup>55</sup> Per *ha-zi* “ascia” nei testi di Ebla si vedano Waetzoldt 1990: 22; Archi 1993: 623 e 2010: 18 s.; Civil 2008 91 s.; Bonechi 2016c: 50.

<sup>56</sup> Lettura confermata dalla fotografia.



Per quanto riguarda  $\check{S}a-ba_4$ , si tratta certamente di un nome di persona.<sup>57</sup> Questo è confermato dal passo di *ARET XIX 9* (TM.75.G.1324, r. VIII 6-11, 1 *gu-zi-tum*<sup>túg</sup> 1 *íb*<sup>túg</sup>-3 *sa*<sub>6</sub> *gùn* /  $\check{S}a-ba_4$  / *Kab-lu*<sub>5</sub>-*ul*<sup>ki</sup> / 3 *túg*-*NI.NI* *dam-sù* / 2 *sal*<sup>túg</sup> *dumu-nita-sù* / 2 *sal*<sup>túg</sup> *maškim-sù*) che menziona tre mogli, due figli e due agenti di questo straniero evidentemente molto importante, probabilmente quando si trovavano o erano in transito a Ebla o nel regno eblaita. È invece difficile stabilire se tutti e quattro o soltanto l'ultimo degli uomini che ricevono tessuti in [41-42] siano stati *igi*<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig, così come non è certo che si debba sottintendere il “forziere” (*za*<sub>x</sub>) di  $\check{S}a-ba_4$ , anche se questa sembra essere l'ipotesi più verosimile.

Un altro caso dovrebbe essere il seguente:

[43] *ARET I 1 v. VII 13-16*: 3 *gu-mug*<sup>túg</sup> / *I-nu-šar* / *igi*<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / *é-gal*  
 “3 tessuti per *I-nu-šar*, il custode dell'*é-gal*”

Per questo passo è stato infatti proposto il riferimento a un funzionario straniero di alto rango.<sup>58</sup>

Sono qui radunati alcuni passi che, sebbene fra di loro assai differenti, sono accumulati dalla menzione di beni vari il cui pregio è indicato da ulteriori testi. La connessione dei “custodi” con le élites è dunque indirettamente confermata. Come nel caso di [31-43], anche nei passi seguenti [44-57] sono registrati sia eblaiti che stranieri.

Cominciando dai passi relativi a questioni eblaiti interne, alcuni menzionano un uomo chiamato *Ì-lum-bal* (lú *Má-LUM*) che è sia “custode della salicornia” sia “custode del bosco”:

[44] *ARET XIX 6* (TM.75.G.1319) r. I 17-II 3: 1 1/2 *kin siki* / *Ì-lum-bal*<sup>l</sup>(KUL) // lú *Má-LUM* / *igi*<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / *gi*<sup>is</sup>*naga*

“1 misura-kin e mezzo di lana per *Ì-lum-bal*, dipendente di *Má-LUM*, il custode della salicornia”

[45] *ARET XIX 6* (TM.75.G.1319) v. III 15-20: 1 *kin siki* / *Ì-lum-bal*<sup>l</sup>(KUL) / *igi*<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / *gi*<sup>is</sup>*naga* / *níg-sa*<sub>10</sub> / *gu(-)gada*

“1 misura-kin di lana per *Ì-lum-bal*, il custode della salicornia, prezzo di fili di lino”<sup>59</sup>

[46] TM.75.G.2243 r. VI 1 ss.:<sup>60</sup> (1+1+1 tessuti) *Mi-da-ri-šu* lú *Ì-lum-bal* *igi*<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig *gi*<sup>is</sup>*tir*<sup>2</sup>  
 “1+1+1 tessuti per *Mi-da-ri-šu*, dipendente di *Ì-lum-bal*, il custode del bosco”

Certamente questo *Ì-lum-bal* (lú *Má-LUM*) deve essere identificato con il “sorvegliante del bosco” (en-nun-ak 1 *gi*<sup>is</sup>*tir*) documentato da [12]. È interessante notare che, presi assieme, [12] e [44-46] documentano indirettamente questa concatenazione di dipendenze espresse da lú: *Mi-da-ri-šu* lú *Ì-lum-bal* lú *Má-LUM*. Il problema è sapere se in tutti e quattro questi passi il custode è solo e soltanto *Ì-lum-bal*, come mi sembra più verosimile, o se invece tale funzione sia stata svolta (e in tal caso, successivamente o contemporaneamente?) da due uomini, *Ì-lum-bal* e *Mi-da-ri-šu*.

Vi è poi il caso del “custode della legna dell'incensiere”:

<sup>57</sup> Seguendo Archi 1985: 164; differentemente, ma per vari motivi non convincentemente, Pettinato 1980: 169 (“*ša-ba*<sub>4</sub> è stato tradotto ‘residenti’ perché fatto derivare dalla radice *wšb* ‘risiedere’ ... e considerato come il corrispondente eblaita del sumerico al-tuš ... Un'altra possibile derivazione è dal verbo *švb* ‘prendere prigioniero’ attestato in ebraico ... nel qual caso *ša-ba*<sub>4</sub> corrisponderebbe a *šu-du*<sub>8</sub> ‘prigioniero’”).

<sup>58</sup> Si veda Bonechi 2016b: 2 n. 4 (“3 garments for *I-nu-šar*, the watchman of the *ēkallum*. I am not aware of other occurrences of *I-nu-šar*, an Akkadian and not an Eblaic PN if one considers the element *-šar* (as for the structure of this PN cf. *I-nu-šar-ma-ga-nu* of TM.75.G.1435 = *ARET IV*: 13, rev. III: 5). So, it seems very likely to me that *I-nu-šar* was the watchman (see Catagnoti forthcoming) of a Mesopotamian royal palace for some reason in visit at Ebla. Candidates for the place of origin of this foreigner undoubtedly of high rank are Kiš, Mari, and Nagar”, e in tal caso Mari mi sembra il miglior candidato; inoltre, il fatto che i tessuti siano tre potrebbe suggerire che *I-nu-šar* non fosse solo, ma accompagnato da altri due stranieri.

<sup>59</sup> Per *gu(-)gada* “fili di lino” si veda di recente Pomponio 2013: 424.

<sup>60</sup> Citato in Archi 1998.

- [47] *ARET* XIX 2 (TM.75.G.1263) v. VIII 4-9: 1 gu-mug<sup>túg</sup> / *A-bí* / maškim / *I-šar* / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig / giš ni-izi / [...]  
 “1 tessuto per *A-bí*, agente di *I-šar*, il custode della legna dell’incensiere [...]”
- [48] *ARET* IV 11 v. XI 15-20: 1 *zi-ri* siki / *Za-ma-sum* / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig [\*giš<sup>2</sup> \*ni<sup>2</sup>]-\*r<sup>2</sup> izi<sup>2</sup>? / *Du-si-gú* / in-na-sum  
 “1 quantità-*zi-ri* di lana per *Za-ma-sum*, il custode della legna dell’incensiere, *Du-si-gú* dà”
- [49] *ARET* XII 498 II’ 5-6: 3 siki na<sub>4</sub> / *Za-ma-sum* / [igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)\*]-<sup>r</sup>sig<sup>\*2</sup>? [giš<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup>-izi<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 “3 quantità-na<sub>4</sub> di lana per *Za-ma-sum*, il custode [della legna dell’incensiere (?)] [...]”

Questi tre passi menzionano due uomini che svolsero una funzione peculiare in ambito domestico, la cui rara attestazione non deve però essere ritenuta affatto secondaria. Nel caso di *A-bí* di [47] è interessante notare che altrove un *I-šar* è qualificato come “addetto alla porta della residenza di *Ib-ri-um* a *Da-ra-um*<sup>ki</sup>” (KÍD.SAG é *Ib-ri-um Da-ra-um*<sup>ki</sup>).<sup>61</sup> Anche sulla base della lacuna al termine di [47], sembra possibile suggerire che questo passo menzioni un *A-bí* che aveva la funzione di “custode della legna dell’incensiere” proprio di quella residenza, sita in un’importante città del regno eblaita. Questo permetterebbe fra l’altro di considerare lo *Za-ma-sum* di [48-49] – menzionato anche in *ARET* III 135 v. IV 2’-4’, che registra “2 misure-kin di lana per *Za-ma-sum*, quello (che si occupa della legna) dell’incensiere” (2 giš<sup>is</sup>kin siki / *Za-ma-sum* / lú ni-izi) – come il “custode della legna dell’incensiere” del Palazzo G di Ebla, anche data la menzione certo significativa dell’ama-gal en *Du-si-gú* in [48].<sup>62</sup>

Sebbene purtroppo lacunoso, laconico e isolato, un passo ulteriore documenta fra i custodi eblaiti un certo *Gú-za*, di fatto un “secondino”.<sup>63</sup>

- [50] *ARET* XII 701 IV 6’-10’: 1 gu-dùl<sup>túg</sup> 1 aktum<sup>túg</sup> 1 íb<sup>túg</sup>-4 gùn / *Gú-za* / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig / *a-ba-lum* / [x]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>2</sup>-[...] // [...]  
 “1+1+1 tessuti per *Gú-za*, il custode dei prigionieri [...]”

A stranieri e non ad eblaiti fanno invece riferimento i passi [51-54], già discussi altrove in uno studio lessicale sul (legno di) giš<sup>is</sup>taskarin nei testi di Ebla.<sup>64</sup>

- [51] *ARET* XV 9 (= *MEE* 2 33) r. IV 3-6: 1 gu-dùl<sup>túg</sup> 2 túg-NI.NI 2 íb<sup><túg></sup>-3 gùn / 2 maškim *Mu-du-ri* / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig / kur<sup>ki</sup> giš<sup>is</sup>taskarin  
 “1+2+2 tessuti per 2 agenti di *Mu-du-ri*, il custode (del legname) della montagna del bosso”
- [52] *ARET* XV 38 r. XII 12- v. I 2: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb<sup><túg></sup>-3 gùn / *Ar-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup> / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig / giš<sup>is</sup>taskarin  
 “1+1 tessuti per (*Mu-du-ri* di) *Ar-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, il custode del (legname della montagna del) bosso”
- [53] *ARET* XV 51 r. X 10-15: 1 gada-sa<sub>6</sub> 1 íb<sup><túg></sup>-3 sa<sub>6</sub> gùn / *Ar-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup> / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)-sig / giš<sup>is</sup>taskarin / *Iš-da-má* / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti  
 “1+1 tessuti per (*Mu-du-ri* di) *Ar-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>, il custode del (legname della montagna del) bosso, *Iš-da-má* ha ricevuto”
- [54] *ARET* III 235 r. V 2’: [... *Mu\*-du\*-ri\** / *Ar\*-mi\*-um\**<sup>ki\*</sup>] / igi<sup>l</sup>(ME)\*-s[ig<sup>l</sup>\*] / giš kur<sup>ki</sup> giš<sup>is</sup>taskarin / [...]  
 “[... per *Mu-du-ri* di *Ar-mi-um*<sup>ki</sup>], il custode del legname della montagna del bosso [...]”

Da questi passi risulta chiaro che esisteva una montagna denominata dalle sue foreste di “bosso” (giš<sup>is</sup>taskarin), e inoltre che essa e il legname pregiato che da lì proveniva erano sotto il controllo del potente regno di *Ar-mi(-um)*<sup>ki</sup>, verosimilmente tramite la custodia di un apposito funzionario, il cui nome era *Mu-du-ri*.

<sup>61</sup> Si veda Catagnoti 2012b: 56 con rimando a Archi 2002a: 24.

<sup>62</sup> Nel passo lacunoso in *ARET* III 692 v. II 1’-2’, la lettura *Za-ma-s[um]* è dubbia (collazionato al Museo di Idlib).

<sup>63</sup> Il passo è già stato discusso in Catagnoti 2012b: 49 (“the Ebla lexical lists attest both the *habbālum*, ‘imprisoned man’ (LL 318, é-éš-tuš = *a-ba-lum/lu-um*), and the ‘prison’, lit. ‘house of the rope’ (é-éš, *MEE* 15 9 obv. IV 5 and *MEE* 15 12 obv. III 5), both of which are also documented in administrative texts. In fact, according to a passage from an administrative text, one *Gú-za* was a ‘warder’ (lit. ‘guardian of imprisoned men’)), con bibliografia. Su *Gú-za* si veda [https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/dbase\\_prosopografia/g.pdf](https://www.sagas.unifi.it/upload/sub/eblaweb/dbase_prosopografia/g.pdf), p. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Si veda Catagnoti 2016: 34-36.

I passi [51-54] non sono del tutto isolati. In effetti, altri passi (tutti difficili) dove *igi<sup>(1)</sup>-sig* è attestato possono essere ad essi comparati, o perché menzionano ancora *Ar-mi(-um)<sup>ki</sup>* o perché citano un “custode della montagna”.

In tal senso si veda dapprima la registrazione seguente, che verosimilmente fa riferimento a ben undici “custodi della carovana”,<sup>65</sup> tutti stranieri in quanto uomini di *Ar-mi(-um)<sup>ki</sup>*:

- [55] *ARET XV 49 r. IX 12-14: 11 túg-NI.NI Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup> / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>  
 “11 tessuti per (11 uomini di) *Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*, custodi della carovana”*

Uomini di *Ar-mi(-um)<sup>ki</sup>* sono poi menzionati in un passo di un testo di cancelleria, che, facendo riferimento a questioni interne al regno di Ebla, menziona un certo *Áš-da-ma-i-lu*<sup>66</sup> (e si confronti più oltre il passo [83]):

- [56] *ARET XVIII 18 v. II 9-IV 3: ap / a-u<sub>9</sub>-ne / giš-ba-tuku<sub>x</sub> / Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup> / ké[š-da-sù] / na-bur-ru<sub>12</sub> ma-dim / si<sup>-</sup>in<sup>7</sup> / [ká-ká] / [SA.Z]A<sub>x</sub>.K<sup>1</sup> / [a]l<sub>6</sub> / [Áš]-da-ma-i-lu / igi-sig / wa / ‘KA<sup>-</sup> dib<sup>7</sup> / maškim-e-gi<sub>4</sub> / si-in / ‘Á-ma<sup>ki</sup> / (anep.)  
 “E poi, davvero Armi non dovrà sottrarsi alle (disposizioni) udite, di riunire i dispersi del paese (e indirizzarli) verso [le porte] del Palazzo davanti a [*Áš]-da-ma-i-lu*, il custode, e di inviare gli *esorcisti* a Hama”*

Nel passo seguente, di un altro testo di cancelleria, si menziona un custode della montagna:

- [57] *ARET XVI 22 (= II 29 = MEE 7 42) v. I 9-III 10: 2 ku-tu / ‘DU<sup>ki</sup> / wa / 1 ku-tu / Ma-rí<sup>ki</sup> / wa / ħa-mi-zu / in / ‘Á-du<sup>ki</sup> / wa / zàĥ / si-in / ki-sur / Ĥa-ra-an<sup>ki</sup> / wa / šu-du<sub>8</sub>-sù / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / kur<sup>ki</sup> / wa / ì-na-sum-sù / Gi-da-na-im / si-in / 2 šu / Ma-rí<sup>ki</sup>  
 “2 agenti fiduciari di DU e 1 agente fiduciario di Mari furono derubati in Haddu e fuggirono verso il confine di Ĥarran e li prese il custode della montagna e Gīd-Na‘im li consegnò nelle mani di Mari”<sup>67</sup>*

Infine, sono anche attestati custodi di *uru<sup>ki</sup>*:

- [58] TM.75.G.2328:<sup>68</sup> 50 sal<sup>túg</sup> 50 na<sub>4</sub>-siki íb<sup>túg</sup>-3-sù ábba-ábba igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig *uru<sup>ki</sup>-uru<sup>ki</sup>*  
 “50 tessuti-sal (e) 50 quantità-na<sub>4</sub> di lana per i suoi tessuti-íb, per gli anziani, custodi dei villaggi”  
 [59] *ARET XVI 30 r. II 1-11: igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / 1 uru<sup>ki</sup> / ŠĒ / 1 lú / Ib-la<sup>ki</sup> / ĥi-til / nam-ku<sub>5</sub> / u<sub>9</sub>-mu / ì-zu / u<sub>9</sub>-mu / 1 kar  
 “il custode del villaggio quanto a ciò che l’uomo di Ebla deve sborsare giurerà (sia) nel giorno in cui (lo) viene a sapere (sia) nel giorno in cui è stato portato via”<sup>69</sup>  
 [60] *ARET XVIII 20 v. I 2-8: wa / še-ma / igi-sig / uru<sup>ki</sup> / igi-sig / uru<sup>ki</sup> / níg-ésš-nu-ésš  
 “E l’orzo custodito in città il custode (dell’orzo) della città deve fissar(lo) per iscritto (in una tavoletta).”**

In altri contesti, *igi<sup>(1)</sup>-sig* deve essere invece interpretato come “custodito, in custodia”.<sup>70</sup> Questo significato si adatta bene a due passi di un testo di cancelleria (per [62] si veda già precedentemente [60]) nei quali il bene custodito è l’orzo:

<sup>65</sup> Per *kas<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>* come “carovana” si vedano Fronzaroli 2003: 275; Milano 2014: 282 ss.; Bonechi 2016c: 50 s. e n. 136.

<sup>66</sup> Si tratta di un’attestazione isolata (da confrontare con *Áš-da-mu*, il KÍD-SAG citato in Archi 2002a: 24?).

<sup>67</sup> Catagnoti - Fronzaroli 2010: 135; precedentemente, D’Agostino 1990 42 e 54, e Milano 2003: 418 s. e n. 41.

<sup>68</sup> Citato in Archi 1988b: 132 (totale 6371 ì-ra-num di SAZA).

<sup>69</sup> Si veda Catagnoti 2012b: 47 “keeper of each settlement (*igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / 1 uru<sup>ki</sup>*)” was probably a local authority, ... It could be that, contrary to the *igi-sig* and the LÚxTIL, who dealt with security issues in the settled areas, the *bāriyum* operated in the countryside, and was in charge of different matters”.

<sup>70</sup> Per una traduzione di questo tipo si veda già Archi 1998, “to guard; keeper; to be kept”.

- [61] *ARET XVIII 20 r. III' 1'-IV' 1': ...* / šu ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / in / še / igi-sig / uru<sup>ki</sup>  
 “[...] ho ricevuto dall’orzo custodito in città.”
- [62] *ARET XVIII 20 v. I 2-8: wa / še-ma / igi-sig / uru<sup>ki</sup> / igi-sig / uru<sup>ki</sup> / níg-éš-nu-éš*  
 “E l’orzo custodito in città il custode (dell’orzo) della città deve fissar(lo) per iscritto (in una tavoletta).”

In passi ulteriori igi<sup>(1)</sup>-sig è detto di beni vari, ma di nuovo viene specificato dove i beni sono custoditi, e il riferimento non è più alla città (come nei passi appena visti), ma ad edifici di Ebla quali é en ed é siki.

Numerose sono le registrazioni di oggetti pregiati che sono conservati nell’*é en*. Nei passi relativi a quantitativi di oro o argento ([63-74]),<sup>71</sup> gli oggetti sono “bracciali” (*gú-li-lum*, [63-70]), “dischi” (*dib*,<sup>72</sup> [71]) e il set formato da “cinturone”, “pendaglio” e “pugnale ricurvo” (*ib-lá*, *si-ti-tum* e *gir-kun*, [64], [72-73]); il passo [74] si limita a registrare un quantitativo di oro. Nei passi relativi a quantitativi di lana ([75-79]), gli oggetti sono elementi dell’attrezzatura di carri quali la “cavezza” (*eškiri<sub>x</sub>*(KA.ÉŠ) [75]),<sup>73</sup> le “briglie” (KA.SI [76-77]),<sup>74</sup> il “collare del giogo” (*hu-lu*, [78])<sup>75</sup> e il *kù-sal*<sup>76</sup> ([79]). Pur riferendosi all’*é siki*<sup>77</sup> e non all’*é en*, il passo [80] è omogeneo a [63-74] e anch’esso deve dunque essere qui preso in considerazione.

- [63] *ARET XII 1189 II' 1'-3': [10<sup>2</sup>]+10 [g]ú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> kù-gi ab-si / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / é en / [...]*  
 “... 20<sup>2</sup> bracciali di rame e oro incastonati, custoditi (nella) casa del re [...]”
- [64] *MEE 7 27 v. VI 8-VII 4: 20 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 2 gú-li-lum 2 esi 24 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 4 gú-li-lum 1 esi 15 a-gar<sub>5</sub> 3 gú-li-lum / 1 esi 20 a-gar<sub>5</sub> / 1 ma-na kù-gi / 2 íb-lá 2 si-ti-tum 2 gir-kun / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig é en*  
 “20 sicli-D. d’oro per decorare 2 bracciali (con) 2 pietre-esi (e) 24 (sicli) di rame, 4 bracciali (con) 1 pietra-esi (e) 15 (sicli) di rame, 3 bracciali (con) 1 pietra-esi (e) 20 (sicli) di rame, (e inoltre) 1 mina d’oro per 2 cinturo-ni, 2 pendagli, 2 pugnali ricurvi, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [65] *MEE 7 34 r. XV 11-22: 6 ma-na 15 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bala-ak / 1 ma-na 15 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / (... ) / (... ) / (... ) / (... ) / gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> / x gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / ZU.PIRIG-sú / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / é / en*  
 “6 mine e 15 sicli-D. d’argento controvalore di 1 mina e 15 sicli-D. d’oro (... per decorare) bracciali di rame [x] sicli-D. d’argento (e) la sua pietra-z., custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [66] *MEE 7 47 v. IX 3-14: 5 ma-na 25 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bala-[ak] / 1 m[a-n]a 5 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 10 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 30:2 / 5 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 20:2 / 10 gú-li-lum ‘a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub>’ 15<sup>2</sup>:1 / 10 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 10:1 10:1 / 2 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / ZU.PIRIG-[s]ù / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / é / en*  
 “5 mine 25 sicli d’argento controvalore di 1 mina e 5 sicli-D. d’oro per decorare 10 bracciali di rame (da) 30 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 5 bracciali di rame (da) 20 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 10 bracciali di rame (da) 15<sup>2</sup> (sicli) a 1 (giro), 10 bracciali di rame (da) 10 (sicli) a 1 (giro) 10 (sicli) a 1 (giro), 2 sicli-D. d’argento (e) la sua pietra-z., custoditi (nella) casa del re<sup>78</sup>”
- [67] *MEE 10 4 v. VIII 4-11: 22 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / ni-zi-mu / TAR.TAR / 10 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 20:2 / esi<sub>x</sub>(KAL.KAL) / igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig / ‘é’ / en*

<sup>71</sup> I passi [65-66] e [69] sono riportati anche in Bonechi 2003: 92 [9-11] che commentandoli a p. 83 riteneva che *igi<sup>(1)</sup>-sig é en* fosse da interpretare “*nāšib bayti malkim*, the ‘keeper of the king’s house’”.

<sup>72</sup> Per questa interpretazione di *dib* si veda Maiocchi 2010: 16 ss.

<sup>73</sup> Conti 1997: 46 s.

<sup>74</sup> Si vedano Conti 1997: 50 s. e Civil 2008: 121.

<sup>75</sup> Pasquali 1995, Conti 1997: 40-42.

<sup>76</sup> Per le diverse interpretazioni di questo termine si vedano Fronzaroli 1996: 52 s., Conti 1997: 49 s., (“elementi (decorativi?) del morso”), Civil 2008: 123, “harness strap” e Maiocchi 2010: 6 e n. 46, “strap”.

<sup>77</sup> Sull’*é siki* si vedano Waetzoldt 2001: 345 s. (che però pensava ad un “Aufseher” di rango elevato); Archi 2005: 96 (“tesoreria; (lett.) magazzino della lana”) e Matthiae 2014: 493 n. 26, per una possibile identificazione dell’*é siki* con i vani L.2982 o di L.2984 del Palazzo Reale G di Tell Mardikh; Biga 2014: 141; Bonechi 2016b: 33.

<sup>78</sup> Si veda Archi 1998: 82: “35 bracelets ... to be kept in the house of the king”.

- “22 sicli d’oro per laminare TAR.TAR di 10 bracciali di rame (da) 20 (sicli) a 2 (giri) (con) pietre, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [68] *MEE* 10 29 v. XIII 10-28: 10 ma-na kù: babbar / kin<sub>5</sub>-ak / 12 gú-li-lum 30:2 / wa / 12 gú-li-lum 20:2 / 10 ma-na kù: babbar / šu-bala-ak / 2 ma-na kù-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za-sù / 50 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / šu-bala-ak / 10 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / ma-ba-gú-sù / 50 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / šu-bala-ak / 10 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / ru<sub>12</sub>-du-ga-tum-sù / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é <en>  
 “10 mine d’argento per fare 12 bracciali (da) 30 (sicli) a 2 (giri) e 12 bracciali (da) 20 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 10 mine d’argento controvalore di 2 mine d’oro per la loro decorazione, 50 sicli-D. d’argento controvalore di 10 sicli-D. d’oro per il loro ma-ba-gú, 50 sicli-D. d’argento controvalore di 10 sicli-D. d’oro per il loro ru<sub>12</sub>-du-ga-tum, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [69] *MEE* 12 36 r. XXI 9-XXII 3: 7 ma-na kù: babbar / šu-bala-ak / 1 ma-na ʿ34ʿ gín-DILMUN kù-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 20 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 30:2 / 30 gú-li-lum 15:1 / 1 1/2 / 2 ma-na kù: babbar / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 10 gú-li-lum 30:2 / 40 gú-li-lum 10:1 / 17 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / ZU.PIRIG-sù / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é / en  
 “7 mine d’argento controvalore di 1 mina e 34 sicli-D. d’oro per decorare 20 bracciali di rame (da) 30 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 30 bracciali (da) 15 (sicli) a 1 (giro), 1 ½, 2 mine d’argento per decorare 10 bracciali (da) 30 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 40 bracciali (da) 10 (sicli) a 1 (giro), 17 sicli-D. d’argento (e) la sua pietra-z., custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [70] TM.75.G.1402 (= Milano 1980: 2-4) r. III 5-9: 30 kù: babbar / 2 gú-li-lum / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é / en  
 “30 (sicli) d’argento per (decorare) 2 bracciali, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [71] *ARET* XIV 72 v. III 3-7: ša-pi gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 2 dib / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é / <en> (spazio anep.)  
 “40 sicli-D. d’oro per (decorare) 2 dischi, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [72] *MEE* 10 4 r. V 8-12: 1 ma-na kù-gi / MAŠ.MAŠ / 7 íb-lá 7 šè-ti-tum 7 gír-kun / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é en  
 “1 mina d’oro per le striscioline (di) 7 cinturoni, 7 pendagli, 7 pugnali ricurvi, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [73] *ARET* III 172 v. V 1’-5’: [...] / 1 íb-lá si-ti-tum gír-kun / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é / en  
 “[...] 1 cinturone (con) pendaglio (e) pugnale ricurvo, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [74] *MEE* 2 9 r. III 4 - v. I 3: 50 kù-gi / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é / en  
 “50 (sicli) d’oro, custoditi (nella) casa del re”
- [75] *ARET* III 859 v. III 1’-6’: [... siki] / 4 eškiri<sub>x</sub>(KA.ÉŠ) / Ig-su-ud / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é en  
 “[... di lana] per 4 cavezze (che) Ig-su-ud ha ricevuto, custodite (nella) casa del re”
- [76] *MEE* 2 25 v. X 9-15: 2 kin siki / 2 KA.SI / níg-anše-ak / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é en / Wa-ba-rúm / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti  
 “2 misure-kin di lana per 2 briglie delle redini custodite (nella) casa del re, Wa-ba-rúm ha ricevuto”
- [77] *MEE* 2 25 v. X 16-XI 4: 1 kin siki / KA.SI / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / <é> en / Nu-za-ar / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti  
 “1 misura-kin di lana per (1) briglia, custodita (nella) casa del re, Nu-za-ar ha ricevuto”
- [78] *ARET* XV 8 v. VI 9-13: 2 siki kin / hu-lu / Da-ba-mu / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig <é en>  
 “2 misure-kin di lana per il collare del giogo (che) Da-ba-mu ha ricevuto, custodito <(nella) casa del re>”
- [79] *ARET* XV 41 (= *MEE* 10 26) v. VIII 13-18: 4 kin siki / Kù-nu ur<sub>4</sub> / su-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti / 1 kù-sal / igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é en<sup>79</sup>  
 “4 misure-kin di lana (che) Kù-nu il raccoglitore ha ricevuto, per 1 oggetto-kù-sal custodito (nella) casa del re”
- [80] *MEE* 12 37 v. XXII 2-11: [7] ma-na kù: babbar / šu-bala-ak / 1 ma-na 45 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 20 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 30:2 / ʿ20ʿ+[x gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub>] 10:1-10:1 / 2 ma-na kù: babbar / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 10 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> 32 / 40 gú-li-lum a-gar<sub>5</sub> 15:1 / lú igi<sup>1</sup>(ME)-sig / é siki  
 “[7] mine d’argento controvalore di 1 mina e 45 sicli-D. d’oro per decorare 20 bracciali di rame (da) 30 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 20+x bracciali di rame (da) 10 (sicli) a 1 (giro) 10 (sicli) a 1 (giro), 2 mine d’argento per decorare 10 bracciali di rame (da) 30 (sicli) a 2 (giri), 40 bracciali di rame (da) 15 (sicli) a 1 (giro), quelli custoditi (nell’) é siki”

<sup>79</sup> Pomponio 2013: 12 intende due sezioni, “4 misure-K. di lana: NP, il raccoglitore, ha ricevuto. 1 borchia per il guardiano del palazzo del re”; il passo comunque si trova nella parte finale del testo (v. VIII 1-XI 13) dove vengono contabilizzate quantità di lana.

I passi [63-74] e [80] non registrano mai un nome di persona e i passi [75-79], che pur menzionano vari nomi di persona, non presentano mai la sequenza NP *igi<sup>(1)</sup>-sig é en*. Questo stato di fatto conferma che in [63-80] *igi<sup>(1)</sup>-sig* non è un nome di funzione<sup>80</sup> e che invece il termine è predicato dei beni menzionati precedentemente. Una tale interpretazione si adatta anche al passo seguente, nel quale non è specificato il luogo in cui i beni sono custoditi, per cui l'integrazione <é en> non è altro che un'ipotesi:

- [81] *MEE* 12 35 r. I 26-36: 2 ma-na kù:babbar / 5 ma-na-gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> / 3 gín-DILMUN nagga / šub *si-in* / 30 a-gar<sub>5</sub> / 1 tùn tur 20 1 dub-nagar 10 / 1 šum 20 / níg-ba / húb-húb / *Na-gàr<sup>ki</sup>* / *igi<sup>(1)</sup>(ME)-sig <é en (?)>*  
 “2 mine d’argento, 5 di rame (e) 3 sicli-D. di stagno da fondere con 30 (sicli) di rame per 1 accetta piccola da 20 (sicli), 1 scalpello da 10 (sicli), 1 sega da 20 (sicli), dono per gli acrobati di Nagar, custoditi (nella casa del re (?))”<sup>81</sup>

Appare inoltre verosimile che il passo seguente registri orzo custodito sull’acropoli di Tell Mardikh:

- [82] *ARET IX* 41 v. III 1-4: 5<sup>2</sup> še *gú-bar* / *igi-sig* / *bar-i* / *gi<sup>(1)</sup>(ŠE)-LUM*  
 “5 quantità-*gú-bar* di orzo, sotto custodia dell’ispettore del silo”<sup>82</sup>

Questo passo è importante perché suggerisce che l’attività di custodia sia svolta da un funzionario palatino particolare, l’“ispettore del silo”.

Uguualmente, una traduzione “sotto custodia” di *igi-sig* si adatta a un passo di un testo di cancelleria che ancora si riferisce a orzo (e si confronti sopra il passo [56]):

- [83] *ARET XVIII* 7 v. III 8-IV 11: *ap* / še / 1 dumu<-nita> / *in* 1 uru<sup>ki</sup> / *wa* / *na-se<sub>11</sub>* *na-se<sub>11</sub>* / *al<sub>6</sub>-tuš* / é // *ir<sub>11</sub>* / *a-zàr-da* / ‘à-*wa* / *wa* / *ugula-uru* *ugula-uru-ga* / *igi-sig* / *ká-ká* / SA.ZA<sup>ki</sup> / 1 udu / [*a-zà*]r-da / [‘à-*w*]a  
 “E inoltre orzo per ogni dipendente nella città e per la gente che risiede nella Casa dei servi secondo la pressione esistente, e per i tuoi sovrintendenti dei villaggi, sotto la custodia delle Porte del Palazzo, 1 pecora [secondo la pressio]ne [esisten]te.”

Il termine *igi-sig* ricorre poi in un testo amministrativo inedito che è databile a pochissimo tempo prima della distruzione del Palazzo G. I passi [84-86] sono fra l’altro particolarmente interessanti perché attestano la forma del genitivo-accusativo maschile plurale del pronome determinativo-relativo, *šu-ti*, /*tūti*/,<sup>83</sup> che era finora nota solo in testi di cancelleria. La particolare costruzione sintattica *udu ... šu-ti NP igi-sig* suggerisce che questi tre passi attestino di nuovo *igi-sig* non con il significato di “custode”, ma piuttosto con quello di “(avere) sotto custodia”:

- [84] TM.75.G.2516(+) v. I 23-II 3: 15 udu / *kú* / *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>* / *šu-ti* / *I-ti-gú* / *igi-sig*  
 “15 pecore cibo (per la gente di) Armi, quelle che *I-ti-gú* ha sotto custodia”  
 [85] TM.75.G.2516(+) v. II 4-10: 12 udu / *kú* / *Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup>* / *šu-ti* / *I-ti<sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap* / *igi-sig* / *libir-rá*  
 “12 pecore cibo (per la gente di) Armi, quelle che *I-ti<sup>d</sup>Ra-sa-ap* ha avuto sotto custodia precedentemente”  
 [86] TM.75.G.2516(+) v. V 5-10: 2 udu / *igi-sig* / é / *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ì-giš* / en / *ì-na-sum*  
 “2 pecore sotto custodia nella casa di *Na-am<sub>6</sub>-ì-giš*, il re ha dato”

<sup>80</sup> Il confronto con altri passi di testi amministrativi rende certo che *Ig-su-ud*, *Wa-ba-rúm*, *Nu-za-ar*, *Da-ba-mu* e *Kùn-nu* non siano stati custodi della casa del re elaita.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Waetzoldt 2001: 264 “(in ihrer Funktion’ als) ‘Aufseher’”, e 344. Sul set composto da accetta, scalpello e sega si veda già Catagnoti 1997: 578 s.

<sup>82</sup> Sul passo si veda da ultimo Bonechi 2016b: 28-29 e nn. 145 s. (che però pensa che qui *igi-sig* significhi “custode”).

<sup>83</sup> Su questa forma del pronome si veda Catagnoti 2012: 84.

Più difficile è decidere se nei passi [87-90] *igi-sig* vada tradotto “custode” (del palazzo reale e del tempio di <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*)<sup>84</sup> o “custodito”, “sotto custodia” (detto di pani), interpretazione quest’ultima che, in attesa della pubblicazione completa dei testi cuneiformi rinvenuti in L.2712, mi sembra preferibile:

- [87] *ARET IX* 10 v. III 9-13: 1 ninda / *A-da-mi* / *wa* / *lu* <sup>giš</sup>uštín<sup>85</sup> / *igi-sig* \*<é> en  
 “1 pane per *A-da-mi* e per l’addetto al trono, custodito (nella) <casa del> re”  
 [88] *ARET IX* 17 r. II 8-III 1: 1 ninda-u<sub>9</sub> / *A-da-mi* / *wa* / <sup>giš</sup>uštín / \*[*igi-sig*’] / \*[é’] \*r<sup>en</sup>?<sup>86</sup>  
 “1 pane-u<sub>9</sub> per *A-da-mi* e per l’addetto al trono, custodito (nella) casa del re”  
 [89] *ARET IX* 17 r. I 7-10: 3 ninda-u<sub>9</sub> / *igi-sig* / é en / 2 é-duru<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> / [...]  
 “3 pani-u<sub>9</sub> custoditi (nel) palazzo del re, 2 ventine di uomini [...]”  
 [90] *ARET IX* 10 v. IV 3-5: 1 ninda / *igi-sig* é / <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*  
 “1 pane custodito (nel) tempio di <sup>d</sup>KU-*ra*”<sup>87</sup>

Una traduzione contestuale “aver cura” sembra in ogni caso più adatta all’attestazione di *igi-sig* nel passo seguente, da un testo di cancelleria (e si confronti sopra il passo [29]):

- [91] Fronzaroli 1997 = *ARET XVIII* v. V 6-8: *wa* / *si-in* / <sup>d</sup>A<sub>5</sub>-*da-bal*!(KUL) / é r(igi:a) / *wa* / alan<sub>x</sub>(KÍD. ALAM) / *igi-sig* / *a* / *dab*<sub>6</sub>-*su-a-a*  
 “E (quando) fai la lamentazione a Hadda-Ba’al, abbi cura della statua davvero quanto alle mie offerte (du.) di carni cotte!”<sup>88</sup>

Infine, va segnalato il passo seguente della prima versione del *Rituale della regalità* eblaita, che è parallelo a [21]:

- [92] *ARET XI* 1 v. IV 22: *wa-a* / *na-na-za-ab* / <sup>r</sup>al<sub>6</sub>-gál / <sup>d</sup>Utu<sup>89</sup>  
 “E aspettiamo la presenza del dio Sole”

Al sumerogramma en-nun-ak usato in [21] corrisponde in [92] una forma flessa ([nanaššab] per /ninaššab/, con armonia vocalica) di *našābum*, verbo da cui, come si è visto ([24]), deriva anche la glossa semitica *nāšibum* di *igi-sig*.

### 3. OSSERVAZIONI CONCLUSIVE

Dai materiali raccolti sopra si constata che i due sumerogrammi en-nu(n)-ak e *igi*<sup>(1)</sup>-*sig* sono stati usati dagli scribi del Palazzo G per far riferimento rispettivamente alle nozioni - assai prossime anche se non coincidenti, come indicato da [5] e [26] - di “sorvegliare” e “custodire”, in eblaita *našārum* e *našābum* (come indicato da [7] e [24]). Mentre il primo caso corrisponde alla situazione che si constata nei testi mesopotamici, il secondo mostra invece una corrispondenza fra *igi-sig* e *našābum* che non è attestata in accadico, cui si aggiunge una specializzazione siria-

<sup>84</sup> In particolare, secondo Milano - Tonietti 2012: 45 il passo [89] menziona “i custodi del palazzo reale” di Ebla.

<sup>85</sup> Per <sup>giš</sup>uštín v. Fronzaroli 1992 e Pasquali 2005: 49-55. Un’altra attestazione di *lu* <sup>giš</sup>uštín si trova in *ARET IX* 14 v. IV 4-5: 1 ninda / *lu* <sup>giš</sup>uštín.

<sup>86</sup> L’*editio princeps* di *ARET IX* r. II 12 - III 1 reca: [(...)] / <sup>r</sup>x x’ (Milano 1990: 55).

<sup>87</sup> Milano 1990: 35 intende “1 pane per il funzionario-*igi-si*<sub>11</sub> del tempio di Kura”.

<sup>88</sup> Il passo è così tradotto in *ARET XVIII*; precedentemente Fronzaroli 1997: 12 (“E abbi cura della statua in occasione delle mie offerte di carni!”), Catagnoli - Bonechi 1988: 38 (“and take care of the statue in the occasion of my offerings of meat”) e Milano - Tonietti 2012: 40 e n. 38 (“E colloca la statua (di Hadda-ba’al) davanti alla mia offerta di carni!”).

<sup>89</sup> Si vedano Fronzaroli 1993: 13 e 41; Catagnoli 2012: 52.

na nell'uso di *našābum*, “stare eretto”. Che nei testi di Ebla en-nu(n)-ak = *našārum* e *igi<sup>(l)</sup>-sig* = *našābum* potessero alternare è indicato sia dal parallelismo, nel *Rituale della regalità*, dei passi [21] e [92], sia dall'interscambio dei due sumerogrammi nei casi dei guardiani menzionati almeno in [15-17] // [37], [9-11] // [30] e [12] // [46] (e [44-45]). Ulteriori studi potranno forse determinare se queste alternanze hanno anche una motivazione cronologica.

Lo studio prosopografico di en-nu(n)-ak e *igi<sup>(l)</sup>-sig* permette di stabilire una lista delle persone che hanno svolto le funzioni di guardia indicate dai due sumerogrammi. I 24 differenti uomini che, identificati da un nome di persona o più raramente da un nome di luogo, sono registrati come “sorveglianti” e/o “custodi” sono i seguenti:<sup>90</sup>

<i>A-bí</i> maškim <i>I-šar</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> giš ni-izi [...]	[47]
<i>A-si-da-an</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>Īr-’à-ag-da-mu</i>	[39-40]
<i>’A<sup>’</sup>-zi</i>	lú- <i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> ká en	[31]
<i>Ab-ba Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	en-nun-ak su <sub>7</sub> -ki <i>Ib-rí-um</i> lú <i>A-te-na-at<sup>ki</sup></i>	[15-17]
<i>Ab-ba Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup></i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> su <sub>7</sub> -ki <i>Ib-rí-um A-te-na-at<sup>ki</sup></i>	[37]
(NP) <i>Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> kas <sub>4</sub> -kas <sub>4</sub>	[55]
[ <i>Aš</i> ]- <i>da-ma-i-lu</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i>	[56]
<i>Du-bí-ga-’lu<sup>’</sup></i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-s[ig]</i> é dingir-dingir-dingir gibil	[28]
<i>En-na-ma-lik</i> ur <sub>4</sub>	en-nun-ak é-nun (en in) <i>’A<sup>’</sup>-da-NI<sup>ki</sup></i> [...]	[13-14]
<i>En-na-NI</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> za <sub>x</sub> en	[32]
<i>En-na-NI</i> lú BAD-é	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>Ša-ba<sub>4</sub></i> ( <i>Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup></i> )	[41-42]
<i>En-na-NI</i> lú <i>Gàr-ra-nu</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>Ša-ba<sub>4</sub></i> ( <i>Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup></i> )	[41-42]
<i>Gú-za</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>a-ba-lum</i> [x]-’x’-[...] [...]	[50]
<i>I-nu-šar</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> é-gal	[43]
<i>Ì-lum-bal</i>	en-nu(n)-ak ambar <sup>(ki)</sup> <sup>d</sup> Utu	[9-11]
<i>Ì-lum-bal</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> ambar <sup>d</sup> Utu	[30]
<i>Ì-lum-bal</i> lú <i>Má-LUM</i>	en-nun-ak 1 <sup>giš</sup> tir	[12]
<i>Ì-lum-bal<sup>l</sup></i> lú <i>Má-LUM</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <sup>giš</sup> naga	[44]
<i>Ì-lum-bal<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <sup>giš</sup> naga	[45]
<i>Īr-ga-bù</i> lú <i>Du-bí-šum</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>Ša-ba<sub>4</sub></i> ( <i>Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup></i> )	[41-42]
<i>Īr-i-ba</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> é <sup>d</sup> <i>A<sup>’</sup>-da</i>	[26]
(NP) <i>Īr-péš<sup>ki</sup></i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>Ar-ru<sub>12</sub>-LUM</i>	[33]
<i>Mi-da-rí-šu</i> lú <i>Ì-lum-bal</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <sup>giš</sup> tir <sup>2</sup>	[46]
<i>Mu-du-rí</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> kur <sup>ki</sup> giš-taskarin	[51]
<i>Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <sup>giš</sup> taskarin	[52-53]
[ <i>Mu-du-rí Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup></i> ]	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-s[ig<sup>l</sup>]</i> giš kur <sup>ki</sup> <sup>giš</sup> taskarin [...]	[54]
<i>Sùr-si</i> lú <i>Ba<sub>4</sub>-a-sa</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> <i>Ša-ba<sub>4</sub></i> ( <i>Kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup></i> )	[41-42]
<i>Ti-la-NI</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> za <sub>x</sub> <i>I-bí-zi-kir</i>	[38]
<i>Za-ma-sum</i>	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> [giš <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> ]-’izi <sup>2</sup> ’?	[48]
<i>Za-ma-sum</i>	[igi <sup>l</sup> ]-’sig <sup>2</sup> [giš <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup> -izi <sup>2</sup> ...]	[49]
[x-x]-’u <sub>9</sub> ’	en-nun-ak é <sup>d</sup> <i>A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sup>l</sup></i>	[8]

Ad essi vanno aggiunti molti (50?) “anziani” anonimi, altri uomini anonimi e (verosimilmente tre differenti) “ragazze custodi” anonime:

ábba-ábba	<i>igi<sup>l</sup>-sig</i> uru <sup>ki</sup> -uru <sup>ki</sup>	[58]
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<sup>90</sup> La lista comprende tre nomi di luogo (*Ar-mi-um<sup>ki</sup>*, *Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>* e *Īr-péš<sup>ki</sup>*) e 19 nomi di persona. Si notino inoltre gli antroponomi che sono retti da lú (BAD-é: v. *En-na-NI*; *Ba<sub>4</sub>-a-sa*: v. *Sùr-si*; *Du-bí-šum*: v. *Īr-ga-bù*; *Gàr-ra-nu*: v. *En-na-NI*; *Ì-lum-bal*: v. *Mi-da-rí-šu*; *Má-LUM*: v. *Ì-lum-bal<sup>l</sup>*) o da maškim (*I-šar*: v. *A-bí*).



---	en-nun-ak ì-giš	[18-20]
---	igi-sig alan <sub>x</sub> (cf. [x-x]- <sup>r</sup> u <sub>9</sub> ' di [8]?)	[29]
---	igi <sup>1</sup> -sig kur <sup>ki</sup>	[57]
---	igi <sup>1</sup> -sig 1 uru <sup>ki</sup>	[59]
dumu-mí	igi <sup>1</sup> -sig ti-TÚG <i>Ib-rí-um in é Da-ra-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	[34]
dumu-mí	igi <sup>1</sup> -sig ti-TÚG <i>Ib-rí-um lú é Dur-bí-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	[35]
dumu-mí	igi <sup>1</sup> -sig ti-TÚG <i>Ib-rí-um in A-te-na-at</i> <sup>ki</sup>	[36]

Altri due aspetti che sono emersi dall'analisi dei passi [1-92] meritano qui di essere sottolineati.

Il primo riguarda il lessico. Nei passi [8-20] e [27-91] compaiono i seguenti termini, che designano luoghi, beni mobili e (gruppi di) persone:

<i>a-ba-lum</i>	igi-sig	[50]
alan <sub>x</sub>	igi-sig	[29], [91]
ambar <sup>(ki)</sup> dUtu	en-nu(n)-ak	[9-11]
	igi-sig	[30]
dib	igi-sig	[71]
é <sup>d</sup> A <sub>1</sub> -da	igi-sig	[27]
é <sup>d</sup> A <sub>5</sub> -da-bal'	en-nun-ak	[8]
é dingir-dingir-dingir gibil	igi-sig	[28]
é en	igi-sig	[63-79] [87-89]
é-gal	igi-sig	[43]
é <sup>d</sup> KU-ra	igi-sig	[90]
é-nun (en in) <sup>1</sup> A <sub>1</sub> -da-NI <sup>ki</sup>	en-nun-ak	[13-14]
é siki	igi-sig	[80]
eškiri <sub>x</sub>	igi-sig	[75]
(giš kur <sup>ki</sup> ) giš <sup>1</sup> taskarin	igi-sig	[51-54]
giš ni-izi	igi-sig	[47-49 <sup>2</sup> ]
<i>gú-li-lum</i>	igi-sig	[63-70] [80]
<i>ḥu-lu</i>	igi-sig	[78]
ì-giš	en-nun-ak	[18-20]
íb-lá <i>si/šé-ti-tum 2 gír-kun</i>	igi-sig	[64] [72-73]
KA.SI (nig-anše-ak)	igi-sig	[76-77]
ká en	igi-sig	[31]
ká-ká SA.ZA <sub>x</sub> .KI	igi-sig	[56] [83]
kas <sub>4</sub> -kas <sub>4</sub>	igi-sig	[55]
kù-gi	igi-sig	[74]
kù-sal	igi-sig	[79]
kur <sup>ki</sup>	igi-sig	[57]
giš <sup>1</sup> naga	igi-sig	[44-45]
ninda(-u <sub>9</sub> )	igi-sig	[89-90]
sal <sup>túg</sup> siki íb <sup>túg</sup> -3	igi-sig	[58]
su <sub>7</sub> -ki <i>Ib-rí-um</i> (lú) <i>A-te-na-at</i> <sup>ki</sup>	en-nun-ak	[15-17]
	igi-sig	[37]
še	igi-sig	[60-62] [82]
ti-TÚG <i>Ib-rí-um in A-te-na-at</i> <sup>ki</sup>	igi-sig	[36]
ti-TÚG <i>Ib-rí-um in é Da-ra-um</i> <sup>ki</sup>	igi-sig	[34]
ti-TÚG <i>Ib-rí-um lú é Dur-bí-du</i> <sup>ki</sup>	igi-sig	[35]

l <sup>giš</sup> tir	en-nun-ak	[12]
gištir <sup>2</sup>	igi-sig	[46]
tùn tur dub-nagar šum	igi-sig	[81]
udu	igi-sig	[84-86]
uru <sup>ki</sup>	igi-sig	[58-62]
giš <sup>u</sup> štin	igi-sig	[87-88]
za <sub>x</sub> en	igi-sig	[32]
za <sub>x</sub> I-bi-zi-kir	igi-sig	[38]
(za <sub>x</sub> <sup>2</sup> ) Ar-ru <sub>12</sub> -LUM	igi-sig	[33]
(za <sub>x</sub> <sup>2</sup> ) Īr-'à-ag-da-mu	igi-sig	[39-40]
(za <sub>x</sub> <sup>2</sup> ) Ša-ba <sub>4</sub> (Kab-lu <sub>5</sub> -ul <sup>ki</sup> )	igi-sig	[41-42]

Questa lista deve però essere interpretata accuratamente. Infatti, essa comprende sia i termini che indicano cosa veniva sorvegliato e custodito sia quelli che indicano dove si trovavano questi beni. Un punto importante è che allo stato attuale non emergono elementi certi che indichino l'esistenza di funzionari qualificati come "custode della casa del re" (igi-sig é en) e "custode del tempio di <sup>d</sup>KU-ra" (igi-sig é <sup>d</sup>KU-ra).

Il secondo aspetto riguarda la particolare modalità delle due funzioni indicate da en-nu(n)-ak e igi<sup>(l)</sup>-sig. Vari elementi notati nel corso del presente studio suggeriscono infatti che le due funzioni, e in particolare la seconda, fossero non raramente di tipo occasionale e provvisorio, in relazione a specifiche circostanze che motivavano un incarico di guardiania temporanea, forse dovuta all'assenza del legittimo proprietario del bene che andava tenuto sotto custodia.

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## An Old Syrian Seal from Tell Afis (NW Syria)

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**Abstract.** The paper focuses on an Old Syrian Linear Style seal found in the area of the Middle Bronze Age Acropolis fortifications at Tell Afis in 1999. The in-depth treatment of the piece in relation to its finding context and iconography provides the opportunity for a reappraisal of the discussion on this class of seals in relation to questions such as chronology and manufacture.

**Keywords.** Seal, Old Syrian, Linear Style, chronology.

1. In 1999 excavations in area E3 at Tell Afis continued the investigation of the Middle Bronze occupation levels already started in 1991.<sup>1</sup> In square CqV3 a small portion of a street, rising from the centre of the acropolis and running east-west, was exposed. The street, tapering from 4 to 3 metres in width towards the western limit of the trench, had been irregularly paved with small cobbles, stones and sherds (Fig. 1.a, b). It was presumably already opened by the beginning of MB II, which is the date of most of the pottery coming from the overlying deposit (see below). A series of rooms to the south, possibly part of one and the same building, running parallel to the edge of the acropolis settlement, was connected with the street through a door opening in the northernmost wall: to overcome the difference in level between the street and the interior of the room, where the floor was higher, the door was provided with a step made of a large plastered stone (Felli 2000: 13, figs 7, 8.2).

Right next to that door - and close to the eastern limit of the trench - a cylinder seal (Fig. 2.a, b) was found lying in the trample deposit (SU 2262)

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<sup>1</sup> Squares CqV1-5: Felli 2000; see also Gabarrini 1995; Giannessi 1998. The final report on the excavation of this area of the site from 1994 to 2010 is currently under preparation. My sincere thanks to prof. Stefania Mazzoni for granting me permission to publish this seal and for her generous support and useful suggestions; my gratitude goes also to prof. Paolo Matthiae, who gave his expertise on this seal in Mardikh at the very time of its discovery.

over the street paving (SU 2261).<sup>2</sup> Obviously the seal, as it is often the case with this type of finds, can hardly be considered *in situ*: nonetheless, a comparative analysis of the object along with considerations over the material found along with it do seem to suggest an attribution to the same time frame as its archaeological context.

## 2. THE SEAL

The small sized seal<sup>3</sup> is made of a soft, green-coloured stone. The field design is divided up into two horizontal registers by a rope-like motif enclosed by two lines (fig. 2.a, b). The figures are placed in each register as if upside down thus creating an overall *tête-bêche* effect. Although the scenes in both registers are composed of three figures, their respective beginning and end are not coincident as if the two friezes were conceived independently one from the other. On what we take as the upper (main?) register, starting from the right, it is found an apparently naked man lying on his left side, with profile head and folded legs, and two animals seen in profile, the second one at least clearly a lion. In the lower frieze, instead, we find just animals: a large quadruped facing left, a crouching smaller animal (caprid?) facing opposite and a lion with wide-open mouth, again facing left.

The style of engraving is linear and rather sketchy, so that many details (e.g. the eyes) are lacking. The object appears complete apart from a small chip, which affects the top area of what we have considered the lower frieze, especially the head of the larger animal, and some abrasion on the man's shoulder.

### 2.1 *Comparanda*

The seal belongs to a class of Old Syrian Linear style glyptic known already in the literature as flourishing at the time of the Cappadocian trade (Collon 1987: 44). More specifically, we can ascribe it to what Adelheid Otto, in her study on Old Syrian seals, terms the “Schnurband-Gruppe” because of the type of dividing line, i.e. the first of the four subgroupings within her *Siegelgruppe I* spread in the first half of the second millennium between northern Syria and Anatolia (Otto 2000: 111, 112). According to that scholar, a common feature in this group, apart from the dividing line and subdivision into registers, is the small, almost miniaturistic, scale of the figures. These are mostly animals, but humans are also found, sometimes under the form of detached heads. In accordance with most specimens in the group, the Afis seal is uninscribed:<sup>4</sup> this detail, along with its small size and coarse style, would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a type of non-official seal, i.e. not the product of a palace workshop, as apparently most of the ‘common’ glyptic styles attested in Syro-Anatolia not only in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium but also already in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>5</sup>

If, from the point of view of iconography, the Afis seal fits well in the long-standing figurative tradition of predation scenes, at least as to the lower frieze described above, some observations are to be made on the specific imagery of the upper register, which appears less common. Here, as seen above, a man occurs apparently naked and

<sup>2</sup> TA.99.E.180.

<sup>3</sup> H. 1,7 cm, ø 0,9, ø perforation 0,4; Felli 2000: fig. 9; Mazzoni 1998b: 16, fig. 15. The drawing published here is a slightly revised version of the one appeared in the previous publications.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note, on some seals of these groups, the presence of a sort of rectangular frame design with inner partition (e.g. Louvre A.939, Delaporte 1923: pl. 97.12): to judge from the specimen Buchanan 1981: no. 1178, one could argue that what we have here is a pseudo-legend case, i.e. an imitation of a true legend of an inscribed seal (for a different view see Matthiae 1994: 332-336, according to which the design would represent a building). On the question of pseudo-inscriptions on Old Syrian Linear Style seals see also Porter 2001: 237-239.

<sup>5</sup> On the matter of official versus private seals see Mazzoni 1998c; in the second millennium, Otto 2000: 173-178. See however the quite recent find of an uninscribed, Linear Style baked clay cylinder seal depicting human figures in a row and of a bulla sealed with it in the so-called “Administrative Building” at Hammam eth-Turkman attesting at least its official use: Meijer 2013: fig. 8. The relation between this distinctive, much more homogeneous, class of schematic seals from the same area (Mazzoni 1975; Porter 2001: 171-181), and our group is a yet unexplored issue.



in a lying position in association with animals. If one considers the artistic repertoire of the Ancient Near East, nude male figures are relatively rare and, whenever depicted lying, usually represent dead or about-to-die people, as in the case of fallen enemies in war scenes.<sup>6</sup> Figures of this kind associated with animals are indeed found on a very small number of Old Syrian seals (not exclusively belonging to the “Schnurband-Gruppe”) in various combinations, either as main subject of a scene or as subsidiary motif.<sup>7</sup> Most of the times the animals, usually lions or griffins, are shown in an aggressive attitude towards the human being:<sup>8</sup> the latter is generally portrayed lying, as said above, but different positions are also found.<sup>9</sup> On a seal from the Brett collection, now at Yale,<sup>10</sup> two lions seem to “tear to pieces” the man lying between them, as described by Paolo Matthiae in a study related to a group of Old Syrian seals featuring a standard with two heads, interpreted as a symbol of the goddess Ištar: in the same study, the latter scholar suggested that the scene depicted on the seals could refer to a human offering to the lions of Ištar.<sup>11</sup> More cautious appears Otto’s interpretation who suggests: “Wahrscheinlich ist hier weniger ein Jagdunfall dargestellt oder Menschen, die Löwen zum Fraß vorgeworfen wurden, als die verschlüsselte Darstellung der siegreichen herrscherlichen Macht” (Otto 2000: 237, 238).

Among those seals there is one, kept in the Bibliothèque National (Delaporte 1910: pl. XXX.444), where the lying body is associated to a lion and a caprid on one side and a vulture on the other in one of the smaller friezes (Fig. 3): the seal appears particularly interesting because it shows the man in a position very close to that on ours but carved in a much more neatly way helping clarifying some details, i.e. one arm is folded up to the breast and the other stretched along the body, thus differing from most of the other cases, in which the arm of the figure is raised bent at the elbow.<sup>12</sup>

On the Afis seal animals are arranged in a row in the frieze: while the second is clearly a lion, the first, i.e. the closest to the man, is smaller in size and could also be a dog, especially considering the tail’s curving shape, although unfortunately the schematic rendering of the figure on the whole makes any definitive identification rather difficult.<sup>13</sup> If the smaller animal is a dog, it is to take into consideration that these animals, whenever attested passing or running, occur always in hunting scenes.

Looking up for iconographic sources of the motif of the fallen man, it is interesting to note that one of the earliest attestations is found in Syria, under the form of a seal impression from Tell Hammam eth-Turkman, in the Balikh valley, probably to be dated at the beginning of the third millennium (Fig. 4): here the human body is

<sup>6</sup> The number of attestations is high: within the glyptic realm, one could quote the example of the seal from tomb PG/1236 in the Ur cemetery (Woolley 1934: 340, pl. 196.54). Fallen enemies are also found represented as lying bodies on some Old Syrian seals, but usually within a different and more complex imagery than in our seal (e.g. Eisenberg 1998: fig. 10). On the matter of nakedness symbolism, specifically in relation to men, see Bahrani 2001: 55-65; Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006: 146-150.

<sup>7</sup> Otto 2000: 237, 238. For a curious case see the seal impression from room 2 of the Sarikaya Palace at Acmhöyük, with a fallen man portrayed above a table in front of a seated deity: Özgüç 2015: 104, fig. 73.

<sup>8</sup> To the list compiled by Otto (2000: 237), I would add Teissier 1984: pl. 231.451, lower part of the terminal; Parayre 1997: 125; Özgüç 2015: 146, fig. 111 (upper register), from Acmhöyük, maybe also fig. 112. The most abbreviated version of the scene is given possibly on a seal in the Yale Babylonian collection, where a human head, *pars pro toto*, is placed between two confronted, semi-recumbent lions (Collon 1985: fig. 2.16).

<sup>9</sup> E.g. seated (?): Teissier 1984: pl. 279.561; falling forward: pl. 231.451. See also Otto 2000: 254.

<sup>10</sup> von der Osten 1936: 14, n. 92; see also Buchanan 1981: n. 1178. In a seal impression on a tablet from Kültepe II, a human figure is found in a position interpreted as “bowing ... in the pose of adoration”, but in fact maybe analogous to that of the man on our seal, though placed obliquely: Özgüç 2001: 143, E, pl. H.5.

<sup>11</sup> Matthiae 1994: 333 and 337; see also Matthiae 1993: 659. On the same line of thought Lorenzo Nigro, who proposes to interpret the association of a crouching caprid or sheep with a slayed man found not only on some Old Syrian seals, but also on the Ištar’s stele from Ebla, within the realm of sacrifices to that goddess, of which a possible archaeological evidence could be a burial containing both human and sheep skulls discovered at the site, in the area sacred to Ištar: Nigro 1998b. See also Pinnock 2000: 1403. On the standard see now Matthiae 2014.

<sup>12</sup> See for example the Brett seal mentioned above or a seal in the Damascus Museum, where the naked man is depicted in a vertical frieze together with a lion, which is however curiously turned opposite: Otto 2000: pl. 5.64.

<sup>13</sup> See Haussperger 1994. We cannot rule out completely the possibility to have here a hare or a caprid, both types usually encountered on seals of the same group.

represented as actually floating in the upper part of what seems to be a predation scene where a number of animals are involved, including two lions and a supine quadruped.<sup>14</sup> Probably still from Syria comes a seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library collection of which the lower register has a lying man along with a stag and a lion (?) in a reverse position (Fig. 5): although unprovenanced and placed by Edith Porada under the heading ‘miscellaneous cylinders’, i.e. those which ‘do not fit precisely into any of the established regional groups’, it is nonetheless acknowledged, on the basis of comparisons, as ‘an example of the crude derivative seal designs produced in Syria in the third millennium, before an individual Syrian style developed’.<sup>15</sup> It is difficult to tell whether experimentation in composition - especially playing with the disposition of figures - within the subject matter of predation scenes in third millennium seals, maybe in combination with the occurrence of detached heads, could have given rise to the development of different meanings for the scenes and ultimately of new scenes altogether in the passage to the second millennium; or whether, instead, both roles, i.e. active (protector of herds) and passive (victim), of the human figure in association with animals were already attested in Early Bronze Age glyptic scenes.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.2 Dating and manufacture

The so-called “Schnurband-Gruppe”, in which our seal can be included, is dated by Otto in the time span from the end of the so-called “level II period” of *kārum* Kaniš to the time of the kings Šamši-Adad and Sumu-epuḫ, i.e. roughly from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century BC according to the Middle Chronology.<sup>17</sup> In archaeological terms, this period corresponds in Syria to the end of the Middle Bronze I or the very beginning of Middle Bronze II. The only dated examples of the group are one seal impression from the Tell Bi‘a palace (1790-1776 BC)<sup>18</sup> and two others from Acemhöyük (before 1776 BC),<sup>19</sup> while the dating of most of the others, unfortunately unprovenanced, remains uncertain. None of the dated examples is much similar to the Afis seal in order to support a dating to the beginning of the eighteenth century, although they all show the same type of partition. From a stylistic point of view, lack of any plasticism of the figures appears an early trait within the development of Old Syrian glyptic, even when considering the low quality of execution of the piece. The way of rendering the lion’s mane along with that of the muzzle plus its crouched position are elements encountered on sealings found in the level II at Kaniš, thus indicating a placing more towards the upper than the lower limit of attestation of the group.<sup>20</sup> A lion much similar is however found on a seal from the Western Fort at Ebla – on the whole quite different from our seal – which is dated to MB II, probably at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> or beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century, thus indicating a lengthy attestation of the type.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the number of elements ascribable to the Early Bronze Age tradition on the Afis seal would suggest in fact quite an early dating within the Middle Bronze period. The four-legged, large quadruped

<sup>14</sup> van Loon 1988: 661, 662 and 665, fig. 200.3, suggesting a dating at the end of the fourth millennium; see also Matthews 1997: 90, 91.

<sup>15</sup> Porada 1948: 152, 153, pl. CLXIV.1079. I thank Stefania Mazzoni for bringing this seal to my attention.

<sup>16</sup> On an Old Assyrian seal impression still from Kültepe level II (Özgüç 1989: 380, pl. 82.5), a naked figure, lying, is repeated three times at the bottom of the scene, under a crouching lion of a very similar type to the Afis seal; the presence of detached heads is also worth noticing. According to the scholar both are ‘rare motifs’ at the site.

<sup>17</sup> Otto 2000: 112; see also Otto 1999: 350. Or, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, if one accepts the still controversial proposal of an Ultra-Low absolute chronology: see Gasche *et al.* 1998: 4; Veenhof 2000: 149; van Soldt 2000: 113; in relation to Old Syrian seals see Beyer 2013: 434.

<sup>18</sup> Otto 1999: fig. 18; Otto 2004: 90, pls 12.10; 90.1.a-c.

<sup>19</sup> Özgüç 1980: 83, figs III.19, 20; on the Old Syrian style impressions from that site see now Özgüç 2015: 133-148. In Beyer’s recent synthesis (2013: 435, fig. 242.4), the impressions of this type of seals from Acemhöyük are placed within its *phase paléo-syrienne classique A*.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Teissier 1993: figs 3, 9 (in the first of the two, the lion is however depicted standing).

<sup>21</sup> Pinnock 2000: 1400, fig. 3b; Peyronel 2000: 1354. It is to notice that the piece seems to be a stray find, its context being generically indicated as “on the west walls”: Pinnock 2000:1400. It is important also to recall the presence of a similar lion in the relief decoration of the limestone basin from temple D on the acropolis initially dated between 2000-1900 BC (Matthiae 1966: 113-129, esp. page 123, pls XLIII-LI: esp. pl. L.1), now slightly postdated to MB I/II (Matthiae 2013: 383).

in the lower register, which is very similar to the one on another seal of the “Schnurband-gruppe” (Otto 2000: pl. 2.16), finds also comparisons in a small number of EB IV, presumably Syrian, seals.<sup>22</sup> The tradition of double register seals itself goes back to the third millennium, when the rope-like dividing motif is found on seals, especially from Syria.<sup>23</sup> On those examples this partition device is often attested along with detached heads, an element also found on some seals of the second millennium “Schnurband-Gruppe” group,<sup>24</sup> though not on the Afis seal.

A rather early dating would appear confirmed also by considerations over the material assemblage coming from the same context as the seal and the deposits immediately above it. The pottery found in the trampled deposit over the street paving from which the seal originates can be dated, at the very latest, to the very beginning of MB II on the basis of the Ebla sequence and further comparisons (Fig. 6.a-b).<sup>25</sup> In the same deposit are also found two clay fragmentary figurines, one female and one male, which should be dated to a rather limited period between the end of MB I and MB II according to Ebla stratigraphy (Fig. 7.a, b).<sup>26</sup> This is also in accordance with the dating of the pottery found in the accumulated deposit sealing the context (Fig. 6.d-p), late MB I/early MB II,<sup>27</sup> and confirmed by the retrieval, in a deposit higher up in the square (SU 2239), of two more fragments of figurines representing an equid with a rider: this type of hand-made figurine, which makes its first appearance in Syria at the end of the Early Bronze Age (Moorey 2001: 346) but becomes more popular by the Middle Bronze II, finds good parallels in some pieces from Ebla dating to MB IIA (Fig. 7.c, d).<sup>28</sup>

Summing up, the materials found with the seal and that covering it are altogether not later than the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, thus confirming the placing of the seal quite at the beginning of the series based on the stylistic and iconographic analysis.

Finally, the difficult question of manufacture: although the limited number of provenanced seals in the “Schnurband-Gruppe” prevents any firm conclusion, I would not underestimate the fact that at least five of them are told to come from ‘Aleppo’, which means basically the area of the capital city of Yamkhad.<sup>29</sup> The use of registers (also reversed) seems to represent a well established regional tradition, as shown by some seals which Dominique Collon has ascribed to one single workshop, possibly located in the area of Aleppo.<sup>30</sup> Further indication is also given by some stylistic details, as for example the rendering of the head of the human figure which is the same as that on a seal from Alalakh, level V, though presumably unstratified, now in the Hatay Museum (Collon 1982: 65 fig. 35).

<sup>22</sup> Mazzoni 1992: 246, 247, pl. 45.2-4, 7. On this production of seals see also Mazzoni 1998c.

<sup>23</sup> See also Otto 2000: 169.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Matthews 1997: figs 188, 217, 218, 224, 233, 235, 236, 253, 261, 262. On this matter see already Amiet 1963: 76, 77.

<sup>25</sup> For fig. 6.a and b see respectively Ascalone 2011, fig. 41.4 and 12, Tuqan, Area N, Phase 5, MB IB; as to fig. 6.c see Marchetti and Nigro 2000: fig. 4.5, Ebla, *favissa* F. 5238, MB IB.

<sup>26</sup> The female figurine is close to examples ascribed by Marchetti to MB IB and MB IIA, especially for the arm position: see e.g. Marchetti 2001: 51-53, 59-61, fig. 28 and pl. XX.292, 293. The three-tiered necklace is found on a female figurine from F.5238 (though lacking of braces), where also a seated male figure is attested, which should be dated at the latest to the MB IIA: Marchetti and Nigro 2000: fig. 9, TM.94.P.526 and TM.92.P.768. As to the latter, see also Marchetti 2001: 94, 95, pl. XLIV.869, 870, although our specimen has no necklace. A detailed study of the anthropomorphic figurines from EB and MB levels in area E3 at Afis by Ilaria Falzone will appear in the forthcoming final report of the excavations.

<sup>27</sup> See for example the jar rim fig. 7.m, which is also attested in the *favissa* F.5327 at Ebla, dated to MB IB (Marchetti and Nigro 1997: fig. 6.53), and the bowl rims fig. 7.f and 7.h of similar dating, for which see respectively Baffi Guardata 1988: fig. 1.12, Ebla grave D1, and Nigro 2002: 113, pl. XLVI.11, from the Archaic Palace. Some of these types continue at Ebla down to MB II: for the pottery of this phase see Pinnock 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Marchetti 2001: 107, 131, 136, 137, esp. type Q21TA2b, pls LXIX.1485, LXX. 1481, CLXXXII.1479, 1485. The former finds a close parallel in a specimen from grave 1 at Hama, which should be dated to MB IB on the basis of its pottery equipment: Nigro 2002: 99. The fact that only heads are preserved hampers to check further details considered diagnostic in that study, e.g. the rear part of the body of the animals.

<sup>29</sup> Otto 2000: 111; see also 62 on the question of seals from the antiquities market.

<sup>30</sup> Collon 1981: 34, figs 2.24, 25 and 27; see also Buchanan 1966: n. 849.

I would thus suggest the seal to be local but in a large sense, i.e. not specifically from Afis but from its area, which may mean Ebla or even Aleppo itself. As indicated by the main characteristics of the seals of our group, especially the variability in style and quality of execution, this production was possibly the work of not one single workshop, but, more likely, of smaller ones scattered over the area of distribution if not of itinerant seal-cutters (Porter 2001: 601-604). Unfortunately our yet limited knowledge of seal manufacturing in the Yamkhad area at this stage hampers to elucidate this matter in further detail.

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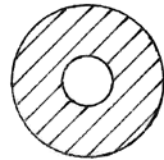
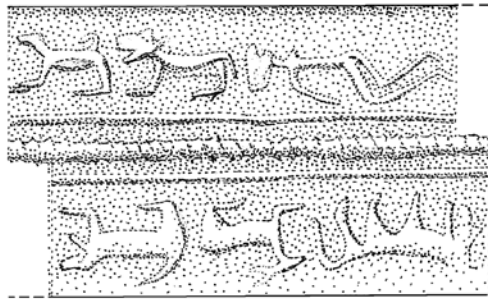
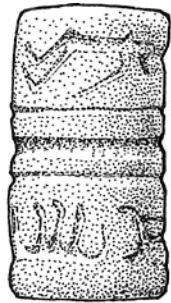




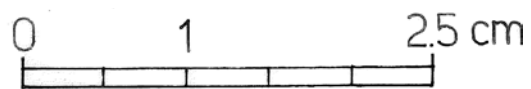
Fig. 1: a: Tell Afis, area E3, the fortifications (foundations level) from NE; b: the street from E.



a



b



**Fig. 2:** Photo by M. Necci (a) and drawing by S. Martelli (b) of seal TA.99.E.180 and its impression.





Fig. 3: Impression of the cylinder seal Delaporte 1910: pl. XXX.444 (not on scale).

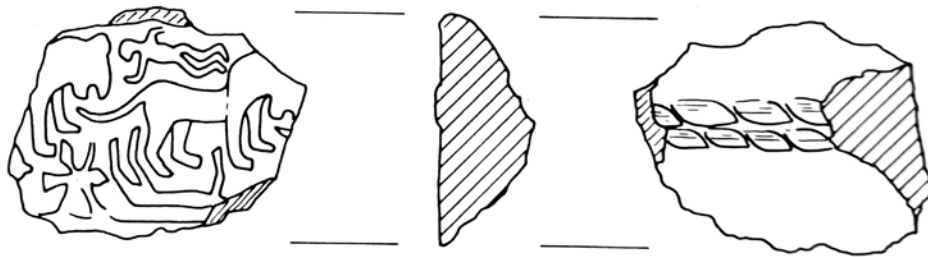
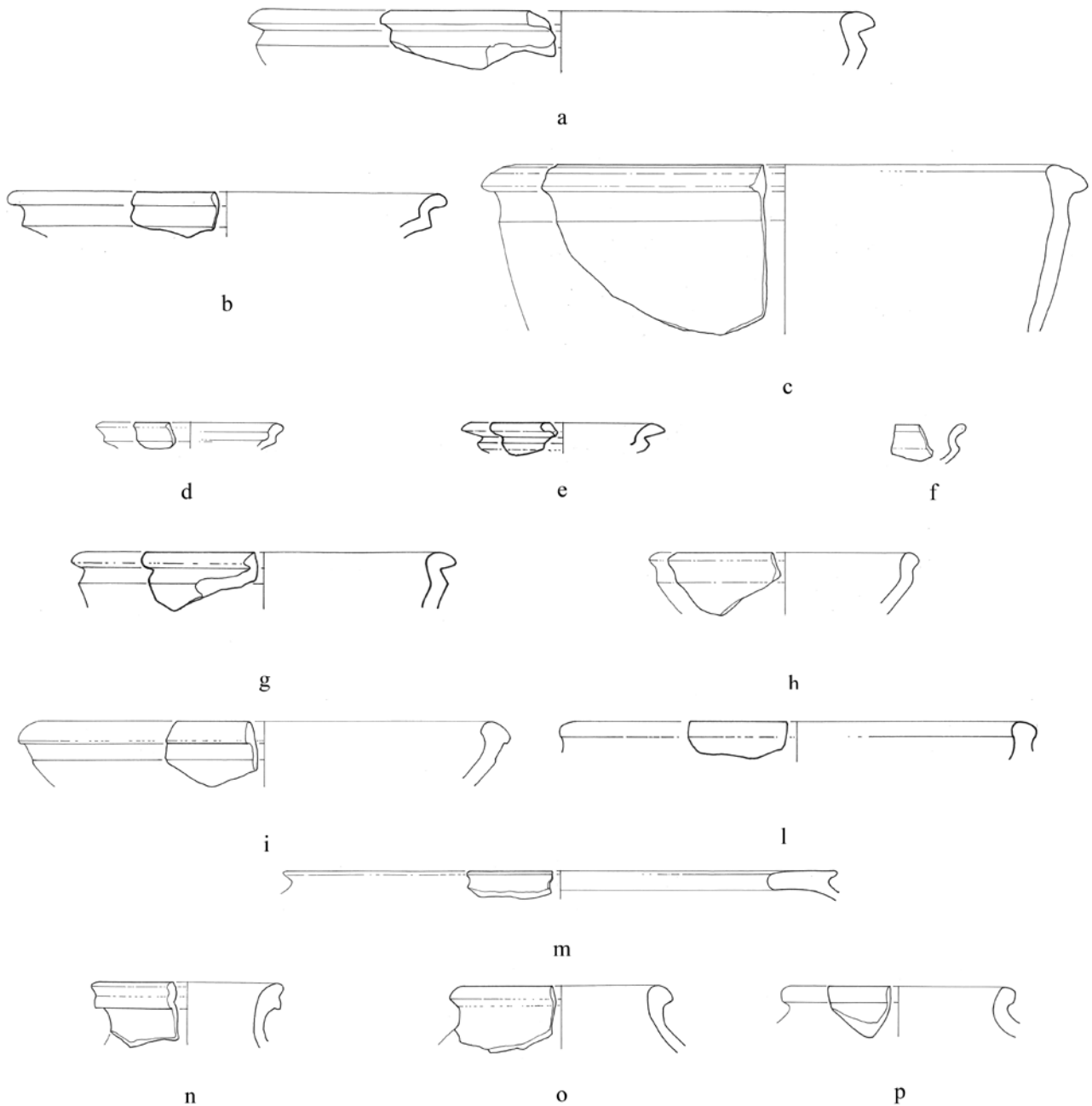


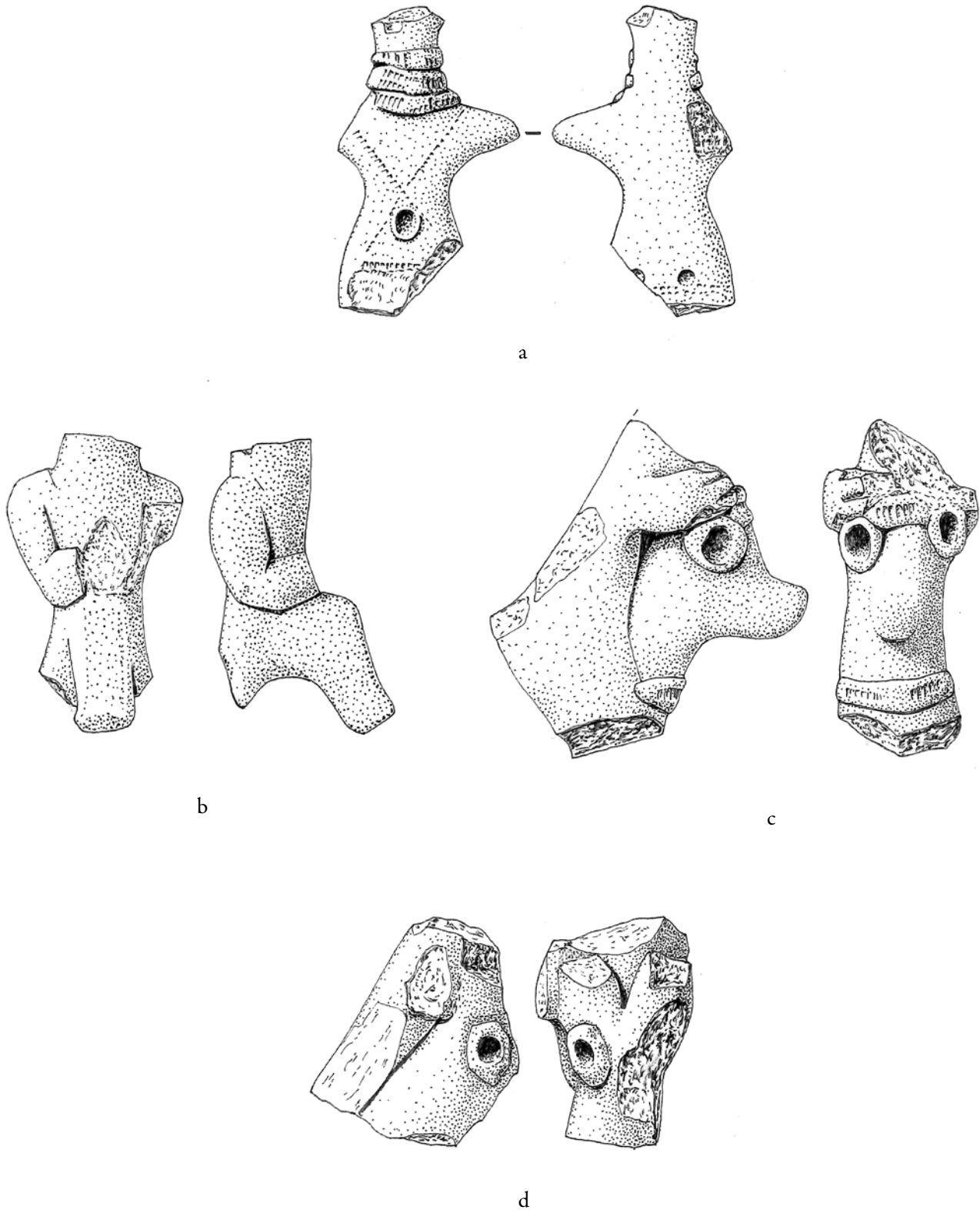
Fig. 4: Drawing of the sealing from Hammam eth-Turkman, van Loon 1988: fig. 200.3 (not on scale).



Fig. 5: Impression of the cylinder seal Porada 1948: pl. CLXIV.1079 (not on scale).



**Fig. 6:** Pottery from the street paving (SU 2261: a-b) and the trample deposit (SU 2262: d-p) above it: a. TA.99.E.377/1, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; b. TA.99.E.377/4, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; c. TA.99.E.377/3, Simple Ware, deep bowl; d. TA.99.E.350/1, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; e. TA.99.E.350/3, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; f. TA.99.E.350/6, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; g. TA.99.E.350/7, Simple Ware, bowl; h. TA.99.E.350/5, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; i. TA.99.E.350/24, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; l. TA.99.E.350/27, Simple Ware, carinated bowl; m. TA.99.E.350/21, Simple Ware, jar; n. TA.99.E.350/8, Simple Ware, jar; o. TA.99.E.350/10a, Simple Ware, jar; p. TA.99.E.350/22, Simple Ware, jar (scale 1:10).



**Fig. 7:** Clay figurines from the trample deposit over the street paving (SU 2262: a, b) and from the deposit above it (SU 2239: c, d): a. TA.99.E.167, fragmentary female figurine; b. TA.99.E.172, fragmentary male figurine; c. TA.99.E.176, fragmentary horse rider figurine; d. TA.99.E.178, fragmentary horse rider figurine (scale 1:5).





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## Exploring a site in the North Central Anatolian Plateau: Archaeological Research at Uşaklı Höyük (2013-2015)

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**Abstract.** The investigations started in 2008 by the University of Florence at the site of Uşaklı Höyük and in its territory have revealed a long local sequence of occupation from the Late Chalcolithic and Bronze and Iron Ages to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. The presence of a stable network of settlements over this long duration attests to the strategic role of the area east of Yozgat for both the control of the routes across the Anatolian plateau and the exploitation of its favourable environment. Uşaklı Höyük was the main urban centre here, flourishing in the Middle-Late Bronze and Iron Ages, corresponding to the Hittite and Phrygian periods. In 2013-2015 the excavations brought to light sectors of two monumental Hittite buildings, a temple in the lower town and a palace on the acropolis. They show similar architectural elements, the extensive use of stones and monoliths and the regular organization of the plans, which belong to a common Hittite imperial tradition dating to the 15th-12th cent. In the late Iron Age, the acropolis was fortified by an artificial, sloping earthen rampart protected at its base by a stone *glacis*. In the late Roman period the lower town was rebuilt and the acropolis probably again fortified.

**Keywords.** Uşaklı Höyük, Hittite, temple, palace, stone architecture, rampart, Hittite pottery, Iron Age pottery, Zippalanda.

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### UŞAKLI HÖYÜK: THE 2013-2015 EXCAVATIONS: INTRODUCTION AND ARCHITECTURE (Stefania Mazzoni)

Between 2008 and 2012 the University of Florence carried out an archaeological, geo-morphological and geophysical survey at the site of Uşaklı Höyük and in its territory (Mazzoni, Pecchioli Daddi 2015). In 2013, excavations started providing information on the chronology and urban characters of the settlement. The area where the ancient town of Uşaklı was founded is a plain crossed by rolling hills, rich in springs and

streams flowing among granitic and basaltic spurs; it was an ideal territory for exploiting agriculture and raising livestock (Mazzoni 2015). Uşaklı is located at the crossroads of important communication routes linking Cappadocia with the Pontus, eastern and western Anatolia, and nowadays Ankara with Sivas, and Kayseri with Çorum. This strategic position and the favourable environment, with its adaptive potentialities, account for the lengthy and continuous occupation of this area from the Late Chalcolithic, the Bronze and Iron Ages to the Roman and Byzantine periods. In this lengthy sequence, limited changes and fluctuations in the strategy of occupation and settlement distribution were registered by the survey: during the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages and as well in the Iron Age villages and fortified citadels were located over natural spurs, from where the communities could manage to exploit their surroundings for a subsistence strategy based on agriculture and livestock; a somehow more consistent cluster of villages and farms across the plain and over the hills was documented only for the Roman and Byzantine periods and reflects the growth of the agrarian economy prompted by the imperial administration.

The unique Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement of Uşaklı Höyük, with its distinct and well conceived integration in the natural landscape and the crossway reveals a distinct strategy of foundation and choice as a regional central place. The site, consisting of a terrace of 10ha. and a mound rising on its southern side to 1138m, occupied a natural high spur and a plain which were surrounded by a semi-circular arc of low hills to the south and to the north by the meanders of the river Eğri Öz Dere, intersected by the stream Kötü Dere, which is fed by a spring to the south. It was, therefore, protected by this perimeter of hills and rivers, supplying water to men and agriculture, and on the same time it could provide visibility (and control) on the plain, to the south to the high granitic mountain Kerkenes Dağ, and to the north to the chain of the Zirzili Dağı which mark the direction of Hattusa, Alaca Höyük and the Roman town of Tavium.

The presence of materials of late Early and Middle Bronze Ages from the surface of the eastern terrace bordering the river Eğri Öz Dere and from the sounding under Building II (see here D'Agostino and Orsi) indicates that the first settlement was founded in this zone; however, the natural limestone hill which is at the base of the höyük may have also been occupied during these early phases, as the pottery from the surface of the slopes, from the core of the Iron Age ramparts and from the terrace sustaining Building III (see here Orsi) may suggest. In any case, it was during the Late Bronze Age that the settlement achieved an urban organization being furnished by monumental buildings (Building II-III) and surrounded by a circuit of walls (Building IV; Mazzoni 2015: 9, fig. 3). The Late Roman and Byzantine town enjoyed apparently these same extension and urban aspect: the upper citadel was fortified by a circular walling (Building VIII; Mazzoni 2015: 9, fig. 3, pl. 12, Operation 1) and the lower town was occupied by large well planned residencies (Area B: Building I; Area A: sector NW, see here D'Agostino). In the Iron Age, instead, only the acropolis was occupied and fortified by a rampart over a stone escarpment at its base (Areas C).

### *Building II (Area A)*

The investigation of the building, that the geophysics survey shows as extending over 875 square metres on the eastern terrace, started in 2013 and up to 2015 600 square metres were cleared out (Plan 1). In the north-western sector (I19D1+J19A1, J19B2, C2), immediately under the topsoil, two long rooms, SU 26 (Fig. 11) and SU 75 (Fig. 16) appeared with their northern wall (SU 20) 2.70 m. large and three parallel walls crossing it (from W: SU 19, 27, 67) of 2.30m. Demolished blocks were found scattered in the rooms and the open space to the north-west where also flimsy alignments attest to a late re-use. Wall 67 is crossed on its eastern side by a wall (SU 1), 2.50m large, which abuts on the east onto a massive structure of rough boulders, a sort of plinth, laid on a deep foundation of small stones; this was the first structure to be excavated in 2013 (J19B4, C4, B3, C3), as SU 1+4 and completed in 2014 (J19D4, K19A4). The northern front of it seems to be constituted by the prosecution to ESE of the wall bonded to wall 67, i.e. SU 1. A long wall, oriented NNE-SSW (SU 111), large 2.65m, constitutes the eastern face of this solid structure walling also the unit which appears to its south.

The north-eastern corner of this block is largely damaged by the recent demolition; to the north of the plinth and the northern front SU 1 (Fig. 9) a line of blocks, or possibly a largely ruined wall (122b), extends to the north

where scattered stones (125) appear on the same level; the space to their west (126) may be a further room. East and parallel to wall 111 a line of stones with the same alignment (122) appears and possibly close further rooms in this sector. Relics of small walls built with pebbles and medium sized stones, fillings of small stones represent the poor evidence of a recent phase of use in this sector.

Wall SU 111, as noted above, constitutes the long front of the so far investigated south-eastern area; it closes to the west two small rooms, SU 127 (Fig. 8), 134 (Fig. 6). Wall 111 is bonded to the south to an orthogonal wall (SU 133), defining the northern side of a further room (SU 131).

The long wall 1, connecting the north-western block with the two parallel rooms to the eastern block with the solid plinth (1+4) seems to constitute the northern face of the central zone of the unit so far excavated. To its south open a small room (SU 33), large 4.25x1,60m, and a long room (35), 4.60x7.50m, probably a court; this room is closed to the north by wall 133, large 2.40m, and to the south by a parallel wall, SU 149, large 2.40m. In this sector there is evidence of limited squatting and re-use of the ruins with flimsy walls (SU 62, SU 68) and a sort of irregularly cobbled bench (SU 20).

The southern sector was exposed mainly in 2015 in J19 D3, K19 A3, K19 B2-3, K19C2+3+4). A large room in J19D3 is walled to the north by SU 132, large 2.25m, to the east by SU 111, and to the south by another wall, large 2.40m. This wall crosses to its south the wall SU 145, large 2.50m, built by large and well dressed stones and slabs; this wall crosses to north-west SU 149, large 2.50m, and to the south wall SU 148, large 2.50m, delimiting a room. A further room (152) opens to the south, being delimited by walls 149, large 2.50m, and 154, large 2.20 (exposed), crossed by walls 153, large 1.20m, and 161, large 2.25.

To the east of wall 145, the area is apparently free and was possibly open-air; scattered stones appear on the ground (155) in a sort of irregular low platform (?); here a few Roman tiles were collected.

A deep sounding along the northern side (see here D'Agostino) has revealed a dense accumulation of homogeneous layers of a clayish earth. This layer is 1 m 80 deep and covers eight cobbled floors (SU 41, 52, 54, 66, 70, 72, 74, 77), each separated from the other by a thin accumulation of clayish earth.

### *Interpreting Building II*

The preserved part of Building II consists of a massive groundwork of walls made of large, undressed stones. Only one course was preserved and was put to light immediately beneath the topsoil; however, and in a small zone of the eastern side the survey revealed a few granitic blocks on the surface with a clear alignment (Mazzoni 2015: 6-7, pl. 3.3) that may have represented the remains of a second course, as they were at a higher level than those excavated. These surface blocks were dismantled by the landowner to enlarge the ploughing area before the starting of our operations (Fig. 17); besides, these blocks were better preserved and more exposed in the photos published by P. Meriggi in 1971 (Meriggi 1971: pl. X:2), a fact that shows how this structure suffered reiterated activities of removal in modern times by the local farmers. We can consequently suppose that the structure had to be constituted in origin by two courses of blocks visible over the floors.

There is no evidence of the original floors apart from some limited zones such as the northern corner of the small room 26, showing fragments of a thin coating of earth mixed with loose gravel (Fig. 18). The finding of a miniature vase (U13.A.30) (Fig. 26) there may support this identification but, on the other hand, two other miniature vases (U13.A.29,42) (Fig. 26) were found in the filling of this area proving that these materials were random remains from the original inventories of pottery and were not preserved in place. We have also to stress that nowhere we have evidence of remains of coating with a buff/whitish plaster in the rooms brought to light; this technique of floor refinement is instead documented in Building III (Area D). We may then probably identify in Building II nothing else than a preparation which could provide a good drainage and stability to the floors. In this case, however, this preparation may have been not too thick, as the foundations of the walls were exposed at the base of the preserved course of stones. The floors had to be laid at the level of this course, i.e. at the base of the groundwork, as we know from buildings of this phase of other sites. However, these soils were all worn in a simi-

lar way as if they had been exposed to weather for long. No waste pits or pits for digging stones or for retrieving materials from the rooms were identified, a fact that may indicate that the building stood probably for long after its abandonment, being then gradually demolished in the course of a very long time. The presence of scattered materials of the Iron and Roman Ages, such as tiles, and of flimsy stone alignments suggests a late occupation and use of the ruins for quarrying stones and dressed blocks; these had to be employed for building the late Iron Age *glacis* of the acropolis, and as well the walls of the Roman houses, which adjoined the ruins of Building II to the north-west and north (Building I).

The thick wall socles, unplastered and made of dry masonry, were laid over foundations of smaller stones whose alignments protrude sloping slightly down beyond the line of the walls of the socle; these foundations were more or less deep, being composed by different courses (compare Figs 12 and 13: room 127) according to the size of the walls. Foundations and groundwork were laid over an artificial 2 m high terrace consisting of a uniform layer of earth raised over eight cobblestone layers (see here D'Agostino). This deep underground structure probably aimed at withstanding the heavy pressure of the megalithic groundwork and raise the building over the level of the surrounding old topsoil; the socle in its turn had to provide a solid base and a regular horizontal level to the structure.

This groundwork was composed by walls of different measures, made of stones and boulders of various size and cutting; these were also laid in different ways. The walls so far exposed can be 2.50/2.20 and 1.20 large; only wall 20 is 2.70 m. Our excavations started on the northern side of the building (following the indication of the geophysics image) and here the walls present a homogeneous regular technique of bonds; they are, in fact, built up by two faces filled by rough small stones; the stones of the faces are laid as headers with their length across the wall in order to fasten the texture and bind the face to the backing. This system of bonding could provide a more stable base for the upper course which had to be made of heavy granitic stones and improve the static stability of especially the façades of the building. This bonding system is found on the outer side of wall 20, large 2.70m, but not on the inner partition walls (19, 27, 67) of rooms 26 and 75 to its south. Wall 1 closing to the south rooms 35 (Fig. 10) and 33 shows a similar bond in both faces; in the plinth 1+4 only the northern face (1) has the headers, up to the join with 111, whose faces are, instead, characterized by boulders or big stones. A similar bond with long stone as headers appears also in wall 148 to the south. It is noteworthy that in some walls (111, 145) stones appear to be bond in a stretcher composition, i.e. with the larger part of the dressed block exposed on the front of the wall. However, given to the quite disomogeneous preservation of the structure whose walls were dismantled, and many stones fallen from their original setting inside the empty spaces, it is difficult to understand the technical nature of the differences in the texture and technique of stone bonding. We cannot say if they reflect the history of the construction, its inner phasing or, instead, are connected with the history of its dismantling.

The plan of Building II seems to include different blocks juxtaposed which may represent units and include quite small spaces, and a few larger rooms, probably open-air, or courts. Looking at the aerial view of the exposed part of the building (Plan 2), the eastern block seems to include double walls, placed side by side; at the north-eastern corner (?) a sort of square block seems to be laid as a tower-like structure with a core constituted by smaller stones. We could not identify clear alignments nor spaces which may have been filled by fallen down stones, giving the idea then of a solid structure. A few small empty spaces appear as a sort of casemate composition but we cannot grasp their nature and function. Only two rooms are legible in the centre, (SU 35: 132/133) both found filled by numerous large blocks fallen from the upper course. The north-western block is composed by small, long and parallel empty spaces which correspond perfectly to the image furnished by the geophysical analysis. This might be interpreted as the base of a staircase.

Looking at a preliminary schematic plan (Plan 3), which constitutes a tentative reconstruction of the architecture exposed in the years 2013-2015, a certain irregular organization of the blocks and consequently of the original units stands out as a distinct structural feature of this building. Rooms are relatively small, walls present various sizes; there are apparently no clear outer limits. As the northern wall of the north-western block is 2.70 it may be identified as a perimetral wall for this zone and in this case the block probably abutted to the north. Walls 1 and 111 being 2.5m may have also been perimetral walls, and the large open spaces to the north and east represent then external sides or possibly large courtyards.



Concerning the identification of the nature and function of Building II, we can rely more on its architectural character than on its plan, too little of which is known. Size and drafting of the stones, the use of granitic boulders, the use of larger foundations and of a probably thick terracing, indicate that this was certainly a monumental structure. On a more speculative ground, it is possible to recognize a quite sophisticated architecture, a well conceived planning (despite its irregular lay-out) which resulted from a specialized craftsmanship and an expensive investment of materials and labour forces.

Architecture and the style of the stone-working can be compared with the Hittite institutional buildings, temples and palaces. However, if we have to suggest some parallels we may better address our investigation to the temples, and specifically to the earlier temples in Boğazköy/Hattusa (2, 3, 5) characterized by a somewhat irregular layout of the different units (Schachner 2011: 176-177; Temple 5: Krause 1945). The monumental scale of other temples in the capital and as well at Kuşaklı Höyük/Sarissa with their organization of units and regular structuring of the spaces around very large courtyards belong to a monumental conception which was probably unparalleled elsewhere.

A further element for a speculative understanding the nature of Building II as a temple, as already noted (Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015: 166), can be provided by its position, facing the river to the east and looking south to Kerkenes Dağ, in margin to the proposed identification of the site with the town of Zippalanda, sacred to the Storm-god, and Kerkenes Dağ with the mountain Daha, near to the town and seat of the cult of this god (Torri 2015; see here the contribution by G. Torri). This hypothesis is now corroborated by the discovery of six fragments of cuneiform tablets concerning letters, a feast, a ritual with a myth and an oracle, stamps and a clay sealing with the impressions of a Hittite stamp seal that show that Uşaklı must have played an administrative and political role in the imperial Hittite organization, between the 15th and the 12th cent. B.C. (Pecchioli Daddi, Torri, Corti 2014; Archi et al. 2015; Poetto 2015).

The monumental character of the architecture, the size and topographical setting in a landscape marked by distinct geographical features, which may have been charged by ideological concepts, do support the identification of Building II as a temple; if we do believe that Uşaklı Höyük were Zippalanda, this may have only been the temple of the local Storm-god.

### *Building III (Area D)*

In 2015 a long E-W trench (Q15 A2-3; Q15 B2-3) was opened in the southern slopes of the mound with the main intent of investigating Building III, a legible and certainly relevant edifice revealed by the geophysics analysis on this sector of the höyük as extending at least 65m E-W by 20m N-S (Mazzoni 2015: 8-9, fig. 3) (Map 4a). The excavations have revealed here a sequence of Iron Age levels of occupation over the destruction level of this building (see here D'Agostino and Orsi). The earlier Iron Age occupation overlaps over the raised remains of Building III. Two rooms were put to light: to the west a large room (U 58) and on the east a long small room (SU 59) (Map 4b); its western wall, oriented N-S, SU 6, and its northern wall, oriented E-W, SU 47, were preserved respectively for 1.56 and 1.25m, and were both made by dry walling technique with two faces built of drafted stones and a core of rubble. The walls to the south, SU 36) and to the east, SU 61, were instead cut by the slope and have only one course of small stones preserve. The floor of SU 58 is constituted by a beaten earthen soil (SU 46) which is laid over a clayish hard soil (SU 49), and was connected to the walls SU 6 and SU 36. A further similar hard soil (SU 62) appears immediately under SU 49. The other room to the east, SU 59, is a long room (3x1.15m) walled by SU 6 on the east, SU 60 on the west and SU 7 made of of small stones. The room was filled by a deposit of broken pebbles and bricks (SU 3) over the beaten earthen floor SU 65.

These rooms are limited and fortified to the south by a massive wall, SU 8, large 1.70m; on its southern front, it was built of well dressed blocks bounded by small stones and carefully joined (Fig. 31). This front, with its three courses preserved, has been put to light for a length of 8m. The wall constituted also the retaining wall of the high terrace over which the building raised, as documented in a trench carried out under the floor (SU 54) of room

SU 58 and its preparation of hard clayish soils (SU 49, 62) (Fig. 35); this preparation rests on a thick accumulation made of quite compact fillings (SU 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75). The soil SU 64 to the west is apparently related with a N-S wall (SU 68); SU 6 at higher level appear to follow its alignment and orientation. This deposit constitutes a sort of high terrace supporting the foundation of the room (SU 58) with its walls. The excavation was also deepened under the level of the foundation of wall SU 8 (see here D'Agostino) putting to light a sort of substructure for isolating the building, made of different fillings of earth, clay, rubble of rocks, and earth of bricks, which rests on the virgin soil.

The rooms with their floors were empty; no materials were found in place as if the building had been abandoned and voided of all its furnishings and facilities. It is consequently clear that it was destroyed by fire after its abandonment.

In a preliminary way, we can recognize some elements characterizing Building III as a remarkable feature of the urban landscape of the town: a sophisticate architecture and a regular plan, a massive retaining wall built with well dressed stones, a high and dominant position over an elevated artificial terrace, its location over a natural hill, its dimensions as given by the geophysics survey (65 E-W along near the whole of the southern side of the mound). Considering that the exposed sector does match perfectly to the plan revealed by the geophysics survey, we may compare Building III with the palace of Maşat Höyük (ancient Tapikka) in north-eastern Anatolia (Özgüç 1982: pl. 4), which extended over the whole surface of the acropolis in a prominent position over the surrounding plain.

#### *The rampart and the glacis of the Iron Age (Area C)*

On the eastern side of the mound a 25m long trench (Area C: M17 C3-C4, M18 C1-4; M17 B3-4, M18 B-4) was open from the top to its base (Plan 5); on the surface of the upper zone two fragments of tablets were recovered during the scraping operation in 2012 (Tablets UK12.E.3, E4, E5: Archi et al. 2015: 351-352) together with abundant materials of the Iron and Late Bronze Ages (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 182-184; Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015: 170-175). The excavations in 2014 brought to light two further fragments (UK.14.E.3, 62, from M17 C4 and M17 D13: Ibidem: 352-353), while another one was found in the 2015 campaign (UK.15.E.62: Ibidem: 353, from M17 D3).

Excavations have revealed here the escarpment wall of the acropolis constituted by an earthen rampart strengthening the upper slope of the old mound and a stone *glacis* revetting its base (Figs 41-42). The structure was composed by different architectural units. The upper surface of the rampart was protected by a revetment of flimsy stone walls which formed a system of grids that bounded and fastened the steep earthen slope (Fig. 54), which may have been a later addition to secure the top of it. The earthen rampart included an artificial massive deposit contained by slightly divergent radial walls (such as "flying buttresses") which constituted a sort of inner backbone of the rampart; these were laid deeply inside the deposit and are preserved for a height of 3m. These walls relieved the pressure of the heavy mound over the *glacis* and, on the same time, strengthened the inner deposit. Two of these walls, oriented east-west, and descending from the middle portion of the mound, have been exposed; one to the south (SU 9/21/30); and a second one to the north (SU 45, 73, 75). These walls were built different technique and possibly in subsequent stages with a lower layer constituted by burnt bricks and an upper level by small stones overlapping directly the walls of the burnt bricks (Figs 47-48, 51).

The space between these walls was artificially filled up by an accumulation of layers (SU 43, 46, 47, 68, 69) (Fig. 43) of earth containing debris from the demolition of architecture and materials of a building of the Late Bronze Age (including the fragments of tablets). This filling constituted the core of the rampart.

The *glacis* exposed at the bottom of the trench (M18 C1-3) was composed by rows of blocks stepping down to the base of the slope (SU 35, 37, 41, 42). The original face of the *glacis* is preserved in the northern sector at some depth and shows a regular bonding and well dressed stones (Fig. 45). In the central and southern part of the section actually recovered the outer face is probably composed by a thick layer of stones collapsed from the original outer revetment, and has consequently a quite irregular aspect. Despite its preservation, however, the *glacis* reveals a quite solid and imposing character.

Excavations have shown that this south-eastern slope of the central mound was walled and reinforced by an apparently single building operation which was conceived for both defending the acropolis and strengthening its probably steep slopes, preventing their subsidence, and as well for filling some deep void or a zone severely collapsed, maybe related with the building from which came the bricks, materials and tablets found in the deposit of the rampart. The earthen rampart is, in fact, a very thick and massive structure intended to provide a structural support to the acropolis slopes, at least in this area. However, the final structure constituted a defensive system making the acropolis unapproachable. This structure offers a quite unique case of earthen rampart built over a stone *glacis* for the Iron Age. The technique of the stone lined scarps and *glacis* are certainly well documented in the area at Tilkigediği Tepe, Keykavus Kale and at the Göz Baba “Tumulus” by the regional survey carried out by G. Summers in the frame of the Kerkenes Dağ mission (Summers, Ahmet 1995: 46-53). Comparing the *glacis* found at Uşaklı (Mazzoni, D’Agostino 2015: 179) with these stone escarpments which had been dated to the Achaemenid period given to their different and inferior technique of stone-working in respect to stone *glacis* of the late Phrygian city at Kerkenes Dağ, we could not provide a clear attribution inside this sequence to our case. The documentation gathered, instead, in the later campaigns make us more confident on a datation in the Late Iron Age. It is, therefore, possible to date the emergence and diffusion of this walling system in the region in the late Iron Age, in margin to a strategy of control of the territory exerted by the political institution held in Kerkenes. Therefore, the fortified citadel of Uşaklı may have been part of a regional network of castles guarding the routes and the hinterland of Kerkenes.

#### *Building I and the Late Roman Period occupation (Area B)*

The town was densely occupied and rebuilt during the Late Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD). Extensive quarrying of the walls of the Hittite Temple II was carried out in this phase and is documented by the traces of squatting among its ruins. A perimetral wall with a socle of well dressed slabs was built on the summit of the citadel which was probably occupied by a fortified *castellum* (Building VIII: Mazzoni 2015: fig. 3; D’Agostino, Orsi 2015: Operation 1, pl. 12). To the north of the Hittite Temple, a large well planned building (Building I) is shown by the geophysics survey; this was first interpreted as a Late Bronze Age structure owing to its proximity to Building II, its size covering an area of 710 square metres and including ten rectangular and parallel rooms, (Mazzoni 2015: 8, fig. 4), its orientation that was aligned with the orientation of the town wall (Building IV: Mazzoni 2015: 9, fig. 3) but not with the one of Building II; regular plan (Plan 7).

Excavations carried out in its southern zone in 2015 (H18 E4/H19 C1) exposed a large room, immediately under the surface, with its walls (SU 1, 13, 14, 3) made of different courses of rough stones (Fig. 60); they have also shown that this room underwent different changes and various sub-phases could be documented (see here D’Agostino). Other remains of this period were exposed in square J18 A1, on the north-western edge of Building II; here, a large room (SU 123) (Figs 64-65) was excavated with its northern (SU 106) and western (SU 102) walls made of rough stones. Portions of its external beaten earthen floor (SU 128) were found covered by tiles (SU 121). The room, filled by a thick collapse of stones and tiles, had an accurate paved floor (SU 124) of large flagstones and appears to have been reduced in a subsequent phase by the addition of a coarse wall made of rough stones (SU 115) parallel to the northern wall.

The accurate architecture of these buildings, the different sub-phases recognized so far give indication of a substantial and probably not too short occupation of the site during the late Roman period and, in fact, as documented by the survey, the whole region and the hinterland of Uşaklı were intensively settled with rural villages and farmsteads in this phase (D’Agostino, Orsi 2015: 177-179, 186-188). As said before, this process can be understood in the context of the economic flourishing and population stability that the region underwent thanks to the Roman agrarian politic (Mitchell 1993: 143-147). The main Roman centre in the region was Tavium identified with the site of Büyüknemes, north-west of Yozgat (Strobel, Gerber 2007) in the basin of the Delice Irmak, ancient Kappadox (Strobel, Gerber 2010: figs 7, 8), which was the territory of the Galatian Troikoi; this town was organ-

ized as a *polis* of the Sebastenoi Tokmoi Taouianoi (Strobel 2009: 130-131). During the Roman period Uşaklı Höyük may have been included in its sphere of administrative control. K. Strobel has proposed its identification with the town of Podanala (Strobel 2002: 26-27; see the map in Strobel 2009: fig. 1; note 268, p. 177 for further bibliography), connecting this name to Zippalanda.

### *Preliminary considerations*

The excavations of Uşaklı Höyük reveal a history of occupation which is coherent with the picture provided by the survey. Continuity throughout the Bronze, Iron Ages and Late Antiquity in the exploitation and use of this area is evident as are the changes and the fluctuations also documented on the site and its territory. However, on the basis of the present documentation, we cannot say whether these changes were connected with a shift in the population of this area and its demographic consistency. Processes of destabilization or, instead, renovation and resilience are certainly clear in our archaeological documentation and in the urban history of Uşaklı; they may have been also reflected in the population of its territory. But, the data are not always equivalent; a coherent picture of intense occupation in the area mirroring the urban growth of the site can be obtained only for the Roman and Byzantine periods, while for the Iron and Late Bronze Ages the fact that only the site provides documents may suggest that the countryside was only marginally occupied in these phases or that its occupation had a more ephemeral character, undetectable by archaeology. However, the data provided now by the excavations offer us some clues for further albeit preliminary considerations.

The excavations show a process of continuity of occupation and also some not inconsistent changes. A major break in this continuity concerns the town of the Late Bronze period. Buildings II and III are apparently abandoned; if Building II does not present evidence of violent destruction given its spoliation during the Iron Age and the Roman period, Building III, instead, was found filled with the debris of its collapse, at least in the limited sector exposed; its floors were found burnt and completely empty. This evidence cannot but indicate that its collapse and destruction by fire took place after its abandonment. While there is sparse and inconsistent evidence (few pits) of a post-Late Bronze phase or transitional period, a phase often debated on a vast regional scale, evidence of occupation on the sole acropolis is obtained for the Middle and especially Late Iron Age. There is, consequently, or a gap in the occupation of the settlement, or a very flimsy use of the abandoned structures, as some Early Iron Age pits may demonstrate, possibly of non permanent nature; however, the duration of this phase cannot be fixed on the basis of the present documentation. This evidence can only indicate that in Uşaklı, from the Bronze to the Iron Age, there was a drastic reduction of the settlement to the sole acropolis following the abandonment of the large and monumental Hittite town and that a substantial occupation did not re-emerge before the Late Iron Age.

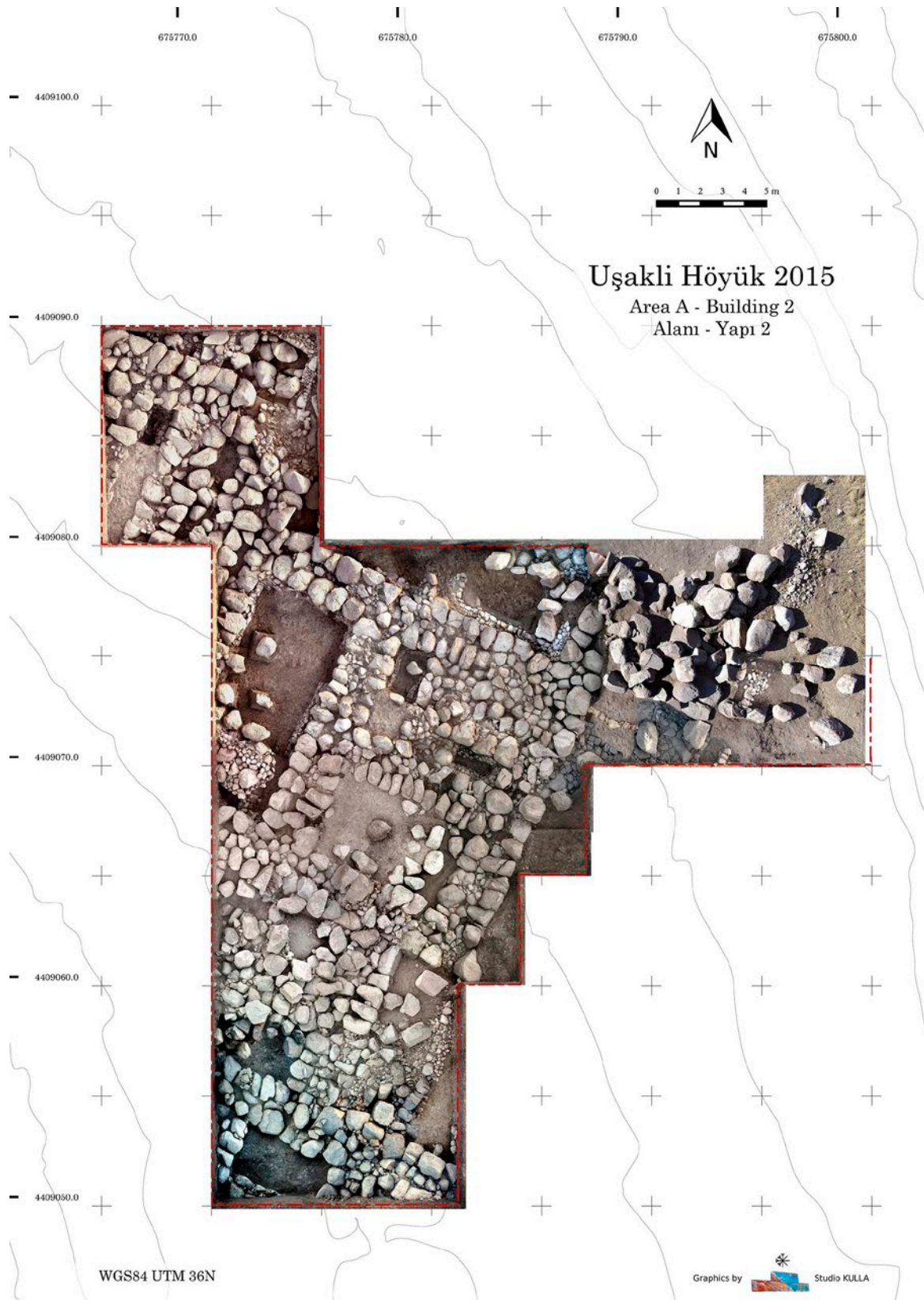
We do not know how or why the Late Bronze Age town collapsed. No signs of a destruction affecting contexts in their primary function and use are preserved but many materials, bricks, stones, and a tablet found on the surface of the site (Archi et al. 2015: 350-351, UK09.E.2, pl. 43) were severely burned; by consequence, as already stressed, a destruction by fire can be suggested as a final term for the life of the town; in any case, the burnt floor in Building III shows that this took place after the abandonment and possibly collapse of its main buildings.

It is obvious to relate this event to the fall of the Hittite empire in the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. with its still debated movers, invasions and conflictuality at the western (Sea Peoples) and northern borders (Kaskaean), famine, inner dynastic problems; this was certainly a major process that strongly affected the socio-political structure of the Anatolian Highlands prompting a substantial disruption and a radical political transformation. The area of Uşaklı Höyük, in the core of the empire, strictly followed the fortune of the capital Hattusa and all the regional towns; the town was probably abandoned when the capital was transferred to the south and the administrative centres relocated.

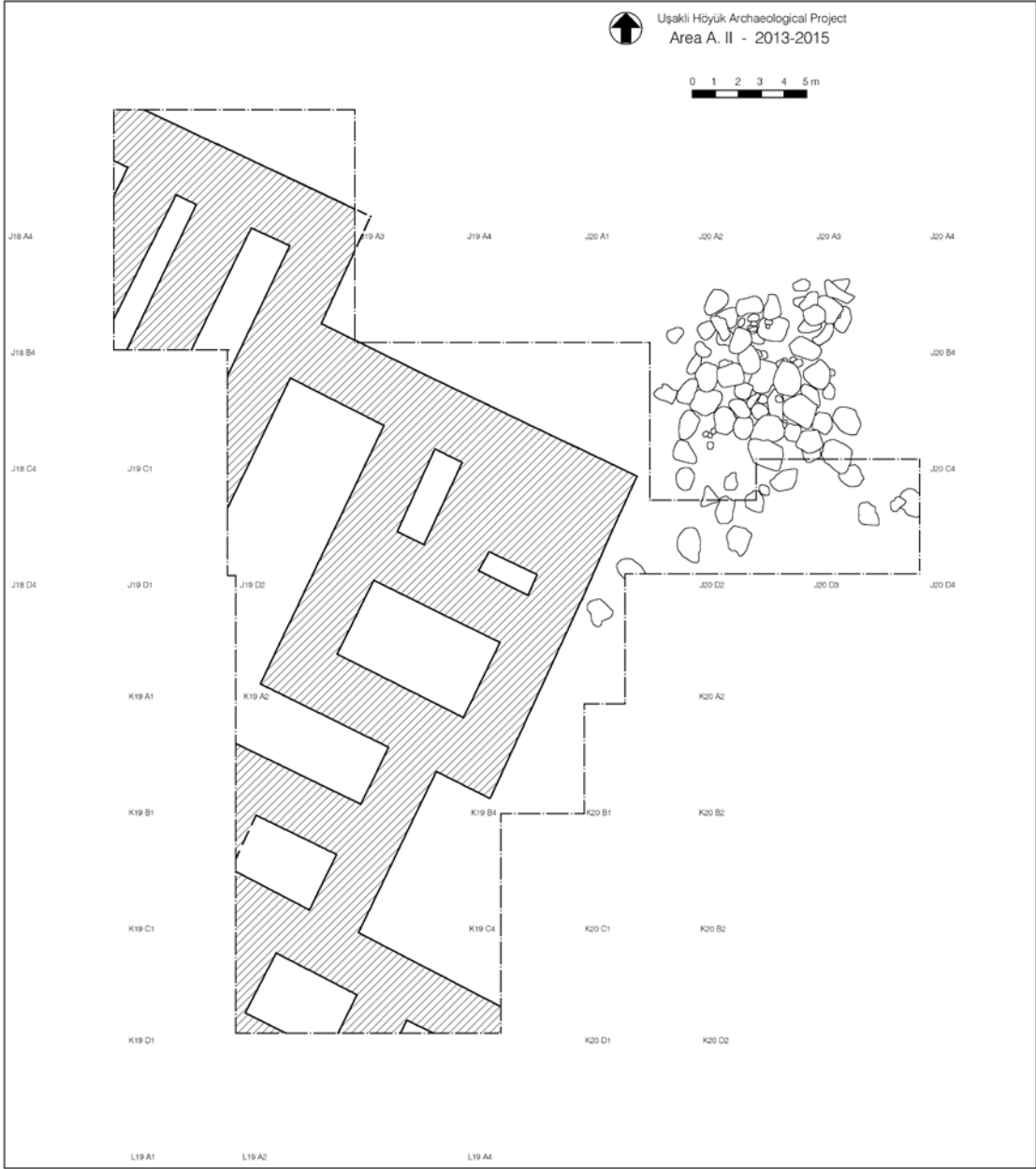


**Plan 1: Area A, Building II**

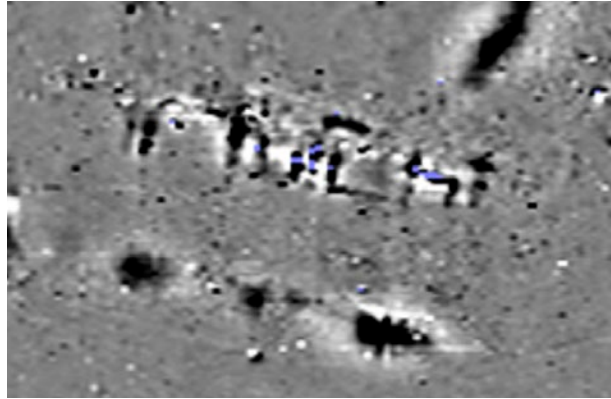




Plan 2: Area A, Building II, orthophoto



Plan 3: Area A, interpretative sketch plan of Building II, tentative reconstruction

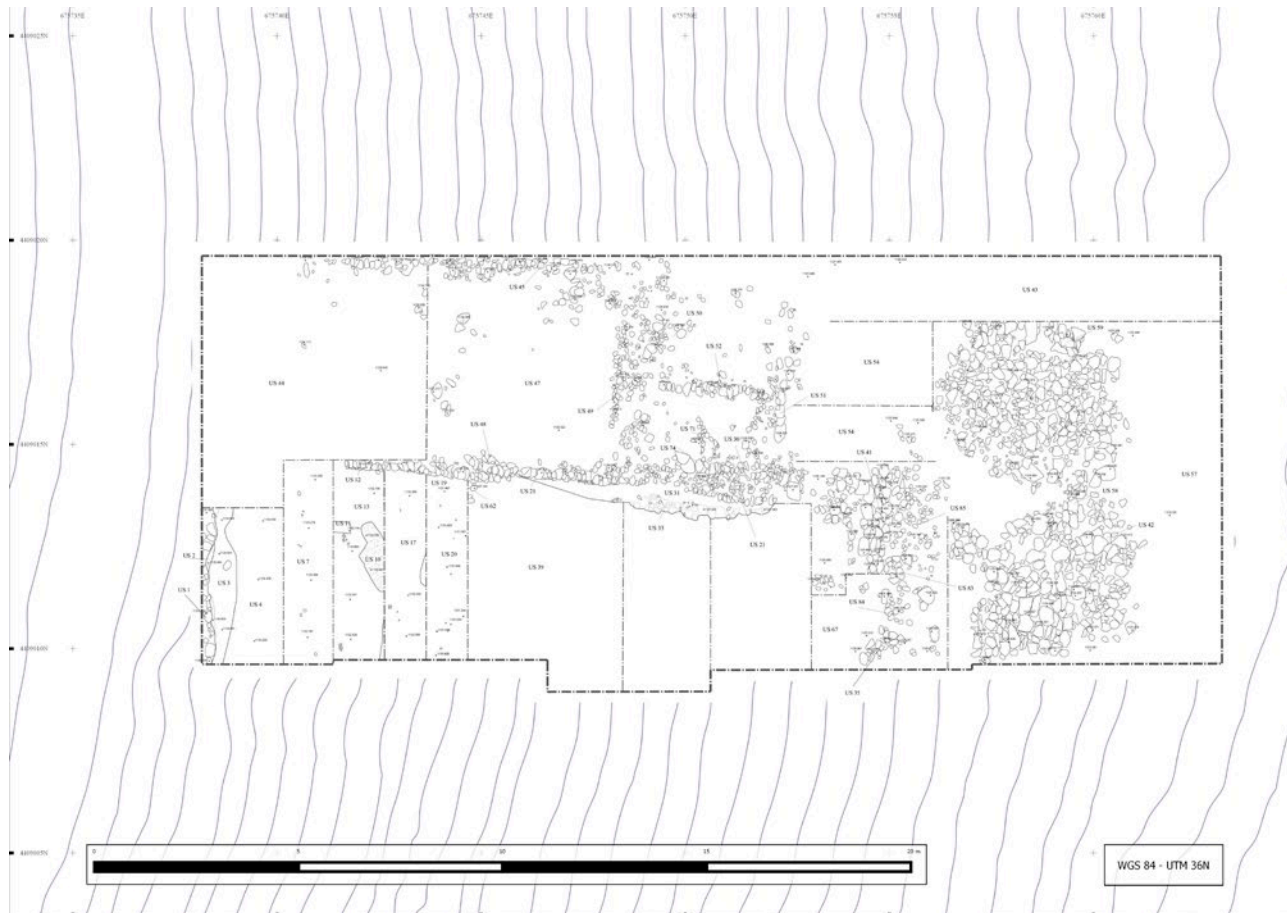


**Plan 4a:** Southern slope of the high mound: the anomalies registered by the geomagnetic survey

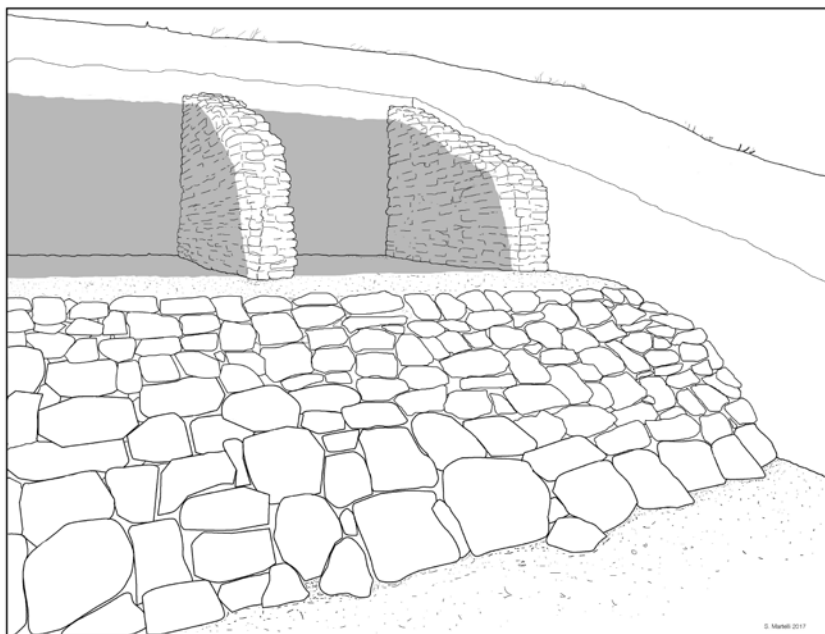


**Plan 4b:** Area D, Building III

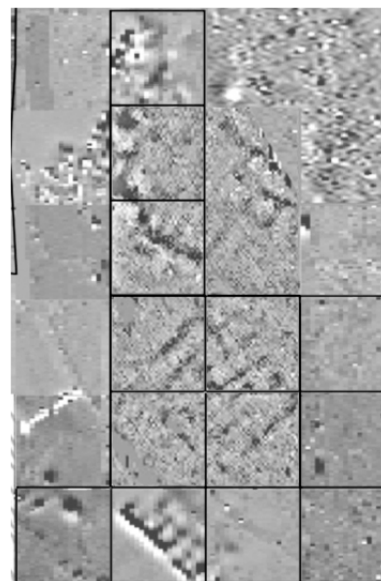




Plan 5: Area C (west-east oriented)



Plan 6: Area C, tentative reconstruction



Plan 7: Area A, anomalies registered by the geomagnetic and geoelectric prospection

DEFINING THE UŞAKLI HÖYÜK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE:  
STRATIGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY AND MATERIALS  
(Anacleto D'Agostino and Valentina Orsi)

*A stratigraphic summary*

Anacleto D'Agostino

The excavations carried out between 2013 and 2015 enabled us to outline an initial general sequence of occupation and connect the evidence scattered on the surface to a general stratigraphic framework. In the light of work carried out at the top of the terrace and on the slope of the high mound, three main periods of occupation have been documented by structures and contextual materials. Architectural remains dating to the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age have been exposed in Area A, C and D whereas those belonging to the Common Era have been identified mainly in Area B (Fig. 1). The results of the preliminary multidisciplinary survey enabled us to allocate the excavation trenches according to the periods to be investigated (D'Agostino, Orsi 2016).

Area A

In Area A the original archaeological context is disturbed by re-use of the older structures in ancient times and by modern mechanical ploughing (Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015, 160-169; D'Agostino, Orsi 2015). This state of affairs is due to the fact that the remains are not far below the surface in an area until recently used for agricultural purposes and possibly also because for centuries the walls and their elevation were visible and dismantled in order to recycle building materials (Figs 2-4). Below the incoherent agricultural surface, in certain parts of the area, a layer of more compacted soil and stone debris represents the upper archaeological layers (Fig. 3, a). The underlying architectural remains of Building II consist of foundation walls in massive granite stones (Figs 5-7) lying on a sort of under-foundation of medium-sized stones, with a brown soil, of the same texture and characteristics as that on the surface, filling the spaces between the thick walls (Figs 8-13). Over the course of time, some of these irregularly shaped boulders were dismantled and displaced (Fig. 14-16) and others recently moved to the edge of the terrace as they hindered ploughing (Fig. 10, top left and Fig. 17). The stratigraphy is consequently compromised with regard to the original setting and items are not found in primary contexts. The debris from the collapse of the walls has not been preserved either. Small portions of floors in compacted earth have been exposed in two rooms but cannot be firmly ascribed to the original phase of the building (Fig. 18). The excavations enabled us to reconstruct a brief sequence composed of two main phases on the basis of structural modifications: the building phase (Fig. 19) and a few traces of re-use after the abandonment of the building. The latter evidence consisted of irregularly shaped thin walls and small installations (Figs 20 and 21) that were added later and some spaces between the foundation walls converted to a different use, possibly habitations (Fig. 22).

Traces of some preparatory work intended to level and reinforce the area for the building of the structure has been revealed in a small test sounding on the north-eastern side of the building (Fig. 23). Here a sequence of eight cobbled floors separated by thin accumulations of soft clayish earth containing pottery and animal bones has been exposed (Figs 24-25). The texture and consistency of the layers of soil sandwiched between the different cobbled layers are similar to each other and would appear to be the result of intentional filling. The evidence cannot support a convincing interpretation of the area as a sequence of earlier external planking levels but we can suggest that it relates to a preparatory work intended to level, strengthen, or set apart the area before the construction of Building II. However, at the moment we cannot rule out the possibility of a more specific purpose for this work (connected with a ritual to clear or to purify the area?). The pottery sherds found in these layers furnish further elements enabling us to date the construction of the building to the Late Bronze Age.

Among the small finds found in relation to Building II, three miniature vessels (Fig. 26) and two fragments of curved, crescent-shaped 'loom-weights' (Fig. 27) can be assigned to the original occupation phase dating to the Late Bronze Age. Similar objects are well-known in the sites of the central plateau and have been found, for exam-

ple, in Alaca Höyük (Koşay, Akok 1966: lev. 19) and Alişar Höyük (Von der Osten 1937: fig. 300), to quote some parallels but also at Tell Atchana (Akar 2017: 11 and fig. 1.7). In particular, the pinched miniature plate (left, top) finds parallels with specimens found in Boğazköy, in the valley west of Sarıkale, and considered a forerunner type of later votive cups (Schoop 2009: 155 and fig. 15).

#### Area D

In Area D, on the southern slope of the mound, a trench was opened in 2015 within the perimeter of Building III, visible in the geomagnetic plot (Fig. 28). On top of the bed-rock a sequence of successive and alternating layers of brown, grey and yellow clayish soils delineate the groundwork where the building was constructed (Fig. 29). Together with some stone retaining walls, the sequence of the compacted earth accumulation is part of the extensive work involved in levelling and terracing the ancient surface of the natural mound, which was probably irregular and with a different elevation. Part of this groundwork, at a lower level on the slope in comparison to the pavements of the building (+1130.69/99 metres above sea level), is the thick stone wall made of large granitic boulders that marks its southern limit (Figs 30-31) (preserved between +1119.17 asl and +1120.29 asl); the reddish compacted earthen floor south of the wall is +1127.82 asl, thus indicating a difference of about 3.15 m. The small portion of building exposed (Fig. 32) consists of a room and a corridor provided with clay, plastered and cobbled floors (Figs 33-34); below these, there is a series of beaten clayish floors which prepared, together with containing walls, the ground for the construction (Figs 35-39). The soil used to prepare the groundwork, probably part of a terracing system lying on top of the bed rocks and partially the remains of the earlier mound, comes from elsewhere. In fact at the base of both the south wall of boulders and the inner accumulation north of this, there are two strata, one reddish and compacted and one in yellow crushed stone, similar to the virgin soil in this part of the site, which indicate that the filling of clayish soils must have been deposited intentionally and is not part of the earlier sequence cut at the time Building III was erected. This is noteworthy because the filling of alternating layers of brown, grey and yellow clayish soils below the floors and foundations of Building III contains a large amount of sherds of Middle Bronze Age and Early Bronze Age/Middle Bronze Age transition that must have originally accumulated elsewhere (see Orsi, this contribution). This presence of a mixed repertoire of sherds, mainly of earlier dates, in relation to the fillings used in Hittite architecture has been already observed in Boğazköy (Hachmann 1957: 61).

Two building phases have been identified: the phase of construction and first use and a later reuse of some emerging structures in a subsequent period. The walls delimiting the room consisted of foundations made of stones and the upper part in mudbricks, eroded by the sloping ground. The masonry technique of the foundations is characterised by external faces built with a row of medium and small-sized stones without mortar and a core filled with debris and stones; fragmentary mud-bricks are visible on top of the foundations, some of them still in place. This kind of structure with external faces of foundation walls in relatively regular stones and the core filled with other materials, rubble and earth has been documented also in Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982: 74). Traces of severe fire have been registered on walls where traces of a layer of plaster are poorly preserved, in the filling of the corridor, consisting of burned red soil and among the materials used to build the core of the walls. The recent phase of use has been identified directly beneath the surface of the slope in the addition of two walls leaning against the thick southern retaining wall (Fig. 40). The evidence suggests a possible date within the Late Bronze Age for the construction of Building III and the Iron Age at the latest for the phase of reuse.

#### Area C

Area C, on the south-eastern slope of the mound, provided us with evidence concerning a composite structure which was adapted to the profile of the previous stratification and gave shape to the present mound (Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015: 170-175). It is a huge rampart aimed at structurally reinforcing the slope and possibly also

functioning as part of a defensive system of the citadel (Figs 41-42). To summarise, in the articulated stratigraphic relations between the different elements composing this huge structure covering the slope from the base to the top, three main structural phases can be recognised but with several inner sub-phases: the accumulation of layers overlapping the natural bedrock, the building of the rampart and the work undertaken to maintain it.

In this part of the site, on top of the natural soil, a sequence of layers of clayish soil sloping from the centre of the ancient central mound represents the first evidence of anthropic activity (Figs 43-44). The layers containing sherds, a few small stones and a concentration of charcoal fragments in the matrix of the soil represent the surface of the ancient mound at the time of the construction of the rampart. The rampart consists of a sloping stone escarpment covering the lower part of the mound and a superstructure made from an accumulation of soils gridded in a trestle of thin, mud-brick walls. Medium-sized stones with a roughly flattened visible slanting face constitute the escarpment or *glacis*, largely covered by other, fallen stones (Fig. 45). The upper part of the rampart, the bulk of alternating burnt and ashy soils (Figs 46-50), lay directly on the sequence of clayish layers representing the first traces of accumulation in this part of the mound. The earth structure is contained by thin radial walls in fragmentary burned mud-bricks and small/medium sized stones following the incline of the underlying deposit and accumulation of burnt ashy soils and debris in between (Figs 51-53). These thin walls (two of which have been excavated, about 5 meters apart) are not freestanding and were probably erected at the same time as the soil accumulation was created. Burnt soils and debris accumulated here but probably also the fragmentary mud-bricks of the walls, built without mortar, derive from a different and older context, as suggested by the potsherds and fragments of Hittite cuneiform tablets, and represent the material traces of a fire in a building from which they had been removed. This method of accumulating soils and debris from older contexts and include them in the preparatory work for new structure, has been observed also in Area D, in relation to the groundwork of Building III. This is a normal procedure connected with the construction of large and complex structures that necessitate the erection of retaining walls, flattening and terracing the pre-existent irregularity of the mound and obtaining sufficiently large regular surfaces, especially in the case of summits of mounds of limited size, as ours seems to be. At this time the main concern was to enlarge and strengthen the area for construction on top of the mound and allow the creation of a new citadel.

Probably later, the upper part of this retaining structure was restored and maintained in use, with accumulations of earth of different quality and texture and the use of small sized stones for walls which rested upon the emerging rows of those in mud-brick, and were sometimes grafted onto them. These were connected to each other by small orthogonal walls so as to reinforce the surface against ground instability and erosion, almost terracing the slope (Figs 54-55). All these structures and the sequence of layers date to the Middle Iron Age, the later intervention possibly to the Late Iron Age. Stone *glacis* covering the slope of the mound, with the function of protecting against the erosions and strengthening the summit are documented in the area where Uşaklı is located (see D'Agostino Orsi 2015: 179, footnote 300; Mazzoni, this article). A similar structure dating between 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries has been exposed also at Boğazköy, in Büyükkale, apparently imitating the Late Bronze age stone-paved *glacis* prototypes (Bittel 1970: 147-148 and plate 27b).

Fragments of wall lime plaster have been found within the layers of burnt ashy soils and debris that are part of the retaining structure exposed in Area C, the origin of which is supposed to be from an older context dating to the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 56). The four small pieces present a polychrome surface with red, black and whitish motifs and with imprints of wicker or vegetal trellis on the back, residuals of a possible wall painting or ornamental decoration of the lower face of the roof or walls. Similar evidence comes from temple and palatial contexts of the Upper city of Boğazköy (Neve 1999: 50 and taf. 31c; 2001: 29, 111 and taf. 48c; Özyar 2006: 131-132): characteristics of some fragments have been interpreted as evidence of an execution in fresco technique (Brysaert 2008: 114-115) whereas other aspects indicate that parts of the paintings were made in *secco* technique (von Rüdén, Jungfleisch 2017: 72-73).

In the superficial layers and among the materials used to build the *glacis*, many fragments of heavy pierced stone tools have been found (Fig. 57). These sort of hammers are made of hard stone, dark grey or green in colour (gabbro or granite/andesite) and present a rough surface, only a few specimens having a regular profile. The inner

surface of the central axial hole is polished and, in some cases, shows traces of drilling. Similar objects come from Boğazköy (Bohemer 1972: taf. LXXXIX-XC; Neve 1983: 450; Schachner 2010: res. 2, 3a-c) and Kuşaklı (Arnhold 2009: taf. 36, 5; Müller-Karpe 2017: 107, abb. 103).

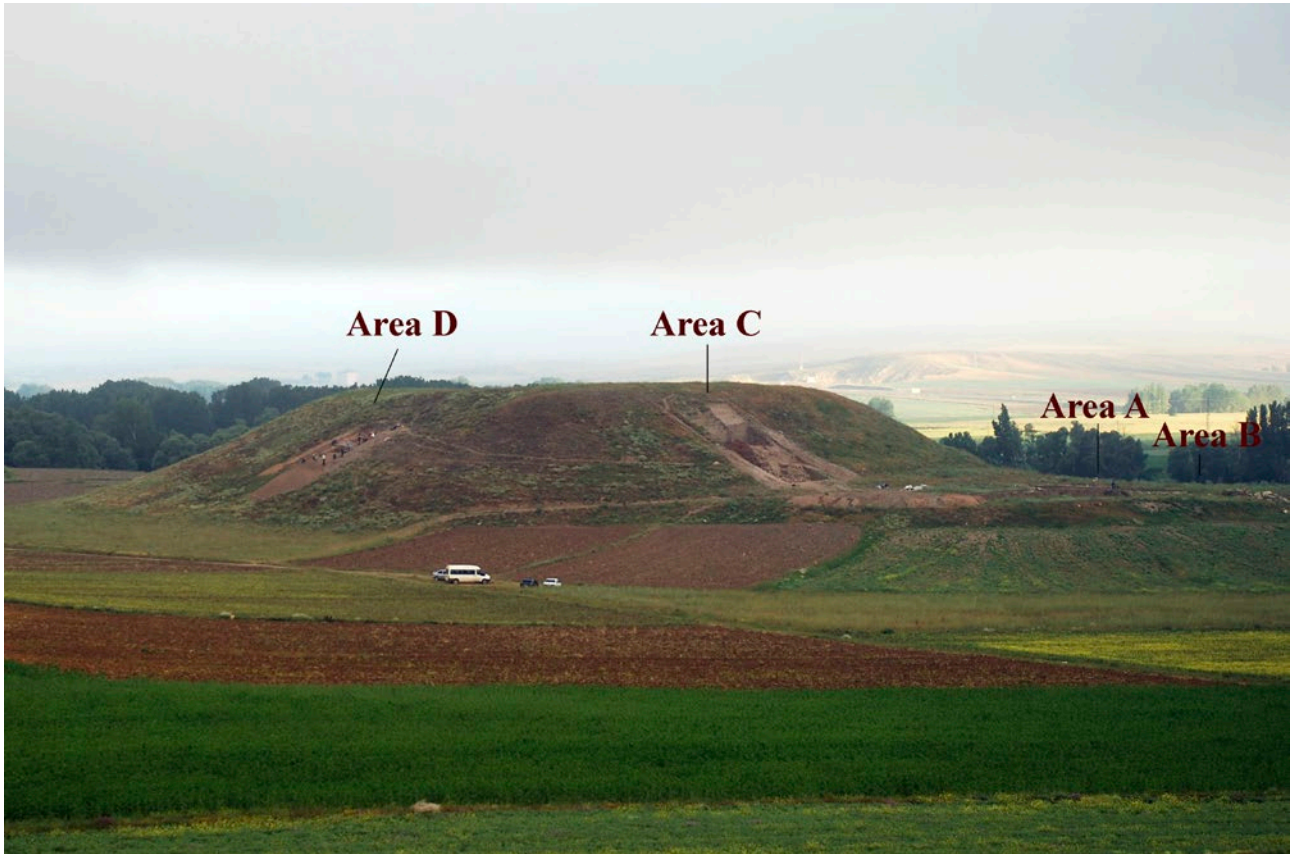
### Area B

In Area B and in the western appendix of Area A (square J18 A1;) layers pertaining to the later periods of occupation have been exposed (Fig. 58). The masonry technique in rough stones and associated materials enabled us to relate the structures discovered in both squares, which are separated by a distance of roughly 10 meters, to the same chronological range. The sequence is currently divided into three phases in line with the results of the 2015 campaign. The early level was identified in area B, in a small section next to the eastern wall of the room, but the size of the sounding is very limited and thus prevents us from understanding the quality and type of the context (Fig. 59). The level precedes the construction of the wall. The other more recent level, consisting of two building phases, is documented through the construction of the rooms and some partial structural modifications concerning walls and the raising of floor levels (Fig. 60). The room and connected installations (a basin in plastered stones, small walls, floors and working areas) excavated during the last campaign relate to the large rectangular Building I identified through the geophysical survey (Mazzoni 2015: 8 and fig. 4). The room identified during the course of the 2014 campaign can be considered contemporary with this, but is probably part of a different building (Fig. 61-65). The filling of the rooms and outer spaces is characterised by soil and debris resulting from the collapse of the upper part of the walls as well as the remains of the roof (tiles).

### The summit of the high mound

Remarks concerning the later levels of occupation have to take into consideration also the anomalies registered during the geomagnetic prospection at the top of the höyük. Here an approximately circular black band has been interpreted as a possible fortification wall following the perimeter of the mound (Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015: fig. 8-3) and delimiting an area of 0.5 hectares. The cleaning of a small portion of the wall emerging on the surface and part of the circuit, enabled us to observe the use of large boulders sandwiching layers of medium-sized stones (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 179 and plate 12). The evidence to date the structure is, at the moment, very scarce and consist of remarks about the masonry technique and some general considerations. The absence of mortar is a feature that distinguishes the building technique of the Uşaklı wall from the citadel wall of Çadır Höyük, for example, dating to the Byzantine period (Steadman et al. 2015: 106-107). At the same time the scarce presence of sherds dating to the later periods on the summit of the mound and along the slopes deprives us of a good argument in support of a later date. This does not, however, in any case represent final proof for excluding a Late Roman date considering the fact that the wall could have contained the scattering and slippage of the sherds in relation with the phase of use on the slope. However, in the central plateau the trend towards living on mounded sites, often fortified, is documented in the course of the Late Iron Age. Whatever the possible date of the circular wall, we must not exclude from any considerations the general similarity with the walled citadel on top of the central mound of Kuşaklı-Sarissa, characterised by a polygonal circuit with towers (Powroznik 2010: 83-104, plan 1-2 and 4). According to the elements currently available to us, the possible date ranges from the very end of the Late Iron Age to the Hellenistic/Roman period. Yet to be investigated is the relation between the Late Iron Age glaxis and this circular anomaly connected with the probable citadel wall in order to have a stratigraphic framework underpinning and forming a solid base of our speculations.





**Fig. 1:** The site of Uşaklı and the excavation areas. From south-east



**Fig. 2:** The first dig operation in Area A opened in 2013 (squares J19 C4 and J19 B4). The pictures a and b are taken from south-east, c and d from north and north-west





Fig. 3: The walls of the Building II exposed at the beginning of the 2013 season (room 126, squares J19 C4 and J19 B4)



Fig. 4: The southern squares of Area A, in 2015. From south-east





**Fig. 5:** The foundation wall 240 in southern squares. From north-west



**Fig. 7:** The current eastern limit of the Building II. On the left the medium sized stones of the under-foundation structure, below the large boulders. From north-west



**Fig. 6:** Foundation walls in the central squares of the Building II: at the centre the room 134. From north-west





**Fig. 8:** The north-western corner of room 127 (square J19 C4): the foundations composed by large boulders and layers of medium sized stones. From west



**Fig. 9:** The north-eastern corner of the Area A (squares I19 B3-4), with the layers of medium-sized stones and superimposed large boulders. From north-east



**Fig. 10:** The central area of the Building II (room 35, squares I19 B2-C2): portions of the under-foundations were probably removed during the phase of dismantling of the structures. The weight of the boulders caused a compression of the underlying layers of stones. From north-west



**Fig. 11:** One of the elongated spaces on the north-western corner of Area A (room 26, square I19 D1). The picture shows the stratigraphic relation between the under-foundations, the foundation walls, both visible in the sounding, and remains of a beaten earth floor. From north-east



**Fig. 12:** A detail of the foundation structures: the row of large boulder laying on three rows of middle-sized stones (room 127, square J19 C4). From east



**Fig. 13:** A detail of the foundation structures: here the rows of middle-sized stones under the boulders are four (room 127, square J19 C4). From west



**Fig. 14:** Displaced boulders (square I19 D2). From east



**Fig. 15:** Displaced boulders (square I19 D2), in the corner of the area, top left, the rows of small sized stones identify a phase of reuse of this part of Building II, to date probably to the later periods. From west





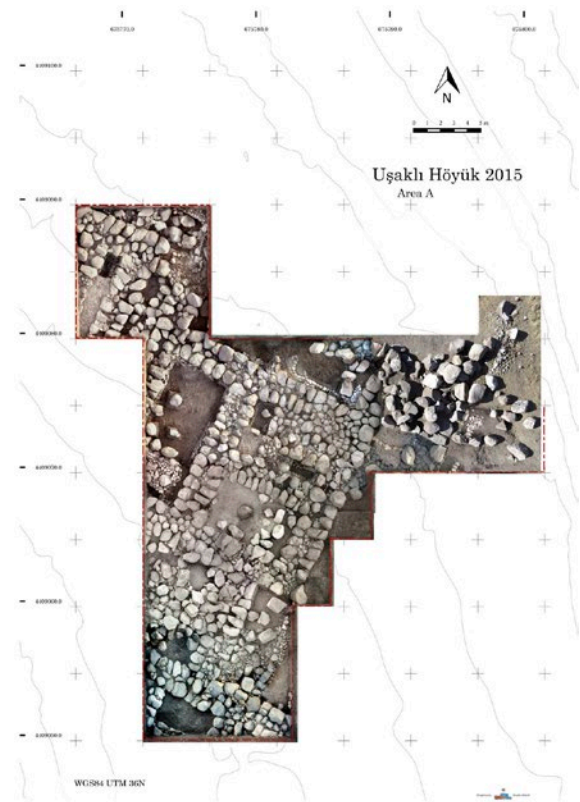
**Fig. 16:** Displaced boulders within one of the elongated room of the north west wing (room 75, squares J19 A1-2). From south-west



**Fig.17:** The area A at the end of the 2013 season of work. On the left, boulders and stones removed and piled up by the landowner to facilitate his ploughing activity, during the winter of 2012. Picture taken by drone (Kerkenes Project team)



**Fig. 18:** The western elongated room (squares I19 A1, D1) where traces of beaten earth floor have been exposed. From south-west



**Fig. 19:** The portion of Building II exposed between 2013 and 2015 campaigns. Orthoimage. composed by R. Trojanis





**Fig. 20:** Traces of the reuse of some portion of the Building II: here half-circle installation in stones (square J19 B3). From north



**Fig. 21:** A flimsy wall made by small and medium sized stones (wall 113, square J20 C1) leaning to the foundation wall 111 of Building II. From east



**Fig. 22:** Walls made by small sized stones on top of large boulders identify the reuse of some remains of Building II dating to later periods. From south-west

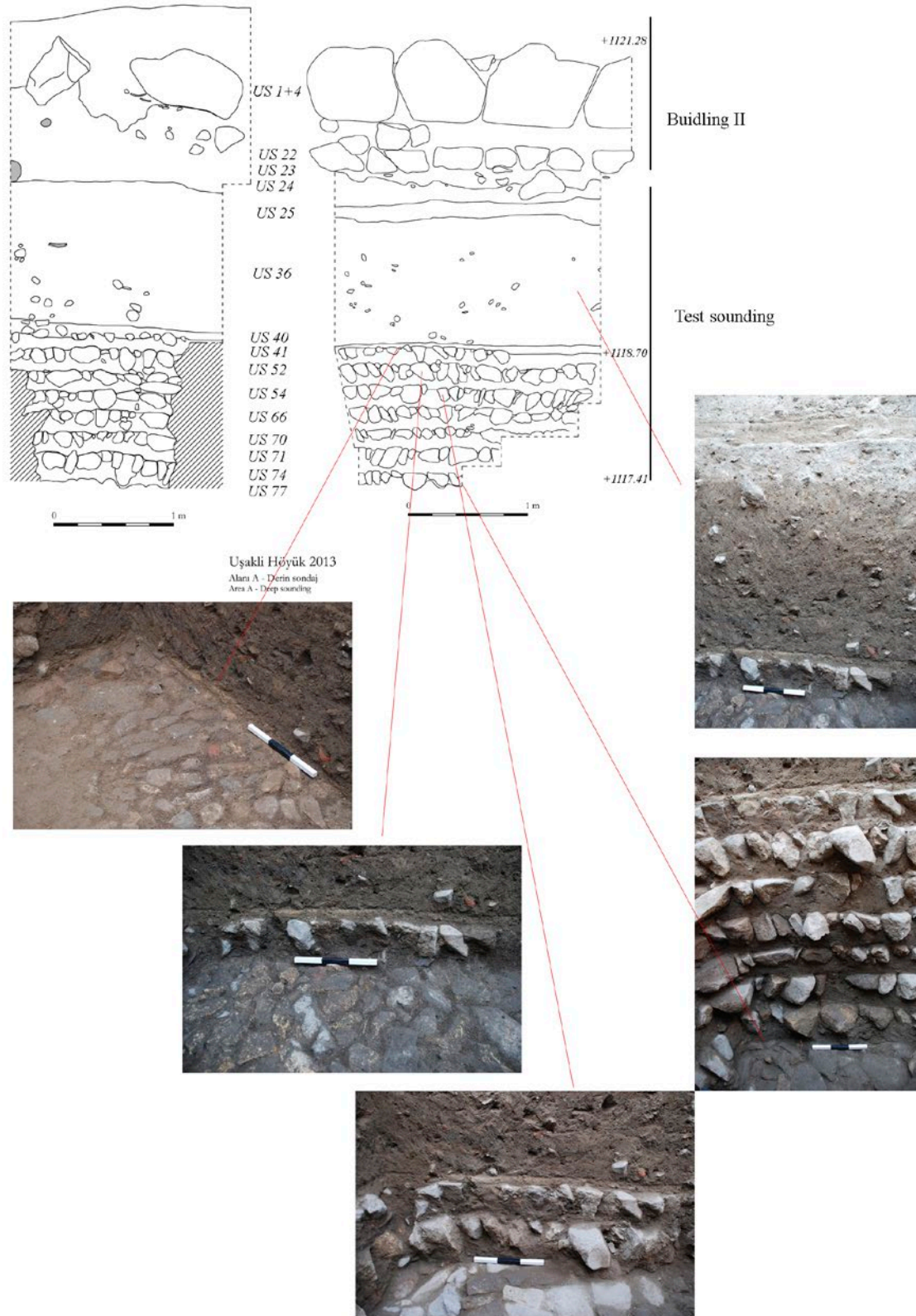


**Fig. 24:** The upper cobbled floor found in the deep sounding. Up, on the right stones and boulders of the Building II. From north-west



**Fig. 23:** 3D model of the structures exposed in 2013 with the location of the deep sounding in room 126, square J19 B4. From east (by G. Carpentiero)





**Fig. 25:** West and south sections of the deep sounding and some picture showing the sequence of cobbled floors below the platform of Building II

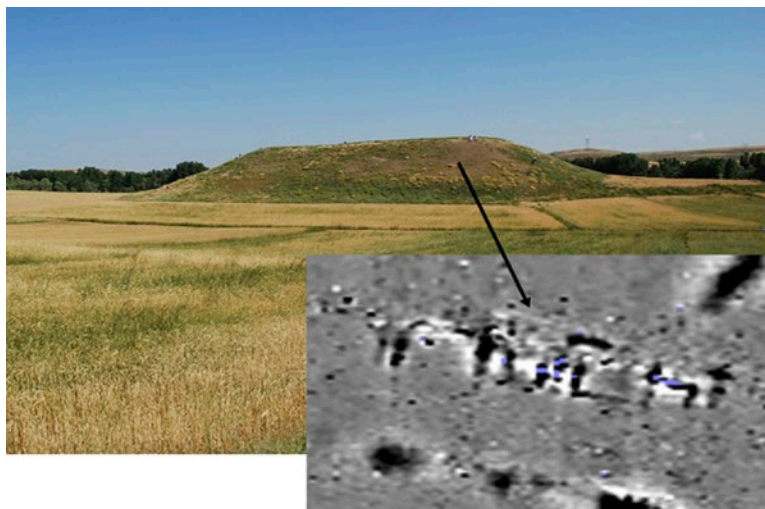


**Fig. 26:** Three miniature pots from the Building II, in relation to a fragmented floor and the stone foundations



**Fig. 27:** Two fragmentary crescent-shaped 'loom-weights' in clay, perforated at each end





**Fig. 28:** The southern slope of the mound where Area D is located and the plot with the geomagnetic anomalies registered during the surface prospection



**Fig. 29:** The stratification of clayish layers of soils used as groundwork for the Building III, in the small sounding opened through the floors. From south



**Fig. 30:** The southern wall in granitic boulders of the Building III. From south



**Fig. 31:** The southern wall of Building III and the foundations of other walls. The reddish compacted layers visible on the left and at the base of the sounding on the right, represent the floor of the groundwork of which the wall itself and the accumulation of clayish soil are part. From south-east





**Fig. 32:** The Area D and the portion of Building III exposed at the end of the 2015 excavation season. From south



**Fig. 33:** On the left the cobbled floor leaning against a foundation wall of Building III (room 58). The fire of the building left traces also on the soil in contact with the stones of the foundations. From north



**Fig. 34:** At the centre of the picture two portions of the cobbled floor with different texture. On the right, remains of mud bricks on top of the stone foundation. In the background is the foundation of the western wall of room 58 and, on the left, the layer of clayish soils of the groundwork exposed by the erosion along the slope. From east





**Fig. 35:** The foundation walls of room 58 with traces of burned mud-bricks visible, at right. At the centre of the image one of the beaten clayish floor that are part of the groundwork of Building III. From north-east



**Fig. 36:** Foundation walls of Building III and, on the right, the corridor 59. The core of the wall contains stones, ash and fragmentary mud-bricks but burned during the fire



**Fig. 37:** Detail of the foundation wall laying on top of the boulders of the southern retaining wall 8. From east



**Fig. 38:** The cobbled floor 39, on the left of the foundation wall and the floor 27, burned and vitrified during the fire that destroyed the Building III (cut by a pit dating to the Iron Age). From north section



**Fig. 39:** Particular of the beaten clay floor 31 and the vitrified layer. From south-west





**Fig. 40:** The remains of small and middle sized walls lining against the southern retaining wall that identify a later reuse. From south-east



**Fig. 41:** Area C, the remains of the glacis and the grid of thin walls that reinforce the slope of the mound. At the centre of the image, one of the radial wall made by fired mud-bricks and stones part of the structure. From north-east





**Fig. 42:** Area C, some portions of the *glacis* in situ, exposed after the removal of the stones fallen from the upper part of the slope. From north-east



**Fig. 43:** The sounding behind the *glacis*, in Area C: the sequence with clayish grey layers, dating to the Middle Iron Age, on top of the natural rock and the accumulation of burned ashy grey and reddish soils on top of them that contains pottery sherds dating to the Late Bronze Age and a fragment of cuneiform tablet. From north-east



**Fig. 44:** The sounding behind the *glacis*, in Area C: The grey clayish layers on top of the natural rock and the accumulation of ashy grey and reddish soils at the base of the thin wall 31 in burned mud-bricks and stones. From south



**Fig. 45:** Some stones of the *glacis* in place, on the right, below the fallen stones. From east



**Fig. 46:** The accumulation of incoherent reddish and ashy soils between the radial walls of the structure retaining the south-eastern slope of the mound. A fox nest produced the holes visible in plan and in the sections. From east





**Fig. 47:** The accumulation of incoherent soils and the burned mud-bricks of the radial wall. The stone walls climbing the slope are part of the structure that cover this part of the mound. From south-east.



**Fig. 48:** A detail with the stone walls below the surface and the burned red mud-bricks of the wall 31. From south-east



**Fig. 49:** In the sections of Area C are visible the stratification of reddish and grey incoherent. At the base of them are the clay grey layers dating to the Middle Iron Age. From east



**Fig. 50:** The accumulation of incoherent layers of burned soil covered by other grey layers sloping down from the upper part of the mound. All these elements are part of the huge retaining system of the slope dating to the Iron Age. From east-north-east



**Fig. 51:** The accumulation of burned soil in course of removal at the end of 2014 season and the southern side of the wall in mud-bricks and stones. In order to reach the base of the wall a small sounding was opened in the last days of that campaign. From south-east



**Fig. 52:** The accumulation of burned and ashy soils in the compartment north of wall 31. The northern side of the wall 31 is visible on the left. From north-east





**Fig. 53:** A detail with the structure of the wall 31, with stones and fragmentary burned mud-bricks, without mortar. From south



**Fig. 54:** The grid of walls retaining the slope upstream of the *glacis*. The flimsy radial walls delimiting the compartments of the structure (respectively 12 and 45) are visible at the southern and northern edges of the square (in the upper part of the picture). Below the layers of grey soils and the stone walls at the centre of the picture appear the accumulation of reddish ashy soils. From east



**Fig. 55:** The stone walls on top of the *glacis* in course of excavations. At the bottom, on the left, a fragment of heavy green pierced stone, probably a 'hammer'. From north east



**Fig. 56:** Fragments of wall plaster



**Fig. 57:** Fragments of heavy pierced tools in hard stones from the slope of the Area C, in relation with the stone walls of the *glacis* and the upper retaining structure



**Fig. 58:** Location of the Area B, square J18 A1, at the bottom, where structure dating to the later period have been exposed; on the right the north-western wing of the Building II. From south-west



**Fig. 59:** Walls and installations of Area B. The area at the centre of the picture shows structures belonging to the early level here reached, preceding the construction of the room. The walls of the room and the plastered basin are contemporary. From south-east





**Fig. 60:** The room and the plastered basin exposed in Area B. From south-east



**Fig. 61:** The preparation of the square J18 A1 before the beginning of excavation in 2014 season. From south-west



**Fig. 62:** Square J18 A1: the emerging structure directly below the surface. From north-west



**Fig. 63:** Square J18 A1: the room 123 and remains of the walls partially collapsed. From north-west



**Fig. 64:** The room exposed in square square J18 A1 and the stone pavement 124. From south-west



**Fig. 65:** The room 123 and the opening at the bottom of the wall 102, probably a pipe to drain liquids. From north-west

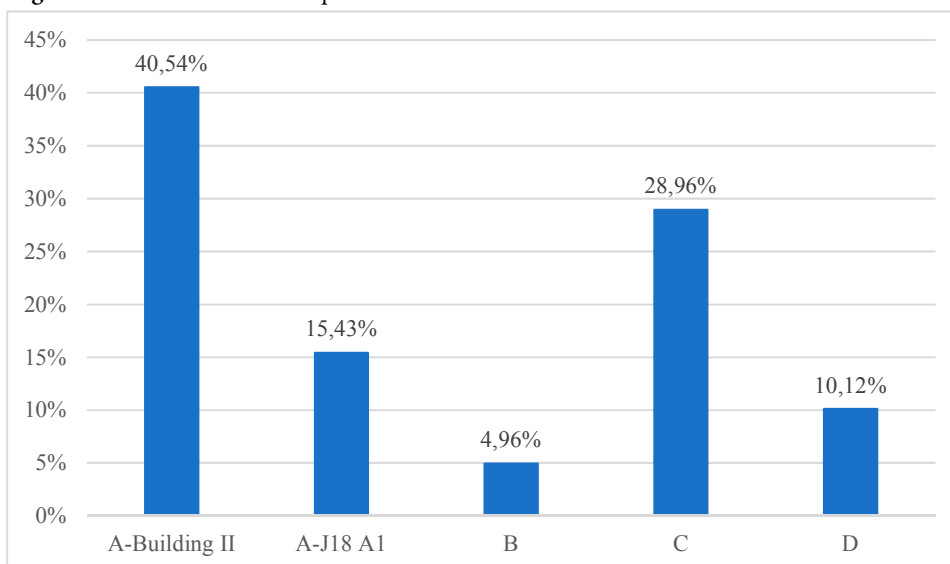
### *Ceramics and materials*

Valentina Orsi

A preliminary assessment of the recovered materials (Charts 1-12) is given here aimed evaluating the various archaeological contexts brought to light in the different sectors of the site in terms of depositional processes, general chronology and, as far as possible, function. With respect to chronological aspects, evidence relating to the periods of use of the structures, as well as about the occupational sequences in the different areas of the site has been gathered. Concerning function, one of the main indicators is represented by the pottery assemblage, evaluated in its context of recovery. Post depositional events related to either ancient or modern times, however, played an important role in the formation process of the archaeological deposits of Uşaklı Höyük. This phenomenon, which is rather common in Central Anatolian sites, required a particularly accurate analysis of the combined evidence of stratigraphy and materials.

Potsherds constituted the most common find category. In most cases, they were not recovered from their last context of use nor, apparently, from their first place of discard. In fact, different series of post depositional events appeared to be substantial in most of the areas of the site. Other common find categories include combusted, melted slags and roof tiles.

**Diagram 1:** Distribution of finds per excavation area<sup>1</sup>



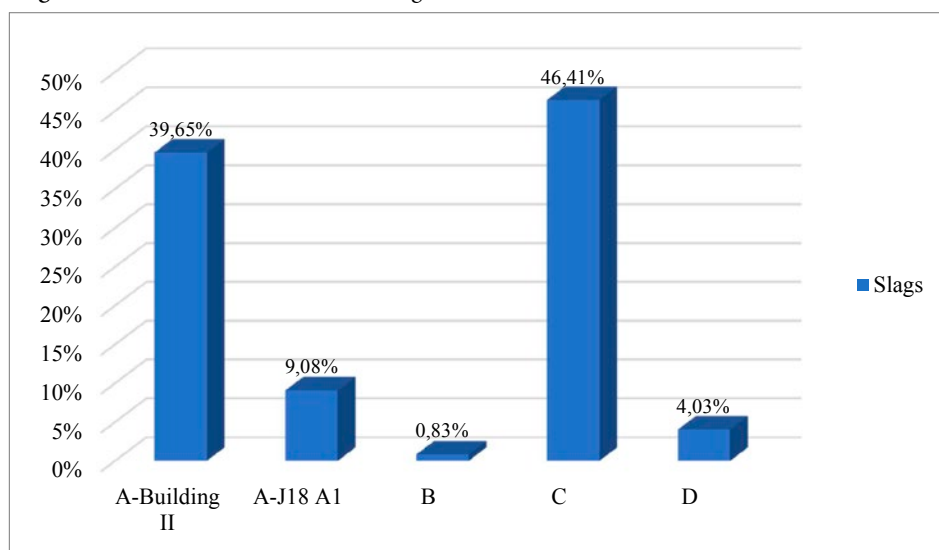
Most of the materials derived from the Area A-Building II, which was the largest excavation area, followed by the Area C step trench. The relatively high percentages of materials deriving from the small Area A-J18 A1 (5x5m), reflect the large incidence of roof-tile fragments recovered in the sector, to be attributed to the late periods.

The slags largely derive from the combustion and melting of clayish artefacts (chiefly pottery, bricks or architectural and structural components), but samples of melted stones have been also recognized.

Structures severely effected by fire were uncovered primarily in the Area D, belonging to the Late Bronze Age Building III, but the concentration of combusted slags in that area is relatively low. A major concentration, in fact, is registered in the Areas C and A (Diagram 2).

<sup>1</sup> Percentage of finds per excavation area on the total amount of finds 2013-2015. The total amount of finds is preliminarily estimated as up to 867.75 Kg.



**Diagram 2:** Distribution of combusted slags in the different sectors of excavation<sup>2</sup>

The building activities recorded in Area C are to be entirely attributed to the Iron Age period, but fragmentary burned mud-bricks were reused from some earlier context in the construction of the thin, radial walls on the slope, and layers of burnt and ashy soils containing Late Bronze Age pottery were largely employed in the fillings. The combusted slags in Area C being mainly related to the burnt fillings, they could presumably derive from the same Late Bronze Age burnt context that originated the pottery and, maybe, the burned mud-bricks of the radial walls.

No trace of burnt layers, instead, was uncovered in the Area A, where most of the combusted slags derived from the superficial, mixed fillings.

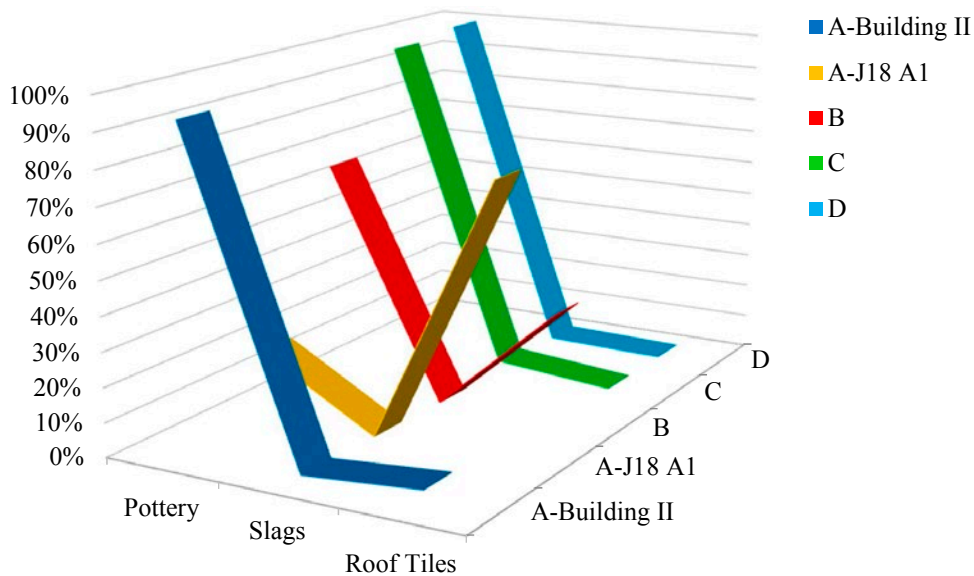
Therefore, with the exception of a few stratigraphic units from the Area D-Building III, the vast majority of combusted slags was not recovered from primary contexts. Their distribution in the different sectors of excavation, in fact, reflects post-depositional events which took place in the Middle Iron Age in the case of the Area C, and, in the case of the Area A, during the long span of time in which the area of Late Bronze Age-Building II was frequented after the building had lost its primary function.

It was hypothesised that the combusted slags, which constituted one of the registered find categories also during the surface survey, were related to fire events or, less likely, to kiln activities (Mazzoni, D'Agostino, Orsi 2010: 123). Considering the probable chronological range of the heavily burnt structures recovered in the Area D (Building III), as well as of the burnt earth layers accumulated in the Area C, most of the combusted slags recovered on the site seem likely to be related to fire events dating back to the Late Bronze Age.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to roof tiles, even though belonging in principle to the category of building materials, such as bricks or building stones, which were not numbered or weighed, they received more attention by virtue of their chronological significance, which links them to the later periods of occupation on the site. The analysis of their scattering on the surface was of great help in evaluating the representativeness of the different chronological periods in the areas of the site during the preliminary surface survey (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 182, 184; Mazzoni, D'Agostino, Orsi 2010: 123). To the same end, their registration was aimed at evaluating the eventuality of later phases of occupation or heavy post-depositional disturbances in the earlier levels.

<sup>2</sup> Distribution of combusted slags per excavation area on the total amount of combusted slags recovered during the excavations 2013-2015. The total amount of combusted slags is preliminarily estimated as up to 15.84 Kg (see Chart 1).

<sup>3</sup> It is worth nothing that also the fragmentary tablet UK09.E.2 (Mazzoni, Pecchioli Daddi 2015: 419, pl. 43), which is the largest fragment of cuneiform tablet found so far, was severely combusted, one of its sides being deformed by fire. The fragmentary tablet, dating to the Late Bronze Age, was found on the southern slope of the lower terrace (Archi et al. 2015: fig. 1).

**Diagram 3:** Overview of the finds inventory in the different excavation areas<sup>4</sup>

Excavation Areas (U13-U15)	Pottery	Combusted Slags	Roof Tiles	Total
Area A-Building II	328,63Kg 93,43%	6.280 Kg 1,79%	16.84 Kg 4,79%	351,75Kg 100.00%
Area A-J18 A1	27.37 Kg 20.44%	1.438 Kg 1.07%	105.080 Kg 78.49%	133.89 Kg 100.00%
Area B	28.93 Kg 67.23%	0.131 Kg 0.30%	13.971 Kg 32.47%	43.03 Kg 100.00%
Area C	243.76 Kg 97.00%	7.350 Kg 2.92%	0.190 Kg 0.08%	251.30 Kg 100.00%
Area D	87.14 Kg 99.27%	0.638 Kg 0.73%		87.78 Kg 100.00%

A comparison of the average composition of the finds inventory in the different excavation areas of the site is represented in Diagram 3. Two clusters are evident: while the composition of the finds inventory from Area A-Building II, Area C and Area D is rather similar (cluster 1), characterized by very high percentages of pottery, and only a minimal ratio of combusted slags and roof-tiles, Area B and Area A-square J18 A1 (cluster 2) furnished a different prospection, characterized by a high incidence of roof-tiles. The two clusters mirror a chronological significance. To the second group belong the excavation contexts where the latest levels have been recovered, while to the first group belong the excavation contexts which revealed more ancient occupational levels.

<sup>4</sup> Percentages are calculated on the total weight of finds per excavation area. For each area, the total is calculated on the weights of main finds categories. Within these, the commonest at Uşaklı are considered: pottery, roof tiles and combusted slags. Since each group is characterised by a significantly different range of weight, the graph is not useful for comparing the ratio of each finds category in relation to the others. Instead it may give an immediate overview of similarities and dissimilarities in the composition of the finds inventory in the different excavation areas.

### The Pottery

Between 2013 and 2015, a total of 22413 potsherds were recovered for a total weight of 716 Kg ca. (Charts 1-2). On the base of preliminary classification, 5384 potsherds have been sorted as diagnostic samples, while 17029, mainly coinciding with plain body-sherds, have been categorised as generic.<sup>5</sup>

**Chart 1:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Overview of the materials recovered in the different excavation Areas

Year	Area	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2013-2015	A - Building II	2052	8175	10227	6.280	16.84
2014	A - J18 A1	149	620	769	1.438	105.080
2015	B	240	775	1015	0.131	13.971
2014-2015	C	2014	5004	7018	7.350	0.190
2015	D	929	2455	3384	0.638	
<b>2013-2015</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>5384</b>	<b>17029</b>	<b>22413</b>	<b>15.837</b>	<b>136.084</b>

**Chart 2:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Qualification of potsherds recovered in the different excavation Areas

Year	Area	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Pottery Total (Weight in Kg)
2013-2015	A - Building II	210.74	54.55	63.02	0.36	328.63
2014	A - J18 A1	12.36	11.91	3.03	0.07	27.37
2014-2015	C	194.75	19.78	28.35	0.88	28.93
2015	B	25.20	1.16	2.28	0.29	243.76
2015	D	67.37	7.04	12.32	0.407	87.14
<b>2013-2015</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>510.41</b>	<b>94.45</b>	<b>109.01</b>	<b>1.99</b>	<b>715.83</b>

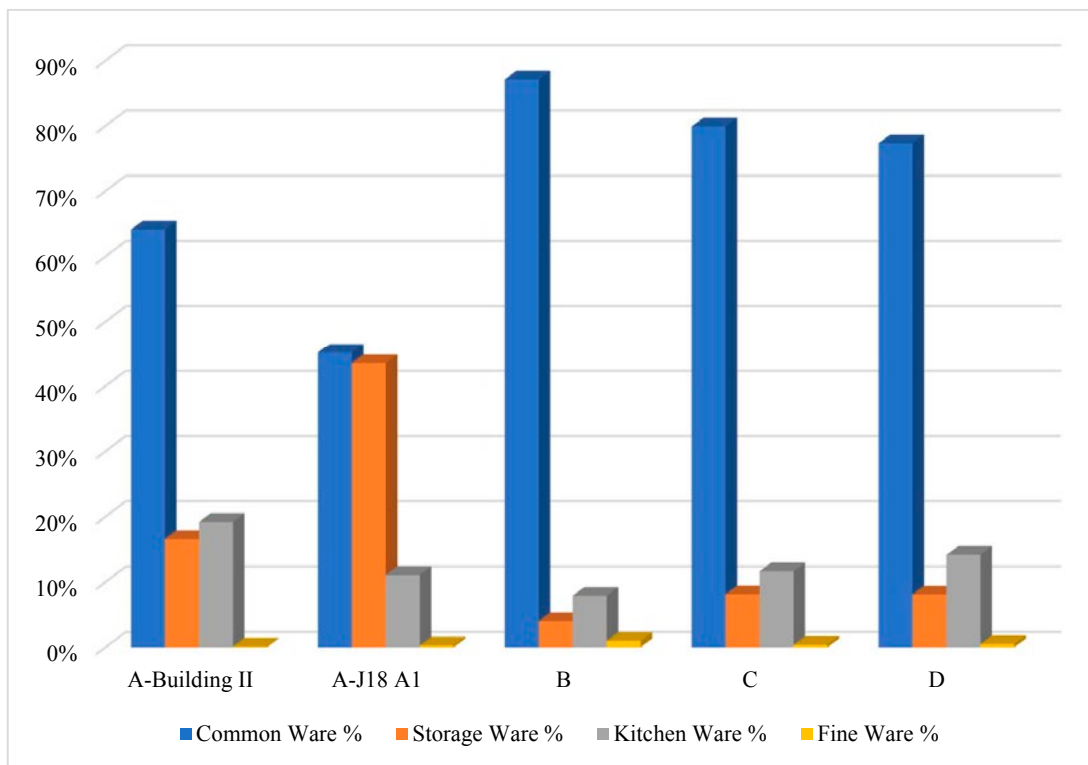
Macroscopic classification of the vessel's intended use (based on thickness, shape, technological attributes) gave some clues about the possible functional destination of the different sectors of the site throughout the occupational sequence.

Diagram 4 represents a comparison of the composition of the ceramic inventory in the different excavation areas in relation to the main functional ceramic categories. At this stage of the analysis, very generic functional categories have been determined, and include: common ware, storage ware, kitchen/cooking ware, and fine ware.<sup>6</sup> While the ceramic inventories of sector J18 A1 in Area A and, to a lesser extent, the ceramic inventory of Area B are probably the result of a relatively circumscribed series of depositional events, it is worth noting that the ceramic inventories from Area A-Building II and Areas C and D, instead, reflect a long and complex series of depositional events.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, some macroscopic feature is detectable.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed definition of the two groupings of diagnostic and generic potsherds see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 42.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed description and definition of this classification see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 43.

<sup>7</sup> The excavation in these areas, in fact, revealed a plurality of activities connected with distinct chronological spans and, moreover, the potsherds were not recovered in their primary context of use. The ceramic inventory, of which Diagram 4 gives an overall overview, does not, therefore, reflect a single phase of occupation but a long series of events. As far as the comparison is concerned, the incidence of a specific class in an inventory is not exactly comparable to the incidence of a different class in the same inventory, while it is perfectly comparable with the incidence of the same class in the ceramic inventory of a different excavation area. The different func-

**Diagram 4.** The ceramic inventory of the different excavation areas: preliminary overview.

The common ware, which reflects the largest spectrum of activity, is by far the most frequent functional class of pottery. In this respect, an evident anomaly is represented by the ceramic inventory of Area A-sector J18 A1, where the high incidence of storage ware may reflect an effective functional characterization of the structure uncovered in the area. The inventory of Area A-Building II also slightly diverges from that of areas B, C and D, suggesting the possibility that events connected with storage or cooking activities, over time, played a more substantial role in these sectors than in the others.<sup>8</sup>

As observed elsewhere (Orsi 2018), in consequence of the marked continuity observed in Anatolian ceramic productions and particularly in the Hittite period, quantitative and statistical approaches in ceramic analysis provided more reliable results than qualitative approaches for investigating chronological issues (see Schoop 2006; Schoop 2009: 147; Mielke 2010). An experimental assessment of the possible chronological range of attribution of the ceramic assemblages from the various stratigraphic units, however, has been attempted based on ceramic comparisons.<sup>9</sup>

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tional classes, in fact, may have considerably dissimilar average weight. Due to the lack of any whole or reconstructable vessel, sherd weight data were not converted into individual vessel estimates, while other procedures to achieve comparable sets of data between different categories (see Rice 1987: 291-293) have not been considered profitable at this stage of the analysis.

<sup>8</sup> For a more precise definition of the functional connotation of the area's ceramic inventory in the different chronological phase, more detailed analysis is in progress.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview on the state of the art with reference to the main sites of comparisons, see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 166-180 and Orsi 2018, note 14.

### Area A

The ceramic inventory from the superficial layers of Area A-Building II (Chart 2), is largely mixed. It includes, in fact, ceramic potsherds related to different chronological horizons, attesting to intense post-depositional events.

The large inventory of Late Bronze Age pottery types found in the fillings of the structure, considered in association with its building techniques, size and plan (Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015: 166; D'Agostino, Orsi 2016: 341), points to the Hittite period as the phase of first and primary use of the building. Additional evidence for this date derives from the ceramic inventory from the deep sounding in the north-eastern sector of the building (square J19-B4) (Orsi 2018).

No materials have been retrieved *in situ*. The set of 3 miniature vessels (Fig. 26), which were recovered in the accumulation layers connected with the building phase belong, however, to cultic pottery equipment of the Late Bronze Age period, providing additional support for the general functional interpretation of the original structure.

The inventory includes principally common and kitchen wares, but a limited quantity of storage ware is also attested. Ceramic types which can be related to the so-called 'drab ware' ceramic production are quite frequent,<sup>10</sup> especially in the shape of simple bowls with plain or slightly in-turned rim and of medium-size jars (Fig. 66). Notable is the presence of the coarse platters, frequently bearing string impressions on the rim, and of large plates with thickened, banded rim (Fig. 67), whose dates range from almost the Old Hittite up to the Empire period.<sup>11</sup>

Red slip ware wheelmade examples,<sup>12</sup> whose apex in terms of quality and quantity is attributed to the Assyrian colony period (1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC) and to the early part of the Hittite ceramic sequence (17<sup>th</sup> and beginning 16<sup>th</sup> century BC),<sup>13</sup> are also abundant. They are characterised by a marked variability both in the texture and the quality of the surface finish, which may be the result of a rather long chronological span,<sup>14</sup> while more consistency is visible in the morphological ranges (Fig. 68). Most of the attested variants, like bowls with in-turned upper sections, sometimes showing preserved or partially preserved triangular lugs (Fig. 68, second line), pitchers and spouted vessels, belong to ceramic types bearing a marked continuity in north-central Anatolia from the Assyrian colony period into the early and intermediate stages of the Hittite ceramic sequences (Schoop 2009: 150-151).<sup>15</sup> Curved or carinated bowls where the red slip is limited to a band on the mouth, which are considered a later evolution (14<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC),<sup>16</sup> are also well attested.

Also significant is the inventory of ceramics from later periods, likely to be related to sparse, secondary use of the area (Figs. 69-71). These include middle and late Iron Age examples, which consist primarily of painted and

<sup>10</sup> The definition of drab ware is largely used in archaeological literature with reference to the predominant fabric type in the ceramic assemblages of the Hittite period in the northern part of Central Anatolia. According to W.-D. Schoop (2011: 242), it is typical of any 'Hittite pottery inventory' found from the beginning of the *karum* period until the end of the Late Bronze Age period. It is wheelmade, unslipped and with a roughly smoothed surface (Schoop 2011: 242). See also Mielke 2017: 130, with specific reference to note 42. As far as the Uşaklı Höyük ceramic inventory is concerned, this term was mainly used in reference to a specific set of ceramic types (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 61-64).

<sup>11</sup> As a reference see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 170, types 1A-H.

<sup>12</sup> For a detailed characterization of the ware, see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 83-91.

<sup>13</sup> Here reference is made to the general subdivision of the Hittite ceramic sequence into three parts as proposed by W.-D. Schoop (2011: 242-243). According to this scheme, the 'early' stage of the Hittite ceramic sequence may be roughly equated with the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries; the 'middle' stage with the 16<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the 'late' stage with 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Schoop 2011: 242). Further local periodization schemes, however, resulted from the analysis of the archaeological sequences at specific sites. Within the ceramic sequence of Kuşaklı/Sarissa West Slope, as example, an 'early' *Westhang* ceramic horizon corresponds to the second half/late 16<sup>th</sup> century BC; a 'middle' ceramic horizon corresponds to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, and a 'late' ceramic horizon corresponds to the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Mielke 2006: 170).

<sup>14</sup> Note, however, that a high degree of variability is also recognised as a peculiarity of the red-coated vessels in North-central Anatolia (Schoop 2011: 243).

<sup>15</sup> The wheelmade red slip ware morphologies of the Assyrian colony and Old Hittite period, in addition, find their older predecessor in the handmade red slip ware production of the late Early Bronze Age stages (Schoop 2009: 148-150).

<sup>16</sup> See Schoop 2009: 151 and fig. 13: 7-8; Schoop 2003a: 15 and fig. 19: 4; Schoop 2011: 260 and fig. 1: 3.

burnished ceramics, and of ceramics from later periods, which comprise, in particular, very fine ware samples with orange slipped surface.<sup>17</sup> The same type of fine ware is more widely attested in the Area B-Building I (Fig. 116) and from excavations in the square J18A1, on the western appendix of Area A.

Variable amounts of handmade sherds dating to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, with red slip or painted surface, are found scattered in most of the fillings (Figs 72-74). Their relatively high frequency in these contexts of later date might be connected with fairly extended post-depositional events that disturbed their primary context of deposition. These disturbing post-depositional events might be related, in first instance, to the construction of the large Building II. One would be tempted to hypothesize the primary contexts of deposition of these ceramics to have been located in its close vicinity, if not in the same area but, as observed in different contexts, relocation of soil over larger distance cannot be excluded.<sup>18</sup>

As far as chronological aspects are concerned, of great interest is the ceramic *corpus* from the test sounding excavated in room 126 (square J19-B4), in the north-eastern sector of Building II (Mazzoni, D'Agostino 2015: 167-169; D'Agostino, Orsi 2016: 345; Orsi 2018). Indeed, being related to a well sealed archaeological context, it offers a sound reference *post-quem* for the construction of the structure.

The sounding brought to light a series of eight cobbled floors separated by relatively thin earth layers. While the interpretation of the context as a result of subsequent planking levels, each in use at different times, appears unlikely, the quality of the archaeological sequence seems to point to a single set of operations related to the leveling and strengthening of the ground in view of the construction of Building II. The ceramic assemblages of the different stratigraphic units of the sounding are largely mixed, including types characteristic of distinct chronological horizons and of different primary contexts.

Handmade pottery types mainly with red slipped or painted surface (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 93-96), typical of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, as for related typologies found in the superficial layers of Area A, must be considered intrusive, and testify to disturbing post-depositional events already occurred at the time of the construction of the Building II.<sup>19</sup> The ceramic inventory from the sounding, however, is, for the most part, composed of typical Late Bronze Age typologies (Figs. 75-83).

Quite abundant are coarse, large plates with banded rim (Figs. 75-78), which are considered one of the most characteristic Hittite ceramic products (Mielke 2006: 134; Glatz 2009: 130), and plain ware open shapes. Most common morphologies belong to small or medium sized curved bowls with slightly inturned or inside thickened rim, thus engendering a sort of anti-splash device. Other attested morphologies include deep vessels with outside thickened rims; deep vessels with funnel shaped or straight sides neck and high necked jars with thickened or everted rim. The red slip wheelmade ware (Fig. 82), which is found in association to shapes widespread since the Assyrian Colony period and into the first part of the Hittite ceramic sequence (Schoop 2009: 150-151; Schoop 2011: 245), is also well attested, while only sporadic, instead, are the white slip ware sherds (Fig. 83).

Although the marked continuity in the ceramic production registered so far at Hittite sites hampers the usefulness of the pottery as a dating tool in the Late Bronze Age central Anatolian sites,<sup>20</sup> the preliminary evaluation of the ceramic inventory from the test sounding may, all the same, give some hints for the dating of the construction of the Area A building II, which is likely to be located between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century BC (Orsi, 2018).

<sup>17</sup> Or *Orange Slip Ware* in Uşaklı Höyük ceramic registration code, for which see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 68-69.

<sup>18</sup> In fact, this is the impression gathered so far from the excavations in Area C, where a large amount of earth seems to have been brought from elsewhere and, presumably, from Area D.

<sup>19</sup> Such disturbing events, in fact, may either have taken place during the very phase of construction of the large Building II, or be related to earlier activities.

<sup>20</sup> At this regard, see in particular Schoop 2008: 44-51.

**Chart 3:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Materials recovered in Area A-Building II

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	8	12	20	0.057	0.37
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	27	46	73	0.057	
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	59	183	242	0.007	0.76
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	34	83	117	0.320	2.42
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	21	136	157		1.74
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	2	2	4		0.15
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	16	14	30		
2014	A	J19 D4 - J20 D1 - K19 A3-4	3	137	342	479	2.461	4.22
2013	A	J19 D4 - J20 D1 - K19 A3-4	3	4	6	10		
2014	A	J19 B4	5	7	33	40		
2013	A	J19 C4	5	13	42	55	0.026	
2013	A	J19 C4	7	2	7	9		
2014	A	J20 B-C1	9	50	164	214	0.116	2.37
2013	A	J19 B4	10	18	50	68	0.003	0.54
2014	A	J20 B1	10	58	231	289		0.54
2013	A	J19 B4	11	24	89	113		0.33
2013	A	J19 A1 - I19 D1	12	81	745	826	0.204	
2013	A	I19 D1	13	43	195	238		0.30
2013	A	I19 D1	14	7	21	28	0.665	0.19
2013	A	J19 B4	15	25	101	126		1.63
2013	A	J19 B4	16	13	44	57		
2013	A	J19 B4	17	20	92	112		
2013	A	J19 B4	18	47	194	241		
2013	A	J19 B4	23	31	75	106		
2013	A	J19 B4	25	173	549	722		
2013	A	J19 B4	25	9	47	56		
2013	A	J19 A1-2	28	31	97	128	0.039	
2013	A	I19 D1	30	33	160	193	0.037	
2013	A	J19 B3	31	13	90	103		
2013	A	J19 B4	36	31	122	153		
2013	A	J19 C3	37	42	168	210	0.014	
2013	A	I19 D1	38	27	163	190		
2013	A	J19 B4	40	2	5	7		
2013	A	J19 B4	41	8	41	49		
2013	A	J19 B4	44	16	70	86		
2013	A	J19 B4	52	2	32	34	0.006	
2013	A	J19 B4	53	19	77	96		
2013	A	J19 B4	54	1	15	16		
2013	A	J19 B3	55	5	23	28	0.186	
2013	A	J19 B3	60	5	31	36		
2013	A	J19 B4	61	11	62	73		
2013	A	J19 B3	63	12	42	54		

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2013	A	J19 B-C2	65	232	963	1195	0.590	0.09
2013	A	J19 B4	66	5	13	18		
2013	A	J19 B4	69	8	58	66		
2013	A	J19 B4	70	1	6	7		
2013	A	J19 B4	71	7	27	34		
2013	A	J19 B4	73	7	19	26		
2013	A	J19 B4	74	3	9	12		
2013	A	J19 B4	76	7	19	26		
2013	A	J19 B-C2	78	312	1377	1689	0.041	
2013	A	J19 A2	79	6	16	22	0.005	
2013	A	I19 D2	82	12	36	48		
2013	A	J19 A2	83	5	19	24	0.001	
2014	A	J20 C1-2	104	10	7	17		
2014	A	J20 C2	105	3	5	8		
2014	A	J20 C1	110	14	30	44	0.037	
2014	A	J20 C1	113	3	4	7		
2014	A	J20 C1	114	11	25	36	0.049	0.17
2014	A	J20 C1-2	119	32	104	136	0.009	
2014	A	J20 C1	120	63	475	538	0.098	
2014	A	J20 C2-3	136	10	42	52	0.066	
2014	A	J20 C-D1	140		7	7	0.800	
2014	A	J20 C2-3	142	4	12	16		
2015	A	K19 B2	146	9	14	23		
2015	A	K19 A2	147	20	60	80		0.15
2015	A	K19 B-C3-4	150	32	50	82	0.236	0.87
2015	A	K19 C1	151	8	21	29	0.150	
2015	A	K19 C2-3	152	10	7	17		
2015	A	K19 D2	159	31	49	80		



**Chart 4:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Qualification of potsherds recovered in Area A-Building II

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	0.64	0.37	0.14		1.15
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	3.01	1.11	0.33		4.45
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	5.41	2.09	0.94	0.01	8.45
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	3.53	0.71	1.94		6.19
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	2.95	3.46	1.68		8.09
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	0.17	0.20	0.01		0.37
2014	A	J20 C1-3 - J20 B1 -J19 D4 - J20 D1 -K19 A3-4 - J19 A3-4	S	1.11	0.35	0.05		1.51
2014	A	J19 D4 - J20 D1 - K19 A3-4	3	12.09	4.95	2.78	0.02	19.84
2013	A	J19 C4	3	0.34				0.34
2014	A	J19 B4	5	0.76	0.00	0.21		0.96
2013	A	J19 C4	5	2.02	0.41	0.27	0.035	2.73
2013	A	J19 C4	7	0.10		0.14		0.24
2014	A	J20 B-C1	9	4.67	1.62	0.90		7.19
2013	A	J19 B4	10	1.94	1.01	0.26	0.000	3.21
2014	A	J20 B1	10	5.51	1.43	1.62	0.05	8.61
2013	A	J19 B4	11	3.79	1.10	0.61	0.012	5.51
2013	A	J19 A1 - I19 D1	12	14.93	3.96	4.50	0.118	23.51
2013	A	I19 D1	13	7.06	1.14	2.28		10.47
2013	A	I19 D1	14	0.75		0.28		1.03
2013	A	J19 B4	15	3.12	0.97	1.03		5.12
2013	A	J19 B4	16	1.16	1.20	0.56	0.008	2.92
2013	A	J19 B4	17	1.92	0.37	1.37		3.66
2013	A	J19 B4	18	3.72	1.27	1.89		6.88
2013	A	J19 B4	23	1.99	0.13	0.27	0.010	2.40
2013	A	J19 B4	25	11.50	3.68	3.17	0.012	18.35
2013	A	J19 B4	25	0.70		0.25		0.95
2013	A	J19 A1-2	28	3.82	0.70	1.03		5.55
2013	A	I19 D1	30	4.93	1.84	1.45		8.21
2013	A	J19 B3	31	2.46	0.36	0.77		3.60
2013	A	J19 B4	36	3.36	0.30	1.16		4.82
2013	A	J19 C3	37	5.41	0.42	1.24		7.07
2013	A	I19 D1	38	4.07	0.88	1.04	0.010	6.01
2013	A	J19 B4	40	0.09				0.09
2013	A	J19 B4	41	0.45		0.26	0,001	0,71
2013	A	J19 B4	44	1,35	0,07	0,07	0,014	1,49
2013	A	J19 B4	52	0,63		0,07		0,70
2013	A	J19 B4	53	1,21	0,39	0,47	0,008	2,07
2013	A	J19 B4	54	0,36			0,003	0,36
2013	A	J19 B3	55	0,61	0,26	0,04		0,91
2013	A	J19 B3	60	0,75		0,50		1,24
2013	A	J19 B4	61	1,37		0,10		1,46
2013	A	J19 B3	63	1,33		0,44		1,77
2013	A	J19 B-C2	65	19.98	7.22	8.04		35.26

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2013	A	J19 B4	66	0.19	0.19	0.30		0,69
2013	A	J19 B4	69	1.03	0.35	0.23	0.012	1,61
2013	A	J19 B4	70	0.21		0.03		0,24
2013	A	J19 B4	71	0.30		0.17		0,47
2013	A	J19 B4	73	0.44		0.23	0.012	0,67
2013	A	J19 B4	74	0.26		0.12		0,38
2013	A	J19 B4	76	0.69		0.07		0,76
2013	A	J19 B-C2	78	25.96	6.53	10.87	0.008	43.37
2013	A	J19 A2	79	0.48		0.10		0.58
2013	A	I19 D2	82	3.32	0.13	0.00		3.45
2013	A	J19 A2	83	0.80	0.04	0.04		0.88
2014	A	J20 C1-2	104	0.41		0.06		0.47
2014	A	J20 C2	105	0.10		0.03		0.13
2014	A	J20 C1	110	1.83	0.28	0.22		2.33
2014	A	J20 C1	113	0.23				0.23
2014	A	J20 C1	114	0.73		0.14		0.87
2014	A	J20 C1-2	119	2.97	1.07	0.63		4.66
2014	A	J20 C1	120	10.77	1.31	3.41		15.49
2014	A	J20 C2-3	136	1.51	0.26	0.12		1.89
2014	A	J20 C-D1	140	0.08		0.06		0.15
2014	A	J20 C2-3	142	0.22		0.04		0.26
2015	A	K19 B2	146	0.85	0.17	0.01		1.03
2015	A	K19 A2	147	3.03	0.28	0.40		3.71
2015	A	K19 B-C3-4	150	3.45		0.28	0.01	3.74
2015	A	K19 C1	151	1.03				1.03
2015	A	K19 C2-3	152	0.71		0.05		0.76
2015	A	K19 D2	159	2.12		1.26	0.01	3.40



Fig. 66: Area A: Selection of Plain and *Drab* Wares from the fillings of Building II (SU 17)



Fig. 67: Area A: Selection of Coarse Plates from the fillings of Building II (SU 17)



**Fig. 68:** Area A: Selection of Red Slip Ware sherds from the fillings of Building II (SU 78)





**Fig. 69:** Area A: Selection of Painted Ware sherds from the superficial fillings of Building II (SU 63)



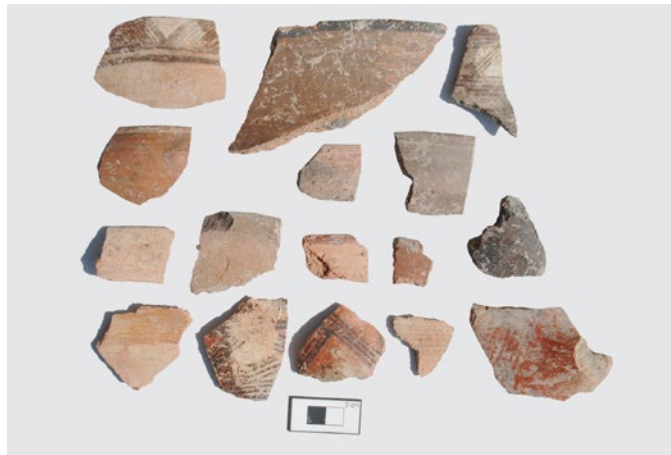
**Fig. 70:** Area A: Selection of Painted Ware sherds from the superficial fillings of Building II (SU 65)



**Fig. 71:** Area A: Selection of Fine, Orange Slip Ware sherds from the superficial fillings of Building II (SU 2)



**Fig. 72:** Area A: Selection of Handmade Red Slip Ware sherds from the fillings of Building II (SU 78)



**Fig. 73:** Area A: Selection of Handmade Painted Ware sherds from the fillings of Building II (SU 120)



**Fig. 74:** Area A: Selection of Handmade Painted Ware sherds from the fillings of Building II (SU 17)



Fig. 75: Area A: Selection of Coarse Plates from the deep sounding in room 126, *recto*



Fig. 76: Area A: Selection of Coarse Plates from the deep sounding in room 126, *verso*





Fig. 77: Area A: Coarse Plate U13.702, from the deep sounding in room 126, detail of string impressions



Fig. 78: Area A: Coarse Plate U13.701, from the deep sounding in room 126, detail of the outer rim



**Fig. 79:** Area A: Selection of Plain and *Drab* Ware bowls from the deep sounding in room 126 (SU 53): *recto*



**Fig. 80:** Area A: Selection of Plain and *Drab* Ware bowls from the deep sounding in room 126 (SU 53): *verso*



**Fig. 81:** Area A: Selection of different pottery types from the deep sounding in room 126 (SU 53)



**Fig. 82:** Area A: Wheelmade Red Slip Ware sherd (U13.538) from the deep sounding in room 126



**Fig. 83:** Area A: White Slip Ware sherd (U13.753) from the deep sounding in room 126

### Area D

The ceramic inventory of the surface, sloping fillings above Building III, although clearly mixed, includes a large percentage of painted and burnished pottery types of Middle and Late Iron Age date.

Similarly to Area A-Building II, also in the case of Area D-Building III, the main chronological point of reference for a dating of the structure is constituted by the *terminus post quem* given by the ceramic inventory from the foundation levels of the building. The set of ceramic materials associated with the phase of occupation documented during excavations in 2015, in fact, is very scanty, while most of the pottery derived from the various clayish fillings of the foundations. The attested ceramic types (Figs 84-100) find extensive comparisons with Middle and Late Bronze Age north-central Anatolian ceramic types.

Most of the plain and drab ware samples belong to open shapes and, in particular, to different types of curved bowls with more or less marked anti-splash device, engendered by the thickening of the inner side of the rim profile (Fig. 84: 5, 8-9; Fig. 85: 2-4), and/or by a turning toward the inner side of the vessel of the very upper portion of the wall (Fig. 84: 3, 4, 6). In most cases, the sides have medium-high inclination, then resulting in an intermediate or a rather deep body (Fig. 84: 3-9). More shallow variants, however, are also well attested (Fig. 85: 2-4). The shallow bowl with short banded rim in Fig. 85: 5, which finds some parallel within bowl types S5 (Mielke 2006: pl. 55: 27, type S5-*unicum*; pl. 54: 6, 7, type S5k, Kuşaklı *Westhang*) and S1 (Mielke 2006: pl. 49: 8, type S1a, Kuşaklı *Westhang*; Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 15: 8, type S1b, Kayalıpınar, *Gebäude B*), bears evident traces of fire on the upper section of the rim and of the sides and, at some point, was most probably used as a lid. The number of large size bowls (Fig. 84: 8-9) is rather limited, while medium (Fig. 84: 6-7) and medium-small size bowls are more numerous (Fig. 84: 3-5; Fig. 85: 1-4).

The large bowls with thick sides and inside thickened rim (Fig. 84: 8-9) belong to morphologies already seen in the test sounding of Area A (Orsi 2018: pl. 1: 7) that are attested throughout the entire Hittite sequence, particularly widespread between the Middle Hittite and the Early Imperial periods, and rooted in the Assyrian colony and Old Hittite ceramic traditions.<sup>21</sup> The morphologies attested here, in particular, recall specimens that seem to be particularly typical of the first part of the Hittite ceramic sequence (cf. Schoop 2006: 228 and fig. 5: H).<sup>22</sup> The variants with thinner walls, which have either medium open (Fig. 84: 3-6) or very open sides (Fig. 85: 2-4), as well as similar types recognised in the test sounding, find comparisons with variants that, despite being attested also in the late stage of the Hittite ceramic sequence, are distinctive of the early and intermediate stages.<sup>23</sup> A relatively

<sup>21</sup> In fact, they are attested throughout the entire Hittite ceramic sequence of central Anatolian sites (Mielke 2006: type S1; Schoop 2006: fig. 4A and fig. 6; Schoop 2008: 47 and figs. 3-4). At Boğazköy Upper City, period 3 (see Müller-Karpe 1988: tab. 29, type S1) and Kuşaklı/Sarissa West Slope (*mittlerer Horizont*) they are particularly widespread between the Middle Hittite and the Early Imperial period (15<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), but they are widely attested even earlier, including the Assyrian colony and Old Hittite periods (Mielke 2006: 108 and notes 407-408).

<sup>22</sup> Compare also Fig. 84: 8 with Mielke 2006: pl. 49: 10, 13, type S1b; compare Fig. 84: 9 with Mielke 2006: pl. 49: 20, type S1c. Similarities however are visible also with Parzinger, Sanz 1992: type I2.2b, which was particularly widespread in Boğazköy Upper City period 2.

<sup>23</sup> Most of these samples, in fact, find comparisons with variants identified at Kuşaklı (Mielke 2006), or at Boğazköy (Müller-Karpe 1988) and Kayalıpınar (Mühlenbruch 2014), such as type S12, which is classified as an 'old type' (Mielke 2006: 121), continuing during the entire Hittite sequence and particularly typical of the early and intermediate local ceramic horizons (16<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), and type S5, attested during the entire sequence of Kuşaklı West Slope (16<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) and particularly typical of the local intermediate ceramic horizon (15<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). Comparisons with bowl type S12 are visible in Uşaklı samples shown in Fig. 84: 4 (Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 40, type S12a, n. 25); Fig. 85: 1 (Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 40, type S12b, n. 4, Boğazköy *Oberstadt*; Mielke 2006: pl. 57: 23-24, type S12b, Kuşaklı *Westhang*; Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 40, type S12c, ns. 1-2, Boğazköy *Oberstadt*. Cf. also Fischer 1963: pl. 83: 696-697, Büyükkale lev. IVb). Comparisons with bowl type S5 are visible in Uşaklı samples shown in Fig. 84: 5 (Mielke 2006: pl. 55: 1, type S5p, Kuşaklı *Westhang*; Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 21: 26, type S5x, Kayalıpınar); Fig. 84: 6 (Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 21: 31, type S5x, Kayalıpınar. Cf. also Fischer 1963: pl. 86: 743, Büyükkale IVb); Fig. 84: 7 (Mielke 2006: pl. 54, type S5m, Kuşaklı *Westhang*); Fig. 85: 2 (Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 20: 18, type S5q; pl. 20: 32, type S5s, Kayalıpınar); Fig. 85: 4 (Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 37, type S5p n.1, Boğazköy *Oberstadt*).



high number of these shapes, in fact, recall also Assyrian colony and Old Hittite period samples.<sup>24</sup> Among these, hemispherical bowls with slightly inturned rim, which are attested both with plain (Fig. 84: 3) or red slipped surface (Fig. 91: 5-6), are considered particularly typical of the first part of the Hittite ceramic sequence, but they derive from handmade Early Bronze Age prototypes, and continue to be attested during the Assyrian colony period (Schoop 2011: 243-245 and fig. 1A).<sup>25</sup> Very thin sided vessels, also classified as *Eggshell Ware*, at Boğazköy appear firstly in 15<sup>th</sup> century contexts, but they are considered more characteristic of the later stages of the Hittite sequence (Schoop 2009: 154-155). The morphological variants of fine ware vessels attested in the foundation levels of Building III (Fig. 84: 1-2), however, seem to find good comparisons also with older typologies, attributed to the Assyrian colony and Old Hittites periods.<sup>26</sup>

Among the closed shapes, thin-sided small jars with curved shoulder and outside thickened or everted rim (Fig. 85: 8) are attested both with plain or red slipped surface, and find comparison from the Assyrian colony and Old Hittite period until the late stages of the Hittite ceramic sequence (see Mielke 2006: type T20, p. 101).<sup>27</sup> High necked jars and jugs (Fig. 85: 6-7) are also documented by rim and rim-and-neck fragments, but the limited portion of preserved profiles do not permit any sound evaluation of the original shape of reference. The rims, however, find comparisons with specimens belonging to shapes that are classified at Kuşaklı under the label of type K2 (Mielke 2006: pl. 4: 55-58, type K2i), K4 (Mielke 2006: pl. 9: 18-19, type K4i) or K6 (Mielke 2006: pl. 10: 34-36 type K6g).

Quite notable seems to be the very low incidence of the kitchen/cooking ware and in particular of coarse plates, of which a single example has so far been documented. Outside thickened rim cooking pots with a ridge on the shoulder (Fig. 85: 9-10) have been found in the Upper City contexts of Boğazköy (Parzinger, Sanz 1992: pl. 2: 6-7; Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 12, type KT5); the shape is associated with the Upper City period 3 (15<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), but it is quite rare (Parzinger, Sanz 1992: fig. 34, types B2a-b).

Quite large, instead, is the inventory of red slip ware (Figs 91-96). The use of the red slip constitutes an aspect of marked continuity in the central Anatolian ceramic productions, being attested from the Early Bronze Age, where it is mainly found in association with handmade pottery, well into the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, and, to some extent, into the Iron Age.<sup>28</sup> Many red slip ware types attested in these levels are common to both the Assyrian colony and the Early Hittite periods, whose ceramic traditions, in fact, are characterised by quite a marked continuity (Schoop 2009: 150-152). The inventory includes examples where the slip covers most the vessels surface (Figs 92, 93, 94- lower rows, 95), more typical of the Assyrian colony period and of the early phases of the Hittite sequence (Schoop 2009: 151), as well as examples where the red slip is limited to a narrow band on

<sup>24</sup> Specifically, Fig. 84: 1 (cf. with Müller-Karpe, V. 2009: fig. 16: 13, Kayalıpınar lev. 5; Orthmann 1963: pl. 30: 270, Boğazköy *NW-Hang*, lev. 8b. See commentary in the text); Fig. 84: 2 (cf. with Müller-Karpe, V., 2009: fig. 16: 15, Kayalıpınar lev. 5. See commentary in the text); Fig. 84: 3 (for which see the commentary in the text); Fig. 84: 4 (cf. Fischer 1963: pl. 88: 759, Boğazköy *Unterstadt*, lev. 4); Fig. 85: 1 (cf. with Orthmann 1963: pl. 36: 339, Boğazköy, *NW-Hang*, lev. 8a; Fischer 1963: pl. 83: 689, Büyükkale lev. IVd); Fig. 85: 3 (cf. with Orthmann 1963: pl. 30: 263-262, Boğazköy *NW-Hang*, lev. 8b)

<sup>25</sup> Similar morphologies at Kayalıpınar are mainly associated with the group of bowls type S12, and in particular to the sub-type S12o (Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 25: 19, type S12o, Kayalıpınar *Gebäude B*). Related variants, however, appear also within bowl type S5, and in particular within the sub-types S5x (Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 21: 25) and S5t (Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 20: 38). Although attested for the entire sequence of Building B, the climax of all sub-variants is attributed to level 4, dating to the Old Hittite period (Mühlenbruch 2014: 292).

<sup>26</sup> Compare Fig. 84: 1 with Müller-Karpe, V. 2009: fig. 16: 13, Kayalıpınar, lev. 5; Orthmann 1963: pl. 30: 270, Boğazköy *NW-Hang*, lev. 8b. Compare Fig. 84: 2 with Müller-Karpe, V. 2009: fig. 16: 15, Kayalıpınar lev. 5. As for later contexts, some related morphologies are classified within types S12 (See Kuşaklı *Westhang*, Mielke 2006: pl. 57: 7, 9, type S12b; pl. 57: 38, type S12c; pl. 58: 26, type S12i; Kayalıpınar, *Gebäude B*, Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 24: 32, type S12e).

<sup>27</sup> See in particular Mielke 2006: pl. 42: 5, type T20e; Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 26, type T20f, n. 2; Mielke 2006: pl. 42: 15, type T20g; Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 11: 13, type T20b; pl. 11: 17, 18, type T20d.

<sup>28</sup> Red slipped wares seem to be less common in the Iron Age than in the Bronze Ages, but they are all the same well attested (see, for example, Genz 2004: pl. 67: 3-4, Middle Iron Age; Genz 2007: 142, Late Iron Age; Kealhofer et al. 2010: 84). Red slip ware sherds, in addition, have been found also at Uşaklı Höyük in the Iron Age levels of Area D during the 2017 excavations.

the mouth (Fig. 91: 7-9; Fig. 94-upper rows), which is a characteristic more common in later assemblages (Schoop 2009: 151).<sup>29</sup> Most common morphologies are referable to carinated bowls, either with elongated (Fig. 91: 10-11) or short upper section (Fig. 91: 7-9). Carinated bowls with elongated upper section (Fig. 91: 10-11, fig. 93-upper row, left side), many of which would have included a horizontal handle with triangular section (see Fig. 93; Fig. 94-lower rows on the right; Fig. 95-upper rows on the right; Fig. 96-lower row on the middle and right), are quite common. The shape derives from the Early Bronze Age handmade prototypes. The wheelmade variant is mainly attested from the Assyrian colony period until the intermediate stage of the Hittite ceramic sequence. In the sequence of Boğazköy, in particular, they sharply decline after the Assyrian colony period. Although in small percentages they are still attested in the contexts dating to the 16<sup>th</sup> century BC, but seem to disappear immediately afterwards (Schoop 2009: 151).<sup>30</sup> S-shaped bowls with thin sides (Fig. 91: 3-4), which are attested also with vertical handle (Fig. 91: 4), although found in some variants in Late Bronze Age contexts<sup>31</sup> seem quite widespread in earlier contexts.<sup>32</sup> Spouted vessels (Fig. 91: 12; fig. 95-third row on the left; fig. 96-lower row on the right) are also quite common, as well as vertical handles (Fig. 92-at the bottom, right side), which may relate to cups or small jars.<sup>33</sup>

Also remarkable is the relatively high incidence of the so-called gold wash ware (Fig. 91: 1-2; Fig. 97. See also D'Agostino, Orsi 2018: fig. 7), which is a particularly fine ware characterized by a thin coat of glistening gold-coloured particles, most probably mica, thin walls and very fine fabric. Although the inventory of Uşaklı Höyük potsherds with glistening, gold-coloured wash is relatively standardized, a few variants may be recognized in terms of both morphology and technology. Most of the gold wash ware samples from Uşaklı Höyük belong to open shapes, and namely to small, thin-walled bowls with carinated sides and vertical or everted upper sections (Fig. 91: 1-2), but a few sherds of small jars are also attested (see as example Fig. 97, U15.1342). In the archaeological literature, it is noted that the morphology of gold wash ware vessels is usually somewhat different from the rest of the assemblage (Schoop 2011: 261), but at Uşaklı some general parallels with red slip ware shapes, namely in the carinated bowls with everted upper sections, seem to be relatively close (compare Fig. 91: 2, in gold wash ware; Fig. 112: 1, in red slip ware, and Fig. 97: U15.1668, with red slipped and gold washed surface, mentioned below. See also D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: fig. 10: 223, 225 [gold wash], and D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: fig. 10: 224, 226, 228 [red slip]). As far as technological aspects are concerned, samples with very fine fabric, dense and well sorted texture, almost no visible inclusions and homogeneously oxidised section<sup>34</sup> are distinguishable from some less fine variants, characterized by the presence of some visible inclusions, mainly small and white in colour, and sandwich fracture, with orange margins and greyish core (see as example U15.1539, Fig. 91: 1 and Fig. 97). Moreover, the gold-coloured wash appears directly over the surface in the finer examples, while it seems to be applied together with an additional whitish wash (Munsell soil colour chart 5YR 8/2 - pinkish white, or 5YR 7/4 - pink) in less fine samples (U15.1539).<sup>35</sup> An additional third variant is testified by a rim-herd (U15.1668, Fig. 97), apparently in common ware, where a whitish/pinkish coat (Munsell soil colour chart 7.5YR 7/3 - pink) with sparkling-gold

<sup>29</sup> At Boğazköy, in particular, the greatest drop in the quantity of red slip ware is registered in the 16<sup>th</sup> century BC, when it falls values of over 20% of the ceramic assemblages to less than 10% (Schoop 2009: 151 and fig. 8).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Fischer 1963: pl. 88: 765, Boğazköy *Unterstadt*, lev. 4; Orthmann 1963: pl. 31, Boğazköy *NW-Hang*, lev. 8b; Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 28: 1-19, type S22, Kayalıpınar *Gebäude B*. Some similarity, however, is visible also with specimens classified within types S6 (cf. Fig. 91: 10 with Mielke 2006: pl. 56: 4-5, type S6a) S8 (cf. Fig. 91: 11 with Mielke 2006: pl. 56: 19-20, 24-25, type S8) S18 (cf. Fig. 91: 11 with Mühlenbruch 2014: pl. 26: 17-20, type S18a; 21-24, type S18b) and S12 (Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 40, type S12e, nos 2-4, 6-7 and 11-12). Some of the variants with short upper section (see Fig. 91: 8) also find good comparisons in the Assyrian colony and Old Hittite periods (Fischer 1963: pl. 88: 758, Boğazköy *Unterstadt*, lev. 5, red slip ware; pl. 85: 724, Büyükkale lev. IVc, plain ware; pl. 88: 760, Boğazköy, *Unterstadt*, lev. 4, red slip ware)

<sup>31</sup> See Mielke 2006: pl. 59: 1, 6, type S18a, S18b; pl. 62: 16, type S10-*unicum*; Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 38, type S10a, nos 1, 3-brown polished surface; Mielke 2006: pl. 57: 34-35, type S12e.

<sup>32</sup> See Orthmann 1963: pl. 39: 3-4, Alaca Höyük; pl. 40: 4-5, Polatlı; Orthmann 1963: pl. 8: 23-26, Boğazköy *NW-Hang*, lev. 9.

<sup>33</sup> See as a reference for probable shape Fischer 1963: pl. 82

<sup>34</sup> See as a reference D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: pl. 31, K08.1086.

<sup>35</sup> The presence of an additional white or cream slip has already been recorded at other sites, but it is considered rarer: in most cases, in fact, the glistening wash is directly applied to the surfaces (Schoop 2011: 260).

particles is applied over a thin, red slip (Munsell soil colour chart 10R 5/8 - red), whose traces appear quite clearly in correspondence with the inner side carination. This peculiar potsherd, in fact, appears as a sort of combination of red slip ware and gold wash ware attributes: the fabric of the sherd, to the unaided eye, seems to be quite similar to those commonly attested in red slip ware potsherds, and the morphology, which is referable to a carinated bowl with everted upper sides and sharpened rim, is attested in both ceramic classes.

The concurrent use of red slip and gold wash, however, is not isolated at Uşaklı Höyük, finding a comparison in a few body-sherds referable to closed shapes (see here U15.1342, Fig. 97). The resulting appearance recalls, to some extent, the bicolour pattern obtained through the use of double slip (or slip plus paint) in red and whitish/yellow colours (see here U15.1740 and U15.1741, Fig. 93, bottom, left and right sides), or through the sapient use of slip reservation (for which see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 84, 173, and 393, pl. 17: 7, K08.1026, K08.1027).

Given the absence of micaceous clays inside the Kızılırmak bend, this specific ware, or the raw material for its coating, is thought to have been imported into Central Anatolia (Matsumura 2005: 123-124): the precise area of origin is not known, but general connections are proposed with southwestern Anatolia productions (Schoop 2011: 261). The differences observed in gold wash potsherds at Uşaklı Höyük, however, testifies to slightly distinguished variants,<sup>36</sup> whose presence leaves space for different explanations. They might be connected to different places of origin and different workshops, or, in the case of a rather circumscribed place of origin, to a relatively low standardized production system. A differentiation between imported examples and local imitations might also be likely, as it seems especially in the case of the common ware bowl with red slipped and gold washed surface (U15.1668, Fig. 97). For each hypothesis mentioned above, an additional chronological differentiation is also possible.

The dating of this specific ware is not perfectly settled, but there is fairly widespread agreement that Late Bronze Age gold wash ware types are substantially typical of the first half of the Hittite ceramic sequence (Schoop 2011: 261) and should not be later than the early Imperial period (Mielke 2006: 41).<sup>37</sup>

The presence of abundant glistening particles, mainly gold-coloured, clearly visible to the unaided eye, however, has been observed elsewhere in the Uşaklı Höyük ceramic production, and namely on the surface, or both on surface and fracture, of Iron Age common ware types (especially bowls with simple, curved profile).<sup>38</sup> It is not possible to tell, at this stage of the study and without the assistance of laboratory analyses, if the glistening appearance of the fine ware types, mainly of Late Bronze Age period, and of the other examples, may be the result of consistency in fabric composition and/or production technique.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, it seems worth noting the recurrence, over a long span of time, of a predilection for a shining superficial appearance.

Early Bronze Age/Middle Bronze Age handmade red slip and painted wares (Figs 98-100), in addition, constitute a relatively large component of the inventory of the Building III foundations.

Overall, despite the large number of parallels that may be ascribed to the first half of the Hittite ceramic sequence, their long range of attestation in North-Central Anatolian sites prevents a precise dating of the foundation assemblage on the sole basis of comparisons. On preliminary evaluation, if compared to the ceramic inventory recovered from the test sounding under Area A Building II, the presence of a large set of red slip ware, most common in the Assyrian colony period and in early phases of the Hittite ceramic sequence (Schoop 2011: 243), together with the limited quantity of drab ware types more typical of the latest phases, however, may be the evidence of

<sup>36</sup> A similar variability, however, can also be noted at other sites. At Böğazköy, for example, similar morphologies are reported with brown slipped surface (Fischer 1963: pl. 98: 899), with a thin silvery-yellow slipped surface (Fischer 1963: pl. 98: 895) and with a white slipped surface (Fischer 1963: pl. 98: 888).

<sup>37</sup> See D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 65-66 for a more extensive overview of references.

<sup>38</sup> This seems to find a comparison at Kaman-Kalehöyük, where wares that seem to be related to the Late Bronze Age gold wash ware are reported also in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. Namely, two variants are reported: one with evident gold coloured particles, and a second with gold coloured particles invisible to the unaided eye (Matsumura 2005: 123-124).

<sup>39</sup> A peculiarity to consider in this respect is also that, whilst the Late Bronze Age gold wash ware samples (or some of them) must be considered as imports at Uşaklı Höyük, the later potsherds with glistening particles, appearing as a common ware kind of production, seem more probably to have been produced locally.

an earlier range of dating.<sup>40</sup> The chronological relation between the ceramic inventory deriving from the foundations of Building III and its actual construction, as well as in the case of Area A Building II and the material of the test sounding, may be either of contemporaneity or of posteriority. Of some interest also seems to be the relatively high frequency of fine wares, here including the gold wash ware, which might be related to a functional connotation of the area of origin of the sherds.

**Chart 5:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Materials recovered in Area D

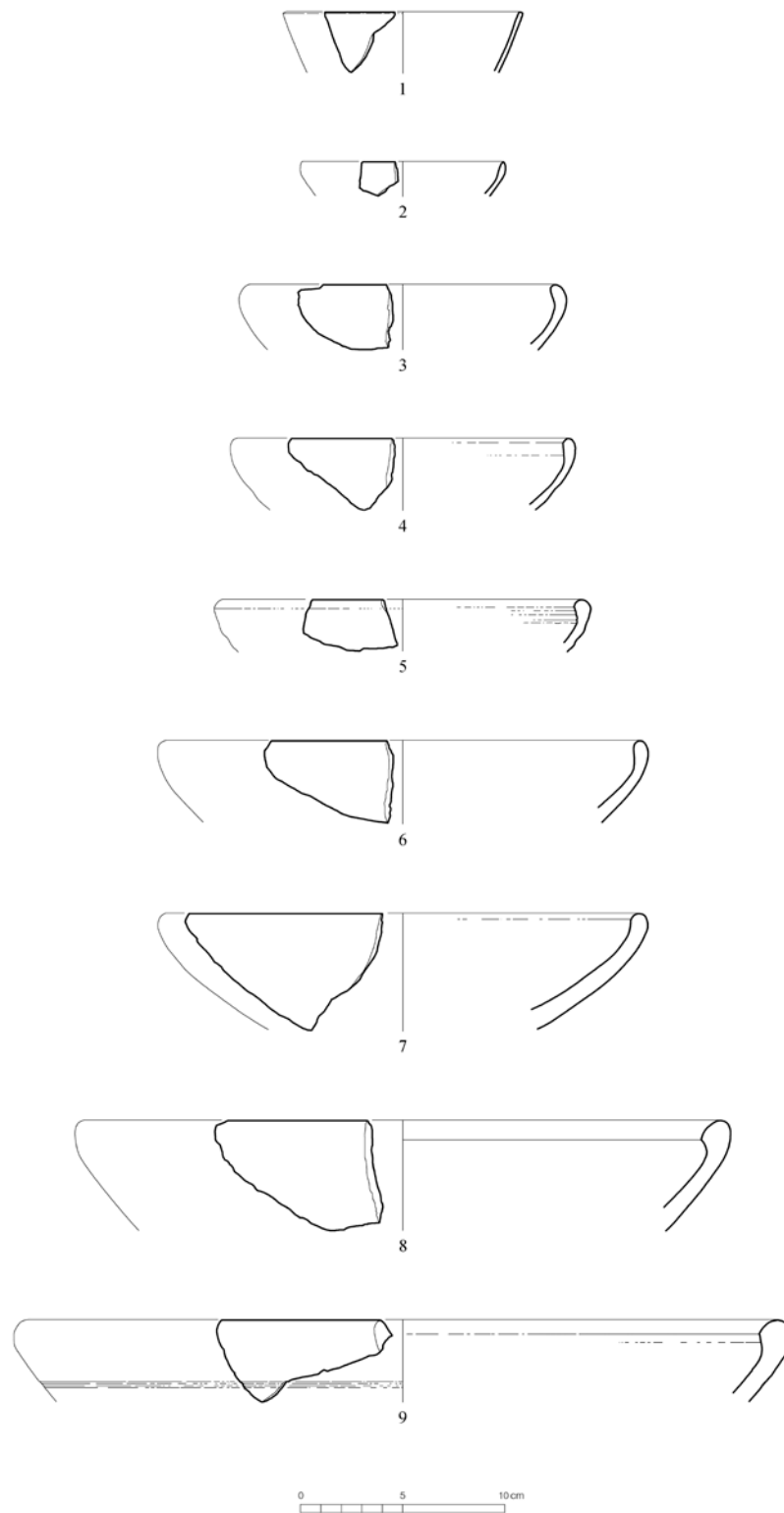
Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2015	D	O15 A2	1	12	30	42	0.016	
2015	D	O15 A-B2	3	120	347	467	0.012	
2015	D	O15 A-B2	4		3	3		
2015	D	O15 B-C2	11	7	25	32		
2015	D	O15 B2-3	12	67	174	241	0.008	
2015	D	O15 B-C2	14	5	13	18		
2015	D	O15 A2-3	20	40	111	151	0.283	
2015	D	O15 A-B3	21	149	392	541		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	22	5	17	22		
2015	D	O15 A3	25	5	16	21		
2015	D	O15 A3	28	3	5	8		
2015	D	O15 A3	29	2	1	3		
2015	D	O15 A3	32	1	2	3		
2015	D	O15 A3	38	7	16	23	0.005	
2015	D	O15 A3	40	8	12	20		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	44	78	203	281		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	48	49	201	250		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	49	61	175	236		
2015	D	O15 A3	52	16	64	80		
2015	D	O15 A2	57	4	16	20	0.071	
2015	D	O15 A-B3	62	11	63	74		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	63	35	111	146		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	64	12	14	26		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	67	59	76	135		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	69	4	12	16		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	70	9	24	33		
2015	D	O15 A3	71	6	33	39		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	73	36	97	133		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	74	12	25	37		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	75	14	52	66		
2015	D	O15 A-B3	S-Kova 3-selection	37	46	83		
2015	D	O15 A3	S-Kova 4	9	13	22	0.071	
2015	D	O15 A3	S	32	66	98	0.172	
2015	D	O15 A3	S-Locus 3	14		14		

<sup>40</sup> A more precise range, however, will be hopefully obtained from the dendrochronological analysis of carbon samples recovered during the 2017 excavation season and associated with the construction of the Building, which should provide a sound reference *ante quem* for the ceramic inventory of the foundations.

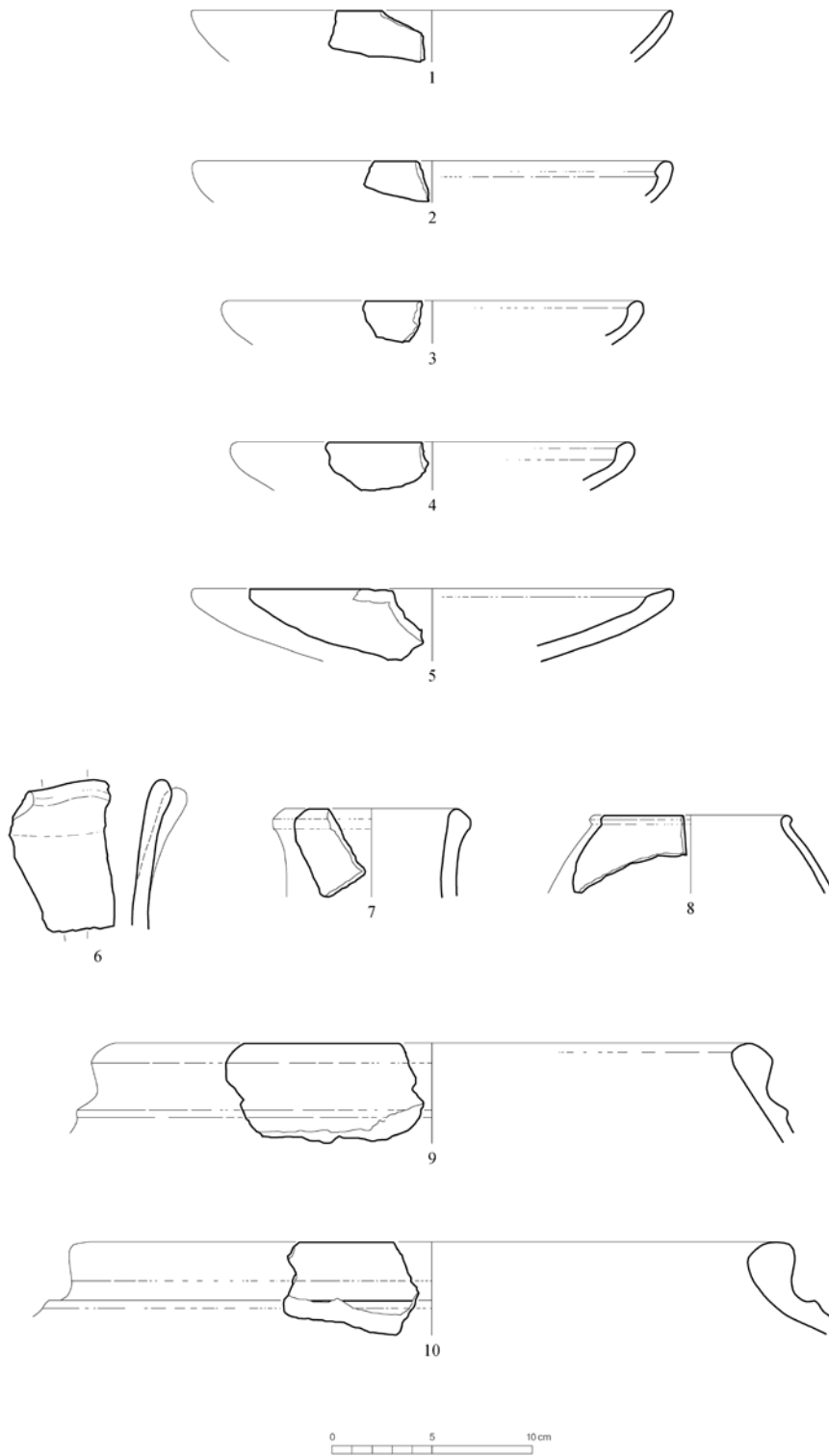


**Chart 6:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Qualification of potsherds recovered in Area D

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2015	D	O15 A2	1	1.07		0.25		1.32
2015	D	O15 A-B2	3	10.17	1.84	1.25	0.02	13.28
2015	D	O15 A-B2	4	0.12				0.12
2015	D	O15 B-C2	11	0.64		0.17		0.81
2015	D	O15 B2-3	12	5.19	1.15	1.33	0.014	7.68
2015	D	O15 B-C2	14	0.40		0.08	0.002	0.48
2015	D	O15 A2-3	20	2.86	0.50	0.69	0.007	4.05
2015	D	O15 A-B3	21	10.83	0.89	2.14	0.04	13.90
2015	D	O15 A-B3	22	0.67				0.67
2015	D	O15 A3	25	0.44		0.04		0.47
2015	D	O15 A3	28	0.12				0.12
2015	D	O15 A3	29	0.09				0.09
2015	D	O15 A3	32	0.22				0.22
2015	D	O15 A3	38	0.26			0.006	0.27
2015	D	O15 A3	40	0.53		0.03		0.56
2015	D	O15 A-B3	44	4.83	0.42	0.71	0.137	6.09
2015	D	O15 A-B3	48	4.82		0.40	0.040	5.25
2015	D	O15 A-B3	49	3.80	0.25	1.50		5.55
2015	D	O15 A3	52	1.31	0.82		0.087	2.22
2015	D	O15 A2	57	0.40				0.40
2015	D	O15 A-B3	62	1.10	0.10	0.83		2.02
2015	D	O15 A-B3	63	2.43		0.33	0.022	2.78
2015	D	O15 A-B3	64	0.39	0.27			0.66
2015	D	O15 A-B3	67	4.28		0.37	0.027	4.68
2015	D	O15 A-B3	69	0.30		0.18		0.48
2015	D	O15 A-B3	70	0.38		0.23		0.60
2015	D	O15 A3	71	0.46		0.22	0.004	0.68
2015	D	O15 A-B3	73	2.35		0.46		2.81
2015	D	O15 A-B3	74	0.35		0.11		0.46
2015	D	O15 A-B3	75	0.65		0.30		0.95
2015	D	O15 A-B3	S-Kova 3-selection	2.73		0.17		2.90
2015	D	O15 A3	S-Kova 4	0.50		0.28		0.78
2015	D	O15 A3	S	2.04	0.82	0.18		3.04
2015	D	O15 A3	S-Locus 3	0.66		0.08		0.74



**Fig. 84:** Area D: Selection of Plain and *Drab* Ware bowls from the foundation levels of Building III, rooms 58 and 59



**Fig. 85:** Area D: Selection of Plain and Kitchen Ware sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, rooms 58 and 59



**Fig. 86:** Area D: Selection of pottery sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 59 (SU 3)



**Fig. 87:** Area D: Selection of pottery sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 48)



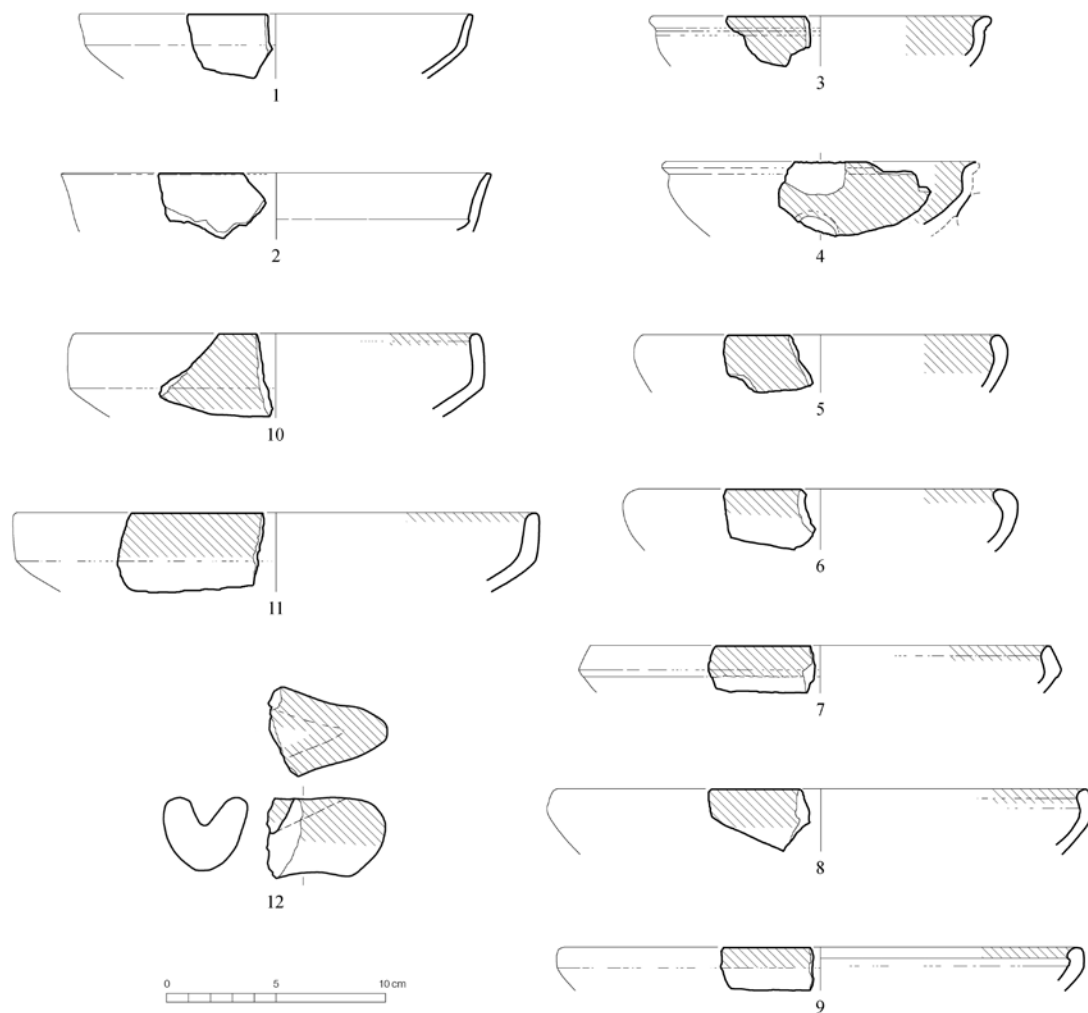
**Fig. 88:** Area D: Selection of pottery sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 67)



**Fig. 89:** Area D: Detail of a Drab Ware bowl from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 73)



**Fig. 90:** Area D: Detail of a Drab Ware bowl from the foundation levels of Building III, room 59 (SU 3)



**Fig. 91:** Area D: Selection of *Gold Wash Ware* sherds (nos 1-2) and *Red Slip Ware* sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, rooms 58 and 59



**Fig. 92:** Area D: Selection of *Red Slip Ware* sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 69)



**Fig. 93:** Area D: Selection of *Red Slip Ware* sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 73)





**Fig. 94:** Area D: Selection of Red Slip Ware sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 44)



**Fig. 95:** Area D: Selection of Red Slip Ware sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 67)



**Fig. 96:** Area D: Selection of Plain and Red Slip Ware sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 3)



**Fig. 97:** Area D: Gold Wash Ware potsherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (U15.1538; U15.1539, SU 63), room 59 (U15.1342, SU 3) and from SU 12 (U15.1668)



**Fig. 98:** Area D: Selection of Handmade sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 59 (SU 3)



**Fig. 99:** Area D: Selection of Handmade Painted Ware sherds from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 73)



**Fig. 100:** Area D: Detail of a Handmade Painted Ware potsherd from the foundation levels of Building III, room 58 (SU 63)

### Area C

Excavations in Area C revealed a large and interesting sequence of mainly Middle Iron Age ceramics deriving from clayish accumulation layers which lay directly over the virgin soil (Fig. 101-102).<sup>41</sup> The inventory includes a large number of painted examples. Judging on the basis of the relative regularity of the mouth, and of the thickness of the walls, they appear generally wheelmade, but the extensive use of burnishing for the treatment of the surface makes it difficult, in some cases, to give a sound evaluation of the building technique. A mixed building technique might be also likely, especially in case of large vessels. The painted decoration, as with the main Middle Bronze Age North-Central Anatolian ceramic assemblages, is primarily monochrome, but several bicolour sherds were also found. In the sherd U15.641 (Fig. 101: 5), for example, a red paint was used at the crossing of the lines which framed the reticulated rhombs, while for all the other motifs the more common darkish-brown colour was used. Although in south-eastern central Anatolia a bichrome painted decoration style is already attested in the Early Iron Age (Genz 2003: 185), especially exemplified by Kaman-Kalehöyük levels IId 1-3 and Porsuk IV (Matsumura 2008), the appearance of bichrome painted pottery in central-north Anatolia is usually located in the Middle Iron Age. In particular, on the hill of Büyükkale, it starts to be attested with the Büyükkale-II stage that, following the Büyükkaya stage, assigned to the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC by radiocarbon dates (Seeher 2000: 20), constitutes the second phase of the local Middle Iron Age sequence (Genz 2000: 38 and fig. 8: 7-10; fig. 16; Genz 2001: 160).<sup>42</sup> The darkish, mat paint is the most frequent (Munsell soil colour chart 7.5YR 4/1 - dark grey; 7.5YR 2.5/1 - black; 7.5YR 3/2 - dark brown), but a brownish purple variant (5YR 3/3 - dark reddish brown; 5YR 3/1 - very dark grey; 10R 2.5/1 - reddish black) is also well attested. The fabrics are usually brownish or orange in colour, sometimes with a darker core indicating a nonoptimal firing process. Yellowish fabrics are also attested. The surfaces of the vessels are frequently yellowish, brownish or reddish brown in colour. Brownish and reddish surfaces are frequently simply burnished, while the yellowish colours may be more frequently the result of a thin slip. The painted patterns are predominantly geometric, made of a combination of straight and wavy lines or bands and short strokes. Although quite rare, animal 'silhouette' motives typical of the Alişar IV period, which were not attested from the surface inventory (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 71, 176), have been uncovered in these layers (Figs 102 and 105). A fine-grained chronology for this pottery type is still under discussion,<sup>43</sup> but its main diffusion seems to be attributed primarily to the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 427).

The animal silhouettes, in darkish, mat paint, are in association with concentric, double circles, which are frequently used as filling motif also in the non-naturalist, geometric combinations. Unpainted, wheelmade examples, which are also well attested, usually present a burnished surface.

Most common shapes include curved bowls with slightly-thickened or thickened rim (Fig. 101: 1-4) and craters with grooves on the inside of the rim (Fig. 101: 5-6). Painted sherds of spouts (Fig. 103) and handles, belonging to craters (Fig. 104) or jugs and pitchers are also quite frequent.

<sup>41</sup> Since a generally accepted chronological system for Iron Age Central Anatolia is still lacking, and a fine-grained correlation between historical, ceramic and absolute sequences is problematic (Summers 2008; Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 417-420), here reference is made primarily to the relative sequence of pottery style as summarized by H. Genz (Genz 2011: 332-335). For the Iron Age pottery in general see Genz 2004, 2005, 2007, 2011.

<sup>42</sup> Originally ascribed primarily to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (Genz 2001: 160; Genz 2004: tab. 6), the dating of the Büyükkale-II stage has been slightly extended backward to include the 9<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of subsequent refinement of the Central Anatolian chronologies (Genz 2006: 133; Kealhofer et al. 2009: tab. 1).

<sup>43</sup> At Böğazköy, monochrome, strictly geometric decoration is associated with the Büyükkaya stage, which represents the first Middle Iron Age stage in the local sequence; silhouette style motifs, together with the bichrome painting, instead, start to be attested only in the following Büyükkale II-stage (Genz 2000: 38; Genz 2001: 160), to be attributed to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (see previous note). An additional point of reference for the diffusion of Alişar IV silhouette motifs is their attestation in the Early Phrygian Building level V of Gordion that, on the basis of the revised local chronology, is attributed to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (Sams 2012: 61-63). The development of the Alişar IV painted style has been located in the bend of the Kızılırmak river during the Early Iron Age (Summers 2009: 661, quoting Seeher 1998 and Genz 2000. See also Matsumura 2008). 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC have been recently suggested as the main period of circulation and popularity of the type (D'Alfonso et al. 2016: 602) but, as highlighted by G. Summers (Summers 2009: 660) it seems to be well attested until the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (and spec. 9<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). For general considerations on Alişar IV style pottery see Summers 2014: 45; Summers 2009: 660-662; Matsumura 2008, 42; Bossert 2000: 46-51; Genz 2000: 38.

In the same fillings, a few handmade sherds and potsherds with reddish paint might be ascribed to the Early Iron Age central-north Anatolian ceramic horizons (for which see Genz 2003; Genz 2004: 24-28). Although probably to be considered intrusive in these later layers, they would constitute a first trace of occupation of the site during the Early Iron Age, clear evidence of which had not been registered during the surface survey (D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 169, 175).<sup>44</sup>

Of particular note is the ceramic inventory provided by the bulk of alternated burnt and ashy soils (SU 28, SU 69 and SU 70), which cover and are covered by the clayish layers (Figs. 106-114). This, in fact, consists mainly of Middle and Late Bronze Age types, including typical plain drab ware and red slip ware examples. Red slip ware types and morphologies widespread from the Assyrian colony period and into the first part of the Hittite ceramic sequence are well attested (Fig. 112: 4-5; Fig. 113), together with probable later types, like the bowls where the red slip is limited to a band on the vessel's mouth (see Schoop 2003a: 15; Schoop 2009: 151). Red slip ware carinated bowls with everted sides (Fig. 112: 1), for example, are attested in the 14<sup>th</sup> century contexts of the valley west of Sarikale, at Boğazköy (Schoop 2003a: fig. 19: 13).

Plain ware types belong to typologies widespread in different parts of the Hittite ceramic sequence, most of them already attested in the test sounding of Area A (see Orsi 2018). Noteworthy, however, is the presence of types more frequent in the late stages of the Hittite sequence: deep vessels with outside thickened, squared rim (Fig. 106: 7), seem to be mainly widespread in contexts of 13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (cf. Müller-Karpe 1988: 61, type T1;<sup>45</sup> Mielke 2006: 86, and Annex 6, type T 1; Schoop 2003b: fig. 4: 2), and the morphology of the coarse plates (Fig. 106: 9) finds comparisons with variants that are typical of the later stages.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, a few sherds probably to be related to the ceramic horizon of the so-called Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware spindle bottles have been recovered from the same fillings (D'Agostino, Orsi 2018: fig. 6).<sup>47</sup> This pottery type, which is characterized by very fine and compact fabric, bright orange colour and well-levigated surface, is thought to be a non-local production in the Central Anatolian area where, although appearing since the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it seems to be typical of contexts dating from 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.

As for many other contexts from Area A-Building II (Figs. 72-74) and Area D-Building III (Figs. 98-100), intrusive handmade sherds in red slip or geometric painted ware from earlier periods are abundant also in the burnt and ashy fillings from the Area C (Fig. 115).

**Chart 7:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Materials recovered in Area C

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2014	C	M18 C2-4	S	51	128	179	0.082	
2014	C	M17 C3	4	34	92	126		
2014	C	M17 C3	7	3		3		
2014	C	M17 C4	8	33	57	90	0.083	
2014	C	M17 C4	10		2	2		
2014	C	M17 C4	15	9	37	46		

<sup>44</sup> Additional and more substantial evidence of occupation during the early stages of the Iron Age, however, has been gathered in the course of the last two excavation seasons (2016 and 2017) in the Area D, where a collection of typical Early Iron Age potsherds was uncovered. The results of the 2016 and 2017 excavations will be the object of future reports.

<sup>45</sup> In the contexts of the Upper City of Boğazköy, Type T1 is mostly widespread in period 2. Only a minor percentage, instead, derives from period 3 (Müller-Karpe 1988: 61).

<sup>46</sup> See Müller-Karpe 1988: pl. 32, type S2b; Schoop 2003b: fig. 4: 4.

<sup>47</sup> For a detailed description of the ware, which in terms of Uşaklı Höyük ceramic registration code is registered as *Orange Fine Ware*, see D'Agostino, Orsi 2015: 69-70.



Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2014	C	M17 C4	17	5	9	14		
2014	C	M17 C4	18	20	26	46		
2014	C	M17 C4	20	8	13	21		
2014	C	M17 C4	22	15	40	55	0.005	
2014	C	M17 C4	23A	61	141	202	0.060	
2014	C	M17 C4	23B	20	117	137	0.193	
2014	C	M17 C4	24	10	28	38	0.112	
2014	C	M17 C4	25	4	9	13		
2014	C	M17 C4	26	8	12	20		
2014	C	M17 C4	27	4	8	12		
2014	C	M17 C4	28A-D	38	316	354	0.306	
2014	C	M17 C4	28E	34	117	151	0.695	
2014	C	M17 C4	28I	1	19	20	0.016	
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	28I+28J-sieve	71	163	234	1.520	
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	28IJ+28IJ-sieve	48	146	194	0.555	
2014	C	M17 C4	28J	4	24	28		
2014	C	M18 C1-2	32	5	3	8		
2014	C	M18 C2	33	14	51	65		
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1-2	33	139	293	432	0.391	
2014	C	M18 C2	34	23	116	139	0.456	
2014	C	M18 C2	35	10	16	26		
2014	C	M18 C2	36	26	75	101	0.051	
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	38A	38	27	65		
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	38B	41	59	100		
2014	C	M18 C1-2	39A	16	51	67	0.106	
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	39A	83	194	277	0.005	
2014	C	M18 C1-2	39B	5	16	21	0.016	
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	39B	140	417	557	0.108	
2014	C	M18 C2	40	2	6	8		
2015	C	M17 B3-4 - M18 B1-4	43	107	175	282	0.021	0.190
2015	C	M17 B3	44	11	4	15		
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1-2	46	93	144	237	0.090	
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1-2	47	134	274	408		
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1	48	30	65	95	0.080	
2015	C	M18 B3	53	59	107	166	0.014	
2015	C	M18 B2-3	54	48	79	127	0.072	
2015	C	M18 B1	55	4	19	23		
2015	C	M18 B3-4	56	11	21	32		
2015	C	M18 C2-3	67	1	11	12		
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1	68	35	63	98		
2015	C	M18 B1	69	22	48	70		
2015	C	M18 B1	70	126	255	381	0.004	
2015	C	M18 B2	74	1		1		
2015	C	M18 C1-2	77	2	9	11		
2015	C	M18 C1-2	78	175	477	652	0.571	
2015	C	M18 C1-2	79	73	261	334	1.609	
2015	C	M18 C1-2	80	58	158	216	0.129	
2015	C	M18 C1-2	82	1	6	7		

**Chart 8:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Qualification of potsherds recovered in Area C

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2014	C	M18 C3	S	5.40	0.53	0.83		6.76
2014	C	M17 C3	4	3.01	0.79	0.64		4.45
2014	C	M17 C3	7	0.03	0.25	0.46		0.73
2014	C	M17 C4	8	1.52	0.33	0.00		1.86
2014	C	M17 C4	10	0.05		0.00		0.05
2014	C	M17 C4	15	1.09	0.16	0.21		1.46
2014	C	M17 C4	17	0.50		0.05		0.55
2014	C	M17 C4	18	1.07		0.33		1.40
2014	C	M17 C4	20	0.71	0.13	0.02		0.86
2014	C	M17 C4	22	0.92		0.57		1.49
2014	C	M17 C4	23A	3.98	0.50	1.29		5.77
2014	C	M17 C4	23B	2.20	0.40	0.85		3.45
2014	C	M17 C4	24	0.85		0.14		0.99
2014	C	M17 C4	25	0.41		0.02		0.43
2014	C	M17 C4	26	0.28		0.06		0.34
2014	C	M17 C4	27	0.24		0.14		0.38
2014	C	M17 C4	28A-D	8.16	1.47	1.96	0.008	11.59
2014	C	M17 C4	28E	4.12	0.62	1.32	0.013	6.07
2014	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	28I	0.53				0.53
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	28I+28J-sieve	5.95		0.54		6.48
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	28I+28J-sieve	5.77		0.33	0.024	6.13
2014	C	M17 C4	28J	1.16		0.25		1.41
2014	C	M18 C1-2	32	0.47		0.02		0.49
2014	C	M18 C1-2	33	1.35		0.43		1.78
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1-2	33	12.76	1.06	1.68	0.143	15.64
2014	C	M18 C2	34	2.77	1.12	0.62		4.51
2014	C	M18 C2	35	1.11		0.14		1.25
2014	C	M18 C2	36	2.33	0.11	0.40	0.007	2.84
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	38A	3.37		0.60	0.023	3.99
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	38B	5.38		0.43		5.80
2014	C	M18 C1-2	39A	1.90	0.29	0.37		2.56
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	39A	7.81	0.42	0.94	0.035	9.21
2014	C	M18 C1-2	39B	0.50		0.17		0.67
2015	C	M17 C4 - M18 C1	39B	16.56	0.34	1.87	0.03	18.80
2014	C	M18 C2	40	0.13		0.03		0.16
2015	C	M17 B3-4 - M18 B1-4	43	9.38	2.45	0.48	0.060	12.37
2015	C	M17 B3	44	0.82		0.23		1.06
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1-4	46	8.32	1.71	0.98		11.01
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1-2	47	12.22	1.67	1.44	0.320	15.65
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1-2	48	2.47	0.18	0.35		3.00
2015	C	M18 B3	53	5.55	0.86	0.24		6.65
2015	C	M18 B2-3	54	3.76	0.42	0.98	0.01	5.18
2015	C	M18 B1	55	0.60				0.60
2015	C	M18 B4	56	1.84			0.03	1.87
2015	C	M18 C2-3	67	0.42		0.04		0.46
2015	C	M17 B4 - M18 B1	68	2.78	0.26	0.80	0.067	3.91
2015	C	M18 B1	69	2.39	0.44	0.55	0.012	3.38
2015	C	M18 B1	70	12.98	0.88	2.42	0.029	16.30

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2015	C	M18 B2	74	0.05				0.05
2015	C	M18 C1-2	77	0.48				0.48
2015	C	M18 C1-2	78	15.18	1.36	1.26	0.05	17.836
2015	C	M18 C1-2	79	6.62	0.56	0.58	0.01	7.77
2015	C	M18 C1-2	80	4.21	0.48	0.32		5.01
2015	C	M18 C1-2	82	0.33				0.33

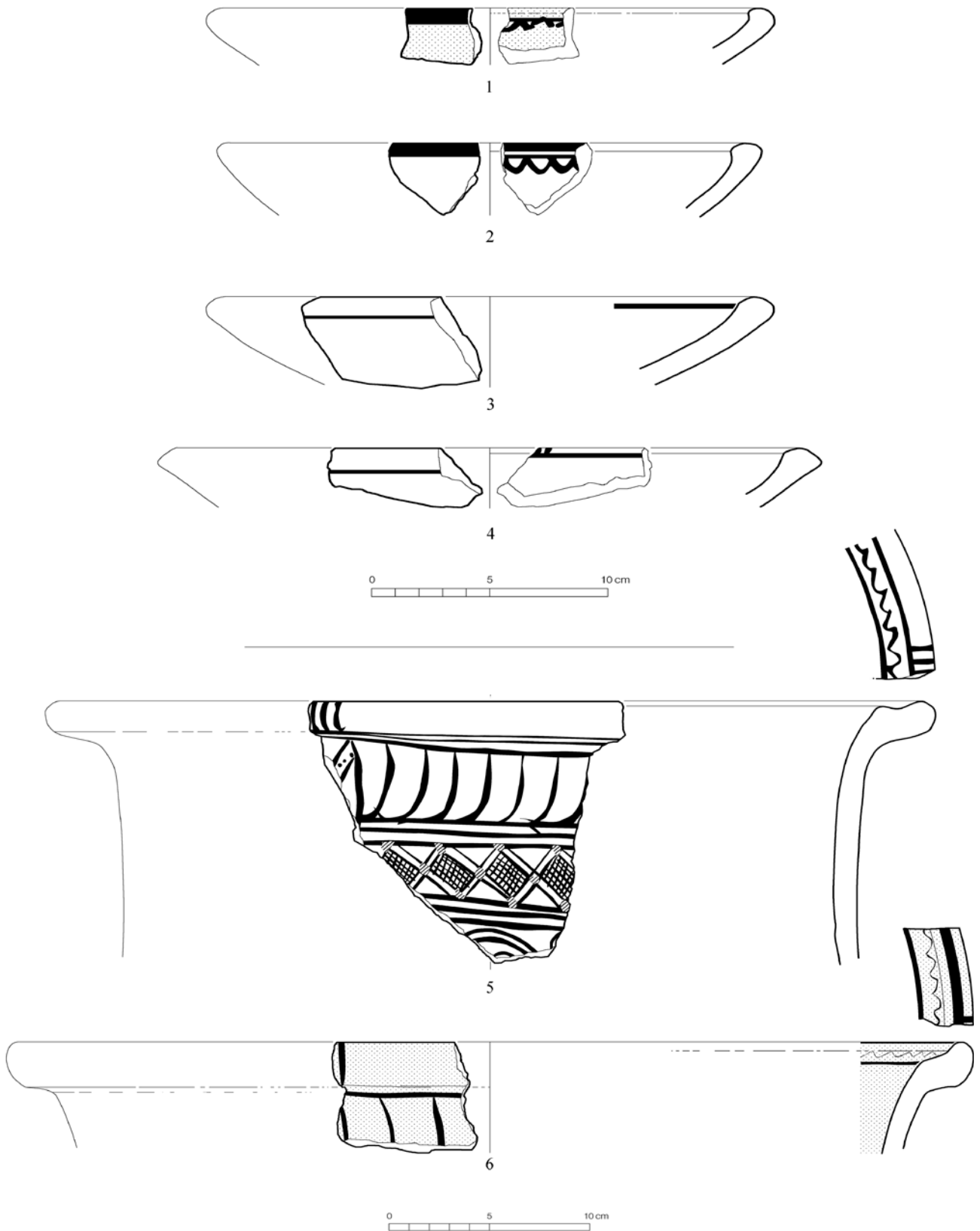


Fig. 101: Area C: Selection of Middle-Iron Age Painted sherds (SU 38 and 39)



**Fig. 102:** Area C: Selection of Painted sherds (SU 33)



**Fig. 103:** Area C: Detail of a spout in Painted Ware (SU 33)



**Fig. 104:** Area C: Detail of a carinated handle in Painted Ware (SU 33)

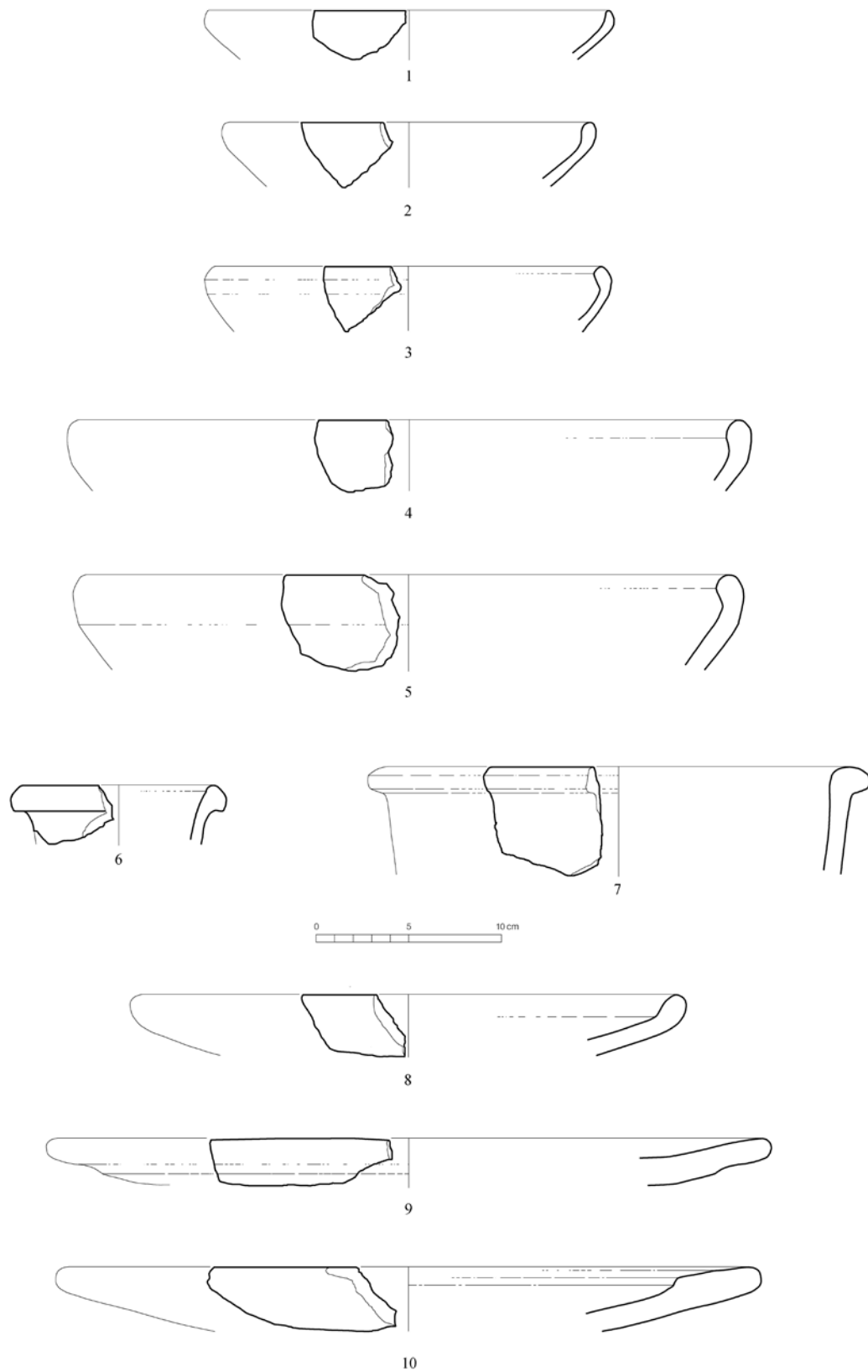


**Fig. 105:** Area C: Detail of a Painted Ware sherd with *silhouette* motive (or *Alişar IV style*) (SU 33)



**Fig. 107:** Area C: Detail of a coarse plate with string impression on the rim from the ashy and burnt heart layers (SU 38b)





**Fig. 106:** Area C: Selection of typical Late Bronze Age Plain, Drab Ware sherds and coarse plates from the ashy and burnt heart layers



**Fig. 108:** Area C: Selection of Late Bronze Age Common Ware from the ashy and burnt heart layers (SU 28i-interface j)



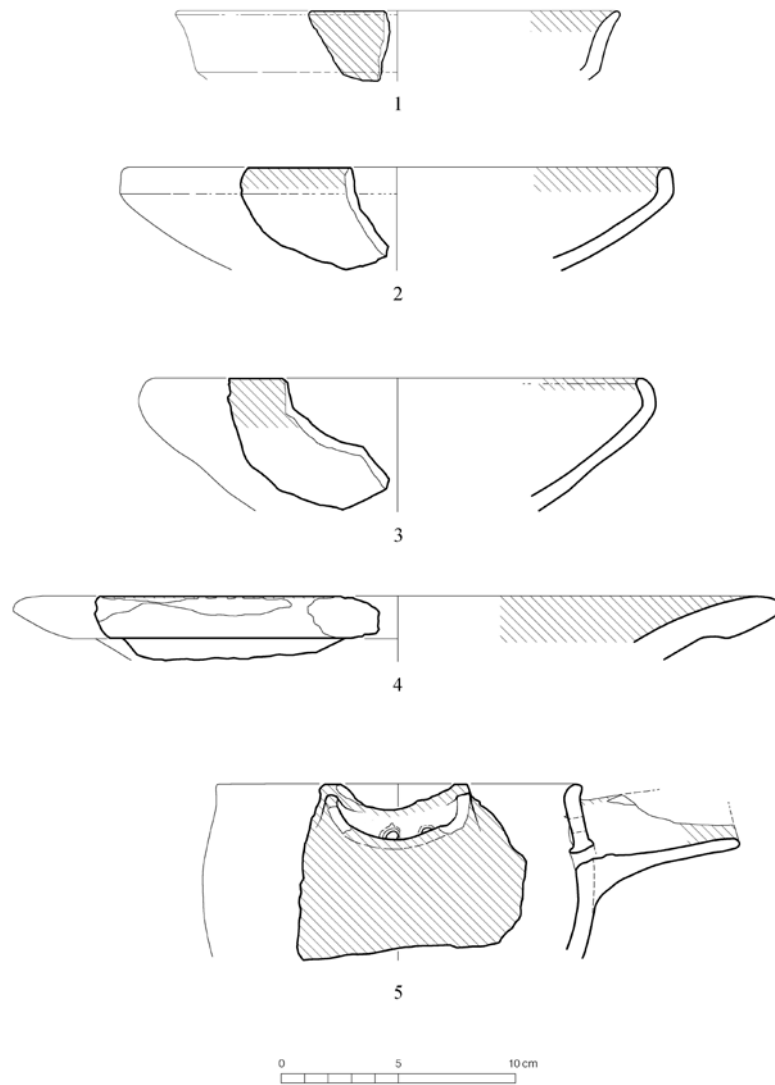
**Fig. 109:** Area C: Detail of a coarse plate (SU 28i-interface j)



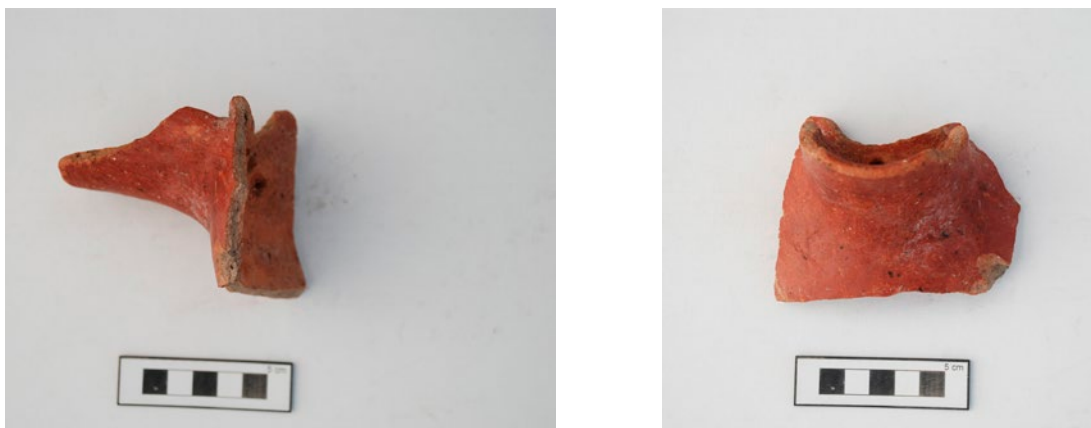
**Fig. 111:** Area C: A combusted slag from the ashy and burnt heart layers (SU 28e)



**Fig. 110:** Area C: Selection of Red Slip Ware, Plain Ware and Coarse plates sherds from the ashy and burnt heart layers (SU 28e)



**Fig. 112:** Area C: Selection of Red Slip Ware ceramic types from the ashy and burnt heart layers (SU 28)



**Fig. 113:** Area C: Detail of a Red Slip Ware teapot (SU 28i)



**Fig. 114:** Area C: Selection of Red Slip Ware samples from the ashy and burnt heart layers (SU 39a)



**Fig. 115:** Area C: Selection of Handmade Red Slip Ware sherds (SU 33)

### The Area B and Area A J18A1

Despite the presence of sparse ceramic examples from earlier periods, the vast majority of the potsherds from Area B-Building I and from excavations in the square J18A1, on the western appendix of Area A, belongs to the later periods (Fig. 116): in the absence of other clear internal evidence, the evaluation of a precise dating is challenging, but preliminary comparisons with ceramic inventories from nearby sites point to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. To the Hellenistic period, in particular, should be dated a series of examples characterized by a particularly fine paint in a purple colour. A large number of fragments of roof tiles, some of which almost entirely preserved, were found in both areas, and particularly in square J18A1.

**Chart 9:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Materials recovered in Area A-Sector J18 A1

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Potsherds (Number)	Generic Potsherds (Number)	Potsherds Total (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2014	A	J18 A1	103	28	70	98	0.029	18.36
2014	A	J18 A1	107	49	198	247	1.333	34.57
2014	A	J18 A1	108	40	146	186	0.057	1.58
2014	A	J18 A1	109	6	18	24		0.36
2014	A	J18 A1	115	2	11	13		0.09
2014	A	J18 A1	116	4	30	34		0.05
2014	A	J18 A1	117	9	53	62	0.005	3.28
2014	A	J18 A1	121	11	94	105	0.014	46.80

**Chart 10:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Qualification of potsherds recovered in Area A-Sector J18 A1

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2014	A	J18 A1	103	1.31	0.25	0.27	0.01	1.84
2014	A	J18 A1	107	4.52	3.30	0.82	0.01	8.65
2014	A	J18 A1	108	2.15	3.97	0.98	0.052	7.14
2014	A	J18 A1	109	0.47		0.16		0.64
2014	A	J18 A1	115	0.24		0.03		0.27
2014	A	J18 A1	116	0.39	0.10	0.33		0.82
2014	A	J18 A1	117	1.86	3.84	0.24		5.94
2014	A	J18 A1	121	1.41	0.45	0.21		2.07

**Chart 11:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Materials recovered in Area B

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Sherds (Number)	Generic Sherds (Number)	Total Sherds (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2015	B	H19 C1	5	2	12	14		
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	7	35	54	89		4.674
2015	B	H18 C4	8	24	81	105		4.016
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	12	27	104	131		
2015	B	H19 C1	16	13	38	51	0.095	4.974



Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Diagnostic Sherds (Number)	Generic Sherds (Number)	Total Sherds (Number)	Slags (Weight in Kg)	Roof Tiles (Weight in Kg)
2015	B	H18 C4 – H19 C1	17	52	231	283	0.032	
2015	B	H19 C1	18	4	10	14		
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	19	40	101	141		0.307
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	20	19	69	88		
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	23		3	3	0.004	
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	24	3	6	9		
2015	B	H19 C1	25	21	66	87		

**Chart 12:** Uşaklı Höyük 2013-2015. Qualification of potsherds recovered in Area B

Year	Area	Square	Stratigraphic Unit	Common Ware (Weight in Kg)	Storage Ware (Weight in Kg)	Kitchen Ware (Weight in Kg)	Fine Ware (Weight in Kg)	Ceramic Total (Weight in Kg)
2015	B	H19 C1	5	0.16	0.46	0.02	0.004	0.65
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	7	4.25	0.25	0.01	0.08	4.59
2015	B	H18 C4	8	2.05		0.31	0.02	2.38
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	12	5.62	0.25	0.88	0.082	6.84
2015	B	H19 C1	16	0.74		0.04	0.033	0.81
2015	B	H18 C4 – H19 C1	17	4.96	0.21	0.17	0.020	5.35
2015	B	H19 C1	18	0.43				0.43
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	19	3.43		0.51	0.04	3.97
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	20	1.56		0.34	0.005	1.90
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	23	0.33				0.33
2015	B	H18 C4 - H19 C1	24	0.10				0.10
2015	B	H19 C1	25	1.58		0.01	0.004	1.59



**Fig. 116:** Area B: Selection of Fine Ware with orange slipped surface (SU 12)

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## I Gesti nelle rappresentazioni iconografiche ittite tra il XVI e il XIII secolo a.C.

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**Abstract.** The analysis of gestures in the Hittite iconographic representations, characterizing Anatolia between the 16th and the 13th centuries BC, reveals the existence of an alternative and symbolic form of communication. The aim of this study is to deduce information about the Hittite society from the iconographic identification of the Hittite gestures and their decoding, semantic interpretation and classification. In order to do this, it is necessary to analyze the repertoire offered by orthostats, rock reliefs, statues, statue bases, stelae, pendants, containers in various materials and seals, which have been organized into a chronological interval corresponding to the entire time of the formation, development and decline of the Hittite empire. From the iconographic investigation of gestures, it will be possible to recognize the different spatial places in which the personages depicted act, and this entails special sphere of research, which includes social, political and religious analysis. The gestures in the iconographic representations animate the body, connect the characters represented, convey very specific messages, establish the connection between the divine and the human world, and scan time and space.

**Keywords.** Hittite, Iconography, Gestures, Late Bronze Age, Anatolia.

### 1. INTRODUZIONE

Nei secoli corrispondenti alla formazione e declino dell'impero ittita, l'Anatolia divenne sede di una fioritura artistica senza precedenti, che si realizza nella trasmissione iconografica di tematiche e di valori ideologici cari all'élite del tempo. Per comprendere a fondo lo sviluppo dell'arte ittita e dei suoi aspetti simbolici è indispensabile ricordare che essa, legata sin dalle origini alla figura del sovrano (Bittel 1976:185), alla sua propaganda e al rapporto con il mondo divino, conobbe il suo massimo splendore durante il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C., periodi di grande espansione dell'impero. Infatti, durante la metà del XIV secolo a.C., le mire espansionistiche di Suppiluliuma I sconvolsero tutti gli equilibri di potere sui quali era basata fino a quel momento la gestione dell'impero ittita (Lorenz 2011:125-126). Tale politica

espansionistica, che ha condotto gli Ittiti al controllo dell'est dell'Anatolia fino all'alta Mesopotamia, includendo la Siria e il Levante, inaugurò un periodo di sconvolgimenti, che ebbe il suo culmine con la Battaglia di Qadesh e lo spostamento della capitale da Hattuša a Tarhuntašša durante il regno di Muwatalli II. Il sovrano utilizzò le rappresentazioni iconografiche come mezzo di propaganda regale e di consolidamento del proprio regno (De Martino 2010: 87-98). Fu proprio Muwatalli II ad inaugurare un nuovo linguaggio iconografico facendosi effigiare in prima persona sul rilievo rupestre di Sirkeli, creando così un modello per le raffigurazioni successive di Muršili III/Urḫitešub, Hattusili III, e infine Tudhaliya IV a Yazilikaya e Suppiluliuma II a Südburg (Van den Hout 1995: 545-573). Dopo la morte di Muwatalli II, infatti, il regno si ritrovò ancora in un periodo di fragilità causato sia dall'usurpazione del regno di Muršili III da parte di Khattushili III sia dalla maggiore indipendenza dei vassalli ittiti a scapito dell'autorità del Gran Re Tudhaliya IV (Glatz and Ploude 2011: 33-66). La progressiva appropriazione iconografica dei simboli del potere regale da parte della nuova élite ebbe come contrapposizione la divinizzazione di Tudhaliya IV (De Martino 2010: 87-98) che tentò ancora una volta di rinforzare la propria figura e legittimare il proprio potere (Bonatz 2007: 123). Il processo di disgregazione dell'impero causato da una serie di fattori interni ed esterni portò al crollo dell'impero sotto Suppiluliuma II, la cui ultima immagine è documentata nella capitale Hattuša.

Attraverso questo studio, nato come tesi di laurea magistrale presso l'Università degli Studi di Firenze, si tenterà di riconoscere uno degli strumenti simbolici di propaganda utilizzato dai sovrani ittiti sin dai tempi della formazione dell'impero. Infatti il fine che questo studio si propone è individuare e interpretare i gesti nelle rappresentazioni iconografiche ittite comprese tra il XVI e il XIII secolo a.C.; essi costituiscono un mezzo di comunicazione non verbale, la cui potenza divulgativa venne ottimizzata dai sovrani ittiti per celebrare se stessi e per manifestare quelle azioni rituali che scandivano la vita politica e religiosa di tutto l'impero (Bertelli, Centanni 1995: 1-33). Si cercherà di decodificare e interpretare tali gesti che possono essere considerati come un mezzo di comunicazione che si svolgeva prevalentemente mediante l'uso di posizioni, di distanze, di movimenti delle mani e delle braccia, di contatto corporeo e di orientamento; essi completavano (Payne 2016: 282-295) o sostituivano visualmente il linguaggio verbale, comunicando emozioni e atteggiamenti relativi alla propria persona e in relazione ad altri individui (Lamedica 1987: 23).

Per lo svolgimento di tale studio, nel quale si tenterà di riconoscere ogni tipologia di gesto, si è scelto di analizzare un repertorio compreso nell'intervallo cronologico corrispondente alla formazione e declino dell'impero ittita, mettendo a confronto: i rilievi monumentali di Alaça Höyük, Hattuša, Eflantun Pinar, Fasillar, Fraktin, Gâvurkale, Gezbeli, Imamkulu, Sirkeli, Taşçi A e B, Tell Açıana, Yazilikaya, le stele di Akçaköy, Kayalipinar, Yağri, Yeniköy, le basi di statua di Hattuša, i pendenti in oro provenienti dall'Anatolia centrale, le statuette di Dövek, Gözlükule, Konya, la testa d'ascia di Şarişkla, i vasi libatori in argento a forma di pugno e di cervo, i vasi di Bitik e Inandik ed infine i sigilli ritrovati ad Adana, Alaça Höyük, Hattuša e Tilbeşar. Tali immagini, non essendo state riesaminate da un punto di vista stilistico dall'autore, sono datate secondo le interpretazioni più comuni, accettate dalla comunità di studiosi. Il repertorio gestuale tramandatoci da tali documenti figurativi, in cui gesti complessi sono stati illustrati scegliendone il momento puntuale più adatto ad evocare il preciso contenuto, sarà analizzato iconograficamente e confrontato con i testi ittiti in cui ricorrono espressioni che fanno riferimento ad un'ampia gamma di gesti formalizzati. In determinati casi, invece, si è fatto ricorso ad alcuni segni del Geroglifico Luvio che presentano i medesimi gesti ritratti nelle rappresentazioni qui prese in analisi (Marrazzi 2010: 238-245; Lumsden 1990: 43-46). Grazie alla traslitterazione del segno geroglifico e al confronto tra il glifo iconograficamente considerato e il gesto rappresentato si riusciranno a desumere molteplici informazioni atte alla decodificazione del gesto (Goedebuure 2012: 409-452; Hawkins 1986: 363-376).

### *1.1 Il gesto di adorazione*

Il gesto di adorazione è quell'atto che permette all'essere umano di mettersi in contatto con la sfera divina con un'accezione di riguardo. Il gesto, caratterizzato dal braccio allungato verso l'alto e la mano chiusa a pugno con il

pollice disteso davanti al viso del personaggio che compie l'azione, farà la sua comparsa durante il XVI-XV secolo a.C. sui vasi di Bitik e Inandik (Özgüç 1988: fig. 64; Bittel 1976: fig. 140) e sui sigilli provenienti da Adana e Alaça Höyük (Mora 1987: figs 19, 137) nei quali le figure che incedono verso la divinità mostrano chiaramente un atteggiamento reverenziale. Il gesto convenzionale di omaggio, utilizzato da re, regine, sacerdoti, giocolieri o semplici portatori di offerte che si rivolgono verso la divinità, troverà la sua massima espressione durante il XIV e XIII secolo a.C. nelle basi di statua di Hattuša, nelle facciate della porta delle sfingi di Alaça Höyük (Fig. 1), nell'ortostato in basalto di Tell Açına, nei vasi libatori a forma di pugno e di cervo (Aruz, Benzel, Evans 2008: figs 57, 58), e nei rilievi rupestri di Gâvurkale e Taşçı B (Bittel 1976: figs 199, 208, 212, 214, 216, 218, 221, 229). Nello stesso atteggiamento si mostrano anche Muwatali II nel rilievo rupestre di Sirkeli, Muršili III/Urḫitešub in un sigillo ritrovato a Nişantepe (Hawkins 2011: 95-96, fig. 24b) e Tudhaliya IV nella Camera B del santuario rupestre di Yazilikaya (Bittel 1976: figs 195, 253). Se nelle raffigurazioni di Nişantepe e Yazilikaya i Gran Re abbracciati alla divinità mostrano il gesto di adorazione realizzando simbolicamente il contatto e l'interazione con il dio, nel rilievo di Sirkeli l'assenza dell'immagine divina non esclude la funzione religiosa della rappresentazione che viene ribadita dall'abbigliamento del sovrano e dal gesto che questo compie (Seeher 2011: 93-112). Il gesto, che sembra ricorrere non soltanto in raffigurazioni in cui appare l'elemento divino ma anche in contesti in cui la divinità viene sostituita da un oggetto o un simbolo che ne assolve la propria presenza, è stato interpretato grazie alle iscrizioni in cui ricorreva la frase *'keššaran šara ep-*' 'Sollevare la mano' (Hoffner 1996: 247-257). Con tale affermazione, il sovrano asseriva di alzare la mano invocando la divinità (De Martino, Imparati 1998: 175-185). L'ipotesi che il gesto possa rappresentare un atto di adorazione viene avvalorata dal glifo 'ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A006' (Hawkins 1981: Tav. 1). Il segno, la cui traslitterazione è ADORARE (Marazzi 2010: 219-255), rappresenta iconicamente una figura di profilo con la mano chiusa e il pollice esteso davanti il volto. Il gesto, in questo contesto, diventa espressione della comunicazione con gli dei, ovvero di un omaggio e subordinazione che legittima il ruolo regale; esso diviene in tal modo uno strumento simbolico di propaganda (Bonatz 2007: 111-136). Nei casi in cui, invece, il gesto venga attuato da regine, sacerdoti, giocolieri e offerenti, questo diventa mezzo con il quale tali personaggi riescono ad interagire con la divinità e mostrarsi in atteggiamento di riverenza e ossequio.

Durante l'analisi è stato possibile, inoltre, riscontrare una variazione del gesto di adorazione nelle rappresentazioni in cui compaiono le divinità della montagna. Il gesto, compiuto con entrambe le mani giunte e il pollice esteso davanti al volto, si riscontra tra il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C. nei rilievi di Imamkulu (Fig. 2) (Börker-Klähn 1977: 64-72), Eflantun Pinar, Fasillar e nella Galleria A del santuario rupestre di Yazilikaya (Fig. 3) (Bittel 1976: figs 203, 239, 257, 258). Le personificazioni divine della montagna, tenendo la testa piegata verso il basso, sorreggono sulla propria nuca la divinità, che è sempre il dio della Tempesta (Hawkins 2006: 49-76). Tale gesto appare chiaro soprattutto grazie alla visione a tutto tondo che ci offre una statuina in avorio rinvenuta a Hattuša, la quale mostra un dio della montagna che distende verso l'alto davanti al volto le mani giunte con il pollice ben delineato (Yazici 2015: fig. 14). Il gesto di adorazione proprio degli dei della montagna è sinonimo del segno di rispetto e subordinazione che tali dei dovevano dimostrare nei confronti delle massime autorità del pantheon ittita.

### 1.2 Il gesto di identificazione divino

Il secondo gesto analizzato è quello considerato come simbolo del potere divino. Il gesto, documentato tra il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C., come nella facciata interna della porta del Re di Hattuša (Bittel 1976: 230-232, fig. 267) e nella testa d'ascia di Şarişkla, appare associato solo alla figura divina ed è il mezzo con cui le divinità esprimono sé stesse e la propria forza, intesa come autorità e potenza (Aruz, Benzel, Evans 2008: 179, fig. 105). Questo gesto, che sembra ricordare il glifo ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A039, la cui traslitterazione è PUGNUS (Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies 1975: Tav.1), è contraddistinto da una mano chiusa a pugno con le dita flesse e il pollice che si distende lateralmente alle altre dita, schiacciato contro il lato dell'indice. Esso costituisce un'icona efficace nel trasmettere esattamente l'identità del personaggio raffigurato, ed è stato decodificato grazie all'analisi del Rython libatorio a forma di pugno, conservato al Museum of Fine Arts di Boston (Fig. 4) (Aruz, Benzel, Evans 2008:182-183,

fig. 58). L'inusuale forma del vaso (Savaş 2005: 657-680) sembra riflettere infatti l'antica pratica ittita di venerare oggetti le cui forme ricordavano gli attributi divini (Popko 1978: 91). In particolare i contenitori a forma di mano chiusa a pugno vengono definiti nei testi con il logogramma GEŠPÚ (Sommer 1932: 180-181). La doppia valenza del logogramma GEŠPÚ, che in accadico e sumerico ha il significato di forza mentre combinato con il segno ŠU (mano) e il segno DIM<sub>4</sub> (piegare) ha il significato di pugno (Güterbock 1983: 213), ha permesso di decodificare iconograficamente il gesto come espressione della forza e della potenza divina (Güterbock, Kendall 1995: 45-60). Il gesto del pugno diventa così simbolo non solo del potere divino ma anche mezzo con cui le divinità affermano sé stesse nelle rappresentazioni iconografiche.

Di questo gesto è possibile notare due varianti. La prima presenta sopra il pugno delle figure delle iscrizioni in geroglifico luvio, i cui glifi, posti sulla verticale della mano all'altezza del viso, indicano il nome del personaggio raffigurato (Marazzi 2010: 219-255). Durante il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C. gli dei raffigurati in questo atteggiamento sono molteplici e si riscontrano sulla stele di Akçaköy, nel rilievo di Imamkulu e Gezbeli, in un sigillo biconvesso di Adana (Mora 1987: fig. 80), nell'impronta di sigillo di Muwatalli II e nel rilievo no. 81 della Galleria B di Yazilikaya (Bittel 1976: 170-184, figs 191, 201, 203, 207) in cui il Gran Re Tudhaliya IV viene abbracciato dal suo dio Tutelare, il cui nome in geroglifico luvio sovrasta la propria mano e lo identifica come Šarruma (Kohlmeyer 1983: 86-90; Neve 1989: 345-355). Nell'interpretazione generale del gesto è stato di fondamentale aiuto esaminare la Galleria A del santuario rupestre di Yazilikaya (Seeher 2011: 93-112). Nella grande Galleria (Fig. 5), le due pareti rocciose ritraggono due cortei che comprendono più di sessanta divinità. Guardando dall'ingresso la camera, appaiono a sinistra divinità maschili, esclusi il no. 36 e 37, e all'estrema destra divinità femminili. Le due processioni divine convergono sul muro di fondo che chiude l'*adyton*, in cui il dio della Tempesta e la Dea Solare, che concludono i rispettivi cortei, si incontrano faccia a faccia. Nella maggior parte dei casi, le iscrizioni in geroglifico luvio, presenti nel complesso figurativo della camera A, si dispongono verticalmente sopra il pugno teso delle figure divine. Grazie ai logogrammi e/o alla resa fonetica di tali iscrizioni (Laroche 1969: 61-109) le quali rendevano esplicito il nome della figura alla quale si riferivano, si riuscirono ad identificare le divinità effigiate (Bittel 1976: 217). I glifi sono chiaramente il mezzo con cui tali dei esplicitano la propria presenza all'interno di un pantheon ben gerarchizzato. Tutti i nomi degli dei sono hurriti e l'ordine di precedenza osservato nelle due processioni corrisponde esattamente alle enumerazioni delle divinità nei repertori sacrificali hurriti, che presentano la medesima divisione (Laroche 1969: 61-109). Come l'iscrizione identifica il nome, così il gesto rivela la natura divina della figura rappresentata. L'appropriazione del gesto, simbolo di divinità, da parte di Tudhaliya IV nel rilievo no. 64 della Galleria A di Yazilikaya e nella stele del tempio no. 5 di Hattuša (Yazici 2015: figs 12, 20) non ci sorprende, vista l'iscrizione dell'altare di Emirgazi in cui il Gran Re viene elevato allo status divino in vita. Presumibilmente durante il XIII secolo a.C., momento di fragilità dell'impero, il gesto con il suo significato diviene uno strumento efficace di propaganda regale (Van Den Hout 1995: 556-573).

La seconda variante del gesto invece è quella che intende identificare le divinità protettrici della caccia e della natura selvaggia, Kuruntiya, Inara<sup>1</sup> e Ala. Il rapace posto sopra la mano chiusa a pugno di tali divinità diviene mezzo distintivo di tali dei. Il gesto, che appare sin dal XVI secolo a.C. nei contesti iconografici della glittica ittita, continuerà ad essere presente fino al XIV e XIII secolo a.C. nelle raffigurazioni di Yeniköy (Fig. 6), Kayalipinar (Fig. 7) (Yazici 2015: figs 37, 44) e nel sigillo biconvesso di Tilbeşar (Mora 1987: 139, fig. 75). Il gesto è stato identificato grazie all'analisi del rilievo narrativo che corre lungo la parte alta del vaso libatorio a forma di cervo, oggi conservato al Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York (Aruz, Benzel, Evans 2008: 181-182, fig. 57). In tale raffigurazione Kuruntiya e la sua sposa, Ala, vengono rappresentati entrambi con un rapace disposto sopra la propria mano, chiusa a pugno. Il gesto del pugno, simbolo di potere e mezzo di identificazione divina, diventa, con l'aggiunta di un rapace direttamente a contatto con la mano, segno di riconoscimento della divinità protettrici della caccia (Hawkins 2006: 52). L'aggiunta del simbolo del rapace sopra la mano delle divinità non modifica il significato del gesto, come si nota dalla figura no. 24 della Camera A del santuario di Yazilikaya (Seeher 2011: 46,

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins (2006: 51) afferma che, durante il regno di Tudhaliya IV, Inara e Kuruntiya saranno riconosciute come un'unica divinità in quanto il nome di entrambi 'underlie "CERVUS" in the Hieroglyphic writing of the name of the Stag God of the King'.



fig. 36). Tale dio presenta sulla verticale della mano un volatile con ali spiegate che ricorda visualmente il segno ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A130. Il segno geroglifico, la cui traslitterazione è AVIS 3 (Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies 1975: Tav. 2), riproduce un uccello dalle ali spiegate. Il rapace, sotto forma di segno geroglifico, insieme al gesto, sono il mezzo di riconoscimento di una specifica divinità, che in questo caso è possibile identificare come le divinità protettive della caccia e della natura selvaggia.

### 1.3 Il gesto dell'abbraccio

Nell'interazione tra due persone, l'abbraccio è un gesto di contatto e intimità che realizza quell'incontro tra i corpi determinando lo scambio reciproco di emozioni. Sul piano relazionale il gesto comunica un messaggio simbolico molto chiaro che permette l'incontro tra il dio e il sovrano. Il dio che avvolge con il suo braccio la testa del sovrano, stringendolo al petto, esprime un'azione di protezione nei confronti di quest'ultimo. Il braccio del dio si poggia sulla spalla del sovrano stesso, facendo sì che l'avambraccio, il braccio e la mano dimostrino la carica energetica che si vuole trasmettere attraverso il gesto. Il gesto appare la prima volta su di una impronta di sigillo rinvenuta ad Hattuša, realizzata sotto il regno di Muwatalli II intorno al 1300 a.C., e che mostra lo stesso sovrano accompagnato dal dio della Tempesta del cielo (Fig. 8) (Taracha 2008: 745-751, fig. 1). Il dio, con copricapo conico con corna sovrapposte, corto gonnellino e scarpe a punta, si rivolge insieme al sovrano verso destra, portando con sé sulla spalla sinistra una testa di mazza. Il sovrano, di dimensioni minori rispetto al dio, indossa una lunga veste con stola che ricade sul petto, *kalmuš*, scarpe a punta e copricapo a calotta (Hawkins 2011: 94-95). Il dio della Tempesta del cielo tiene il braccio attorno al collo e alle spalle del re, esprimendo in modo semplice il legame tra protettore e protetto. Lo stesso gesto viene ripetuto sia dal dio della tempesta sul sigillo di Muršili III/Urḫitešub ritrovato a Nišantepe (Neve 1991: 329, fig. 29b) sia dal dio protettore del Gran Re Tudhaliya IV effigiato nella Galleria B di Yazilikaya (Fig. 9). Il riquadro in calcare della parete rocciosa di Yazilikaya mostra il dio stante, Šarruma, che abbraccia il sovrano con la mano destra (Seeher, 2011: 93-112, fig. 120). L'abbraccio negli esempi qui presentati si carica di una forte valenza propagandistica, sia religiosa che politica, che serve al sovrano per legittimare le sue azioni che sono in questo caso sancite dalla volontà divina. Ciò è supportato iconograficamente dalla grandezza del dio rispetto alle dimensioni ridotte del sovrano, ma anche dal fatto che entrambi i soggetti guardano e camminano verso una stessa direzione. La nostra ipotesi, inoltre, viene avvalorata dall'espressione linguistica =*uš arahzanda aššuli ḫarkandu*, 'let them keep the hands around in a benevolent way' (Hagenbuchner 1989: 32-44) ritrovata nelle lettere di Mašat (HKM 73 Vo 21-22) e nelle lettere provenienti dall'archivio di El Amarna (De Martino, Imparati 1998: 175-185). Tale formula augurale veniva rivolta al destinatario invocando la protezione divina (Hoffner 2006: 128-154). Dunque il gesto dell'abbraccio determina il rapporto esclusivo tra il dio e il sovrano tramite il quale il dio esprime la sua azione di protezione nei confronti del Gran Re. Si ricorda inoltre che le divinità che compiono il gesto dell'abbraccio non sempre corrispondono agli dei che sono esplicitamente patroni del sovrano raffigurato (Herbordt 2006: 86).

### 1.4 Il gesto di prendere per la mano

'Prendere per la mano' è l'azione che permette di tenere e stringere con tutte le dita e il palmo della mano un individuo. Il gesto, che definisce un rapporto di complicità e di intesa tra i due soggetti che si tengono per mano, è stato individuato sul vaso di Inandik, del XVI secolo a.C., oggi conservato al Museo Archeologico di Ankara (Fig. 10) (Collins 2007: 132, fig. 3.6). Il vaso adornato da una decorazione a rilievo suddivisa in quattro registri, presenta, sul secondo, una processione sacrificale davanti ad un toro, simbolo del dio della Tempesta. Precedute da un suonatore di lira, quattro figure incedono verso l'altare con l'immagine sacra: la prima con corto gonnellino, stola che ricade sul petto e lunghi capelli, porta in alto la mano destra, nel tipico gesto di adorazione (Özgüç 1988: 84-106). L'uomo, ritratto di profilo, inarca la mano sinistra indietro, allungandola verso un altro personaggio, non ben identificato, che lo segue. L'uomo, considerato come il sovrano ed effigiato di maggiori dimensioni rispetto al

secondo, sembra voler condurre il personaggio, che prende per mano, dinnanzi alla figura divina. Il gesto, testimoniato dai testi con il termine *ŠU-za IŠBAT* (De Martino, Imparati 1998: 175-185) con il quale si affermava un rapporto non paritario tra due figure, sembra voler dimostrare la funzione di guida che un soggetto aveva nei confronti di un altro individuo, sotto le proprie dipendenze.

Una variante del gesto, 'prendere per il polso', compare durante il XIII secolo su quelle rappresentazioni che mostrano il Gran Re abbracciato ad una divinità ovvero sulle impronte di sigillo di Muwatalli II (Taracha 2008: fig. 1) e Muršili III/Urḫitešub (Hawkins 2011: fig. 24b) e nel rilievo rupestre di Tudhaliya IV nella Camera B del Santuario di Yazilikaya (Seeher 2011: fig. 120). La divinità, poggiando il braccio sulla spalla del sovrano e allungando l'avambraccio davanti alla sua faccia, gli afferra e gli stringe il polso. Nonostante il gesto implichi la stretta del polso, e non della mano, il suo significato rimane invariato. L'espressione linguistica *ŠU-za hark-* 'tenere per mano' (Otten 1981: 4-6) ci conferma, anche per questo caso, che la divinità, tenendo per il polso il re, si pone come guida di questo e lo accompagna nel suo percorso regale.

### 1.5 *L'atto di rimuovere il velo*

Il gesto di 'svelare' è un atto simbolico, carico di senso erotico, con il quale la figura rappresentata rimuove il velo dal capo di una donna. La particolarità del gesto è quella di precedere l'atto sessuale durante i riti che prevedevano l'unione in matrimonio di due soggetti come nelle pratiche di ierogamia<sup>2</sup>. Il gesto diviene un probabile simbolo, infatti, della sacra unione tra il mondo divino, rappresentato da una sacerdotessa, e il mondo umano, designato dal sovrano. I due personaggi si univano nell'atto sessuale per poter assicurare il benessere e la fertilità del regno ed il gesto diveniva una sorta di immagine istantanea che permetteva di riassumere gli eventi che si svolgevano durante le 'nozze sacre'. Rinvenuto su due raffigurazioni, ovvero sui vasi di Bitik (Fig. 11) (Bittel 1976: fig. 140) e Inandik (Collins 2007: fig. 3.6), datati entrambi al XVI secolo a.C., l'atto di togliere il velo viene compiuto da un personaggio maschile seduto, che protende il braccio e la mano verso la donna che, completamente avvolta dalla testa fino alle caviglie da un lungo abito, gli siede di fronte (Özgüç 1988: 84-106). La mano di costui, posizionata all'altezza del volto, è aperta: il pollice è rivolto verso il basso, mentre le altre dita, disposte al di sopra, si ripiegano indietro. Grazie al contesto culturale in cui i personaggi sono rappresentati e alla sequenza narrativa degli eventi mostrataci sul vaso di Inandik, in cui sul registro superiore le due figure consumano il matrimonio, è stato possibile decodificare il gesto.

### 1.6 *Il gesto dell'amu*

Nel linguaggio del corpo, alcuni gesti sono ripetuti in maniera sempre uguale in modo tale da palesare e contraddistinguere la personalità del singolo individuo. Rintracciato solo su di una figurina, questo gesto è caratterizzato da una mano aperta, ripiegata verso il viso, le cui punte delle dita si dispongono all'altezza della bocca. La statua in elettro rinvenuta nel Tauro, facente parte della collezione Nelidow (Inv. G 434), mostra un sovrano stante (Pollak 1903:175-176), adornato da una lunga veste, il quale porta la mano destra flessa verso il viso (Fig. 12) (Bossert 1942: fig. 589). Il gesto, già noto nell'ambito delle rappresentazioni iconografiche siro-ittite in cui le figure ritratte si presentavano e avviavano il discorso diretto (Mazzoni 2012: 11-25), è stato compreso grazie ai segni geroglifici ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A001 e ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A002 (Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies 1975: Tav. 1). Entrambi i segni (Hawkins 1986: 268), i quali mostrano una figura che porta in alto la mano rivolgendola alla bocca, sono traslitterati con il termine EGO (*amu*), cioè 'Io sono' e introducono nelle iscrizioni la narrazione in prima persona. Il gesto compiuto dal sovrano con la mano flessa verso il viso e le dita rivolte verso la bocca, diventa mezzo di affermazione individuale della persona che comunica verbalmente il proprio messaggio, e diviene in tal modo un segno di propaganda regale (Payne 2016: 282-295).

<sup>2</sup> Pecchioli Daddi (2012: 265-272) parla della pratica ierogamica nelle feste ittite, attestata oltre che dalle rappresentazioni iconografiche, anche dai testi, che ricordano sia il mito di Illuyanka sia le feste cultuali in onore della dea Tetešḫapi.

### 1.7 Il gesto degli *Smiting Gods*

Il gesto compiuto dagli *Smiting Gods* come dice la parola stessa *Smite* ‘colpire, percuotere, battere, picchiare’ diventa simbolo del dio dall’aspetto ostile, che tramite la propria forza, fisica e di stato, si scaglia contro i nemici, vincendoli. Questo tipo di raffigurazione, che esprime il concetto di forza e potere del dio, sembra discendere direttamente dalla tradizione egizia dall’originario ‘*Smiting Pharaon*’, il quale assumendo tale posizione simboleggiava la propria vittoria sui nemici (Collon 1972: 128). Prendendo in considerazione le raffigurazioni ittite, il primo esempio di *Smiting god* proviene da Dövklek ed è una statuetta in bronzo, datata al XVI secolo a.C., oggi esposta al Museo archeologico di Ankara (Fig. 13) (Bittel 1977: 148, fig. 149). Il gesto, presente anche durante il XIV e XIII secolo a.C. sul vaso libatorio a forma di pugno (Aruz, Benzal, Evans 2008: figs 57, 58), sul macigno di Imamkulu (Ehringhaus 2005: 70-76) e su di una statuetta proveniente da Konya, viene caratterizzato dalla figura divina che con un braccio innalzato verso l’alto e la mano dotata di arma, tenta di sconfiggere il proprio nemico (Bittel 1976: 147, figs 147, 203). Il gesto, riprodotto anche dal Dio della Tempesta di Aleppo sul carro a forma di aquila rinvenuto sull’impronta di sigillo di Muršili III/Urḫitešub a Nišantepe (Herbordt 2011: 60, fig. 18), è simbolo della forza degli dei che combattono. La nostra teoria potrebbe essere comprovata dall’analogia iconografica tra il gesto stesso e il segno ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A028 (Laroche 1960: 80) la cui traslitterazione è FORTIS (Hawkins 1981:148). Il segno infatti mostra un braccio proteso in avanti con la mano dotata di arma. Il gesto di alzare la mano sopra la testa diventa emblema della figura aggressiva che durante l’età del Bronzo e del Ferro verrà inoltre associato in ambito siro-levantino alle divinità Ba’al-Seth e Reshef che uccidono con la propria arma un serpente (Collon 1972: 128).

### 1.8 *L’atto di bere*

Un gesto molto frequente nelle rappresentazioni iconografiche ittite si riferisce ad un’azione rituale che viene riconosciuta come l’atto del bere. Il gesto, compiuto da una figura esclusivamente divina, che porta alla bocca una coppetta, con la mano aperta, posizionata a forma di U, compare sin dal XVI secolo a.C. sul vaso di Inandik (Collins 2007: 132, fig. 3.6). Il gesto, che continuerà ad essere presente durante il XIV e XIII secolo a.C. in tutte quelle raffigurazioni di tipo cultuale in cui sono ritratti banchetti, processioni, feste e libagioni che fanno da sfondo all’azione stessa (Taracha 2011: 132-147), è rappresentato sulla stele di Yagri, sul vaso libatorio a forma di cervo, negli ortostati della facciata est della porta delle Sfingi di Alaça Höyük (Fig. 14), nei due pendenti in oro rispettivamente conservati al Museo di Ankara e al Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York, nella stele di Kayalipinar e nei rilievi rocciosi di Gavurkale e Fraktin (Bittel 1976: figs 172, 173; Yazici 2015: figs 23, 42, 44, 43, 45). L’atto del bere, riconosciuto tramite il glifo ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A008, la cui traslitterazione è BIBERE (Hawkins 1981: Tav.1) nella maggior parte delle raffigurazioni sopra citate è attuato da una divinità seduta che, portando una coppetta alla bocca, sembra voler bere (Güterbock 1988: 191-192).

### 1.9 *L’atto di suonare*

I gesti che i musicisti compiono con le mani sono ovviamente relativi all’‘atto del suonare’. Pur quanto vi siano diverse tipologie di strumenti, il gesto iconograficamente sembra uguale per tutti. I musicisti con il palmo della mano rivolto verso lo strumento, suonano allietando i riti e le cerimonie che prevedevano l’esecuzione di un accompagnamento musicale (Schuol 2004:155-200). Le rappresentazioni iconografiche offrono notizie preziose sulla tipologia di strumenti utilizzati durante le feste e le cerimonie. La lira (Puhvel 1957: 26), definita GIŠ.<sup>D</sup>INANNA (De Martino 1995: 2661-2662), viene rappresentata tra il XVI e il XIII secolo a.C. sul vaso a rilievo di Inandik e su di un frammento di vaso a rilievo rinvenuto a Hattuša (Collins 2007:132, fig. 3.6; Bittel 1976: fig. 139). In entrambe le raffigurazioni lo strumento (Alp 2000: 8) viene effigiato in due forme e dimensioni differenti: una più piccola *ippizinar* concepita per essere portatile, e una più grande, di solito suonata da due musicisti, *hunzinar* (De Martino

1995: 2661-2661). Lo strumento dei piatti, designato nei testi dalla parola <sup>URUDU</sup>galgalturi (Brisson 2014:185-200), viene ancora una volta raffigurato sul vaso di Inandik, sul vaso libatorio del Museum of Fine Arts di Boston ma anche su di un frammento ceramico ritrovato a Hattuša, datato al 1500 a.C. (Bittel 1977: fig. 143). In quest'ultimo una figura con protome di animale, innalza le braccia in alto, battendo la mano sinistra sullo strumento. Infine il liuto, riconosciuto dai testi con il termine <sup>GIS</sup>TIBULA (ŠÀ.A.TAR), unicamente rappresentato sul vaso di Inandik e su di un ortostato a rilievo di Alaça Höyük, viene suonato attraverso la disposizione della mano del musicista sul manico dello strumento raffigurato (Yazici 2015: fig. 26).

### 1.10 *Il gesto di offerta*

I portatori di offerta compiono un gesto semplice e ben preciso identificato grazie al segno ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A066 (Laroche 1960: 20-22), la cui traslitterazione è DARE ovvero offrire (Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies 1975: Tav.1). Gli offerenti che vengono ritratti incedenti verso la divinità, vengono accomunati dall'azione che compiono tendendo con entrambe le mani, aperte e disposte verso l'alto, un dono. Pur avendo diverse tipologie di oggetti in mano il gesto rimane invariato. Sono raffigurate in questo atteggiamento tre figure che sorreggono un altare portatile a forma di cesta sul vaso di Inandik (Collins 2007: 132, fig. 3.6), una figura con in mano un BIBRU zoomorfo a protome di bue in un frammento di vaso in bronzo e una figura maschile con un oggetto in mano non identificato in un ortostato in andesite rinvenuto ad Alaça Höyük (Fig. 15) (Bittel 1976: figs 177, 221). Una variante del gesto è stata riconosciuta in base alla posizione delle mani degli offerenti in un pendente in oro oggi all'Hermitage Museum di San Pietroburgo (Bossert 1942: fig. 592) e nel rilievo narrativo del vaso libatorio a forma di cervo (Fig. 16), dove le figure tengono una brocca a becco con una mano stretta a pugno. La variazione del gesto sembra essere dovuta al contenuto dell'oggetto portato in offerta che sicuramente necessitava di essere tenuto in posizione eretta. Inoltre è stato possibile riconoscere con l'aiuto dei glifi ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPH A180 and A181 (Laroche 1960: 35-45), la cui traslitterazione è PANIS (Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies 1975: 128, Tav. 1), l'oggetto sferico tenuto dai portatori di offerta con la mano rivolta verso l'alto. Nei due vasi libatori a forma di pugno (Fig. 17) e cervo, gli offerenti che tengono in mano un pezzo di pane sferico alludono all'atto culturale (Savaş 2005: 657-680) di offrire il pane alla divinità dopo essere stato spezzato in maniera rituale dal sovrano durante il diciottesimo giorno dell'AN.TAH.ŠUM festival (Hoffener 1998:132-151).

### 1.11 *Il gesto dei pugni chiusi al petto*

L'ultimo gesto esaminato è quello dei pugni chiusi e disposti sul petto. Il gesto, compiuto unicamente dalle divinità, compare su quattro statue datate tra il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C., una proveniente da Yozgat e conservata al Louvre, due rinvenute a Hattuša (Fig. 18) e una a Gözlükule (Bittel 1976: figs 166, 167, 176). In mancanza di dati che possano fornirci informazioni utili all'analisi, sembra qui impossibile decodificare il gesto. Si può solo affermare che questo sia legato alle raffigurazioni tridimensionali delle divinità.

## 2. FATTORI CRONOLOGICI

Uno degli elementi che vogliamo qui analizzare riguarda il rapporto tra i gesti e il loro periodo di attestazione. Attraverso lo studio incrociato dei dati a nostra disposizione, si potranno identificare elementi di continuità o trasformazione, in modo da ricostruirne l'evoluzione nel tempo.

Quattro sono i gesti che rimangono costanti e uguali durante tutto il periodo preso in considerazione, ovvero il gesto di adorazione, il gesto identificativo delle divinità della caccia e della natura selvaggia, l'atto di svelare e l'atto di suonare che compaiono già nel XVI secolo a.C. sui supporti glittici e ceramici. Successivamente, durante il XV, XIV e XIII secolo, tali atti celebrativi e cerimoniali si attestano anche sui nuovi generi artistici monumentali,

**Tabella 1:** quadro cronologico dei gesti ittiti e del loro periodo di attestazione

	XVI	XV	XIV	XIII
<i>Adorazione</i>	X	X	X	X
<i>Pugno divino</i>			X	X
<i>Pugno identificativo + Geroglifico</i>			X	X
<i>Pugno divino + Rapace</i>	X	X	X	X
<i>Abbraccio</i>				X
<i>Prendere per mano</i>	X		X	
Prendere per il polso				X
<i>Svelare</i>	X	X		
Gesto dell' <i>amu</i>			X	X
<i>Smiting Gods</i>	X		X	X
<i>Bere</i>	X		X	X
<i>Suonare</i>	X	X	X	X
<i>Portare le offerte</i>	X		X	X
<i>Gesto con pugni chiusi al petto</i>			X	X

continuando però a rinviare sempre ad uno stesso significato, ossia a comunicare in modo semplice ed efficace il contatto della sfera umana con quella divina.

Il gesto di prendere per mano, insieme a quello degli *Smiting gods*, dei portatori di offerte e all'atto del bere si riscontrano invece per la prima volta durante XVI secolo a.C.; se pure mancano attestazioni durante il XV secolo, il loro significato rimane invariato nelle rappresentazioni successive del XIV e XIII secolo.

Sebbene pochi sono i gesti rinvenuti agli inizi dell'impero, la maggior parte di quelli analizzati si colloca proprio nell'arco di tempo che va dal XIV al XIII secolo a.C., periodi in cui diverse immagini rappresentano il sovrano impegnato in azioni rituali e di propaganda (Bonatz 2007: 111-136). Si sviluppano, infatti, gesti e modelli iconografici sempre più complessi e facilmente riconducibili alla sfera regale e divina (De Martino 2010: 87-98) come il gesto dell'*amu*, il gesto identificativo divino e il gesto, non ben identificato, dei pugni chiusi al petto. Per quanto riguarda il gesto dell'*amu*, elemento significativo della comunicazione figurativa e scritta dell'atto del dire (e dunque dell'esplicitazione delle attività svolte e del ruolo ufficiale del sovrano in determinate circostanze e manifestazione del potere legittimo), esso rimane inalterato fin dopo la caduta dell'impero nelle raffigurazioni iconografiche siro-ittite. Il gesto identificativo divino invece nasce e si evolve durante il XIV e XIII secolo a.C. Il gesto si arricchisce di iscrizioni geroglifiche che esplicitando il nome del dio raffigurato ne permettono il corretto riconoscimento. Tale gesto inoltre durante il XIII secolo diviene simbolo del potere del sovrano divinizzato (Van den Hout 1995: 545-573). L'iscrizione geroglifica dell'altare B di Emirgazi attesta il processo di divinizzazione in vita del sovrano Tudhaliya IV (*Ibidem*); è infatti possibile che nel periodo di fragilità dell'impero, l'adozione dei simboli del potere regale, fin a quel momento esclusivi del Gran Re (De Martino 2010: 87-98), da parte dei vassalli ittiti nelle loro immagini possa aver motivato la scelta di Tudhaliya IV di distinguersi dai suoi predecessori e presentarsi come una divinità (Herbordt 2006: 207-2011).

Infine, gli ultimi due gesti che compaiono nel XIII secolo a.C. sono il gesto dell'abbraccio e il gesto di 'prendere per il polso'. Il primo è un gesto innovativo dalla forte valenza propagandistica tramite il quale la divinità esprime la sua azione protettiva nei confronti del re. Il secondo, invece, si sviluppa dal gesto di 'prendere per mano' attestato durante il XVI secolo a.C. di cui conserva lo stesso significato diventando simbolo del ruolo di guida e protezione che la divinità assolve nei confronti dei sovrani.

Da questo piccolo resoconto è possibile delineare due tendenze che contrassegnano il panorama iconografico ittita. Nel momento in cui vi è l'esigenza politica e religiosa di trasmettere un messaggio ben preciso, si tende a creare nuovi gesti o modificarne dei vecchi ma con valori e significati nuovi comprensibili per gli osservatori. Alcuni gesti invece rimangono costanti durante tutto l'arco temporale preso in considerazione in quanto mezzi efficaci di comunicazione che riescono immediatamente a rendere noto il messaggio che trasmettono.



## 3. ATTORI

Dalle nostre indagini conclusive non possiamo esimerci dall'analizzare gli attori che compiono i gesti nelle rappresentazioni iconografiche ittite.

**Tabella 2:** Gli Attori e i gesti ittiti.

	Re	Regina	Divinità	Musici	Offerenti	Giocolieri	Sacerdoti
<i>Adorazione</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Pugno divino</i>			X				
<i>Pugno divino + Geroglifico Luvio</i>	X		X				
<i>Pugno divino + Rapace</i>			X				
<i>Abbraccio</i>			X				
<i>Prendere per mano</i>	X						
<i>Prendere per il polso</i>			X				
<i>Svelare</i>	X						
<i>Gesto dell'amu</i>	X						
<i>Smiting Gods</i>			X				
<i>Bere</i>			X				
<i>Suonare</i>				X			
<i>Portare le offerte</i>	X				X		
<i>Gesto con pugni chiusi al petto</i>			X				

Il sovrano, la cui funzione di guida viene espressa sul vaso di Inandik dal gesto di 'prendere per mano', è effigiato durante il XVI e il XIII secolo a.C. in atteggiamento devozionale, ed è infatti primo interlocutore e intermediario tra il mondo divino e quello umano (Singer 2002: 47-69). Il Gran Re, che aveva la responsabilità religiosa e politica di assicurare la fertilità ed il benessere del proprio regno (Pecchioli Daddi 2012: 265-272), è rappresentato durante il XVI secolo a.C. nell'atto di togliere il velo. Inoltre tra il XIV e il XIII secolo il sovrano è raffigurato come un personaggio autoritario sia attraverso il gesto identificativo divino, che ne indicava il potere supremo e legittimo, sia attraverso il gesto dell'*amu*, con il quale manifestava pubblicamente il proprio programma e ruolo ufficiale.

Il secondo attore preso in considerazione è la regina che non sembra essere distinta da nessun gesto in particolare se non quello di adorazione durante il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C. Sappiamo infatti attraverso i testi che la regina assolveva una funzione religiosa durante le celebrazioni e le pratiche di culto insieme al sovrano.

La maggior parte dei gesti raffigurati nel repertorio iconografico ittita riguarda le figure divine. Le divinità erano rappresentate in atto di compiere gesti che ne permettevano l'immediata identificazione da parte di chi osservava; così gli *Smiting Gods* (Black, Green 1992:165-166) o gli dei della caccia e della natura selvaggia (Collins 2010: 66; Hawkins 2006: 49-76) mostravano il gesto del pugno, simbolo del potere divino. Tra il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C. fu introdotto l'uso di porre sulla verticale della mano della divinità l'iscrizione in Geroglifico Luvio che ne identificava il nome. Inoltre, sempre durante il XIV e il XIII secolo a.C., le divinità furono raffigurate nell'atto del bere (Hoffener 1998: 132-151), in connessione con i riti e le feste indette in loro onore, e nel gesto dell'abbraccio che insieme a quello 'di tenere per il polso' comunicava la funzione di guida e protezione che esse assumevano nei confronti dei sovrani. Un ulteriore gesto, specifico degli dei Montagna, è quello di adorazione, che dal XIV al XIII secolo a.C. ne indicava la subordinazione alle massime autorità divine, segno evidente della forte gerarchizzazione interna al pantheon ittita.

Infine musicisti, offerenti, giocolieri e sacerdoti, tra il XVI e il XIII secolo a.C., appaiono accomunati dal gesto di adorazione, in quanto raffigurati come officianti o partecipanti a cerimonie e riti che si svolgevano in onore delle divinità. Ricordiamo, infatti, che la maggior parte dei contesti tematici presenti nel repertorio iconografico ittita è relativo alla sfera culturale.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONI

Grazie allo studio qui condotto è stato possibile riconoscere undici gesti che contraddistinguono le raffigurazioni ittite tra il XVI e il XIII secolo a.C. individuandone modelli iconografici, elementi canonici, prerogative regali o divine, ma anche differenze e persistenze. Tutti i gesti identificati sembrano rientrare tematicamente nel campo dei gesti propagandistici e rituali (Alaura 2005: 375-385; Idem 2007:149-153) che intendono esaltare la figura del sovrano e collegare la sfera divina con quella umana. I gesti nell'immaginario ittita possono allora essere definiti come gesti *intenzionali formali stilizzati* in quanto accettati convenzionalmente da chi li recepisce e dettati da una volontà predisposta ad ottenere un effetto. L'interpretazione semantica di tali gesti ha permesso inoltre di definirli gesti *efficaci* ovvero strumenti simbolici con una funzione comunicativa che i sovrani ittiti impiegano come sintesi visuale di azioni effettivamente compiute per autolegittimarsi e celebrare il proprio ruolo e potere. Per tale motivo il linguaggio iconografico dei gesti ha la sua massima espressione durante il XIV e XIII secolo a.C. Gli ultimi sovrani del regno utilizzano l'aspetto simbolico di questi gesti per confermare con chiarezza visuale il loro ruolo di Gran Re in un impero che appare minacciato da forze e processi disgreganti di diversa origine.

Gesti come l'atto del bere, del dare, del suonare non contraddistinguono soltanto il panorama iconografico ittita. Questi, riconosciuti come atti celebrativi e cerimoniali, sono rappresentati come simboli visuali di azioni corali che marcano la vita sociale e politica della società. Tali gesti insieme a quello degli Smiting gods, di chiara origine egizia, sono ripetuti nei secoli in maniera sempre uguale in quanto esprimono una funzione facilmente interpretabile da chi osserva, permettendo l'esatto riconoscimento della figura rappresentata e della sua azione. Difatti il gesto degli Smiting gods, che durante l'età del Bronzo e del Ferro diviene simbolo delle divinità Ba'al-Seth e Reshef, caratterizza tutte quelle figure differenti per stile e tecnica che vengono accomunate dalla stessa posizione del corpo e dalla stessa azione (Collon 1972: 128). Inoltre, anche il gesto di 'prendere per il polso' sembra porsi all'interno di una tradizione più antica che risale all'età neosumerica. Il gesto attestato sulle stele di Gudea provenienti da Tello (Flemming 1978: fig.18) esprime il ruolo di guida che la divinità assolve nei confronti del sovrano. Innovativi, invece, nella loro funzione di comunicazione visiva possono essere definiti il gesto dell'abbraccio, il gesto di adorazione, il gesto divino con segni geroglifici, il gesto di prendere per mano e il gesto dell'*amu*. Nei diversi aspetti innovativi del linguaggio gestuale ittita si possono cogliere le tracce per gli sviluppi successivi che si affermeranno durante l'età neo-ittita.

Dopo aver classificato e analizzato tali gesti è possibile affermare che questi rappresentarono un mezzo di comunicazione visivo privilegiato; i gesti permettevano di mettere in rapporto il mondo divino e quello umano, di esprimere l'esercizio del potere regale come strumento di propaganda, la legittimazione e sacralità dei ruoli, divini e regali; essi simboleggiavano e identificavano le pratiche con cui si celebravano cerimonie e festività, le quali scandivano il tempo e la vita della collettività. La mano nei suoi vari atteggiamenti costituiva un mezzo di comunicazione e uno strumento tangibile con il quale si esprimeva e dunque esercitava il potere, si offriva protezione, si assicurava il sostegno e la guida divina, si manifestava devozione e insieme potenza, e si garantiva l'esercizio legittimo della regalità per il benessere della comunità.

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**Fig. 1:** Alaça Höyük, rilievo della Porta delle Sfingi, XIV-XIII sec.a.C., Museo archeologico di Ankara. (adattato ed elaborato da Yazici E. 2015: 33)



**Fig. 2:** Rilievo di Imamkulu (adattato ed elaborato da Bittel K. 1976: 182, fig. 203)



**Fig. 3:** Rilievo no. 42 della Camera A, Santuario rupestre Yazilikaya. (adattato ed elaborato da Seeher J. 2011: 64, fig. 62)



**Fig. 4:** Vaso Libatorio a forma di pugno conservato al Museum of Fine Arts di Boston (adattato ed elaborato da Aruz J., Benzel K., Evans J.M., 2008: 182-183, fig. 58)



**Fig. 5:** Camera A del santuario roccioso di Yazilikaya. (adattato ed elaborato da Seeher J. 2011: 64, fig. 62)



**Fig. 6:** Stele di Yeniköy Stele (adattato ed elaborato da Yazici E. 2015: 37)



**Fig. 7:** Stele di Kayalipinar (adattato ed elaborato da Yazici E. 2015: 44)



**Fig. 8:** Impronta di sigillo del Gran Re Muwatalli II (adattato ed elaborato da Bittel K. 1976: 170, fig. 191)



**Fig. 9:** Rilievo no. 81 della Camera B di Yazilikaya (adattato ed elaborato da Yazici E. 2015: 20)



**Fig. 10:** Secondo registro del Vaso di Inandik (adattato ed elaborato da Collins B.J. 2007: 132, fig. 3.6)



**Fig. 11:** Vaso di Bitik (adattato ed elaborato da Bittel K. 1976: 143, fig. 140)



**Fig. 12:** Statua di Nelidow (adattato ed elaborato da Bossert H. T. 1942: 142, fig. 589)



**Fig. 13:** Statua di Dövklek (adattato ed elaborato da Aruz J., Benzel K., Evans J. M., 2008: 175, Pl. 100)



**Fig. 14:** Ortostato di Alaça Höyük (adattato ed elaborato da Yazici E. 2015: 29)



**Fig. 15:** Placchetta bronzea di Hattuša (adattato ed elaborato da Bittel K. 1976: 164, fig. 177)



**Fig. 16:** Portatore di offerte sul rilievo narrativo del vaso libatorio a forma di cervo. (adattato ed elaborato da Aruz J., Benzel K., Evans J. M., 2008: 181, fig. 57)



**Fig. 17:** Portatore di offerte sul rilievo narrativo del vaso libatorio a forma di cervo (adattato ed elaborato da Aruz J., Benzel K., Evans J. M., 2008: 181, fig. 57)



**Fig. 18:** Pendente in oro, British Museum of London (adattato ed elaborato da Bittel K. 1976: 159, fig. 167)



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## Quelques réflexions sur l'archéologie homérique et les données épigraphiques éblaïtes\*

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**Abstract.** The purpose of this article is to compare the data concerning metalworking and architectural decoration from the Ebla texts and Homeric poems.

**Keywords.** Ebla, Homer, Pausanias, metalworking, Archaic Grece, Orientalizing Period, Homeric poems, Ebla texts, Eblaite language, Eblaite lexicography.

Depuis longtemps désormais on parle d'archéologie homérique en se référant aux descriptions des produits artisanaux que l'on découvre dans l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée* en l'état où ces poèmes sont arrivés jusqu'à nous. En particulier, il faut rappeler à ce propos, dans le livre dix-huitième de l'*Iliade*, l'épisode de la visite de Thétis à l'atelier du dieu Héphaïstos qui était en train de fabriquer les armes pour son fils Achille. Il est vrai que les œuvres d'Héphaïstos sont divines et magiques – les servantes vivantes en or qui aident le dieu boiteux ou bien les soufflets qui travaillent tout seuls<sup>1</sup> – mais elles gardent quand même des aspects très réels. En effet, ces passages et d'autres analogues semblent refléter les techniques de la Grèce du Géométrique Moyen et Tardif plutôt que ceux de l'époque mycénienne.<sup>2</sup> On peut citer à ce sujet les mots employés par Fittschen (1973: 17) en parlant de la réalisation du bouclier d'Achille:

Als Anreger haben Werke aus Homers eigener Zeit gedient, und zwar sowohl griechische wie importierte orientalische, während die Kenntnis von Denkmälern der minoisch-mykenischen Kultur nicht mit Sicherheit nachzuweisen ist. Allenfalls in der Technik liesse sich eine Erinnerung an den farblichen und materiellen Reichtum der Kunst jener Zeit vermuten.

\* Cet article est dédié à la mémoire de mon oncle Dino Pasquali.

<sup>1</sup> Pugliara 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Voir en dernier à ce sujet, D'Acunto 2009.

## 1. LA DÉCORATION ARCHITECTURALE

Tout d'abord, on notera au début de l'épisode du chant dix-huitième la description de la maison du dieu artisan, que Héphaïstos a bâti lui-même (v. 368-370):

Ἡφαίστου δ' ἵκανε δόμον Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα  
ἄφθιτον ἀστερόεντα μεταπρεπέ' ἀθανάτοισι  
χάλκεον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὸς ποιήσατο κυλλοποδίων.<sup>3</sup>

Cette maison est définie « resplendissante » ou bien « étoilée » (ἀστερόεντα)<sup>4</sup> et « de bronze » (χάλκεον) et tout cela nous rappelle le palais d'Alcinoos du livre septième de l'*Odyssée* où on trouve la description de la demeure du roi des Phéaciens:

Ὡς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἢ σελήνης  
δῶμα καθ' ὑψερέφες μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο.  
Χάλκειο μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
ἔς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ, περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνιοι·  
χρῦσαι δὲ θύραι πυκινὸν δόμον ἐντὸς ἔεργον·  
σταθμοὶ δ' ἀργύρειοι ἐν χαλκῷ ἔστασαν οὐδῶ,  
ἀργύρεον δ' ἐφ' ὑπερθύριον, χρυσή δὲ κορώνη.  
Χρῦσαι δ' ἐκάτερθε καὶ ἀργύρειοι κύνες ἦσαν,  
οὓς Ἡφαίστος ἔτευξεν ἰδυίησι πραπίδεσσι  
δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο.<sup>5</sup>

Donc, d'après les mots d'Homère, le palais d'Alcinoos brille comme la lumière des astres parce que ses murs sont en bronze avec une frise de κύανος,<sup>6</sup> ses portes sont en or et encore d'autres parties sont en argent. De chaque côté des portes il y avait des figures de chiens en or et argent. Faut-il croire que tout cela est seulement le produit de l'imagination du poète ? Pausanias dans le livre troisième de sa *Périégèse* (17 : 2-3) nous parle du temple spartiate d'Athéna dite Χαλκιοίκος, c'est-à-dire « à la maison de bronze ».<sup>7</sup> Les murs de ce bâtiment, dont on a retrouvé les vestiges au début du XX siècle, étaient, en effet, revêtus de feuilles de bronze sur lesquelles on pouvait voir les représentations de plusieurs thèmes mythologiques, comme Pausanias le dit:

Ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποιήται, Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοίκου τῆς αὐτῆς. Τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς κατασκευῆς Τυνδάρεως, καθὰ λέγουσιν, ἠρξάτο· ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, δεύτερα οἱ παῖδες ἐξεργάσασθαι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἤθελον, ἀφορμὴ δὲ σφισιν ἔμελλε τὰ ἐξ Ἀφιδναίων ἔσεσθαι λάφυρα. Προαπολιπόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ἀγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν. Γιτιάδας δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος. Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἄσματα Δῶρια ὁ Γιτιάδας, ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν θεόν. Ἐπείργασται δὲ

<sup>3</sup> « Thétis, aux pieds d'argent, arrive dans la maison d'Héphaïstos, indestructible et resplendissante, superbe entre toutes les demeures célestes et faite de bronze, que le dieu boiteux construisit lui-même ».

<sup>4</sup> Sur la signification de ce mot, voir les intéressantes remarques d'Edwards 1991: 190.

<sup>5</sup> « La haute demeure du magnanime Alcinoos brille ainsi que la splendide clarté de la lune et l'éclatante lumière du soleil. Les murs sont de toutes parts revêtus de bronze, depuis l'entrée du palais jusqu'au fond des appartements, et au-dessus des murs il y a une frise de κύανος. L'intérieur de cette demeure solide est fermé par des portes d'or ; les montants d'argent reposent sur le seuil de bronze, et le linteau des portes est lui aussi en argent et l'anneau est en or. A côté des portes il y avait des chiens d'or et d'argent qu'avait forgés Héphaïstos avec un art merveilleux pour garder la demeure du magnanime Alcinoos ».

<sup>6</sup> Pour la probable signification de ce mot (pierre dure ou pâte de verre), Halleux 1969 ; Fittschen 1973: 5-6, avec bibliographie ; Ventris et Chadwick 1973: 340, n. 239 ; Nightingale 2002: 50-51 ; Cultraro 2006: 196-199 ; Stern 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Musti et Torelli 1991: 228-229, avec bibliographie.

τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐθελοντῆς κατάρθωσε. Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἀρπαγῆ· καὶ Ἡφαιστος τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶν ἀπολύων τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅποια λέγεται, πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Περσεὶ δ' ἔς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὠρμημένω διδοῦσαι νύμφαι δῶρά εἰσι κυνῆν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, ὑφ' ὧν οἰσθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔμελλεν. Ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν, καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν· ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ μάλιστα ἦν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, θέας ἄξια.<sup>8</sup>

Et encore on rappellera les feuilles en bronze historiées appartenant très vraisemblablement à un temple qui remonte au VI siècle av. J.-C.<sup>9</sup> et découvertes par les archéologues pendant les fouilles de Cyrène ainsi que celles retrouvées à Olympia, réalisées en Grèce par un artisan syrien immigré et faisant partie, à l'origine, d'un décor de portes ou de colonnes.<sup>10</sup> En effet, il faut noter que cette typologie de décor architectural était bien connue dans le Proche-Orient ancien. On peut citer à ce propos les feuilles de bronze, historiées avec les entreprises des rois assyriens Ašurnasirpal II et Šalmanassar III,<sup>11</sup> qui revêtaient les portes de la ville de Balawat ainsi que celles toujours en bronze et historiées qui ornaient les colonnes de l'entrée du temple du dieu Šamaš à Khorsabad.<sup>12</sup> En outre, d'après la Bible, *Rois*, 5 :15-7 :51, où se trouve la description du temple de Salomon à Jérusalem, on apprend que ce bâtiment mythique, selon la tradition, avait les murs revêtus des feuilles d'or et de bronze qui étaient historiées avec les figures de chérubins et de l'arbre de la vie.<sup>13</sup> On comparera aussi les données bibliques et homériques avec le poème ougaritique concernant la construction du palais du dieu Ba'al, où on lit (*KTU* 1.4 V:80-81):

et bâtis donc une demeure d'argent et d'or, une demeure d'éclatant lapis-lazuli (wbn.bht.ksp / whrṣ.bht.ṭhrm / 'iqn'im).

L'emploi de métaux incorruptibles et des pierres dures est donc une caractérisation extérieure de la haute valeur symbolique des édifices sacrés.<sup>14</sup> Tout cela fait penser que le décor architectural en métal de la Grèce de la période géométrique était emprunté à l'art et à l'artisanat du Proche-Orient ancien, où cette technique remonte, à mon avis, au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C., comme on l'apprend grâce à certains passages des textes administratifs d'Ébla. Dans

TM.75.G.1772 f. VI 3-14:<sup>15</sup> 7 kin siki nagar-nagar kin<sub>5</sub>-aka é d'Ā-da lú *Ha-lab*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> [x] kin siki simug-simug kin<sub>5</sub>-aka é d'Ā-da lú *Ha-lab*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>,

de la laine sert de paiement pour des artisans, notamment des charpentiers (nagar-nagar) et des métallurgistes (simug-simug) qui ont travaillé dans le temple du dieu de la tempête d'Alep. L'emploi du verbe kin<sub>5</sub>-aka, « fabri-

<sup>8</sup> « On y voit le temple d'Athéna surnommée en même temps Poliouchos et Chalkioikos. Tyndarée avait commencé, dit-on, la construction de ce temple : après sa mort, ses fils voulurent l'achever, et le butin, fait sur les Aphidnéens, leur en donnait les moyens, mais ils moururent aussi avant de l'avoir terminé. Ce fut seulement un grand nombre d'années après, que les Lacédémoniens firent exécuter en bronze soit la statue, soit le temple même de la déesse. Ce sont des ouvrages de Gitiadas, sculpteur du pays, qui de plus composa divers cantiques en dialecte dorien, et entre autres, un hymne à Athéna. On a représenté sur le bronze plusieurs des travaux d'Hercule et plusieurs des exploits qu'il fit volontairement, ainsi que différentes actions des fils de Tyndarée, entre autres, l'enlèvement des filles de Leucippus. Les autres sculptures sont : Héphaïstos brisant les chaînes de sa mère, tradition que j'ai exposée dans la description de l'Attique; Persée allant chercher dans la Libye la tête de Méduse, et les Nymphes lui donnant le casque et la chaussure à l'aide de laquelle il devait traverser les airs. On y voit aussi l'histoire de la naissance d'Athéna; enfin, Amphitrite et Poséidon : tous ces ouvrages sont de grande dimension, et, à mon avis, d'une beauté admirable ».

<sup>9</sup> White 1968.

<sup>10</sup> Borell et Rittig 1998 ; Seidl 1999 ; Guralnick 2004 ; D'Acunto 2009: 151-152.

<sup>11</sup> King 1915 ; Tucker 1994 ; Curtis et Tallis 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Wilson 1994: 60-67, fig. 2 ; Finkel et Reade 1996: 244-265, fig. 9-14; Guralnick 2004: 204-207, fig. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Pour le décor architectural du temple de Salomon, voir en dernier Strange 1985, avec bibliographie ; Dubovský 2015: 187 ss.

<sup>14</sup> Typique de la religion syrienne, selon Scandone Matthiae et Xella 1984. On se souviendra à ce propos des bains d'or de l'empereur romain Caligula qui grâce au contact direct avec ce métal précieux espérait d'obtenir l'immortalité des dieux (Guey 1977).

<sup>15</sup> Cité par Archi 2010: 9.

quer; réaliser » à la place de ì-dím, « bâtir », nous indique qu'il s'agissait plutôt de travaux de décoration en bois et en métal de l'édifice sacré.<sup>16</sup> En particulier, l'intervention des métallurgistes peut bien se référer, selon moi, au revêtement des murs du temple avec des feuilles de bronze plaquées en or ou en argent. Je me demande à ce propos si les deux extraits suivants:

*MEE* 10 27+ r. VII 12-VIII 4: 4[+x ma-na kù:babbar] kin<sub>5</sub>-aka 2 lu<sub>x</sub> é d'Ā-da ;  
*MEE* 2 48 f. IX 7-r. I 4:29<sup>2</sup>: 24 ma-na kù:babbar kin<sub>5</sub>-aka 2 lu<sub>x</sub> níg-ba d'Ā-da,

où de très importantes quantités d'argent sont livrées pour la réalisation des images des taureaux androcéphales à placer toujours dans le temple du dieu de la tempête, se réfèrent-ils à des sculptures en ronde-bosse ou plutôt à des feuilles en métal historiées avec les images de ces êtres mythiques qui devaient servir de décor architectural, exactement comme, nous l'avons vu ci-dessus, dans le temple de Salomon où il y avait les murs revêtus de feuilles en or et argent représentant les chérubins. Le décor architectural du temple de Hadda présentait aussi, semble-t-il, des incrustations en pierre dure (ŠÈ-li).<sup>17</sup> On peut le déduire d'après l'extrait suivant:

*MEE* 10 29 r. IX:17-24: 4 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / ag-ga / wa / ù-ru<sub>12</sub>-mi-du / kin<sub>5</sub>-aka / ŠÈ-li / é / d'Ā-da,

où les deux artisans, qui ont accompli cette tâche, reçoivent de l'argent en paiement. Cela nous rappelle la description homérique de la demeure d'Alcinoos, où, on l'a vu, au-dessus des murs revêtus de feuilles de bronze il y avait une frise de κύανος, mot qui indique une pierre dure ou de la pâte de verre.<sup>18</sup>

Les textes administratifs éblaites à ce jour connus nous offrent encore d'autres passages qui se réfèrent au décor architectural d'importants édifices. Dans

TM.75.G.1464 f. XIV:12-17:<sup>19</sup> 50 ma-na kù:babbar šu-bal-aka 10 ma-na kù-sig<sub>17</sub> kin<sub>5</sub>-aka é d'KU-ra,

une importante quantité de métal précieux est livrée pour la réalisation de certains travaux au temple du dieu d'KU-ra. Encore une fois le fait que le scribe ait utilisé le verbe kin<sub>5</sub>-aka à la place de ì-dím indique qu'il ne s'agissait pas de travaux de maçonnerie mais de travaux de décor architectural concernant le revêtement des murs du bâtiment sacré avec des feuilles de métal, probablement juste après sa construction.<sup>20</sup> Même la sortie d'or dans cette occasion semble soutenir notre interprétation. En fait, pour les travaux de maçonnerie (šè ì-dím) on achetait (níg-sa<sub>10</sub>) de la paille (še-in) et de l'eau qui servaient à fabriquer les briques,<sup>21</sup> comme ailleurs les textes administratifs d'Ébla l'indiquent explicitement :

*MEE* 10 29 r. VIII:13-22: 2 ma-na kù:babbar / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> a-a / tar-5 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> še-in-zàr / 1 ma-na 18 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> še-in / šè ì-dím / gá<sup>ki</sup> / en ;  
*MEE* 12 35 r. XV:15-22: tar kù:babbar / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> še-in / šè ì-dím / é / en / ugula-ir<sub>11</sub>-ugula-ir<sub>11</sub> / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti

Toujours au sujet du décor architectural, il y a en outre dans les tablettes d'Ébla des passages qui se réfèrent aux portes. En particulier il faut considérer l'extrait suivant provenant d'un compte-rendu annuel de métaux qui remonte à la période la plus récente des archives:

<sup>16</sup> La différence entre l'emploi de kin<sub>5</sub>-aka et ì-dím est notée par Bonechi 2016: 28 et n. 144 aussi.

<sup>17</sup> Voir déjà Pasquali 2005: 80. Pour cette pierre, voir aussi en dernier Pasquali 2014: 273-274.

<sup>18</sup> Voir la bibliographie citée à la note 6.

<sup>19</sup> Cité par Pomponio et Xella 1997: 238.

<sup>20</sup> Matthiae 2010 : 395 et Pinnock 2013: 392-394 pensent que le temple concerné soit le « Red Temple » sur l'acropole de la ville ; Bonechi 2016: 28-29, n. 144, propose en revanche d'y voir le « Temple of the Rock ».

<sup>21</sup> Comme Mander 1990: 168 justement l'interprète. Voir aussi *MEE* 35 f. IV:43-46: šušana<sub>x</sub>-8 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> še-in / sig<sub>4</sub>-gar / ugula ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub>, où les briques (sig<sub>4</sub>-gar) sont explicitement mentionnées.



*MEE* 12 36 r. XXIV:11-19, XXVII:11-20: 10 lá-2 ma-na šušana<sub>x</sub> gín DILMUN kù:babbar / 24 ma-na šušana<sub>x</sub>-8 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 6 ma-na 7 gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / nu<sub>11</sub>-za 1 nin-uš-mušen / lu<sub>x</sub> / lú al<sub>6</sub> / ká / é-é maḥ (...) 30 lá-2 ma-na 56 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 10 lá-3 ma-na 14 gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 2 ma-na ša-pi-3 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / nu<sub>11</sub>-za 2 *da-ri-ga-tum* / wa / 2 an-dùl 1 lu<sub>x</sub> 1 am-KAK<sup>?</sup> / lú al<sub>6</sub> / 2 ká / é-é maḥ,

où on enregistre la sortie de grandes quantités d'or et d'argent pour la riche décoration artistique des portails de l'édifice nommé é-é maḥ.<sup>22</sup> Sans doute est à noter la présence de plusieurs images d'êtres mythiques à fonction apotropaïque,<sup>23</sup> ce qui rappelle encore une fois la description du palais d'Alcinoos dans le septième chant de l'*Odyssee* que nous avons cité au début de notre discours. À Schérie, il y avait le couple de chiens magiques en or forgés par le dieu Héphaïstos lui-même, l'un à chaque côté de la porte de la demeure du roi ; à Ébla, on y trouve les taureaux androcéphales et l'oiseau nin-uš-mušen. Malheureusement, il n'est pas possible en l'état actuel des connaissances d'établir si ces images étaient placées de chaque côté des portails de l'é-é maḥ, ou bien au-dessus de ceux-ci en tant que tympan, ou bien éventuellement s'il s'agissait de figures représentées en relief sur le revêtement en métal des battants en bois. On remarquera à ce propos la graphie sémitique 2 *da-ri-ga-tum* qui apparaîtrait dans le contexte juste avant l'énumération des images des *Mischwesen*. Jusqu'à présent, ce mot a été traduit « socle »<sup>24</sup> mais maintenant je me demande si le terme n'indique pas plutôt les feuilles en métal qui revêtaient les deux battants du portail de l'é-é maḥ.<sup>25</sup> Il s'agirait donc d'un antécédent, remontant au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C., des exemplaires assyriens de Balawat et Khorsabad dont on a parlé plus haut. Dans ce cas, en conformité avec les règles du syllabaire éblaïte et le sémantisme de la racine, on peut envisager une comparaison avec l'akkadien *darākum*, « couvrir ; emballer ».<sup>26</sup>

## 2. LE DÉCOR À BANDELETTES

Toujours dans le livre dix-huitième de l'*Iliade*, à la demande de Thétis, Héphaïstos fabrique les armes pour Achille : la cuirasse, le heaume, les jambières et surtout le bouclier. Le dieu artisan met d'abord sur le feu le cuivre avec l'étain, dont l'alliage sert à composer le bronze, et ensuite il ajoute l'or et l'argent et le κύανος. Donc on peut supposer que la partie extérieure du bouclier était en cuivre et qu'en revanche les autres métaux plus précieux étaient employés pour la décoration, notamment pour donner de l'éclat à la surface historiée de l'arme. Même si plusieurs savants ont cru de pouvoir lier cette bigarrure due au mélange de différents métaux précieux au milieu artistique mycénien, une telle technique était bien connue au début de l'Âge du Fer dans le Proche-Orient et à Chypre, pays avec lesquels la

<sup>22</sup> Selon Bonechi 2016: 20-21, qui interprète é-é maḥ comme « Upper Apartement », le texte se réfère à un seul portail. À mon avis, étant donné que le décor est tout à fait différent, il s'agit plutôt de deux portails. Quant à l'alternance ká / 2 ká, malgré les doutes de Bonechi (« It is unclear to me why, mentioning this elaborate piece of art, the scribe of this same text TM.75.G.2429 = *MEE* 12 36 firstly wrote ká é-é maḥ and then 2 ká é-é maḥ »), elle ne pose pas problème puis qu'elle est bien présente ailleurs dans les textes éblaïtes. Le numéro 2 se réfère aux battants de la porte qui étaient deux, comme on l'apprend par exemple d'après *ARET* V 1 f. II:7, où il y a l'équivalent sémitique de (2) ká, c'est-à-dire *dal-da-an*, /dalt-ayn/, au duel.

<sup>23</sup> Voir en ce sens déjà Faraone 1987 ; Pasquali 2004 et 2005: 118-120.

<sup>24</sup> Archi 1990: 105, sans étymologie ; Pasquali 2004 et 2005: 119, « sem. occidentale \*drg/k, "camminare; marciare", e quindi "ciò su cui si cammina o sta" (con allusione probabilmente alla posa gradiente dei tori androcefali), da cui "base, fondamento, piedistallo o sostegno", con uno sviluppo semantico affine al greco βάσις, "base; piedistallo", da βάινω, "camminare" ».

<sup>25</sup> Archi 2003: 27 voit dans la graphie *mu-hur-da*, *mu-hur-tum*, akk. *muhhurtu* « facing, opposit direction » (connue d'après *MEE* 12 35 f. VI: 9-12: 2 NI gín DILMUN kù:babbar 2 *mu-hur-da wa-ra-ti-iš* 2 ká ; TM.75.G.2622 f. VI:12-15: ½ kù:babbar 2 *mu-hur-tum wa-ra-ti-iš* 2 ká *a-da-ti-ig*<sup>ki</sup>), une référence aux feuilles en métal revêtant les battants des portes. À mon avis, la quantité trop faible de métal livrée déconseille cette interprétation. Ces deux contextes difficiles demeurent à ce jour inexpliqués.

<sup>26</sup> *CAD*, D, pp. 108-109, et *DRS* 4, p. 314. Dans les textes cappadociens et à Mari, le verbe et les substantifs dérivés indiquent l'emballage de vêtements (Durand 2009: 175). Il est probable aussi que le terme éblaïte *du-ru*<sub>12</sub>-*gú* indiquant une perle tire son origine de la même racine (Pasquali 2005: 127).

Grèce contemporaine des poèmes homériques était bien en rapport.<sup>27</sup> On dirait en effet que la fabrication du bouclier d'Achille, de la manière dont Homère nous la décrit, rappelle la façon de travailler et repousser le bronze et les métaux précieux à l'aide du marteau et du burin, typique des artisans proche-orientaux.<sup>28</sup> Comme l'on verra bien par la suite aussi, grâce au commerce et à l'échange des dons entre les aristocraties grecques et les rois étrangers, la Grèce de la période géométrique a bien connu ce type d'ouvrages.<sup>29</sup> On se souviendra, entre autres, des coupes chypro-phéniciennes et nord-syriennes<sup>30</sup> et les harnais provenant eux-aussi de la Syrie du Nord<sup>31</sup> que les archéologues ont retrouvés un peu partout dans la péninsule grecque et dans les îles. En outre, durant la période géométrique il y avait aussi, en Grèce, nombre d'ateliers d'artisans proche-orientaux, notamment syriens, immigrés qui ont ensuite donné la vie à des productions locales. Ce sont par exemple l'atelier des boucliers du Mont Ida et l'école dite de Cnossos.<sup>32</sup>

Au moins dans un cas, l'Iliade elle-même nous indique que des ouvrages ainsi exécutés – c'est-à-dire fabriqués en bronze et décorés grâce à l'insertion d'éléments en or ou en argent - arrivaient en Grèce depuis Chypre, comme le suggère le livre XI (v. 19-28) où le poète raconte l'épisode de l'adoubement du roi Agamemnon:<sup>33</sup>

δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περι στήθεσσιν ἔδυνε,  
τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι.  
πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος, οὔνεκ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
ἔς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀναπλεύσεσθαι ἔμελλον·  
τοὔνεκά οἱ τὸν δῶκε χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ.  
τοῦ δ' ἦτοι δέκα οἴμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κυάνοιο,  
δώδεκα δὲ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι κασσιτέροιο·  
κυάνοιο δὲ δράκοντες ὀρωρέχατο προτὶ δειρῆν  
τρῆϊς ἐκάτερθ' ἴρισσιν εἰοκότες, ἅς τε Κρονίων  
ἐν νέφει στήριξε, τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.<sup>34</sup>

Dans ce passage on cite le décor très élaboré à bandes (οἴμοι) de différents matériaux appliqués sur la cuirasse en bronze donnée au chef des Achéens par le roi de Chypre Kinyras. La description homérique se réfère à une technique artisanale existant à Chypre encore au début de l'Age du Fer. De toute évidence, il s'agissait d'une technique d'origine orientale arrivée sur l'île depuis la région syro-palestinienne. Il faut juste rappeler à ce sujet que selon certains auteurs classiques le roi Kinyras lui-même aurait immigré à Chypre depuis le Proche-Orient.<sup>35</sup> Apollodore (*Bibliothèque*, III, 14, 3):

Ἔρσης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κέφαλος, οὗ ἔρασθεῖσα Ἥως ἤρπασε καὶ μιγῆσα ἐν Συρίᾳ παῖδα ἐγέννησε Τιθωνόν, οὗ παῖς ἐγένετο Φαέθων, τούτου δὲ Ἀστύνοος, τοῦ δὲ Σάνδοκος, ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἐλθὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν, πόλιν ἔκτισε Κελένδερν, καὶ γήμας Φαρνάκην τὴν Μεγασσάρου τοῦ Ὑριέων βασιλέως ἐγέννησε Κινύραν. Οὗτος ἐν Κύπρῳ, παραγενόμενος

<sup>27</sup> Akurgal 1968: 143 et sv.tes; Herrmann 1979; Rolley 1984; Markoe 1985; Curtis 1988. En général, pour les rapports entre la Syrie et la Grèce archaïque, voir Mazzoni 2001; Pasquali 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Fittschen 1973; D'Acunto 2009: 159.

<sup>29</sup> Guralnick 1992 ; Curtis 1994.

<sup>30</sup> Markoe 1985; Matthäus 2000: 526 et sv.tes.

<sup>31</sup> Charbonnet 1986; Kyrieleis et Röllig 1988.

<sup>32</sup> Boardman 1967: 57-67; Blome 1982: 10-23; Boardman 2005; Kotsonas 2006; Stampolidis 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Catling 1977: 78-79; Hainsworth 1993: 218-219.

<sup>34</sup> « Ensuite, il ceignit sa poitrine d'une cuirasse que lui avait autrefois donné Kinyras comme un gage d'hospitalité. A Chypre il avait reçu cette grande nouvelle selon laquelle les Achéens, sur leurs vaisseaux, étaient en train de traverser la mer vers Troie ; et pour ça il lui la donna, pour complaire au fils d'Atrée. Et sur cette cuirasse, il y avait dix bandes en émail noir, douze en or, vingt en étain. Et des dragons de *κύανος* s'enroulaient jusqu'au cou, trois de chaque côté, semblables aux arcs-en-ciel que le fils de Kronos fixe sur les nuages pour être un signe aux mortels ».

<sup>35</sup> Sur la valeur de ces légendes, Baurain 1980; Ribichini 1982.

σὺν λαῶ, ἔκτισε Πάφον, γήμας δὲ ἐκεῖ Μεθάρμην, κόρην Πυγμαλίωτος Κυπρίων βασιλέως, Ὀξύπορον ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἄδωνιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θυγατέρας Ὀρσεδίκην <καὶ> Λαογόρην καὶ Βραισίαν. Αὗται δὲ διὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης ἀλλοτρίοις ἀνδράσι συνευναζόμεναι τὸν βίον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετήλλαξαν,<sup>36</sup>

affirme qu'il était le fils du roi syrien Sandakos et qu'il serait arrivé à Chypre de la Cilicie tandis que Strabon (*Géographie*, XVI, 2:18) et Hygin (*Fables*, 58:270) nous disent qu'il était roi de Byblos ou bien d'Assyrie. Le nom Kinyras en effet est emprunté à la racine sémitique occidentale \**knr* indiquant un type particulier de lyre et connue en éblaïte, en ougaritique et en hébreu.<sup>37</sup> Le roi de Chypre donc avait un rapport avec la musique et du coup avec la métallurgie et l'artisanat. Il s'agit d'un inventeur ou *πρῶτος εὑρετής*, c'est-à-dire un héros culturel, personnage typique de l'univers proche-oriental selon la mythisation grecque.<sup>38</sup>

À mon avis, on peut trouver une trace de cette technique artisanale décrite par Homère dans les textes administratifs éblaïtes, où existe en effet le terme sumérien *maš-maš* qui indique des bandelettes en métal précieux appliquées comme décoration sur les armes et autres objets artisanaux.<sup>39</sup> On remarquera, juste à titre d'exemple, les passages suivantes:<sup>40</sup>

*ARET* III 741 f. I:1'-2': 2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / maš-maš dib urudu,

où deux sicles d'argent servent pour réaliser les bandelettes décoratives à appliquer sur un pendentif en cuivre. Et encore:

*MEE* 12 36 f. XI:20-XII:4: 4 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / 2 níg-anše-aka 4 kù-sal / 12 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 3 gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / *ni-zi-mu* / maš-maš-SÛ,

où trois sicles d'or servent pour le décor à bandelette de l'harnachement d'un char. Ailleurs on trouve le ceinturon *ib-lá* en argent ou le poignard *gir mar-tu* toujours en argent décorés avec de bandelette en or:

*ARET* XV 10 f. I:15-II:1: 1 *ib-lá* GÁxLÁ ša-pi kù:babbar maš-maš kù-gi;

*ARET* XV 5 f. X:8: 1 *gir mar-tu* kù:babbar maš-maš kù-sig<sub>17</sub>.

Le poignard *mar-tu* pouvait être aussi fabriqué avec un autre métal non spécifié - on peut penser qu'il s'agissait de bronze ou cuivre - sur lequel on posait en ce cas la décoration à bandelette en argent:

*MEE* XV 37 f. V:4: 1 *gir-mar-tu* maš-maš kù:babbar.

On notera que parfois le même type de décoration à bandelettes semble être indiqué par le sumérien TAR. TAR aussi:<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> « De Hersé et de Mercure, naquit Céphale : l'Aurore en étant devenue amoureuse l'enleva, et lui accorda ses faveurs dans la Syrie ; elle eut de lui un fils nommé Tithon, qui fut père de Phaéton : Astynöüs naquit de ce dernier, et fut père de Sandakos, qui quitta la Syrie pour aller s'établir dans la Cilicie, où il fonda une ville nommée Célandéris; il y épousa Pharnace fille de Mégessare, roi d'Hyria, et il engendra Kinyras. Kinyras amena des gens dans l'île de Chypre et y fonda Paphos. Il y épousa Métharmé, fille de Pygmalion, roi de Chypre, et il en eut deux fils, Oxyporus et Adonis, et trois filles, Orsédice, Laogora et Bræsia. Ces filles, par l'effet de la colère d'Aphrodite, se prostituèrent à des étrangers, et moururent en Egypte ».

<sup>37</sup> Pour la racine, *DRS*, 10: 397. Pour l'instrument musical, Caubet 1987.

<sup>38</sup> Voir, à ce propos, Baurain 1980 et 1981 ; Ribichini 1982 ; Bonnet 1983.

<sup>39</sup> Waetzoldt 1990: 11, "(Metall-)streifen"; Fronzaroli 1996: 61, "bandelette (de métal)". On ne peut pas suivre Pomponio et Xella 1997: 277 qui traduisent « les parties jumelles ».

<sup>40</sup> Les noms des objets ainsi décorés et les passages concernés ont été déjà recueillis par Waetzoldt 2001: 346-347.

<sup>41</sup> Pour l'emploi de TAR.TAR pour indiquer des bandelettes décoratives dans certains passages concernant les objets en métal, voir

*ARET XV 23 f. VIII* : 1 gír-mar-tu kù:babbar TAR.TAR kù-gi ;

Cette interprétation du sumérien maš-maš (et TAR.TAR aussi) vient maintenant d'être confirmée grâce aux passages suivants qui remontent tous à la période la plus ancienne des archives, quand *ar-ru*<sub>12</sub>-LUM était toujours ministre de la ville:

*ARET XV 8 (37)*: 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *ib-du-ma-lik* / lú *bù-la-ad* ;

*ARET XV 16 (56-57)*: 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *ir-am*<sub>6</sub>-*ma-lik* / lú *iš-da-má* / 2 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ba* kù:babbar / *ri-kam*<sub>4</sub> / *i-ti-aš-dar* / dumu-nita / nídba ì-giš;

*ARET XV 24 (29)*: 1 sal-túg 1 íb+III-túg gùn 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *ù-du-ra-ù* / GIŠ.ĤÚB / in u<sub>4</sub> / níg-mul(-an) / *en-na-BAD* / TUŠ.LÚxTIL;

*ARET XV 27 (19)*: 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / *en-na-BAD* / lú *a-ħa-LUM*;

*ARET XV 28 (84)*: [1] gír [mar]-tu [*ga-z*]*a-ab* kù:babbar / [...];

*ARET XV 37 (27)*: 1 gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar / 2 sal-túg maškim / *ša-mi-a*.

où on trouve la graphie sémitique *ga-za-ab* et sa variante *ga-za-ba* (*ARET XV 16*). Comme Pomponio (2008: 415) l'a bien vu,<sup>42</sup> il s'agit de la lecture sémitique du sumérien maš-maš, étant donné que dans le récapitulatif de *ARET XV 37*, les gír mar-tu *ga-za-ab* kù:babbar ont été comptabilisés avec les gír mar-tu maš-maš kù:babbar. D'après moi,<sup>43</sup> en conformité aux règles du syllabaire éblaïte, le terme, peut être expliqué d'après la racine sémitique \**ksp*, « briser en morceau ; couper en plusieurs pièces » connue en akkadien et en arabe.<sup>44</sup> La graphie *ga-za-ab* indique donc un état construit suivi du complément de matière (kù:babbar, « argent ») que l'on peut comparer par exemple avec les graphies *ħa-za-an* kù-sig<sub>17</sub>, « perle en forme d'oignon en or », et *ħa-za-an* gin-gìn, « perle en forme d'oignon en lapis-lazuli », de *ħa-za-nu*, « perle en forme d'oignon ».<sup>45</sup> Dans la variante *ga-za-ba* le *a* en final de parole peut indiquer simplement une absence de voyelle ou bien le duel, étant donné que les poignards livrés sont deux. Il s'agirait alors d'une nominalisation de l'état construit (les termes gír mar-tu et *ga-za-ba* sont en fait eux-mêmes en annexion) comme on la trouve dans la graphie *é ma-da-am*<sub>6</sub> de *ARET XI* et dans ce cas le complément de matière kù:babbar se référera à l'objet dans son ensemble.<sup>46</sup>

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Pasquali 2005: 83. Cela est confirmé par le fait que les poignards TAR.TAR et ceux maš-maš sont souvent comptabilisés ensemble (Pomponio 2008: 242).

<sup>42</sup> Malgré cela, l'auteur ne fournit aucune étymologie et traduit « pugnale amorreo con fasciatura d'argento » ou « pugnale amorreo con laccio » dans le glossaire (Pomponio 2013: 421). Cette dernière interprétation n'a aucun fondement philologique.

<sup>43</sup> Pasquali 2017.

<sup>44</sup> Pour la racine, *DRS* 10: 1252.

<sup>45</sup> Pour ce terme et ses attestations, Pasquali 2005: 155.

<sup>46</sup> Voir Fronzaroli 1993: 39, « la grafia terminante in -am<sub>6</sub> ricorda la nominalizzazione di nesso di stato costruito nelle glosse della lista lessicale bilingue e nei testi amministrativi (...). Ma mentre di solito la nominalizzazione attribuisce la desinenza del nominativo al nesso, che viene poi impiegato nei testi come uno pseudologogramma, qui la terminazione esprime l'accusativo richiesto dal contesto ».

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## Cultural encounters during the LBII and IAI: Hittites and 'Pelesets' in the Amuq (Hatay) Turkey

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**Abstract.** The analysis of long-dormant archaeological documentation and recent archaeological discoveries concerning the Amuq region (modern Hatay) have shed new light on the period from the Late Bronze Age II to the Iron Age III, reopened old questions concerning the passage from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age, and contributed important historical data to the first centuries of the Iron Age I. This article investigates a specific feature in the debate on the LBA-IA transition, i.e. changes in the material culture that have been linked to the arrival of a non-local culture as a consequence of conquest or migration; in particular it investigates archaeological evidence from the sites of Chatal Höyük, Tell Tayinat and Alalakh, which has been employed by scholars as proof to support both the annexation of the land of Mukiš to the Hittite Empire during the Late Bronze Age II, as well as the arrival of foreign peoples from the Mediterranean during the Iron Age I.

**Keywords.** Amuq, sea peoples, Hittites, pottery.

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### INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of archaeological research, transformation of material culture represents the main criterion employed for establishing archaeological chronologies and mapping local developments or external contacts; investigating these variations has led scholars to hypothesize various scenarios of contact between different cultural communities, ranging from external contact, commerce, conquest and/or change in production economy.<sup>1</sup> Importation, hybridization, influence and interaction are variables that can lead to the presence in a given assemblage of a specific object that is different from the local culture. As a consequence of this observation, and in an attempt to give meaning to this data, archaeologists associate the observed

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<sup>1</sup> For a general overview cf. Eerkens and Lipo 2007.

process with a higher ranked cause that has presumably initialized the process: imperialism, colonization, migration, commerce or simple contact are some of the phenomena frequently employed for drawing conclusions based on the observation of cultural change.

This paper analyses two cultural encounters in the Amuq that have been used to explain material change (pottery in particular) in south-eastern Anatolia and the Northern Levant in Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I: Hittite imperialism and centralized production for the Late Bronze Age, and Western migration or contact for the Early Iron Age. Because the epigraphic and archaeological data are crucial in hypothesizing influence on the material culture for this period, Section 1 provides a brief overview of the historical and topographic information currently at our disposal, followed by Sections 2 and 3 that examine the archaeological material for the LBA and IA, respectively.

In this article the term Hittite refers to the political entity, the Hittite Empire, and consequently to the material culture produced in the LBII period in north-central Anatolia. The term “Peleset” intends to be provocative and refers to the revitalized discussion concerning the policy “Wa/Palastin”, to the Philistine term that defines a specific type of pottery production from southern Levant as well as to the name of one of the sea peoples. It is employed here simply to provide the supposed migrants with a name, but it does not imply a reference to any specific ethnic group or geographic area of provenance.

## 1. HISTORICAL PREMISES AND TOPOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

The strategic geographic position of the Amuq (Hatay, Turkey), which connects the Anatolian Plateau with inland western Syria, the Levant and the Mediterranean coast, and the absence of a stable political entity in this region over a long period of time made the Amuq a crossroads of different “cultures” during the Late Bronze Age (LBA) II to the Iron Age (IA) III.

During the Late Bronze Age II the region was part of Mukiš (Fig. 1), which was conquered by Šuppiluliuma I together with Karkemiš and Ḫalpa (Aleppo) in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Bryce 2005: 167). Mukiš permanently submitted to the Hittite Empire in the 1330s immediately after its “revolt” against Ugarit together with Niḫa and Nuḫḫašše. It is unclear whether a new ruler was set in Alalakh immediately after its conquest; however, a carved orthostat and a bulla found at Alalakh point to the existence of a prince Tudḫaliya (Niedorf 2002, Yener, Peker, and Dinçol 2014), who was contemporary with Mursili II and can possibly be identified with a Hittite ruler sent directly from Ḫattuša (von Dassow 2008: 31-32, Singer 2017).<sup>2</sup> Although the land of Mukiš was under the control of Karkemiš, the seat of a Hittite viceroy, its capital, Alalaḫ, probably continued governing the region, as the Hittite letters found at Tell Afis seem to confirm (Archi and Venturi 2012, Archi 2016).<sup>3</sup> During the LBII, the land of Mukiš was probably still very extensive, reaching inland western Syria and the area of Hama to the south, and surrounding the small territory of Ḫalpa, which mainly hosted religious functions (Singer 2017). Here the dedicatory hieroglyph inscription (Aleppo 1) of Talmi Šarruma (contemporary to the reigns of Mursili II and Muwatalli, grandson of Šuppiluliuma I) was found. He is also quoted in the well-known Aleppo treaty (CTH 75);<sup>4</sup> here the temple of the Storm God of Aleppo was located already in the Late Bronze Age, as the Late Bronze Age carved orthostats and proteomes found in the later reconstruction of the building (Kohlmeyer 2012) suggest. The most recent epigraphic information at our disposal from the Amuq during the LBA is an oracle text from Atchana (AT454) dating to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I thank Eva von Dassow for her suggestions concerning the history of Alalah in the 14<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and Giulia Torri for her help in collecting the philological information on the Alalah tablets. Niedorf 2002 suggests that Prince Tudhaliya was related to the Hittite royal family.

<sup>3</sup> For the landscape of LBA Mukiš cf. Casana 2009.

<sup>4</sup> De Vecchi 2010 and references for CTH 75; Meriggi 1975: n.306 p.330 and Hawkins 2000: 18 for Aleppo 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Singer 2017: footnote 6 and references.

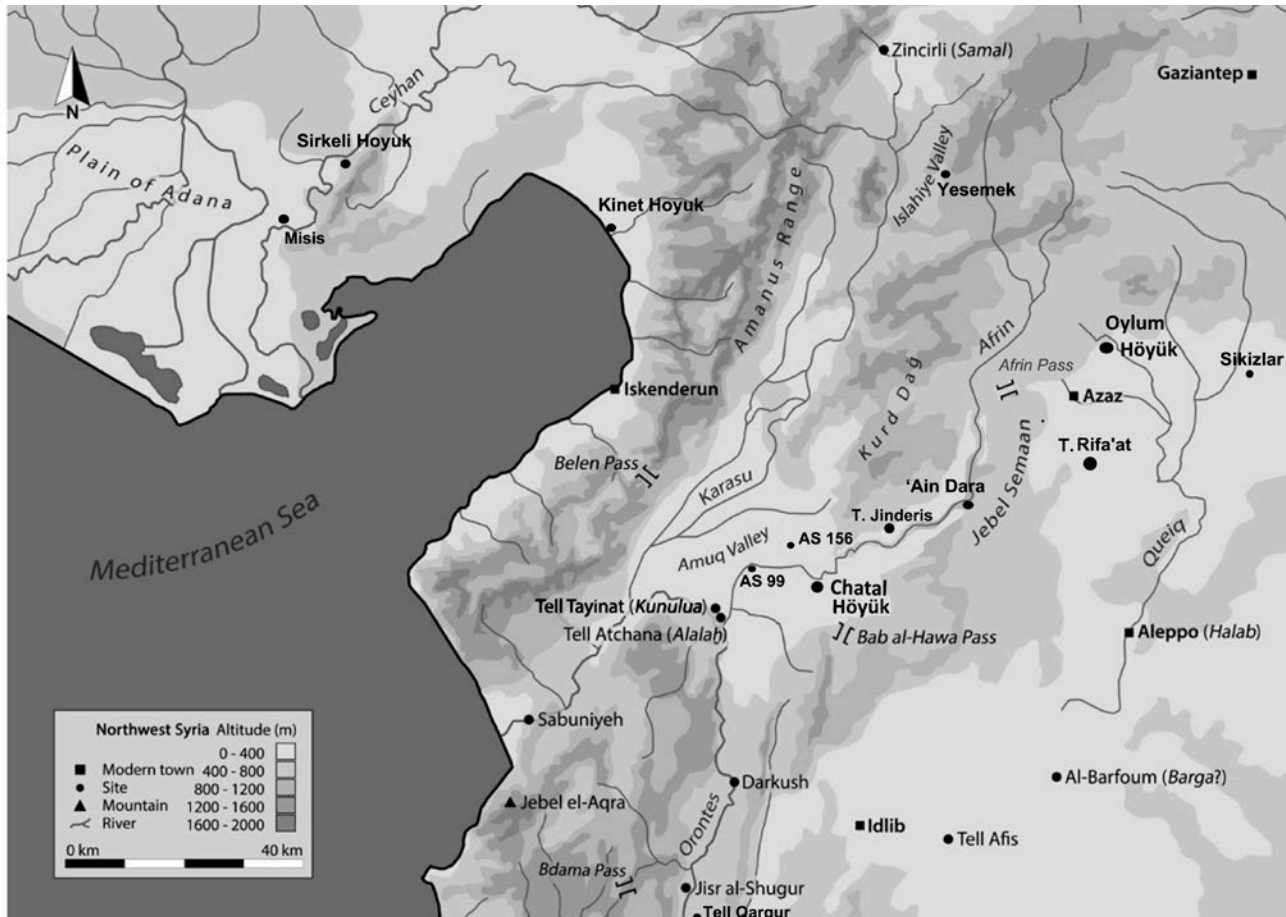


Fig. 1: Map of the Amuq area and neighbouring regions. © Author rearranged from Cohen 2017: fig. 22.2

The archaeological evidence from the Amuq<sup>6</sup> unquestionably attributed to the LBA is limited to Tell Atchana, Chatal Höyük and Tell Judeidah; further traces of Late Bronze Age occupation have been identified at Sabuniyeh (Pamir 2013).

At Tell Judeidah four “levels” of Late Bronze Age occupation were brought to light over an area of 25 m<sup>2</sup>, i.e. a square 5x5 m in Area D-F 7-10 (Haines 1971). Considering the limited extent of the exposed surface and the limited deposit ascribed to it, it is impossible to determine whether the site was occupied specifically in the LB II period; moreover, since the pottery material is still under analysis, the site has not yet provided any clues about the 14<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century material horizon. The evidence at Atchana and Chatal Höyük instead provides very important and apparently homogenous elements. At Atchana, the presence of seven fragments<sup>7</sup> of Hittite tablets found during Woolley’s excavations, biconvex seals with Hittite hieroglyphs<sup>8</sup> and the carved orthostat mentioned above (Woolley 1955: 241)

<sup>6</sup> As Casana states (2017: 165-167, idem 2009: fig. 2), our knowledge of the pottery sequence from the end of the Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Late Bronze Age II is not detailed enough to process the survey material of the Amuq Regional Survey Project and identify the sites in the valley with clear LBII materials. For this reason the maps provided by the survey project do not make any clear statement concerning the LBA II settlement pattern in the region: only future work on Late Bronze Age pottery at Atchana and the detailed process of the survey material will allow a more detailed reconstruction.

<sup>7</sup> Nidorf 2002 mentions seven fragments, while S. Košak, [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): hetkonk (v. 1.97) lists five Hittite fragments from Atchana.

<sup>8</sup> Among the 12 seals published by Barnett (in Woolley 1955), in my opinion only five can be dated to the LBII (n. 155, 156, 161, 163 and 164 in Woolley 1955: 67). For a general overview on the biconvex seals in the region cf. Gates 2011: 398.

leave no room for doubt on the presence of a settlement during the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC the problem is to clearly identify the extent of the settlement in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.<sup>9</sup> However, archaeological excavations have clearly shown that the site most likely underwent a significant reduction in size after the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>10</sup> maintaining an occupation mainly in the temple area<sup>11</sup> and possibly in the fortresses.<sup>12</sup> At Chatal Höyük LBII (Local Phase M)<sup>13</sup> levels were exposed in two areas over an expanse of 200 square meters and present a clear pattern: in Area II a large building with storerooms was replaced by smaller domestic structures with large open pebbled areas and a storage silo. The archaeological evidence therefore shows a process of ruralisation of the village, which started around the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century BC (Pucci 2019). Thus both settlements in the Amuq undergo a process of decline, which could be connected with impoverishment and food shortage, perhaps the result of a strong exploitation of the region's resources carried out by the Hittite Empire.<sup>14</sup>

Continuity of occupation, even if downsized, from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age is documented at Atchana and Chatal Höyük, while the foundation of a new settlement in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century BC is ascertained at the site of Tell Tayinat (Harrison 2014). At all three sites the levels dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> century present the same pattern: large open areas with cooking installations (at Atchana and Chatal Höyük), with storage silos (at Tell Tayinat and Chatal Höyük) and scattered domestic structures (at Chatal Höyük and likely at Tell Tayinat). A local production of Late Helladic IIIc pottery appears at all three sites at the same time; it is dated to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC and, both at Atchana and Chatal Höyük, takes place approximately a century later than the period of decline and ruralisation of the settlements.

Epigraphic sources in the Amuq disappear from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC, however from this period onwards, thanks to the discoveries at Tell Tayinat, Arsuz, and Aleppo, a provisional dynastic sequence of a new regional political entity has been established.<sup>15</sup> Five rulers reigned from the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC: the first ruler, Taita I, reigned over a new regional political entity and declared himself King of Wa/Palastin with a royal seat in Khunalua (identified with the modern site of Tell Tayinat). Epigraphic data provides scattered information on the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC and is mainly based on findings not related to stratigraphic excavations (such as the Arsuz stele): they suggest the continuity of a regional political entity in the Amuq until the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, when this area is then named in the Assyrian sources as the land of Unqi and became part of the Assyrian empire at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Atchana was definitively abandoned by the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and probably at the same time massive building activities were carried out on the acropolis at Tell Tayinat (building phase 2). These and later (building phase 3) construction on the acropolis significantly compromised the preservation of the earliest levels of Iron Age occupation at the site, particularly in the area south of Building I: the Field Phases 3 to 6 identified<sup>16</sup> underneath Building II, which are dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, appear to refer to the very beginning of IA occupation (mid-12<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century BC).

Due to the non-representative nature of the village at Chatal Höyük, no invasive building activities were carried out on the site; rather its domestic character preserved a very coherent stratigraphy during the Iron Age. From

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Casana (2017) and references for an overview of the different hypothesis concerning the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC at Alalakh. It should however be mentioned that archaeologically it is extremely difficult to clearly distinguish 13<sup>th</sup> century material culture from that dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Montesanto and Pucci in press.

<sup>11</sup> It seems evident that, considering the slab of Prince Tudhaliya reemployed in the steps of temple Level 1b, this phase of the temple's use should be ascribed to a period not only later than the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, but also to a time when the legacy of the Hittite prince was not in some way given a specific symbolic value.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Akar 2013 for the problems in dating the fortresses. However, ongoing research will analyse the sequence on both (northern and southern) fortresses.

<sup>13</sup> Phase at Chatal Höyük are based on the general division of the Amuq phases with a further internal division.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Singer's (2017: 622-623) suggestion that the addressee of a Hittite royal letter requesting "ships of grain" might be located in the Amuq.

<sup>15</sup> Dinçol, et al. 2015 proposed a royal sequence, which is employed here and it is based on the recent publications on this subject. Weeden 2013, Weeden 2015.

<sup>16</sup> cf. Harrison 2013, Janeway 2017.

the mid-12<sup>th</sup> cent. BC onwards, the fortified site was progressively more densely occupied, the domestic structures were built the ones adjoining the others, and the silos disappeared from the acropolis. Two fundamental changes in the urban planning of specific areas were identified in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, which correspond to a general rearrangement of selected neighbourhoods. In conclusion, during Iron Age I the regional political entity of Wa/palastin, with its capital Khunalua, controlled a wide area which corresponded to Mukiš, Niḫa and Nuḫḫašše (Harrison 2014). From the end of Iron Age I to Iron Age II the area was known as Patina,<sup>17</sup> and its territory was organized into a three-pier system: Khunalua remained the capital, and other centres in the Amuq, such as Chatal Höyük, gained some form of independence (Osborne 2013: 784-785).

During this long period of political change and instability two external factors are considered to have played a role in influencing the local material culture and consequently are relevant not only as markers for cultural encounters, but also as chronological indicators.

The first factor is related to the Hittite Empire and its impact on the material culture of its conquered territories: both Gates (2001) and Postgate (2007) have hypothesized a connection between the Hittite political presence and, at the very least in Cilicia, the presence of a specific pottery industry, establishing a link between "imperial" centralized production and the consequent standardization and exportation of this model in newly conquered territories. In addition, a specific style in monumental carving and its legacy in the following periods has also been related to the profound Hittite influence on south-eastern Turkey, especially as far as Amuq and northern Syria are concerned.

The second factor, reinforced by recent epigraphic evidence, returns to a migration theory that has connected the beginning of a Levantine production of painted pottery in the IA I to the migration of "Mycenaean/Aegean populations" or "sea people". In southern Levant, this specific painted pottery production has been labelled as Philistine (for a general overview on the research history cf. Dothan and Dothan 1992: 31-34), and it has been linked to the physical presence of migrants in the southern Levant. In the archaeology of the Northern Levant, scholars have taken a more cautious approach in linking pottery production specifically to the presence of migrants, preferring to refer to the pottery more generally as "Aegean style" (Janeway 2017).

## 2. HITTITES IN THE AMUQ?

The link between imperialism and centralized production is based on the correspondence between a centralized political power and a system of production (primarily visible in the ceramic evidence): not only pottery analysis but also several other sources of information, such as texts and specific archaeological contexts related to the production system, may prove the existence of this relationship.<sup>18</sup> Strictly connected to it is the question of standardization; a centrally-controlled system of production should lead to a high rate of production and consequently a high level of standardization, however ethnographic and metric studies have proven this causal chain wrong,<sup>19</sup> as not all centralized production is standardized. Moreover, considering that standardization is related to specific metric measurements of the vessels, it should not equated with homogeneity, which concerns ceramic assemblages that share the same morphological, decorative and technical (fabric) features.<sup>20</sup> In other words, homogeneity of an assemblage is not synonymous with standardization.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Osborne 2013 for territory and sovereignty in the IAI Amuq and the problems of defining a boundary for Patina.

<sup>18</sup> Duistermaat 2008: 470, Postgate 2010: 29 analysed this relationship concerning the Middle Assyrian Empire.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the discussion on this matter in Horowitz in press, on the relationship between rate of production and standardization in Roux 2003, on the application of the Coefficient of variability (Eerkens and Bettinger 2001) and its problems in the analysis of Hittite pottery cf. Mühlenbruch 2014: 194; on the connections between standardization and centralized administration cf. Mielke 2016: 161-163.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mielke (2016) who uses both terms and their distinctions in Mühlenbruch (2014: 191-196 and 214) and who includes this homogeneity factor as only one of the four elements required to define standardization.

### 2.1 *The Amuq archaeological evidence and pottery production: drab ware and standardization.*

As mentioned above, both the Atchana and Chatal Höyük settlements are characterized by a population decline already during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. At Atchana the majority of the pottery material dates to the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC (Horowitz in press), while archaeological evidence from the 13<sup>th</sup> century refers to a sequence identified in one square (42.10) on the acropolis (Montesanto and Pucci in print). As Horowitz has clearly illustrated, ceramic materials from 14<sup>th</sup> century BC contexts at Atchana do not show any specific features that could be linked to a change in the pottery production system during that century (Horowitz 2015, in press). She does, however, identify several shapes that are considered to belong to a north-central Anatolian tradition; their arrival has been related to contact with the Anatolian plateau and to the Hittite presence in the region, which will be discussed separately.

At Chatal Höyük LBA II assemblages (Phase M\_middle and late) included the highest number of different classes, some of which disappear in the IA. The group of simple ware is the richest one, with an overwhelming number of rim-sherds and of shapes in comparison to the other classes. Its fabric covers a large spectrum of textures (fine to medium) and a range of colours from grey to pale brown and from pink to reddish brown. Among the 2107 sherds analysed from these levels, 38% were characterized by a visible straw temper; this percentage seems to decrease in the following periods. Shallow bowls comprise 75% of the whole simple ware inventory; the shape ranges from simple hemispherical bowls and very shallow bowls (almost plates) with incurving rim (Fig. 2a, b and e), to simple (Fig. 2d and f) or internal pointed rims (Fig. 2g). These shallow bowls are extremely popular in this period; the apparently uniform dimensions (the diameters range from 200 to 300 mm, capacity ranges from 0.7 to 1 litre), the high number of specimens, the homogeneity of their appearance (Fig. 3) and their morphology find comparison at Atchana and in Cilicia. However it cannot be considered a standardized production as the clay, shape of the rim and colours vary no potmarks were recorded in the shallow bowls at Chatal and only one in the inventory from Atchana.

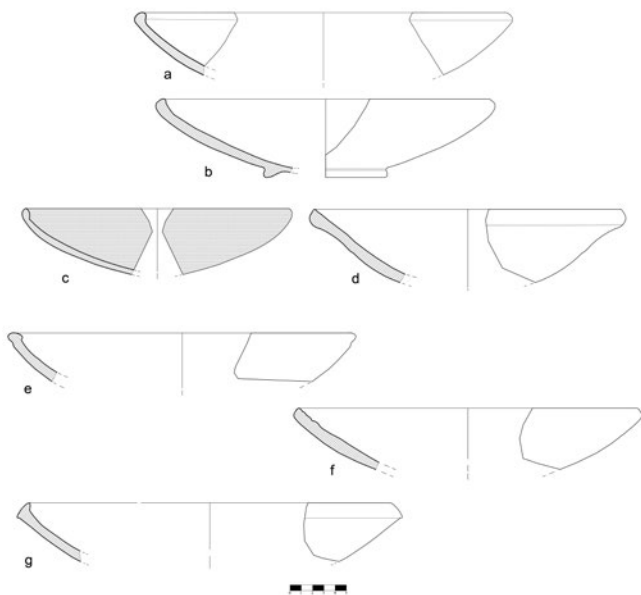
At Atchana (Woolley 1955, types 5 and 6, pl. 109) these shapes are produced in several fabrics, and their peak of distribution is during Level IV, i.e. in Late Bronze Age I. At Kinet Höyük in periods 15 and 14 this shape is representative of *drab ware* production and a marker of Hittite influence in the region (Gates 2006: Fig. 8, 2013: 104), following the same criteria employed for Tarsus LBIIa shapes (Goldman 1956: fig. 384), while at Mersin-Soli Höyük *drab ware* is attested to only in sherds with potmarks (Yağcı 2007).<sup>21</sup> The homogeneity and frequency of this shape, which is also evident at Chatal, together with the appearance of potters' marks on some specimens, absent at Chatal, has led scholars to connect shape and fabric, and use it as a proof of a centralized economic presence or strong Hittite influence.

Because the term “*drab ware*” is frequently used not only as a cultural element (indicating connections to Anatolia and by extension to the Hittite area) but also as a chronological marker (signifying the arrival of the Hittites in the Amuq area), it is therefore extremely important to define its meaning and ascertain its relevance in the Amuq. To my knowledge, this term was used for the first time in 1937 to define a fabric of LBII pottery in Tarsus (Goldman 1937): it identified a poor quality ceramic production that was also present in level LBIIb (a level that is contemporary with IAI levels at all other sites), with brown to red clay and potters' marks frequently visible on its surface (Fig. 4b). According to Summers (1993: 42-43), referring to the site of Tille Höyük on the Euphrates, *drab ware* is characterized by external scrape marks, chaff and grit temper, reddish-brown fabric, and may be burnished (Fig. 4e); according to Gates (2001) it is a monochrome standardized pottery, orange to light brown with gritty fabric and frequent potmarks (Fig. 4d); in Mersin (Fig. 4c) the term has been used to identify simple ware pottery of lev. VI (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004). Outside Cilicia *drab ware* has been tied to LBA II simple ware shallow bowls found at sites where there was a Hittite presence during the LBII, as in Tilmen Höyük (Colantoni 2010), Tell Afis (Venturi 2013) or Tille Höyük (Summers 2013).

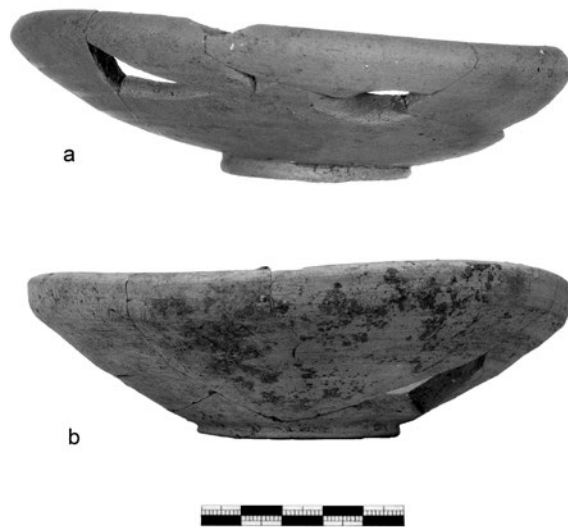
When moving to the core of production (i.e. the Anatolian plateau) of this hypothetical mass product, *drab ware* is “the predominant fabric type in any Hittite pottery assemblage, an unslipped ware with completely oxi-

<sup>21</sup> At Tille Höyük the plates and shallow bowls labelled as *drab ware* and found in Iron Age I contexts present morphological modifications, which also take place at Chatal in the very beginning of the Iron Age. Summers 2010: 195-196.

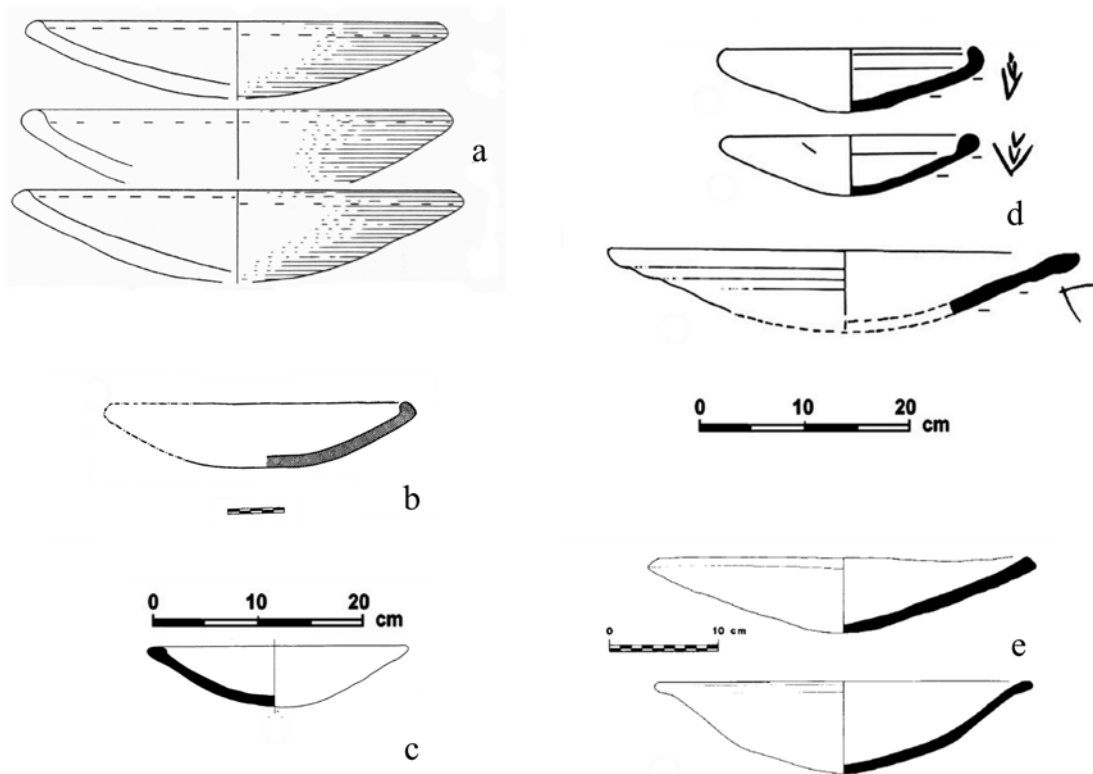




**Fig. 2:** Phase M\_Late (LBII), Chatal Höyük, bowls, drawing © Author



**Fig. 3:** Phase M\_Late (LBII), Chatal Höyük, bowls © Oriental Institute \



**Fig. 4:** Examples from so called drab ware bowls from northern Levant and bowls from Bogazköy. A. Bogazköy (Müller-Karpe 1988: S5); b. Bowl from Mersin (Garstang 1953: fig. 157.7); c. Bowl from LBIIa Tarsus (Goldman 1956: fig. 384.1119); d. Bowls from Kinet Höyük lev. 14-13.1 (Gates 2013: fig. 5); e. Bowl from IAI Tille Höyük (Summers 2013: fig. 10 1-3)

dised biscuit and buff colouring. The surface is smoothed without much care” (Schoop 2011: 242). This fabric is employed in all shapes of the second Millennium production; it is known in Anatolia from the Middle Bronze Age and becomes dominant in Anatolia during the 16<sup>th</sup> century BC (Mielke 2017: 130). The Hittite drab ware from Boğazköy only represents the “poor” version of the simple ware production, while “more than a half of the drab ware pottery is still indistinguishable from older assemblages in terms of quality” (Schoop 2003: 173), and its uniformity has been proven in the sites of the Kızılırmak basin (Gates in print and references). Thus there is a drab ware production of the Kızılırmak basin and a drab ware production of the southern coast, Cilicia; the latter has also been used to define vessels in the Northern Levant.

If we follow the first definition of drab ware, the fabric of the conical bowls with an incurving rim from Chatal cannot be compared to the fabric described as drab ware from Tarsus or Kinet Höyük: it does not look “drab” in comparison to later periods, the grit is not very abundant, nor do they show any potters’ marks or frequent signs of poorly fired clay (only 19.7% of the simple ware rim sherds bear central dark cores), while chaff temper is frequently used. The situation is identical at Atchana (Horowitz in press) as the fabric does not diminish in quality from the LBI.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, independent of the discussion concerning Cilician and Anatolian drab wares and their relationship to mass production or a centralized political organization (cf. Gates in print, and references), the Amuq region, as well as the upper Euphrates and the whole of northern Syria as I would suggest, should not be included as belonging to the area where the drab ware fabric was produced and used.<sup>23</sup>

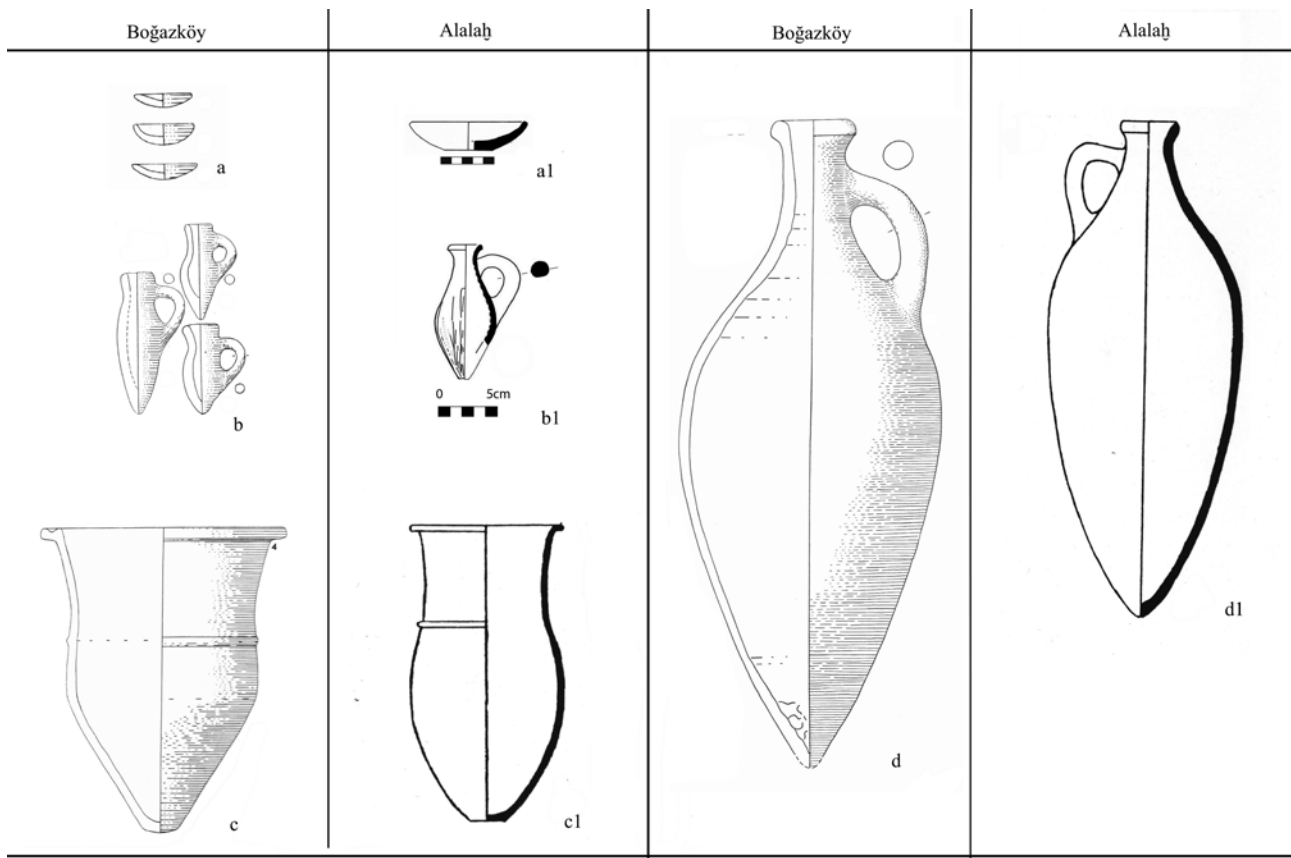
A different approach, still strictly connected to the concept of centralized production, concerns the specific shape described above: the shallow bowl with incurving rim. The large homogeneous<sup>24</sup> production in the Hittite capital (Müller-Karpe 1988: typ. S5) and in the Anatolian Plateau (Mielke 2010: fig. 5, Mühlenbruch 2014) includes large numbers of shallow bowls with incurving rims; it is the second most common shape in Bogazköy (Fig. 4e) and Sarissa, and Glatz (Glatz 2009: Fig. 2.3) includes it in her group of seven common pottery types of north-central Anatolia. This rim shape on shallow bowls recurs very frequently in both northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia: in Tarsus (Goldman 1956: Pl. 384), Kilise Tepe (Bouthillier et al. 2014: fig. 46), Kinet Höyük (Gates in print: fig. 8), Ugarit (Yon 2006), Emar (Finkbeiner 2001: Fig. 9g and 11b), and Tell Sukas (cf. Riis et al. 1996: fig. 26). However, outside the Hittite border, we know of a long lasting tradition of shallow bowls with incurving rims in the Levant from the end of the Middle Bronze Age, which continues in the LBI at Tell Arqa (Charaf 2004: 236 and fig. 4), Qatna (Iamoni 2012: pl. 14), in the LBA levels at Hama G and F (Fugmann 1958: figs 161 and 165) and at Tell Hadidi (Dornemann 1981), as well as to the east at Tell Fekheryie (Coppini in press) during the whole LBA I.

Therefore, because this specific shape is very common well beyond the borders of the Hittite Empire and before the LB II, it cannot be taken as a marker of Hittite presence in the Amuq; consequently the production of these bowls at Atchana and Chatal Höyük seems to lack any link to Hittite centralized production. I would suggest that there is only one main morphological feature which differentiates between the production of the Amuq and the Levant from that from Cilicia and Anatolia, which is related not to the rim shape but to the shape of the base of these shallow bowls; a rounded narrow or a cut-off and flat base are considered typical for shallow bowls both in Cilicia and in Anatolia. This is not the case for the shallow bowls identified at Chatal (fig 3), that have a regular ring base.

<sup>22</sup> There is only one element which may require further investigation concerning the production of these specific plates: in Cilicia the base is flat or concave, narrow and usually “cut off” with “rilling” and scraping near the bottom. At Chatal Höyük this feature could not be observed, but in the assemblage from the Iron Age I deposits at Atchana some convex bases of open vessels with “rilling” on the external face have been recorded and may refer to the same feature observed in Cilicia.

<sup>23</sup> Recent use of terms such as Hittite monochrome pottery for the simple ware production at Tell Tayinat is even more misleading (cf. Harrison 2013, Janeway 2017) than the term drab ware.

<sup>24</sup> Here it is preferable to employ the term homogeneous instead of standardized because the question whether Hittite imperial production was standardized or not is still open. Cf. Mühlenbruch (2014) and Mielke (2016).



**Fig. 5:** Pottery Shapes of Hittite tradition at Boğazköy and in the Amuq. a. Miniature plate from Boğazköy (Müller Karpe 1988: N5) a.1 Miniature plate from Alalah (Horowitz 2015); b. miniature juglet from Boğazköy (Müller-Karpe 1988: K12); b.2 Miniature juglet from Alalah (Horowitz 2015); c. Cylindrical pithos from Boğazköy (Müller-Karpe 1988: T15a); c.1 cylindrical Pithos from Alalah (Woolley 1955: pl. 123 n150); d. Pointed jar from Boğazköy (Müller-Karpe 1988: K2); d.1. Pointed jar from Alalah (Woolley 1955: pl. 111 n. 39)

## 2.2 Hittite habits and behaviours in the Amuq

Even if the ceramic production in the Amuq does not appear to prove any economic impact from the Hittite conquest, cultural contact with the Hittites in the south-eastern territories is often reported when dealing not only with specific pottery shapes, which are considered characteristically Hittite or North-central Anatolian (Glatz 2009, 2011), but also with other objects such as biconvex seals, metal figurines and votive axes. However, considering that the presence of seals and small finds may be the result of the well-known circulation of luxury objects or better to the contacts between administrative Hittite centers, here I mainly focus on archaeological objects that can be used as markers for specific daily activities, such as containers, rather than as the result of steady commerce or of communicating elites.

Five shapes have been considered new LBII in LBII local repertoires of the Amuq and of conquered territories in Syria. Two have already been identified by Glatz (2009: Fig. 2), i.e. the two miniaturist shapes (Fig. 5a, plates N3 and N5,<sup>25</sup> and Fig. 5b, pitcher K12). Three further shapes have been identified as “Hittite” in the Amuq rep-

<sup>25</sup> This paper uses the shape typology created by Müller-Karpe 1988, which was improved upon and refined by scholars dealing with pottery from the central Anatolian plateau such as Arnhold 2009, Mielke 2006, Mühlénbruch 2014, because it is currently applied to the largest and richest assemblages from the LBA II in central Anatolia and provides observations for each shape concerning their function.

ertoire or in neighbouring regions: the large one-handed pointed jar (Fig. 5d), the so-called libation arm and the high jars with funnel or vertical necks (Fig. 5c, T1/2)<sup>26</sup>. They appear only in LB contexts in the area (Fig. 5a1, 5b1, 5c1 and 5d1 present examples from Atchana) and are immediately discarded in IAI.

At Chatal Höyük, which was in all likelihood a large village during the LBII period (Casana 2009), not a single fragment of these types of shapes was recovered.

At Atchana evidence of these shapes is also extremely ephemeral and only consists of a few sherds. The best evidence comes from the religious/ritual sphere: miniature plates and pitchers<sup>27</sup> were found near the temple area on the acropolis (Horowitz 2015: fig. 7.7). These elements, together with the fragment of a Hittite oracle text near the temple and the Tudhaliya orthostat reemployed in the temple, suggest that the rituals were probably performed in the Hittite manner in the local temple on the acropolis. In this sense their absence at Chatal Höyük, where no ritual/religious contexts dating to the LBII were brought to light, is not surprising. It is more difficult to ascribe to this same functional context the so-called libation arms (Müller-Karpe 1988: La). A complete arm-shaped vessel and a fragment (Woolley 1955: AT37/225 and 226) were found in a domestic environment at Atchana and date to a period earlier than the Hittite occupation of the settlement; however, considering the uncertainty of their function,<sup>28</sup> and their large distribution in the eastern Mediterranean basin, they may belong to the group of objects related to commerce Mielke 2006, map.

Two complete piriform jugs were also found in the excavations at Atchana (Woolley 1955: pl. 111 no. 39 lev. II, Horowitz in press, fig. 15 nos 3-5, Montesanto and Pucci in print) in domestic contexts and in very late levels (end of the LBA). Müller-Karpe (1988: K2) associates this shape with the storage of liquids, possibly wine; however, the shape is also likely connected to the transport of liquids and the example from Atchana is very small.<sup>29</sup>

Tracing the cylindrical pithos as a marker of Anatolian influence is even more complicated because the shape of this specific vessel can be identified only on the basis of large fragments. According to Müller Karpe (1988, T1/2) the shape and size of these vessels points to their use as kitchen aids, most likely as storage containers for dry food. At Atchana two pithoid jars were found in Level IV (Woolley 1955: Pl. 123 no. 150), again in a period earlier than the LBA II, and a third has been uncovered during recent excavations in the same level (Horowitz in press: fig. 15 no. 6) in period 2-1. This shape is not only a rare find, as both authors state, in the LB assemblage at Atchana (three in a total), but, as Horowitz suggests, it could also be related to an Euphratic tradition.

Although Tell Afis is located in a more offset position than the Amuq in relation to the Hittite core, the context of retrieval of these final two shapes is completely different from that of Atchana: these shapes were found in levels VIa-Vb (Venturi 2014: fig.3,7 and 8) on the acropolis. In particular the cylindrical pithoi were recovered also in primary context in a building probably the residence of the local governor, where Hittite tablets (Archi and Venturi 2012) were also recovered. It is possible that the residents of this specific part of the acropolis were part of the Hittitized or Hittite elite (Venturi 2014) and used storage vessels employed in Anatolia. Only further investigations of other LBA II contexts at the site may confirm if this tradition was common also outside this specific building.

Thus, the evidence presented here appears to suggest that Hittite culture left a very light footprint in Mukiš, which is visible only in very specific contexts such as the religious (temple area at Atchana) or the domestic (residence of the local governor at Tell Afis) spheres. Moreover, the persistence of Northern Levantine practices of drinking, eating and cooking, different from those of Anatolia, as well as the strong continuity with the LBA I pottery traditions reflects an extremely low impact of Hittite culture; the LBI Hurrian tradition in pottery and seal production demonstrates stronger traces in the LBA II than in the contemporary arrival of Hittite culture.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> At Atchana these are called cylindrical pithos (Horowitz 2015); at Tell Afis crateroid amphora.

<sup>27</sup> The religious sphere of use of these vessels in Anatolia seems to be confirmed by their context of retrieval in Boğazköy, cf. Müller-Karpe (1988) shapes N5 and N6.

<sup>28</sup> For a general discussion of the functions of these vessels cf. Mielke 2007: map 2, and Pucci 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Pedrazzi 2007 stresses the commercial function of these jars and an origin different from those of Anatolia.

<sup>30</sup> An ongoing project at the Università di Firenze investigates the eating, drinking and cooking habits of the Northern Levant in comparison to neighbouring regions (Mediterranean, Anatolian and northern Mesopotamian) for the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age in order to define communities of practice.

### 2.3 *The Hittite Legacy*

None of the Hittite shapes discussed above continue in Iron Age I production, confirming the ephemeral nature of the impact of Hittite culture on local materials. This fact collides, as Mazzoni (2016: 283-285) has clearly emphasized, with two elements: first, the impact of Hittite iconography and style on the carved decoration at Ain Dara, dating to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC; and secondly and more relevantly, the Hittite legacy visible on the orthostatic decoration of Iron Age I town or citadel gates and on the use of the Luwian hieroglyphic writing in monumental inscriptions.

In fact, from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards the ruling classes at Karkemish (with the Suhi-Katuwas dynasty), Malatya, and Zincirli (with Kilamuwa) established a new iconographic language that focused on exalting the local dynasty and used public spaces on the acropolis for collective performances in order to reinforce the community identity;<sup>31</sup> this process had already started during the 11<sup>th</sup> century as Taita's reliefs in the Aleppo temple and possibly some monumental inscriptions at Tell Tayinat appear to demonstrate (Kohlmeyer 2012). The iconographic language employed in the earliest Iron Age monuments strongly reformulates that of the Hittites, ascribing new meanings to specific figures, using a different narrative, and shifting the main focus of the iconographic program of Syro-Hittite centres from the religious to the political sphere (Gilibert 2011, Pucci 2015).

However, the concept of decorating external spaces, the know-how of relief carving on architectural elements, and the style of the Iron Age I reliefs all find their forerunners in the Hittite tradition of urban monuments and rock carvings. This all implies that the Syro-Hittite artisans, especially those in the Amuq in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, not only were familiar enough with the language to reformulate it, but also had the skills and know-how to apply this transformation. Considering that Hittite monuments are completely lacking in LBA Amuq,<sup>32</sup> it is impossible to explain this continuity as an imitation of a preceding tradition already embedded in the region. However it does seem possible to suggest a working hypothesis based on following evidence: the building site at Ain Dara, as well as the one at Yesemek, are the most recent LBA ones near the Amuq (for a date to the 13<sup>th</sup> century cf. Mazzoni 2013: 473); in particular Ain Dara is directly accessible from the Amuq following the route that leads from Ain Dara to Tell Jindaris (16 km) to Chatal Höyük (16 km) to Tell Tayinat/Atchana (32 km), while the route to Yesemek, i.e. the Kara-Su valley, was probably at the time more difficult to follow, as the survey in that area has suggested (cf. Osborne 2013). Karkemish and Malatya are the only centres that assert not only a Hittite dynastic continuity from the LBA, but also a very strong continuity with the Hittite pottery tradition, mainly visible in Malatya (Manuelli 2013), and with Hittite iconography visible both at Malatya and Karkemish (Mazzoni 1997: 310-316). Therefore it seems likely that these two sites, i.e. the area of the upper Euphrates, may have developed the bridge between the LBA and the IA carving traditions, providing work for an "atelier" during the 12<sup>th</sup> century and keeping alive the necessary know-how related to it.

### 3. PELESETS IN THE AMUQ?

The link between change in material culture and migration theory postulated in past research has been revitalized in the last twenty years (Anthony 1990, Hakenbeck 2008, van Dommelen 2014), and it has been repropounded in an effort to explain material change. One of the most innovative approaches to "prove" the presence of foreigners in a local context is related to the analysis of materials as social objects (Knapp and Dommelen 2010). Each object in a given context represents an integral dimension of culture; investigating the use of objects from a social perspective fulfills the need to analyse social relationships and past behaviours, which are crucial in defining com-

<sup>31</sup> On this subject cf. Mazzoni 1997, Mazzoni 2000, Pucci 2009, Pucci 2008b, Pucci 2008a, Gilibert 2011.

<sup>32</sup> The only two carved blocks were mentioned above and consists of one hieroglyphic inscription of Talmi Sarruma and of the carved orthostat of prince Tudhaliya.

munity identity and help in distinguishing migration from other processes of cultural encounters such as hybridization, entanglement and appropriation.<sup>33</sup>

Several scholars<sup>34</sup> have applied the concept of “habitus” in tracking migration following a simple reasoning: a shared habitus characterizes a community, thus it is not the single object but the act/performance behind it that provides us with the clues for understanding the embedded, entangled, networked or symmetric signifiers of a specific community of reference. It is the way we eat, drink, cook, how we organize the domestic space, and consequently how is the social structure of the household, how we store, bury our dead that emphasize differences and similarities among communities. A quantitative analysis of pottery according to its functional range, rather than according to the morphology of the vessels, provides important data for identifying changes in habits, even in secondary deposits. Only the presence of a “foreign” habit may suggest the presence of a different community, possibly of migrants, while the presence of a single psi-figurine or a violin bow shaped fibula should not be relevant in tracking migration. Several studies on well-known migration phenomena support this method in identifying different cultural groups and their modes of interaction with the local population using archaeological objects and contexts as remnants of a past behaviours.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.1 Mycenaean or Mycenaeanizing pottery in the Iron Age I.

Unlike the scattered evidence of Hittite presence during the LBA, the archaeological material from the Amuq concerning a Mycenaean or Aegean impact is extremely abundant and pertains to the sites of Chatal Höyük, Tell Tayinat and Tell Atchana.

During the IA I, the process of re-urbanization of the settlement at Chatal intensified without any evident gaps or interruptions. Phase N, which is identified at Chatal and other sites in the Amuq with the appearance of large quantities of painted pottery, begins at Chatal Höyük in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC and does not correspond to a change in the urban arrangement, in view of the excavations thus far.<sup>36</sup>

Assemblages belonging to IA I (Phase N) at Chatal Höyük occur in all excavated areas; however, because only in Areas II and V excavations have also reached the preceding Phase M, deposits ascribed to the earliest remains belonging to IA I (N<sub>beginning</sub>) only relate to these two areas. Area II in particular is the only zone at this site that delivers a sequence from Phases M to N in a significant excavated area (from a minimum of 200 to 600 m<sup>2</sup>); here a series of small dwelling units with pebble floors, mudbrick silos and burials were identified. Area IVa also provided archaeologists with a sequence from Phases M to N but few clear structures surfaced; the extent of the excavations was also limited and consequently the loci were less reliable. The pottery assemblages from Phase N<sub>beginning</sub> building levels show an increasing percentage<sup>37</sup> per locus of monochrome (with one colour) painted pottery with a very wide range of patterns, both local (oblique lines, cross-hatched triangles, horizontal lines) and foreign: swirls, concentric circles, chequers, wavy lines, and concentric foliated semicircles are the most common and find their direct counterparts in Furumark’s patterns typology of Late Helladic IIIc pottery (Furumark 1941).

The vast majority (97%) of painted vessels have a fabric identical to that of the local simple ware production — semi-porous brownish orange/beige paste with mineral temper, and multi-coloured grit with iron inclusions — and is therefore considered locally made. Moreover the monochrome painted vessels with local fabric lack any slip on

<sup>33</sup> For a general overview of the use of these terms cf. Knapp and Van Dommelen 2015, Van Dommelen 2012; entanglement in particular is employed as one type of object-human relationship Caraher 2016, Hodder 2012.

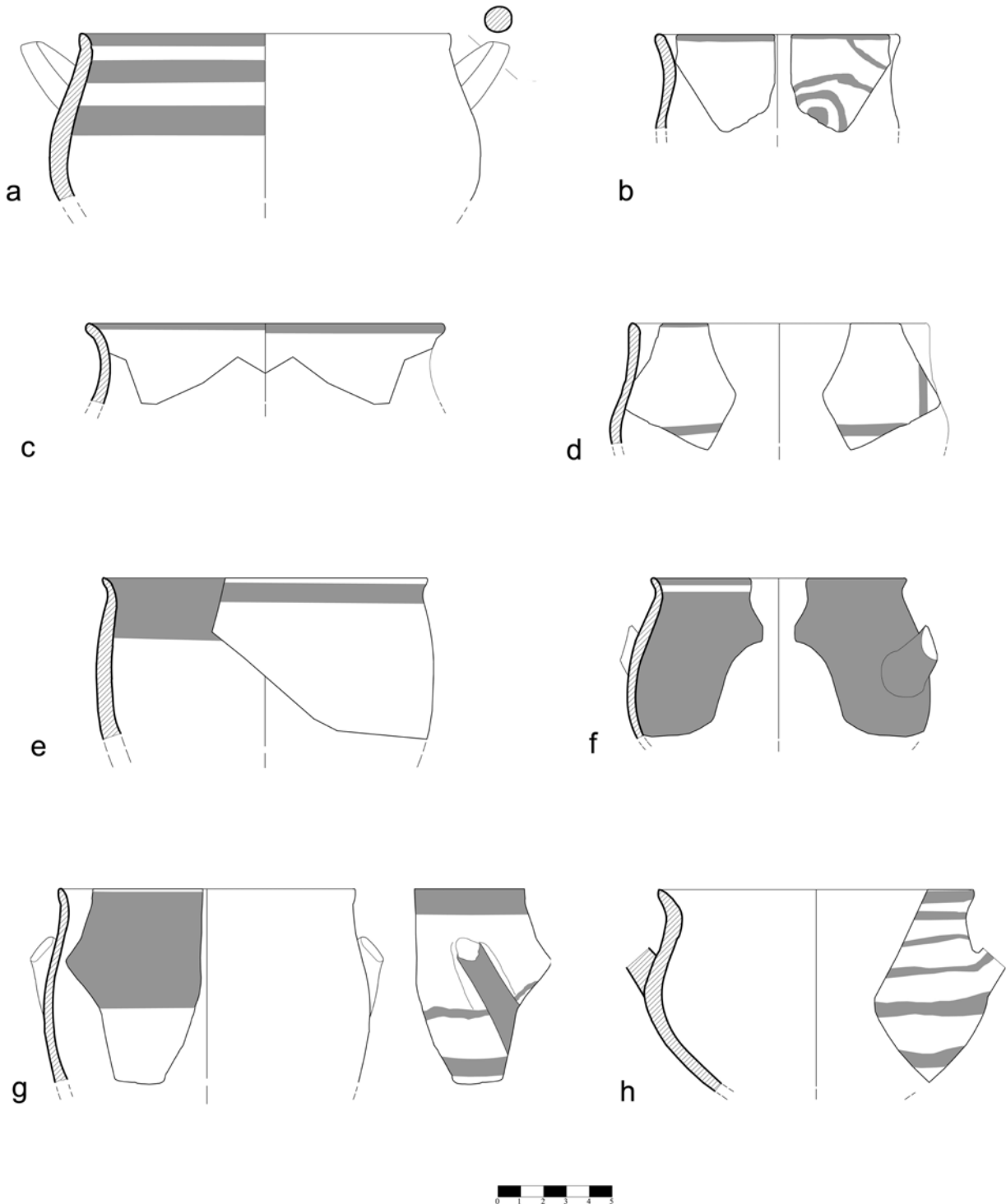
<sup>34</sup> Burmeister 2000: 542 for the use of this concept in tracking migration, cf. also Schiffer and Hollenback 2010, Skibo and Schiffer 2008.

<sup>35</sup> Redmond 2007, Yasur-Landau 2010, Brighton 2009, Hills 2015. For a comparison between Anglo-Saxons and Sea Peoples migration cf. Rahmstorf 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Mainly the presence of a LHIIIc late production seems to suggest the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century as the beginning of phase N.

<sup>37</sup> I have worked with the pottery fragments that were already selected by Braidwood (for the Iron Age there was a total of 12.000 pieces). It seems likely that he selected almost all painted rimsherds and probably discarded part of the simple ware rim fragments. For this reason, the percentage of 94% of painted pottery in the phase N assemblages is obviously false, yet it still mirrors a high number and consequently a possible majority of this class of pottery.





**Fig. 6:** Painted bowls with outcurving rim from Chatal Höyük (Phase N\_Beginning)

the surface, a treatment that could also be observed in the very few painted monochrome sherds with a non-local fabric. Thus ware and decorative patterns suggest that Mycenaean pottery was locally made using patterns and syntax that are typical of the LHIIIC middle style.

When looking at quantities of pottery and their functional categories<sup>38</sup> it is possible to provide an even more detailed overview.

Drinking and eating assemblages were influenced the most by the presence of Helladic elements: single-serving eating shallow bowls with incurving rims, which were so common in the previous phase, strongly decrease and then disappear during Phase N. Large quantities of painted monochrome bowls with out-curving rims were identified in Phase N\_Beginning at Chatal Höyük (Fig. 6); the rim shape, size (0.8 to 1 l) and number of specimens make the bowl a single-serving eating (or drinking) vessel, which may have replaced the disappearing shallow bowls. A slightly globular body, two horizontal handles, an outcurving thinned rim and a high ring base characterize this shape and identify it with the typical Mycenaean bowl, also called “bell-shaped bowl” (Furumark 1941: FS 284-286, Mountjoy 1999). It is in from LHIIIA (cf. Furumark 1941: 48-49) and its shape changes only slightly regionally and over time: the globular body and the high ring base are typical features of the late LHIIIC middle period, whereas the decorative patterns, the wavy line and the reserved bands belong to the LHIIIC developed style. The bowls are homogeneous in their general features and size, however they differ in rim shape, thickness of the vessel, decoration, and shape of the handle.

The second most common shape in this category is the single serving hemispherical bowl with thinned rim (0.4 l), painted or simple ware, which continues the LBA II tradition. Apparently no traces of the well-known stemmed cups (FS 266), considered typical drinking vessels in the Mycenaean area, are found at Chatal Höyük.

In these contexts there are also several examples of hybrids, i.e. vessels with local and foreign traits, and two of them will be discussed here. The large carinated bowl (Fig.7) with out-turning rim and radial decoration appears to be a new IA creation, typical of the Amuq region, and although generally it is not very prevalent, among the multiple serving eating vessels it is the second most common shape. The handled examples from Chatal (Fig. 7a) may suggest that the original shape was a shallow angular bowl (FS 295), while its size and curvilinear shape make it a local creation, probably deriving from the s-shaped bowls of LBA tradition. The radial painted decoration on the rim is prominent in the local tradition of LBA II, while the narrow painted bands may imitate a decorative pattern on LHIIIC pottery.

The potstand (Fig. 8) is a second example that shows very clear hybridization; the shape is not common in the Mycenaean mainland tradition, as its few appearances in earlier levels is related to an east Aegean influence (Mountjoy 1999, fig. 470), or for the later LHIIIC examples to a Dodecanese influence. The pieces found in Tell Afis (Venturi 2007: 53.2) and the fenestrated stands with simple rim produced in Syria during the Late Bronze Age at Tell Brak (Oates 1987: pl. 64b), Tell Bazi (Otto 2006: Abb. 46, 1-3) and Tell al Rimah (Postgate, Oates, and Oates 1997: pl. 95 no. 1135) point toward a local northern Syrian tradition for this shape. By contrast the narrow painted decoration in registers with triangles are clearly related to an Aegean decorative syntax, and the triple rim of the Chatal example closely parallels the East Aegean tradition (cf. Mountjoy 1998: fig. 12,2 and 3); cross-hatched triangles in a row are both a local Phase N feature deriving from the local painted tradition and a Mediterranean pattern.

Kraters (biconical and amphoroid) were also well known in the preceding LBA phase in Northern Levant as both a local production (Horowitz in press) and as an imported object (Wijngaarden 2002, Steel 2013). The biconical krater was the most common shape among the kraters at Chatal Höyük during LBA II and was the shape more often decorated with local geometric patterns. Both shapes (biconical Fig. 9a and amphoroid Fig. 9b) may belong to the same sphere of use; the opening of the vessels (25-30 cm) and their capacity (8-12 l, although calculated on reconstructions) appear to uphold a tradition well known in the LBA, a period during which kraters were part of the drinking set and employed for communal drinking or appeared in grave goods as a social status symbol.<sup>39</sup> During the IA I (Phase N), the amphoroid krater becomes more popular and by the end of Phase N replaces the biconical krater; subsequently the geometric painted patterns of Phase M tradition are replaced by the new repertoire, with the introduction of a few figurative elements inspired by the LHIIIC production, but again locally modified, as in the example presented here (Fig. 9c).

<sup>38</sup> For the morphological criteria employed in defining the classes and the functional categories employed in the pottery analysis at Chatal Höyük cf. Pucci 2019, *lev.*, IId

<sup>39</sup> On this subject cf. Steel 2013, Crowel and Morris 2015.

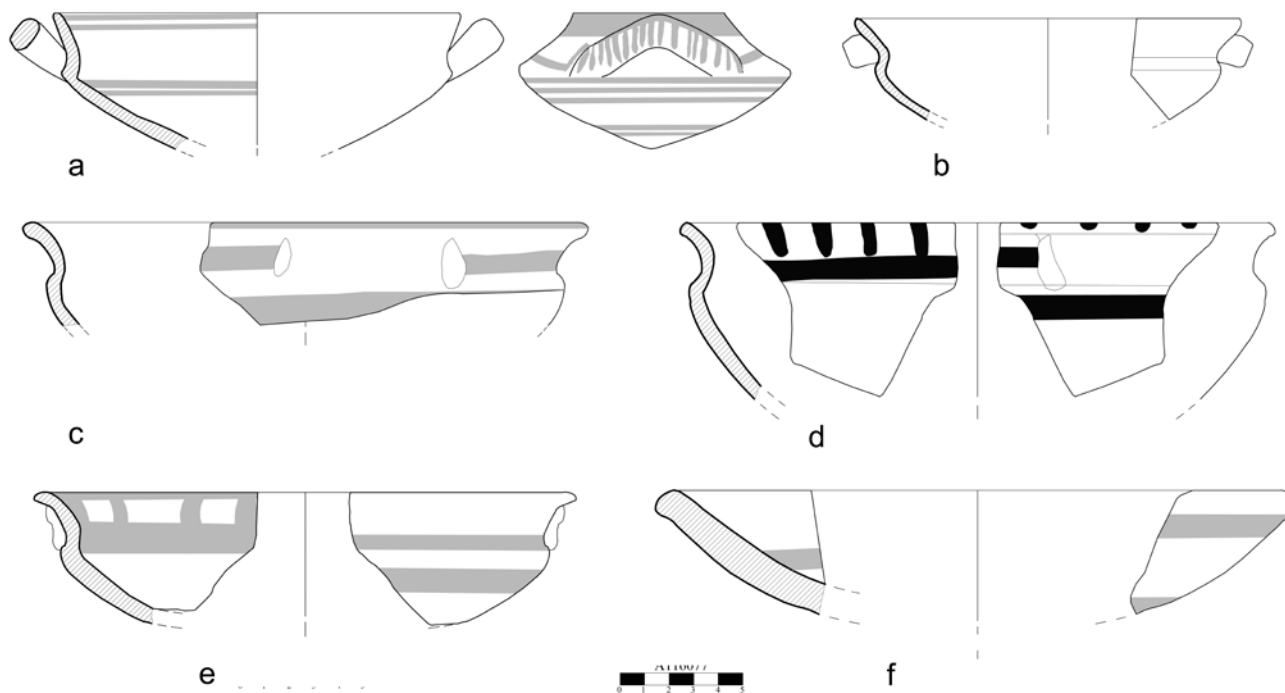


Fig. 7: Carinated bowls from Chalal Höyük (Phase N\_beginning and N\_Mid).

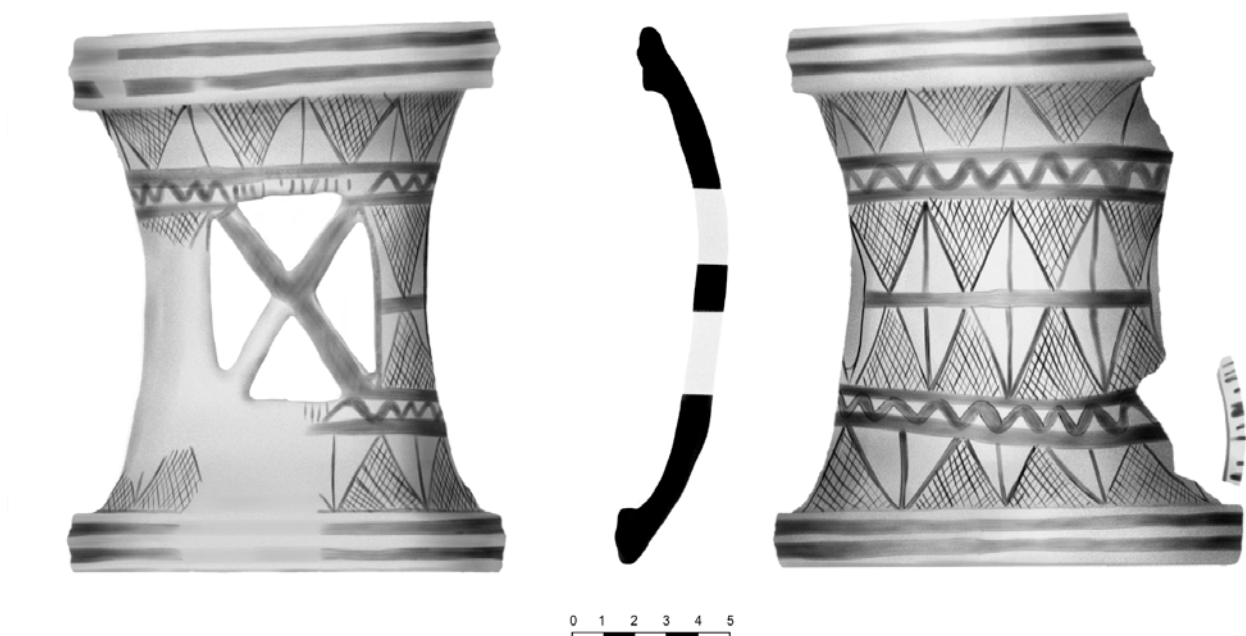
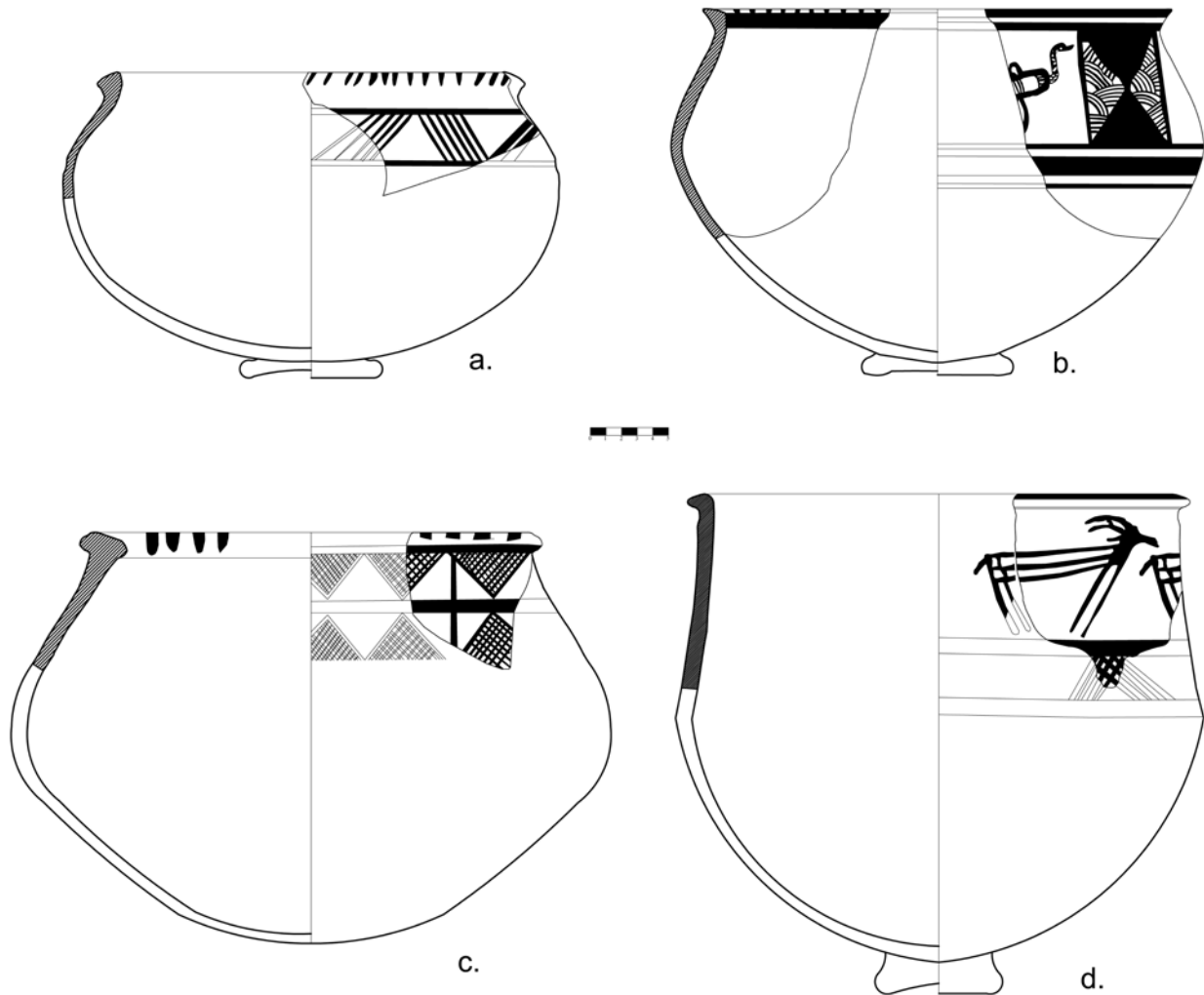


Fig. 8: Painted potstand inv. OIM A 26946 from Chalal Höyük (phase N\_Beginning)

As a result, the Chalal assemblage demonstrates a very strong infiltration of external elements in the eating and drinking sets, with the introduction of two new shapes of single serving bowls and also the expert and eclectic use of painted Mycenaean patterns on local shapes. However, these new shapes influenced neither the



**Fig. 9:** Reconstruction drawing of kraters found at Chatal Höyük. a. OIM\_inv. A134955 (Phase M\_Late) b. OIM\_inv. A133819 (Phase N\_beginning); c. OIM inv. A116400 (Phase N\_Beginning); d. OIM\_inv. A116407 (Phase N\_beginning)

division of food (single serving bowls) nor the method of drinking; kraters remained in use together with the hemispherical small cups. Functionally speaking the Mycenaean drinking cups (mainly kylix, FS 255 with high stem) did not merge with the local tradition, possibly because the way these drinking vessels were employed differed too much from local custom and instead was connected to two other shapes, dippers and cups, which were also absent in the CH repertoire (Rutter 2013: 545). Thus in the table ware there is certainly a shift in the appearance of the ware, which is painted than in the LBA II, but no further change could be observed in the way it was used.

### 3.2 Tracing migration

Scholars like Yasur Landau (2010: 263), who deals with the Mycenaean or Philistine issue, have pointed out that a common new element in domestic architecture is the presence of central fireplaces, which may indicate a different use of the domestic space, a different way of gathering together, and potentially a different way of cooking. In Chatal not a single installation in any of the building periods indicates the presence of central fireplaces.

The absence of clues is felt even more strongly when examining cooking habits: the well-known Mycenaean cooking pots strongly differ from the common cooking pots found at Chatal and are here completely nonexistent. The local bi-conical cooking pot (of two sizes) with shell temper persists in use during Phases M and N, with some local morphological changes: it is characterized by a rounded base, a short collar and in the IA I has two handles and two major sizes (3 l and 14 l). It clearly belongs to a local tradition that can also be easily found in the nearby site of Atchana.<sup>40</sup>

The same trend towards continuity is visible in other aspects of everyday life; analysis of spindle whorls, for example, also shows that in all three periods the same types of yarn were produced, although it should be said that the number of spindle whorls from Phase M contexts is very small. Also the arrival of the loom weighted warp and of the unbaked spool shaped weights that has been in some occasion connected to Mycenaean people (Cecchini 2000, cf. also Rahmstorf 2005, 2011) is not evident at Chatal.

The IA I archaeological evidence is only partially similar to Tell Tayinat. Janeway (2017) has shown that the general traits of Mycenaean influence on Aegean-style pottery from recent excavations in the Iron Age I levels are similar to the ones outlined for Chatal with a few exceptions. Four fragments of Mycenaean cooking pots (Janeway 2017: pl. 24) were collected in the excavations at Tayinat; the Mycenaean cooking pots differ from Levantine ones in size (much smaller), the presence of a handle, and a flat or tripod base. The use of these vessels may imply a different way of handling the pot on the fire, different fire installations, and a different the number of individuals (Hruby and Trusty 2017). The second point seems to be related to the number of imports; at Chatal Höyük the number of imported rim sherds is below 1% in all assemblages of Phase N\_beginning; at Tell Tayinat, Janeway (2017: 121-123) observes provisionally that the number of imports in FP6 (the earliest of the IA phases) is larger than in later phases, suggesting that during the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC newcomers brought their own pots. Moreover, he uses evidence from the analysis of spinning techniques, as well as figurines, faunal data and Cypro-minoan potters' marks (Janeway 2017: 123 and references) to support the hypothesis that Aegean settlers established during the IA a new kingdom in the Amuq, i.e. affirming the presence of a group of migrants with their own material culture that settled down at Tayinat. It is not the intent of this paper to evaluate the Tayinat evidence, but rather to emphasise how it differs with Chatal Höyük and focus on that specific material change.<sup>41</sup>

On the one hand, the "material change" visible in the pottery assemblage at Chatal Höyük does not reflect a change in habits or behaviours, so it is consequently difficult to support the hypothesis that foreigners arrived at the site with their own habits and blended with an existent community. On the other hand, the change in the table set, even if only related to its appearance, exists; local production confirms the knowledge of Mycenaean shapes, patterns and syntax of the decoration, and also demonstrates a certain eclecticism in experimenting with other solutions. Two main questions remain open: how were complex skills such as the painted narrative and specific vessels' shapes transmitted to local producers, and why would a local population in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC want to change the appearance of their table sets?

### *3.3 Hybridization and transformation as a new community identity*

During the LBA use and value of Mycenaean pottery in the Amuq, and more generally in the Northern Levant, was strictly related to commerce and to specific vessels, which were appreciated either for the vessel itself or for its content: kraters, stirrup jars, and kylix were the most common types of imported Mycenaean vessels,

<sup>40</sup> Also in the following passage (N to O) the cooking jars do change in shape, becoming hole mouth, and in some cases change also in fabric, however this doesn't affect the action of cooking or the position of the cook pot on the fire.

<sup>41</sup> Mycenaean style pottery produced abroad has been tied either to the presence of external potters (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982), considered the sign of a partial acculturation (Åstrom 1998, Sherrat 1999), the response to a decrease of imports (Du Piéd 2008: 181-182, Steel 1996), or the proof for the real presence of an Aegean population or of a culturally related Mycenaean population (Niemeier 1998, Killebrew and Lehmann 2013). Rahmstorf 2005: 145, and Yasur-Landau 2011 deny a mono-causal explanation for this event.

along with others from Cyprus such as milk bowls. The Mycenaean imports provided a means of social distinction, physically representing the wealth of the family that could “afford” prestigious vessels; for this reason, kraters in particular belonged to social performances such as group eating or feasting and retained their role of status symbols even in their secondary use as grave goods (Wijngaarden 2002, French and Stockhammer 2009, Steel 2013, Stockhammer 2014). The diffusion of these imports depends on their proximity to the coast and to the economic status of the inhabitants of a specific settlement. This phenomenon, for example, is elusive at Chatal Höyük as only a few Mycenaean imports (five fragments in all LBA assemblages) were found and the number of imported vessels decreases during Phase N\_beginning, while local potters do not produce the same shapes that were imported in the LBA II. Moreover, local production of Mycenaeanising pottery in the IA ranges from very good imitations to extremely sloppy ones, thus it seems likely that local population did not have one or two “good” pieces per household, but instead larger eating and drinking sets for everyday use. Consequently, the local production of Mycenaeanizing or hybrids during IA I could not have fulfilled the same social role as it had during the Late Bronze Age, nor was the local production of Mycenaean shapes intended to replace the decreasing number of imports during the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC. Therefore the material evidence suggests that local potters learned how to produce Aegean-style pottery not from imported pieces, but rather directly from “foreign” potters who knew the patterns, shapes, and syntax of the decoration on the vessel: a transfer of knowledge that took place most likely in the Amuq itself.

The value of the Mycenaean pottery at Chatal Höyük was no longer related to wealth and prestige (luxury goods) during the IA I, it did not mirror the practice of new habits (real migration on the site); neither its quality (fine fabric, surface treatment or a careful decoration) nor its selected distribution were as relevant as in the LBA. Nevertheless a specific imagery, connected with the Mycenaean pottery style (external appearance of the vessels), permeated all contexts related to practices of food and liquid consumption without changing how these practices were carried out. Two possible scenarios may be considered as an explanation for this phenomenon.

1. Following Renfrew’s models of linguistic replacements (Renfrew 1992: 453-4), in particular the model of elite dominance after a system’s collapse, we may suppose that after the local economic and political system collapsed a new élite arrived with their own material culture, settled down at Tell Tayinat, and built a new polity that dominated (culturally or politically?) the region (Janeway 2017). The surrounding local communities started to construct a polity identity, imitating only in part the daily set of the newcomers, who represented a specific social group, i.e. the ruling elite. The major problem with this hypothesis lies in the absence of archaeological evidence confirming that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC two communities of practice existed (one local, the other Aegean), living in the same region but socially and culturally distinct. The evidence of foreign habits found at Tell Tayinat, although more extensive than at Chatal, remains quite ephemeral.<sup>42</sup>

2. Following the concept of selective migration (Burmeister 2000), I would infer that small groups of migrants arrived in a context that had experienced a strong economic decay and/or disruption well before their arrival; these migrants were skilled (Tsuda et al. 2015: 21), but were too few to build enclaves and probably encountered no resistance upon their arrival. Their impact on local communities followed the model of direct interaction (Rouse 1986: 10-11): neither of the two communities (local and migrant) was economically and culturally dominant, yet nor were they socially passive; the newcomers, therefore, were not completely assimilated into local traditions but rather both groups merged to build a new identity. If a specific material change can be connected to the process of shaping a new identity, pottery styles may function as a medium to shape communal identity and/or social status (Crielaard 1999b): 64); perhaps a specific style of table ware sets became one of the new mediums used to promote communal identity. After a period of three generations, the process of selection and transformation of every day paraphernalia was so advanced that by the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century a painted bell-shaped bowl was no longer a “foreign” element, but rather one element in the material identity of the new community.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For Cilicia cf. Lehmann 2017.

<sup>43</sup> This phenomenon is undoubtedly demonstrated in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC at Chatal: Mycenaean shapes (for example feeding bottles) are completely embedded in the local horizon (Pucci 2016).



In this process of identity building the Hittite legacy discussed above finds a specific place. Once the kingdom of Wa/Palistin in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC started a monumental program, its king erected and rearranged the Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo, a practice that simultaneously recalls the monumental LBA activities (construction of the temple at 'Ain Dara, rearrangement of the Temple at Aleppo) and presents a bold innovation, as no king before Taita (Anatolian or Levantine) had placed a representation of himself inside the cella of the temple. The artisans employed for this activity were probably the direct descendants from the LBA "atelier", which most likely stayed active during the 12<sup>th</sup> century in the northern Euphrates area, in particular at Malatya. Here two stylistically different groups of orthostats have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC: the carved blocks reemployed in the lions' gate (Orthmann 1971: A/3-11) and group of orthostats found in part in the recent excavation (Alvaro 2012: fig. 8, Manuelli 2012: fig. 4) and in part in later buildings (Orthmann 1971: C/1-3) witness an intense carving activity during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>44</sup> In this sense, the rulers of Wa/Palistin follow a local tradition, but at the same time they transform it. The "Hittite" language of power was not a local legacy from previous periods, but rather a current language in use by the only active dynasty in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, i.e. the one of Karkemish and Malatya: a process again of appropriation and transformation.

In conclusion, cultural encounters in the Amuq during the LBA and IA impacted the local material culture in different ways. The Hittite presence is extremely ephemeral and does not appear to be rooted in the LBA material culture; its presence is strong only in 11<sup>th</sup> century monumental sculpture, probably because it was "transmitted" through the upper Euphrates region, and became one of the markers of the new political identity of the region. In the same period, i.e. during the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, the presence of sporadic groups of migrants in the region led to the transformation of the everyday drinking and eating set, leaving a very visible footprint on the appearance of those sets and becoming an embedded feature of the new material culture of the IA Amuq.

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<sup>44</sup> Orthmann 1971 dated the orthostats reemployed in the lions' gate (Malatya A/-11) to the first style group at the site, whereas the three reliefs (Malatya C/1-3) identical to the two found in the 2010 excavations were dated to the third style group. However, stratigraphic evidence and radio carbon dating of the contexts for the C group have dated the context of use for the C group to the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC (Manuelli and Mori 2016: 220).

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## Architectural glazed decorations in the Iron Age Northern Levant: Two case studies from Tell Afis (Syria) and Zincirli (Turkey)

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**Abstract.** The aim of this paper is to discuss the issue of the employment of coloured glazed devices in architecture in the Iron Age Northern Levant, in light of current researches and archaeological evidence from old and recent excavations in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia. Glazed ceramics from Tell Afis (Syria) and Zincirli (Turkey) are discussed in light of their provenance contexts, comparing such artefacts with a wide spectrum of visual sources both from the Northern Levant and North Mesopotamia. This analysis aims at understanding the possible function of these glazed ceramics, hypothesizing their possible employment in the architectural decorations of ancient buildings.

**Keywords.** Glaze, Iron Age, Syria, Levant, Architecture.

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### INTRODUCTION

In one of her recent articles on glazed artefacts, Annie Caubet summarizes the state of the art asserting: “Very little, if anything at all, is known of the use of vitreous materials in the architecture of the Levant. During the Bronze Age, the wall paintings in Minoan tradition at palaces such as Alalakh, Qatna or Tel Kabri may have sufficiently answered the demand for colorful decoration. At Ugarit, no artefact from the large repertoire of vitreous material seems to indicate a specific use for decorating buildings. The situation appears to have been the same during the Iron Age in the Levant” (Caubet 2012: 159).

This general statement, which excludes the employment of glazed architectural decoration in the Levant is absolutely correct, nevertheless we would like to bring into the discussion a few observations on items from older and recent excavations that can provide some evidence of glazed architectural features in the ancient buildings of the Iron Age northern Levant.

The starting point for these observations is the archaeological evidence from two sites not very far from each other, located in the inner northern

Levant: Tell Afis, in northern Syria, situated in the fertile plain of the Jazr some 45 km south of Aleppo, and Zincirli Höyük, in southern Turkey, located in the Işlahye Valley, on the eastern side of the Amanus Mountains. Afis is likely to be identified with the Aramaean city of Hazrek, capital of the kingdom of Lu'ash during the reign of King Zakkur around 800 BC (Mazzoni 2008: 8-11; Lipiński 2000: 256-257), and Zincirli was the ancient city of Sam'al, capital of the Luwio-Aramaean kingdom of the same name (Schloen, Fink 2009). Both these sites passed from a condition of political independence to paying tribute as vassals to the Assyrian king, and finally were directly controlled by the Assyrians when kings Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and later Sargon II (721-705 BC) established a new provincial system through the presence of Assyrian governors ruling over the conquered land (Liverani 1988: 792-800; Fales 2001: 218-232).

### THE GLAZED OBJECTS FROM THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS IN ZINCIRLI

Zincirli, which was excavated by the early German Orient-Comité expedition directed by Felix von Luschan between 1888 and 1902 (Wartke 2005), provided a small lot of blue glazed ceramics that von Luschan and Walter Andrae labelled within the *Baukeramik*, implying their use in buildings construction, in the 1943 publication of the small finds (von Luschan, Andrae 1943: 60-61). This group included a series of so-called rings (*Robr-Ringe*; Fig. 1a), glazed fists (*Handkonsolen*; Fig. 1b) and stepped pinnacles (Fig. 1c; von Luschan, Andrae 1943: Taf. 31).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately we cannot speculate much about the stratigraphic provenance of these items, but the detailed study carried out by Marina Pucci on Zincirli architecture has proven that some of these objects have been found together.<sup>2</sup> In particular, a group of hands and rings were found in a pit south of the Hilani III, to be likely dated in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. Not many details are given about the stratigraphic position of the pit which contained the artefacts and its relationship with the building's foundation, so that it is impossible to state if these objects had previously been employed in the building and dismissed and buried after the end of use of the Hilani, or if they belong to a phase preceding the construction of the fabric.

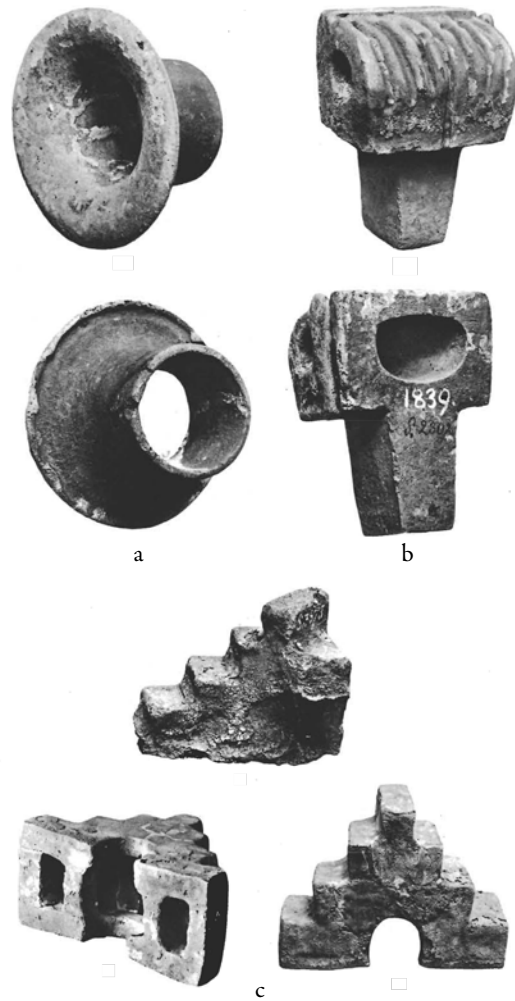
### THE GLAZED FUNNELS FROM TELL AFIS

In Tell Afis the Italian expedition directed by Stefania Mazzoni found several fragments belonging to clay "funnels" in Area A. Here the main building was correctly identified with a temple, typologically belonging to the Syrian *in antis* longitudinal plan with towers framing the façade (Mazzoni 2012: 30-32; Mazzoni 2014: 44-47). All around the area of the temple, which was largely reused as a quarry for raw materials in the following centuries, the Italian team could excavate the collapsed brickwork of the imposing walls of the building. In the debris of the fallen mudbricks, and, specifically, mainly on the outer side of the building and very close to the floor level, several fragments of clay sherds were collected, belonging to a morphology not attested among those already known from the local Iron Age II-III ceramic assemblage.<sup>3</sup> Reconstruction of the fragments gave shape to a tubular form with holes at both extremities: these pipe-like shapes present a simple plain rim on one side and a flat outward rim on the opposite side. Some of them have an interior green glazed surface, in some cases tending to a whitish colour because of deterioration of the glaze. In many cases a short horn-like vertical projection, circular or oval in section, is attached to the upper flat rim. The glazed surface is attested only on the interior of the flat side until the edge of the rim, and never extends onto the simple (lower) rim. The length of the funnels is about 20-25 cm and the diameter is about 10-15 cm (Fig. 2-4). The projections are quite different

<sup>1</sup> The only items which have been fully discussed in later literature are the glazed hands, which were analyzed in comparison to the Assyrian clay hands by Edgar Peltenburg (1968) and Grant Frame (1991).

<sup>2</sup> Pucci 2008: 72-73: "it remains unclear why these objects were moved and buried outside the buildings and to which building they really belonged".

<sup>3</sup> On the Iron Age II and III ceramic assemblage from the Afis acropolis, cf. Cecchini 1998; Soldi 2013.



**Fig. 1:** Glazed *Baukeramik* from Zincirli: a. Rings (*Robr-Ringe*); b. Clay hands (*Handkonsolen*); c. Stepped pinnacles. From von Luschan, Andrae 1943: Taf. 31



**Fig. 2:** Fully preserved exemplars of funnels from Tell Afis. Courtesy Missione Archeologica a Tell Afis; photo by M. Necci



**Fig. 3:** View of funnel TA05A50/1 from Tell Afis Temple AI. Courtesy Missione Archeologica a Tell Afis; photo by S. Soldi

from one another: some are longer and thicker whereas others are shorter and larger (Fig. 5). The body of the funnel was thrown on a potter's wheel, and the projecting part was attached before firing and was roughly polished. No other surface treatment, apart from the glazing, is recorded on any item. The fabric is just slightly different from the Afis common ware, presenting more whitish grits in the paste and a general lighter colour, tending to light pink. Petrographic analysis conducted in 2005 on a sample of the materials from the 2003 campaign confirmed that the clay used for the funnels was the same as that employed for local common ware.<sup>4</sup> It is remarkable how these materials are attested only in the temple area, except for a very few specimens found in the Area G square court.<sup>5</sup> Among the Area G ceramics from the fill of the large courtyard L.1344, only a few fragments can be clearly linked to this class of objects: this record is very scarce in comparison with the high number of items found in Area A.

The stratigraphic location and the archaeological context are essential for detecting possible functions of the items. The temple area presented some difficulties for the stratigraphic reliability because of later robbing of the building (Mazzoni 2010; Soldi 2005), but most of these materials have been found from a specific context, which is the mudbrick debris of the outer walls. Almost no items have been found within the temple, and the great majority comes from the plastered floor on the western and southern sides of the building covered by mudbrick debris, or within the broken mudbricks of the walls.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For analysis on Tell Afis Iron Age pottery, cf. Falcone, Lazzarini 1998; the analysis on the samples of funnels are discussed in Paola Bressanin's MA dissertation at the Faculty of Mathematical, Physical and Natural Sciences of the University of Padua (Bressanin 2006).

<sup>5</sup> As a general presentation of the Area G square building, cf. Cecchini 2000.

<sup>6</sup> A remarkable detail is the one provided in a note by Felix von Luschan on Zincirli findspots for some of the *Robr-Ringe*, which can be compared with the Afis case: "Da sämtliche Stücke dieser Art nahe am Fußboden der betreffenden Gebäude gefunden wurden, liegt der Schluß nahe, daß sie ursprünglich hoch oben in der Mauer schon in der Nähe der Decke angebracht waren und deshalb bei der Zerstörung der betreffenden Gebäude in die tieferen Schuttschichten gelangten und allmählich von den unteren Teilen des Mauerwerks mehr und mehr verschüttet wurden" (von Luschan, Andrae 1943: 155).



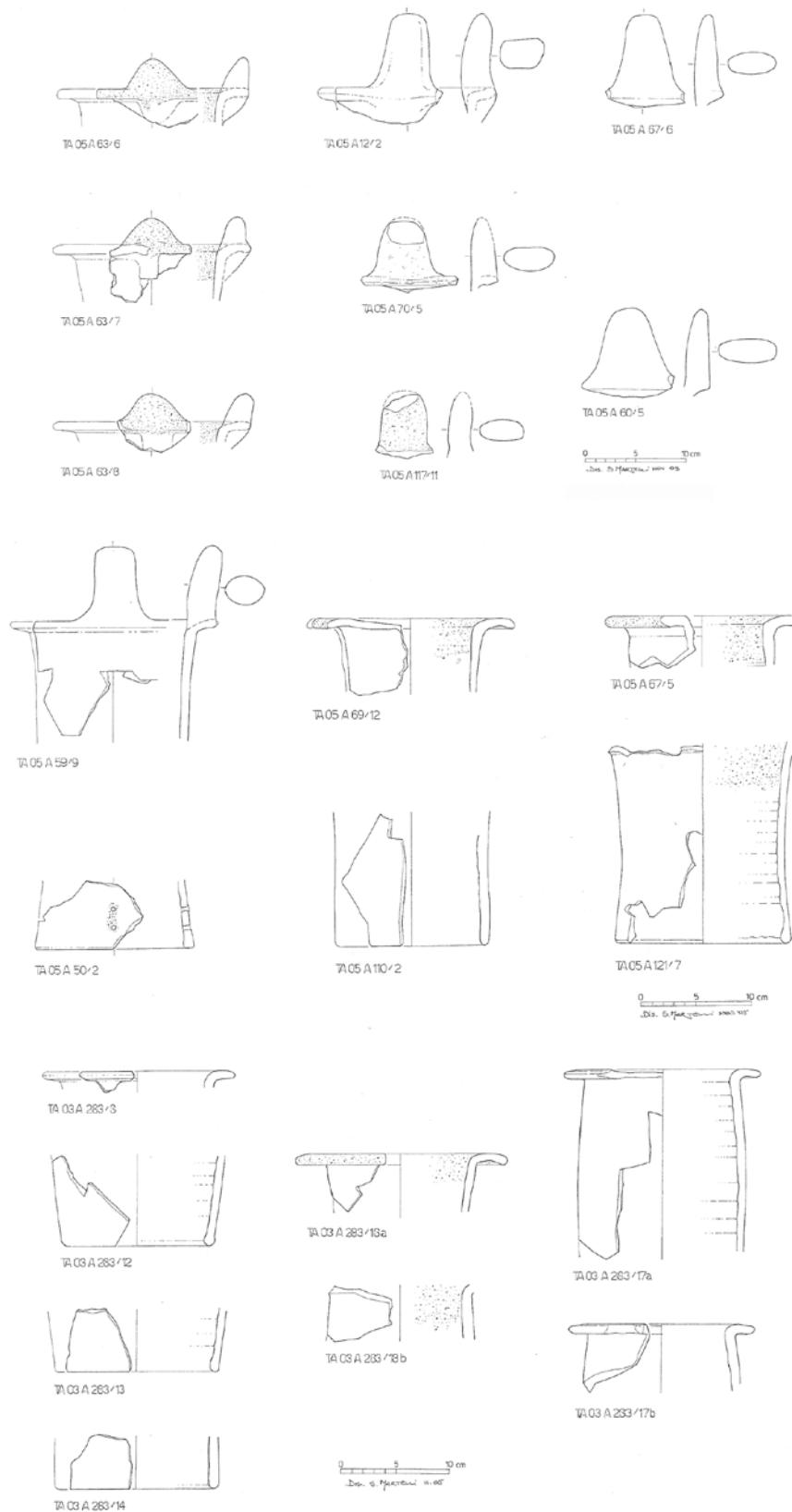


Fig. 4: Profiles of funnels from Tell Afis Temple AI. Courtesy Missione Archeologica a Tell Afis; drawing by S. Martelli



Fig. 5: Selection of protruding “horns” from Tell Afis Temple AI. Courtesy Missione Archeologica a Tell Afis; photo by S. Soldi

Unfortunately only few items can be reconstructed in their entire profile; these objects can be clearly divided into two different types, one smaller with a narrower diameter, and one taller and with a more flat everted rim. Only the second type presents the glazed surface on the rim; moreover this second typology sometimes presents the horn-like protrusion. The funnel with horn-like protrusion only finds to our knowledge very limited parallels, unglazed, in the Iron Age II Stratum VII or VIII from Tell Hazor, in the casemate wall debris of Area A.<sup>7</sup> At Hazor only one whole exemplar and three missing the horn-like projection were found by the excavators, who interpreted them as stands (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 14; Pl. LXII:5-9; Zukerman 2014: 310; Fig. 1:3).

Most recently three more fragments of “horned stands” have been found in the Iron Age IIA and IIB levels of Area Q in Megiddo (Kleinman *et al.* 2017: 32-33; Fig. 2:1-3). The three examples come from the area close to Building 12/Q/99, where several elements related to cultic activities have been found, two of them labelled among “unstratified material” and one as possibly “associated with architecture” as found in the removal of a wall (Kleinman *et al.* 2017: 28; Table 2). Noteworthy in the same area of Building 12/Q/99 in Megiddo a number of fragments of painted chalices and stands, also with drooping petals, have been found, with close parallels with Tell Afis temple cultic paraphernalia (Soldi 2009: Fig. 12).

In the first publications of the examples from the Tell Afis Temple A1 (Soldi 2009: 108; Soldi 2012: 464-465), I suggested that their original location could have been inserted in the highest part or on top of the temple walls, since their stratigraphic provenance was in connection with the fallen mudbricks of the western enclosure wall: on this side, facing the western limit of the acropolis, the archaeological layers were much better preserved than in other parts of the temple areas, so that it was possible to excavate the fallen mudbricks for more than 5 meters westwards. Some exemplars of the clay funnels were found in the debris, very close to the edge of the wall and a few centimetres above the white plastered floor which was lying below the fallen mudbricks, suggesting as the most plausible hypothesis that they were either fallen from the highest part of the wall, where they were inserted, thus crumbling down with the uppermost bricks of the wall, or that they were lying all around the base of the temple used as cultic stands. Other hypotheses were being considered: either used as cultic stands on the top of the building or with the function of dovecots or birds nests, with the horned protrusion used as perch for the birds (Soldi 2012: 465).

Alexander Zukerman (2014) recently replied to the hypothesis of the function of the horned funnels, sustaining the idea of the cultic horned stand rather than the use of architectural device. Adding the useful comparisons from Hazor, found in a stratigraphically uncertain level of Area A casemate walls, he suggests that the horned stands could have stood on top of cultic buildings such as the Afis temple symbolizing the power of religious and political structures as recognizable from the surrounding area (Zukerman 2014: 310). Even if this hypothesis cannot be excluded and it is indeed intriguing for the symbolic explanation of the horns, I believe that a 4 or 5 cms maximum long horned protrusion on the rim of a standing vessel high above the temple floor could not really be perceived as such from around the temple building: it shall be stressed that Afis temple was really outstanding in dimensions given the thickness of the walls and the deep and massive boulders foundations, supporting a structure which should have been very tall (Mazzoni 2012: 30).<sup>8</sup> Also, if the meaning of the horned protrusion should directly recall the horn as divine symbol, it would make more sense having more than one single horn on each object: both Afis and Hazor exemplars only bear one single protrusion, as completely preserved items clearly show.<sup>9</sup>

One interesting observation on the matter of the position of the Afis funnels is suggested by Giuseppe Minunno (2017: 20), who reconsiders the possible function of these items affirming that it would not be very logical to

<sup>7</sup> Yadin *et al.* 1960: 8-9; Pl. LXII: 5-8 (exemplars 6-7-8 once presented the vertical projection, which was found broken by the excavators).

<sup>8</sup> On the western side of the temple, the debris of the western enclosure wall (wall 5139) was excavated alongside the extension of the nearby 5 m grid square, without reaching the end of the fallen mudbricks (see detailed report in Soldi 2005: 25-26).

<sup>9</sup> All the comparable examples suggested by Zukerman (2014: 312-313) always bear two or more horns (either on altars, figurines or the Nahal Mishmar “crowns”), and to our knowledge no divine representation in the ancient Near East is ever depicted with a single horn.

have the funnels glazed only in the upper part (the flat outer rim and the horned protrusion), a part hardly visible from below the temple if we suppose that the objects were free standing in a vertical position on the top of the ceiling of the temple; in addition, as suggested by Minunno, their position in the wall debris would imply that the walls of the temple had been falling in the moment when a cultic function was being performed or that they had been leftover on the top of the building for a long time. Minunno thus excludes a removable installation and agrees on the hypothesis of a stationary architectonic device on the basis of these considerations and the location of the findings. He also brings into the discussion the evidence of faunal remains from around the area of the Temple AI, with a significant presence of dove bones, and literary sources which recall the importance of birds within temple areas in ancient Syria (Carenti, Minunno 2013: 120), implicitly keeping an open possibility of the funnels to be interpreted as pigeon-holes (Minunno 2017: 19; Soldi 2012: 464-465).

Since the archaeological provenance is still the most reliable element in our analysis, we are still led to believe that these objects might have been directly related to the walls brickwork structures, their only primary context being the debris of the standing walls.<sup>10</sup> A brief analysis of visual and iconographical sources will provide further elements to try to locate more precisely the rings or funnels within their original location of the ancient buildings.

### THE “CLOUS ARCHITECTURAUX” AT EMAR

A possible comparison for similar devices in Late Bronze Age Syria was found by the French expedition in Meskene/Emar, in the middle Euphrates area. They are the so-called *clous architecturaux* that Jean-Claude Margueron and his team found in the so called Fourth Temple, or *Temple M2* in the vicinity of the *Temple du Devin*. As suggested by Margueron (1980: 305), the Emar nails seem to be likely connected with the Mesopotamian tradition of temple decorations, such as the *siqqatu* nails from Nuzi and from Elam, nevertheless they can give an idea of a possible use of similar devices in 13<sup>th</sup> century BC Syria. Margueron records that clay nails should have decorated, in a way which is impossible to reconstruct, the façades of Emar buildings (Fig. 6; Margueron 1982: 32; Fig. 9): “Devant la façade gisaient sur le sol des «clous» de terre cuite en grand nombre: ils avaient formé certainement un décor qu’il ne nous est plus possible de connaître avec précision dans son organisation”. These Emar nails are slightly different in shape and proportions from those in Afis, as they are much longer and narrow (Margueron 1982: Figs 9-10; Margueron 1993: 467 nos 352-353), or have a trumpet-like shape; the elongated ones have one long flaring opening and are either open or closed on the opposite side (Fig. 7). The French archaeologists suggest a purely decorative function on the façades of the temples, probably designing a motif which is impossible to reconstruct; nevertheless we can argue that a comparison between Emar and Afis temple could be among the possible explanation for the use of the mysterious Afis devices.<sup>11</sup>

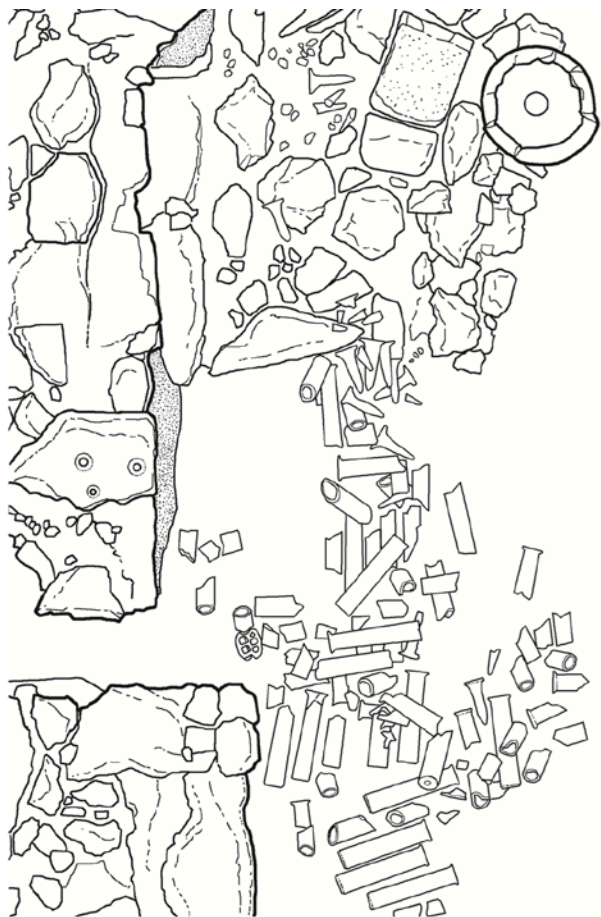
### THE EXAMPLE OF CLAY ARCHITECTURAL MODELS

More insights on the rings and funnels possible use in the architecture can be suggested by a close observation of the architectural models or “maquettes architecturales”, especially those from the Middle Euphrates area in the Late Bronze Age and the exemplars from the Levant and Cyprus in the Iron Age.

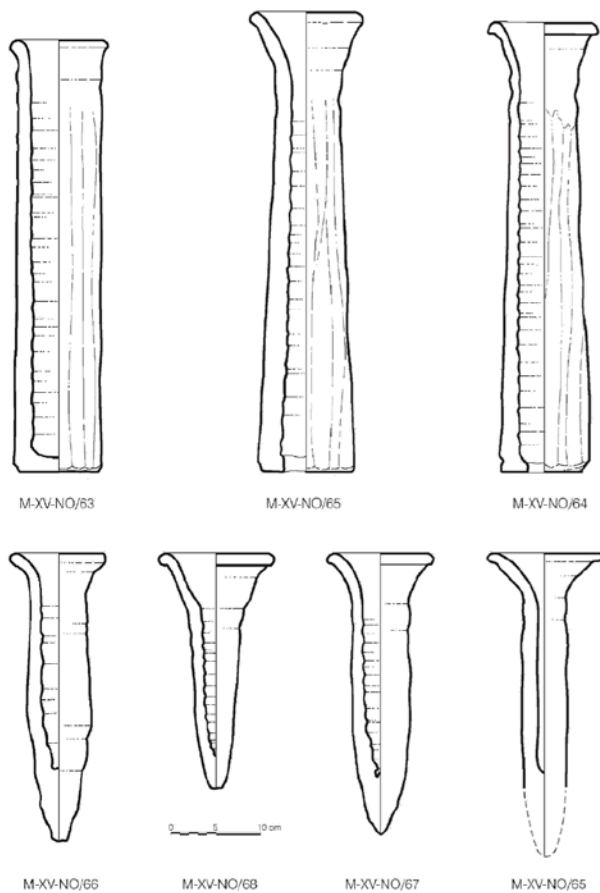
The models of the Emar “Tour” A and from Tell Mumbaqa provide interesting examples of tiny little circular holes all around the facades and around the window ledges, and in close vicinity with the reproduction of the wooden protruding beams supporting the various levels of the roof (Fig. 8a-b). Both Beatrice Muller (1998)

<sup>10</sup> Also one of the new Megiddo finds appears to be possibly related with architecture, since is found among the wall debris (Kleinman *et al.* 2017: Table 2: no. 13).

<sup>11</sup> Stefania Mazzoni (2015: 119-122) recently noted the similarity between Afis and Emar objects, approaching the issue that Afis devices were found all around the temple area and not only on the frontal façade, stressing on the performance of cultic activity in the open areas surrounding the main structure.



**Fig. 6:** *Clous architecturaux* in front of the façade of Temple M2, Emar (after Mazzoni 2015, Fig. 10.5 and Margueron 1980, Fig. 9)



**Fig. 7:** *Clous architecturaux*, Emar (after Mazzoni 2015, Fig. 10.6 and Margueron 1980, Fig. 10)



**Fig. 8:** *Tour A* from Emar: a. General view; b. Detail of architectural details between window and ceiling (after Muller 2002)





**Fig. 9:** Temple model Louvre N 3294 from Idalion, Cyprus (after Caubet 1979, pl. VIII: 1-2). Courtesy Musée du Louvre, Paris



**Fig. 10:** Temple model Louvre N 3293 from Idalion, Cyprus (after Caubet 1979, pl. VIII: 4). Courtesy Musée du Louvre, Paris

and Jean-Claude Margueron (2006: 194) have warned about the not exact correspondence of “maquettes architecturales” with the real appearance of ancient buildings, especially regarding the organization and distribution of space, but in this case we can follow Muller, in her full reconsideration of the architectural models, hypothesizing this feature to be a possible representation of the *clous*, or nails inserted into the plaster of the walls, like those known from Uruk or Emar<sup>12</sup>. The same architectural models from the Syrian middle Euphrates also could bear the first visual representation of the later so-called “Assyrian clay hands”, which could find their very first attestation in Late Bronze Age Syria<sup>13</sup>.

During the Iron Age more models can give further indications on this issue, mainly from the Southern Levant and Cyprus: many of them display interesting architectural elements in the higher part of the models, which might be interpreted in light of the findings we have illustrated so far.

Striking parallels come from Cyprus, such as two shrine models from Idalion acquired by Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi in 1869 and now in the Louvre Museum (Fig. 9; Caubet 1979: 94, n. 1; pl. VIII: 1-3; 95, n. 2, pl. VIII: 4). They lack a secure archaeological context but probably come from a grave. They belong to the local Iron Age, most likely the Cypro-Archaic period, as suggested by Annie Caubet in her study on these two objects (Caubet 1979). The two Idalion shrines (Figs 9-10) present a series of circular holes on top of the façades and in one exemplar the ribbed edges really appear as the flat outward rim of the Afis funnels. They look like a good example of a possible way for Afis funnels to be employed in the façade of Temple AI, with the flat green-glazed rim clearly visible in the white plaster.

Annie Caubet, in considering another clay find from Idalion interpreted as a “pigeonnier”, suggests an interpretation for these holes as pigeon-holes, as niches for the birds sacred to the cult of Astarte (Caubet 1979: 97-98,

<sup>12</sup> Muller 2002: 98: “Cependant, comme pour les protubérances striées, on peut se demander s’il ne s’agit pas de clous décoratifs comme on en a trouvé sur de nombreux sites mésopotamiens et syriens, de l’époque d’Uruk à l’Empire néo-assyrien. Il n’est pas exclu d’ailleurs qu’un élément architectonique à l’origine ait été exploité à des fins décoratives, puis soit devenu purement décoratif”.

<sup>13</sup> On this issue see discussion between Edgar Peltenburg and Olivier Callot in Callot 2001: 279; a general reassessment of the topic in Soldi 2017.



fig. 1:a, pl. IX: 2). The question is still much debated among scholars: other possible interpretations as holes for light and ventilation, or holes supporting the wooden beams for the roofs, remain possible. In her study on the architectural models from Syria and the Levant, Béatrice Muller is very cautious in connecting the circular holes with pigeon-holes and the Astarte cult, as birds and other animals are also present on other 3rd and 2nd millennium clay shrines from Syria and Mesopotamia (Muller 1998: 186-188; 2002, 164-165).<sup>14</sup> Further clay shrines dated to the Iron Age are documented from the southern Levant. The model in the Moussaeiff Collection which was recently studied by Aren Maeir and Michael Dayagi-Mendels show numerous circles probably made with a reed on the walls and the façade of the shrine (Maeir, Dayagi-Mendels 2007). One example from Megiddo presents a series of circular holes in the upper part of the model (May 1935: pl. XIII), similar to the Idalion items, whereas another from Tell el Far'ah North has tiny holes in the façade between two stylised proto-aolic columns (Caubet 1979: pl. VIII: 5). A very interesting item comes from early Iron Age Megiddo, where a fragmentary corner of a model displays circular items on one face and triangular crenellations on the other preserved face (Muller 2002: Fig. 148:b;f-g).

#### REPRESENTATION OF RINGS IN ASSYRIAN SOURCES.

The Assyrian reliefs, especially those from the period of Ashurnasirpal II (884-859 BC), provide interesting data that can give more insights to this issue.

In one of her articles on Assyrian art, Pauline Albenda (1972) interprets one single panel of an Assyrian relief from Nimrud, now in the British Museum, as a siege of a Syro-Palestinian town (Fig. 11a).<sup>15</sup> In her analysis, which is mainly focused on the peculiar aspect of Assyrian soldiers cutting water sources at the besieged town, Albenda notes that two details of the representation can give some hints on a possible identification with a city of the Levant:<sup>16</sup> the first is the costume of the subjugated people taken away by the Assyrian army, and the second is “the unusual decoration shown on the walls of the city, consisting of the band of discs with a central dot, a detail which recurs on several other fortified cities represented on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II” (Albenda 1972: 47) (Fig. 11b). On a comment on the same slab, the geographical attribution is still maintained by Julian Reade, who rules out an exact identification based on the garments representation, but he suggests anyway that the city “may have been somewhere in Syria” (Reade 1995: 47); Reade notes as well that “the architecture of the fortress, with lines of rosettes below the crenellations and pairs of windows in the towers, suggests a place of some distinction; in Assyria such rosettes would have been made of glazed bricks”.

Whereas Reade suggests a comparison for the circles with something similar to the rosettes depicted on glazed bricks of Assyrian buildings, Albenda identifies the circular dots with bossed bronze shields, similar to those represented in the Lachish siege scene by king Sennacherib (705-681 BC) in the South-West Palace in Nineveh. Albenda notes that the discs in Sennacherib's relief are more carefully elaborated and with a central boss, and that they stand on top of the stepped pinnacle battlements and not below, as it was in Nimrud Ashurnasirpal II's representation. According to the study on warfare representations by Yigael Yadin, the Lachish discs should be identified

<sup>14</sup> Muller 2002: 164–165, but in note 19 on p. 165, Muller quotes Caubet's study and the Idalion shrine as a possible example of relationship between pigeons and circular holes. Another shrine model to be considered is the one from Sélémiyé, on the Syrian middle Euphrates dated to the Late Bronze Age, with birds represented on the sides of the building leaning on top of circular elements (Muller 2002: Fig. 171; cf. also Figs 168 and 173 in a private collection and in the Archaeological Museum in Leiden).

<sup>15</sup> The relief is BM 118906, found by Sir Henry Austen Layard in the South-West Palace of Nimrud; this building was built at the times of Esarhaddon (681-669 BC), but some reliefs were definitely in a secondary context, as scholars realized that they were moved there from their original location, the North-West Palace, as testified by the presence of Ashurnasirpal II's “standard inscription” (Grayson 1991: 268-276; A.O.101.23.24; Reade 1995: 47); the original position in Ashurnasirpal II's North-West palace could have probably been in the West Wing (cf. relief WLF-22 in Paley, Sobolewsky 1987: 79; Pl. 5:29).

<sup>16</sup> The “standard inscription” partially conserved on the slab does not provide any indication useful for identifying a specific location for the scene.



**Fig. 11:** a. Fragment of a relief with the scene of a siege and cut of water sources; b. Detail showing architectural details of the fortress; Nimrud, South-West Palace, WLF-22. London, British Museum, BM 118906. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum.

with large bronze shields mounted on wooden structures on the top of towers' battlements with the clear intent of protecting the soldiers who are defending the town by shooting arrows from their bows or throwing stones to the assault troops below them (Yadin 1963: 326-327). We can therefore exclude that the circles on the Nimrud relief are the same items as those on the Nineveh relief, the former being part of the structure of the city walls and towers and the latter appearing as a defensive addition in case of siege above the battlements.<sup>17</sup>

A closer look at other Assyrian reliefs of the period of Ashurnasirpal II will reveal that more circular elements, similar to the ones described by Albenda and Reade, are represented on other besieged cities. In the case of a relief originally placed in the so-called Throne Room B of North-Western Palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud,<sup>18</sup> the besieged settlement, likely to be identified with the city of Udu or Madara in the North-Mesopotamian Aramaean kingdom of Bit Zamani (in the area of modern Diyarbakir),<sup>19</sup> displays four city walls on top of which rounded elements are represented below the crenellations (Fig. 12a-b). Beside these elements, the citadel gate, which encloses the inner walls, also displays the peculiar stepped pinnacles, which are different from the battlements crenellations of towers and walls, represented as triangular (Fig. 12c). The latter is another element of interest, which we will consider below.

In all of these cases it would seem appropriate to consider the circular elements below the crenellations as the visible section of protruding timbers supporting the roofs and walkaways of the battlements, as represented also on the siege of the city identified by Irene Winter with Damdammusa, in the northern Tigris region (Fig. 13a-b).<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, two more representations in the same program of reliefs deserve to be mentioned, since they present different characteristics.

<sup>17</sup> It shall be stressed that even though Albenda's hypothesis of identifying the besieged settlement with a Palestinian or Syrian town on the basis of the comparison with the Lachish discs cannot be supported by this specific evidence, the rounded shields in Sennacherib's palace reliefs (as attested by drawings in the British Museum) can be associated with scenes representing the king's third campaign in the west (cf. Russel 1991: 161; Jacoby 1991: 120).

<sup>18</sup> Relief BM 124554, labelled as B-4b in Meuszyński 1981: 20; pl. 2:4.

<sup>19</sup> Matthiae 1988: 361; Irene Winter suggests the identification with Urartian town in the regions of Mount Kashiari (Winter 1981: 15; Winter 1983: 22), whereas Julian Reade (1985: 212) connects the scenes of the lower register with the upper one, suggesting the representation of a siege along the Euphrates, probably the town of Kipinu.

<sup>20</sup> The identification is based on parallels with Ashurnasirpal II's Annals, and the specific mention of the cutting by Assyrian army of the city orchards, which is depicted on Nimrud slabs B-4a and B-3a (Winter 1981: 15; Matthiae 1988: 357-360; Thomason 2001: 70, note 17). Another option is to identify the city with Amedu, capital of the kingdom of Bit Zamani (Matthiae 1988: 357-360; Cole 1997: 31-32).





**Fig. 12:** a. Relief with siege to a city of the North (likely Udu or Madara); b-c. Detail showing architectural details of the fortress; Nimrud, North-West Palace, relief B-4b. London, British Museum, BM 124554. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum



**Fig. 13:** a. Relief with the siege of Damdammusa; b. Detail showing architectural details of the fortress; Nimrud, North-West Palace, relief B-3a. London, British Museum, BM 124555. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum

The first are the peculiar circles on the Throne-room slab B-8b (Fig. 14a).<sup>21</sup> This relief represents a walled city, probably Kunulua, behind a parade of Assyrian horse chariots: in this scene no war or siege is described, but the peaceful surrendering and subjugation of a western town to the Assyrian king.<sup>22</sup> On top of the city walls five women are depicted, which could probably be the singers mentioned in the Assyrian Annals<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 14b). It shall be stressed that the circular elements below the crenellations in this case are not represented as simple circles like in

<sup>21</sup> Meuszyński 1981: 21; Taf. 2:3.

<sup>22</sup> Kunulua corresponds to modern Tell Tayinat, in the southern Turkey province of Hatay, where recent excavations carried out by the University of Toronto's expedition have revealed a new temple dated to the Neo-Assyrian period and displaying a group of texts dated to the times of king Esarhaddon: this find corroborates the identification of the site with Pattina/Unqi/Kunulua, named in later Assyrian times as Kunalia (Lauinger 2011: 9; Harrison, Osborne 2012)

<sup>23</sup> Female singers and a large cattle (as represented on the reliefs B-8b and B-5b) are among the tributes for the Assyrian king from Lubarna, king of Kunulua, and constitute the key element for the identification of the walled town with Kunulua (Matthiae 1988: 363-365).





**Fig. 14.** a. Assyrian chariots in parade in front of the walls of Kunulua; b. Details showing architectural details of the fortress; Nimrud, North-West Palace, relief B-8b. London, The Trustees of the British Museum, BM 124547

the previous cases, but are represented as two concentric circles, resembling more ribbed discs or rings with a rim; moreover the same elements on the top of the towers are displayed in a double row.

The last circular elements to be considered are those depicted on the rounded fortifications in slab B10-a, where the schematic rounded representation has been usually interpreted as the Assyrian military camp, return goal of the Assyrian king and his troops after the siege of the towns in the north (Fig. 15a);<sup>24</sup> Paolo Matthiae (1988: 361-363), without ruling out the hypothesis of the identification with the Assyrian military camp, suggests that the city so carefully represented as a circular walled settlement could be identified with Tushkha, a city of the north within the Bit Zamani kingdom, where the Assyrian king received a massive tribute of horses and where he stored barley and straw and recovered enfeebled Assyrian soldiers;<sup>25</sup> in Tushkha Ashurnasirpal II also claims to

<sup>24</sup> Winter 1981: 11; Winter 1983: 21; Meuszyński 1981: pl. 2:3.

<sup>25</sup> Matthiae (1988: 363) also argues that the identification with Tushkha would be geographically consistent with other scenes represented in the adjacent reliefs with Damdammusa/Amedu and Udu/Madara, all to be located in Bit Zamani; this feature would be coherent with the principle of a compositional unity on a topographical level, with events from different campaigns associated within Ashurnasirpal's decorative program as belonging to the same geographical area (Matthiae 1988: 355).





**Fig. 15.** a. Schematic representation of the Assyrian camp or of the city of Tushkha; b-c. Details showing architectural details of the camp or city; Nimrud, North-West Palace, relief B-7a. London, The Trustees of the British Museum, BM 124547

have operated a vast program of restoration and refurbishment of the city itself, with the complete rebuilding of the city wall, the erection of a palace and of an image in white limestone of the king himself (Grayson 1991: 202).

The circles in this specific scene are extremely interesting, as they are represented as hollow and ridged, with the clear intention to show them concave, lowering the limestone surface and marking the external diameter with an incised line (Fig. 15b-c); furthermore they are represented in two different locations, along the circular walls and on top of the protruding towers, below the stepped crenellations, which appear on the top of towers. In this specific case, the circles properly give the idea of rings within the brickwork of walls and towers, and the most appropriate parallel in the material culture seem to correspond to the glazed funnels and rings from Afis and Zincirli.

One final example coming from the Assyrian milieu is the small ivory pyxis from Nimrud's Private Houses in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 16).<sup>26</sup> The fragmentary pyxis displays musicians on the top of a towered city, with walls and towers crowned by stepped crenellations: just below the line of the battlements along the walls runs a row of tiny circular elements, which in one case are repeated also below the pinnacles of one of the towers. Also in this case of an ivory belonging to the Assyrian production group, the architectural features represented can be interpreted such as those on the monumental wall reliefs.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. illustration in Aruz 2014: 141, Fig. 3.23. I thank Dr. Yelena Rakic in the Ancient Near Eastern Art Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for pointing out to me this comparison.



**Fig. 16.** Ivory pyxis from Nimrud with women playing drums and cymbals standing behind the crenellations of a walled city, 9<sup>th</sup> century BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. no. 54.117.11a. Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

#### GLAZED STEPPED PINNACLES AND “ASSYRIAN CLAY HANDS”

Stepped pinnacles such as those represented on the citadel gates of Assyrian reliefs (Fig. 12c) have been found in Zincirli excavations too (Fig. 1c). Felix von Luschan and Walter Andrae mention in the catalogue three of these items, one of them shaped as a corner battlement and coming from Room 2 of Building J (also named as Kalamu Palace).<sup>27</sup> These architectural elements were covered by a glazed coating exactly as the outer part of the rings, presenting the same bluish-green colour (Fig. 1c). Their reduced size, not exceeding 20 cm in height (von Luschan and Andrae 1943: 155), has led scholars to interpret them as decorative elements for interior of buildings or for altars rather than for the proper use as fortification battlements (Porada 1967: 2). In Iron Age northern Syria similar stepped crenellations are known both from Karkemish and the Yunus cemetery, where they are represented on stone reliefs associated to rosettes (Woolley 1921: 151; Figs 56-57), and from Tell Halaf, where glazed bricks moulded in different geometrical shapes were part of a standing altar structure, labelled as *Postament* by the German archaeologists (Naumann, Langenegger, Müller 1950: 71-78; Beilage I-III; Pls 13-14).<sup>28</sup>

Stepped crenellations are therefore attested in Iron Age northern Levant in two different ways: shaped in glazed bricks or represented on basalt funerary stele or altars. Whereas the first exemplars are known in the area only from Zincirli and Tell Halaf,<sup>29</sup> the latter are more widely attested. Among the most significant examples we recall the Karkemish and Yunus altar fragments published by Leonard Woolley, one funerary stele with Luwian inscription from the Turkish village of Tilsevet (Hawkins 2000: 178-180; Payne 2012: 45-46), a fragment of altar from the old town of Karamanmaraş (Garbini 1959; Orthmann 1971: Taf. 46-g) and a funerary stele or altar also from the region of Marash now in the Antakya museum (Schachner, Schachner 1996; Bonatz 2000). It seems likely that in the area of Northern Syria and southern Anatolia such items were associated with cultic functions rather than with defensive properties, being employed in altars and stelae shaped as architectural models: more

<sup>27</sup> von Luschan and Andrae 1943: 155; pl. 31:a-c.; Pucci 2008: 61-62; Tab. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Probably a similar altar in glazed bricks was attested in the Nabu Temple at Khorsabad, but the bad preservation state does not allow to infer whether glazed stepped pinnacles were present in this installation (Loud, Altman 1938: 42).

<sup>29</sup> More glazed pinnacles are attested in the same span of time, 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century BC, in Northern Mesopotamia: cf. Assur examples from the city fortifications in Garbini 1958: 85-86, Fig. 1.





**Fig. 17.** Funerary stele or altar from Marash. Antakya, Archaeological Museum, 17915 (photo by S. Soldi)



**Fig. 18.** Fragment of glazed clay hand, Zincirli, Area 5, Building A/II. Courtesy The Chicago-Tübingen Expedition to Zincirli (photo by S. Soldi)

specifically the few preserved documents seem to indicate a close relationship of stepped crenellations with funerary cult.

The funerary stele from Marash in the Antakya Museum is extremely interesting, since it depicts a woman seated on a bed within the frame of an architectural structure (Fig. 17):<sup>30</sup> without any doubt, this image represents the deceased woman to which the stele is dedicated. The peculiar squared shape of the monument, engraved on all the four sides, with two rows of four stepped pinnacles on the frontal and rear sides and three pinnacles on the shorter sides (for a total of ten stepped pinnacles), seems to point toward the identification of the monument as a funerary altar, that could have been used in antiquity to perform cultic rituals in memory of the deceased person. One further antiquarian element makes the analysis of this monument noteworthy for the present study: the frontal side of the stele, where the deceased is represented seated on a bed with two smaller human figures at both sides, is shaped as an architectonic framework, with a timber running over the head of the personages and a series of four protruding hands carved in between the timber and the ceiling terminating in the stepped pinnacles. As I pointed out in a recent article (Soldi 2017), this is one of the most exact representations of how a specific class of object denominated among scholars as “Assyrian clay hands” should have actually been employed in ancient architecture.<sup>31</sup> The associated representation in the same monument of the stepped pinnacles and the

<sup>30</sup> Detailed analysis of this artifact in Schachner, Schachner 1996 and Bonatz 2000.

<sup>31</sup> On the Assyrian clay hands cf. the detailed studies in: Peltenburg 1968, Moorey 1985: 180, Frame 1991 (with the most complete catalogue of finds and full discussion), Hausleiter 1999, and recently Soldi 2017. It shall be stressed that another possible representation of the hands in an architectural frame is the one suggested by Edgar Peltenburg in a basaltic stone architectural element from Hama Level E, that he interprets as a window ledge (Peltenburg 1968: 58-60). In the original reconstruction proposed by Danish archaeologists this frame was presented vertical, interpreted as a doorjamb (Fugmann 1958: 203-205; Fig. 257-258), but Peltenburg’s interpretation is indeed extremely suggestive: noteworthy this architectural element also presents circular holes together with triangle-shaped fenestrated elements (well known in Hittite and Syro-Hittite architecture: cf. at Ain Dara, Kohlmeyer 2012 and 2013;

hands is extremely interesting since they have both been found, in glazed ware, in Zincirli excavations (Fig. 1b-c; von Luschan, Andrae 1943: pl. 31: a-c;d-e); as I mentioned above, the glazed hands (*Handkonsolen*) were found together in the same pit with the glazed rings (*Rohr-Ringe*), arguing for a close connection of these different artefacts in their architectural employment in Zincirli.<sup>32</sup>

New interesting results on this issue are provided by the renewed excavations of the Universities of Chicago and Tübingen directed by David Schloen: in Lower Town Area 5, two fragments of small glazed hands and one fragment of a ring have been found, attributed to levels 2d and 2c, in the area where the cella of KTMW's stele was found<sup>33</sup>: one of the hand fragments (Fig. 18) in particular belonged to the same building A/II where the stele was found, in the adjacent room to the KTMW shrine. It comes from the fill above the floor of the phase below KTMW stele, but it cannot be completely ruled out that it may have belonged to the decoration of the building during the period of KTMW funerary shrine. In terms of absolute chronology these finds can be dated between the first and second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, possibly under the reign of king Panamuwa II, who is quoted in KTMW's stele and who reigned between 743/740 and 732/730 BC as a loyal client of king Tiglath-Pileser III, or slightly earlier (Herrmann 2014: 74; Herrmann, Schloen 2016).

More fragments of glazed rings were found in trenches on the acropolis but from very disturbed contexts, whereas other similar items come from Area 0, located out of the city northern gate, where probably an *extra moenia* structure could be identified (Herrmann, Schloen 2016: Fig. 24.1). It seems therefore that glazed hands and rings in Zincirli might have been related to peculiar areas, where cultic activities took place, as already suggested by the burial of these items within the area of the Hilani III.

Though this hypothesis is still tentative and needs to be confirmed by further studies and more archaeological results, we are led to believe that the integration of glazed ceramics in architecture, also employing different kinds of enamelled artefacts such as the hands and stepped pinnacles as represented on the Marash altar or as the rings and the hands found together in the area of Hilani III, should be connected with distinctive functions of peculiar areas or specific buildings, such as temples or funerary shrines.

## CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, we believe that these few elements from the Northern Levant both from old and new excavations are providing stimulating data to enforce our knowledge and to reconstruct not only the actual appearance of ancient building but also the symbolic representation displayed within sacred buildings.

The Iron Age temple on the Afis acropolis, with its massive free standing *in antis* structure, should have been the major sacred building on the acropolis and its white plastered walls could have been enriched and emphasised by the green circular elements all along its perimeter, where cultic activities could have been performed (Mazzoni 2015). At Zincirli a more rich variety of glazed elements were part of the decorative complex used for specific buildings, probably also connected to religious or funerary rituals. The diffusion of glazed ceramics both at Zincirli

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on clay models at Hattusha, Neve 2001: 288-292; Abb. 2c-3; Pl. XI), and the "hands" represented on both sides of the element. A horizontal display within the brickwork would allow this element to let air and light filter through the inside and the outside of the building, with the hands, the rosettes and the guilloche motif on display on both sides. This element, found in the "place centrale" in Hama Level E, would infer for an association of hands and rounded openings in the Northern Levant already in the Syro-Hittite period, before the Assyrians conquered the city under Sargon II's reign.

<sup>32</sup> Walter Andrae stresses that the reduced dimensions of Zincirli hands and pinnacles (especially compared to those that Andrae himself excavated in Assur) prevents from interpreting them as major architectural features of walls and buildings, but with a purely decorative function (von Luschan, Andrae 1943: 60-61). We may infer from the reduced dimension of the stepped pinnacles a similar decorative function as in Tell Halaf's *Postament*, which was topped by the stepped glazed pinnacles, as reconstructed by the German archaeologists (Naumann *et al.* 1950: 73, Abb. 36; Taf. 13:2). As observed by Marina Pucci, Zincirli glazed pinnacles were hollow on the inside, suggesting that they might have been connected to an underlying structure by a peg (cf. also Peltenburg 1968: 60-61).

<sup>33</sup> On the archaeological context of KTMW's stele and the interpretation of the adjoining building as a small temple, cf. Herrmann 2014.

and at Afis could be in relation with a stronger Assyrian influence in western Syria, since no attestation of this employment seems to pre-date the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, a time when Assyrian control over the region and over the disputes among local ruling elites became more effective with some influence partially reflected in art and material culture.

We can finally still agree with Annie Caubet's initial statement that glazed coloured elements did not play any major role in the architecture of the Iron Age Levant, especially if we compare this situation with Mesopotamia and Iran, but we now have a few new elements to consider, resulting in a more complex picture, where the employment of the glazing technique, though reduced in scale and in archaeological attestations, should have been present on some specific buildings of two major cities of northern Syria, probably as a consequence of the diffusion of Assyrian habits towards the West.

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## Did the Storm God of Zippalanda have a Mother or a Wife?

### Remarks about the Cults of Kataḫḫa and the Sun Goddess of the Earth in Zippalanda and Ankuwa

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**Abstract.** Two important female deities of the Hittite Pantheon are related to the Storm God of Zippalanda: the Sun Goddess of the Earth, surely worshipped in the same city, and the Hittite Kataḫḫa “The Queen”, whose cult flourished in the nearby town Ankuwa. Beyond that, in the Late Hittite period all the local Storm Gods were openly adopted by the main couple of the pantheon, the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God of Ḫatti, as clearly represented in the prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Possible ties and relations among these female deities and the Storm God of Zippalanda, and the ways of their cults in the cities of Ankuwa and Zippalanda are analyzed here.

**Keywords.** Storm God, festivals, goddess.

The Pantheon of Zippalanda was fully analyzed by M. Popko (1994: 32-49) who based his research on festival texts, mainly dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. They are the main source for reconstructing it and showing possible discrepancies between the state religion and cults that were practiced in the city. The aim of the present article is to show how festival texts from the late Hittite period preserve different layers of religious traditions concerning the structure of the local pantheon of Zippalanda and the neighbouring city Ankuwa.

The main deity of Zippalanda is a Storm God<sup>2</sup> who in the State Pantheon is a son of the Sun Goddess of Arinna and of the Storm God of

<sup>1</sup> This article is dedicated to Franca Pecchioli.

<sup>2</sup> Pecchioli suggests that the god could be identified as Wašezzili/Taḫawašezzu (Pecchioli Daddi 1999: 156 with ref. to Haas 1994: 426, 445, 589). However see for example KUB 41.50 rev. III 5'-11'. This is a paragraph of a festival text in which several gods receive offerings. Among them the Storm God of Zippalanda (who follows the Sun

Ḫatti, as explicitly stated in a Prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna (CTH 384: KUB 21.27+ IV 27'-49'; see also see KUB 41.29 obv. III 6'-10'; Popko 1994: 33 and 216). Descriptions of festivals in the city of Zippalanda show, instead, a strict connection with the Sun Goddess of the Earth<sup>3</sup> and the Storm God of Heaven (Popko 1994: 34-35:). In some texts related to the cult of the Storm God of Zippalanda offerings are made to him in the Temple of Ereškigal (KUB 41.30 III 23'-25').<sup>4</sup>

The question about the relationship between the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the Sun Goddess of Arinna in respect of the Storm God of Zippalanda is of difficult solution. We can suggest a difference between two religious views of the late Hittite period: in one, local Storm Gods were equated among each other and transformed in sons of the main couple of deities of the State Pantheon of Ḫattuša, and a second one in which the local Pantheon of the city of Zippalanda had developed a structure similar to the Pantheon of the other “holy city”, Nerik, as it is outlined, for example, in KUB 36.90 (obv. 8'-13') (Rieken *et al.* 2015). Here the Storm God of Nerik is called son of the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of the Earth (here named EREŠ.KI.GAL).<sup>5</sup> Of course it would be interesting to analyze whether the evidence of the Sun Goddess of the Earth as mother of both these important local Storm Gods depends on a mutual influence of their cults.<sup>6</sup>

Texts of the Late Hittite period preserve the memory of the relationship between the Storm God of Zippalanda and the Sun Goddess of the Earth in festivals that took place in the city. The text KUB 58.6+ obv. I 10'-12', for example, mentions that these two deities were worshipped in the same temple of Zippalanda together with the Storm God of Heaven (<sup>D</sup>10 AN-E, Popko 1994: 34).

As a matter of fact, two important female deities of the Hittite Pantheon are related to the Storm God of the city: not only the Sun Goddess of the Earth, surely worshipped in the same city, but also the Hattian deity mentioned as Kataḫḫa “The Queen”, whose cult flourished in the nearby town Ankuwa (Laroche 1947, 28; Taracha 2016: 322-326).<sup>7</sup> Her parental relationship to the god is uncertain. Popko suggested that Kataḫḫa was the spouse of the god, remarking, however, that no proof of this tie is attested to in texts concerning the cult of Zippalanda (Popko 1994: 35).

Kataḫḫa surely had a strong, independent cult in her city of Ankuwa. In some of the texts that refer to her Ankuwa cult the goddess is connected to the city of Zippalanda: IBoT 1.29 is a MH tablet that records a festival performed in Ankuwa by the prince (DUMU.LUGAL), while the king is performing (the same?) festival in the capital city, as the following reconstruction of the *incipit* of the text shows (differently Taggar Cohen 2010: 116 and Mouton 2011: 3):

A. IBoT 1.29 obv.; B. KUB 51.57 (+) KBo 45.52 = A. obv. 1-2:

- 1 [(*ma-a-an* <sup>URU</sup>)*An-ku-i A-NA* <sup>D</sup>*Ka-taḫ-ḫa* EZEN<sub>4</sub> *ḫa-a*[š-š<sup>u</sup>-*ma-aš*]
- 2 [(*i-en-zi*) *nu* LUGAL-*uš* <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-a*]t-tu-š<sup>i</sup> A-NA [ (pa-iz-zi)]

Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God, rev. III 6') and Wašezzili (who follows the Storm God of the KILLAM rev. 10'), whose name is spelled *Wa<sub>a</sub>-a-še-ez-za-al-li-in*. On the other hand, the same god is mentioned in IBoT 1.29, surely a festival of Ankuwa: in obv. 19-22. twelve priests are mentioned, among them <sup>L</sup>USANGA <sup>D</sup>IM and LÚ <sup>D</sup>10.

<sup>3</sup> She is also the mother of the Storm God of Nerik (Haas 1970: 99). See further in this text. About the Sun Goddess of the Earth in Hittite sources see now Steitler 2017: 229-245 and 417-423.

<sup>4</sup> The association among these three gods emerges surprisingly also in a magical ritual, CTH 447. This text is dedicated to the Sun Goddess of the Earth and is performed for the royal couple and their heirs. In the final part of the ritual, however, conjurations are addressed to the Storm God of the Heaven and the Storm God of Zippalanda, a deity that usually does not appear in this kind of texts, since his sphere of action is limited to the official cult (Popko 2003: 31-32). M. Popko rightly suggests that this ritual was supposed to take place in the vicinity of the city, as is confirmed by geographical and environmental elements, and for this reason the local Storm God was mentioned (Popko 2003: 81-82). Although this proposal does not fully resolve this unusual situation, it is however conceivable.

<sup>5</sup> About the use of this ideogram for the name of the Sun Goddess of the Earth, see Torri 1999: 85-89.

<sup>6</sup> See also the analysis of Haas 1970: 100; see other remarks further on in the present article.

<sup>7</sup> Kataḫḫa “The Queen” is a general term used for several female deities of central Anatolia.

“When in [Ankuwa for the goddess Kataḥḥa]ḥa they celebrate the Festival of Be[getting] [and the King in Ḥat] tuša goes to [...]”.<sup>8</sup>

In this text the main deity is called “Kataḥḥa of Zippalanda”: obv. 27’ [D<sup>K</sup>]a-taḥ-ḥi-in<sup>URU</sup> Zi-ip-pa-la-[an]-te-el. In the same text (obv. 32’), she receives offerings together with the Storm God of Zippalanda, D<sup>IM</sup>, and D<sup>UTU</sup>.<sup>9</sup>

The link of Kataḥḥa with the Storm God of Zippalanda seems to be mentioned also in some OH texts that celebrate the gods of the Pantheon in Ḥattuša, as for example the tablet of the KI.LAM festival KBo 17.21++ rev. 57, although the name has to be almost fully restored: [LUGAL-u]š UŠ-KE-EN<sup>DIM</sup> URU Zi-ip-la-an-da Û<sup>D<sup>K</sup></sup>[a-taḥ-ḥi-in],<sup>10</sup> and KBo 25.12++ IV 4’ [D<sup>IM</sup> URU Zi-i]p-la-an-d[a] Û<sup>D<sup>K</sup></sup>Ka-taḥ-ḥi[-i-in].<sup>11</sup>

It seems that the relationship between Kataḥḥa of Ankuwa and the Storm God of Zippalanda is constant until the late Empire period, as a paragraph of the LH text KBo 45.69 demonstrates:<sup>12</sup>

obv. I

6’ [ ]<sup>LÚ</sup>SIPA[ ]  
 7’ [<sup>LÚ</sup>NAR.]GAL<sup>URU</sup> An[-ku-wa]  
 8’ [L]Ú<sup>D<sup>10</sup></sup> 1 UDU x[ ]  
 9’ [š-u]p-pi-ya-aḥ-ḥi[ ]  
 10’ [nu-k]án UDU MUNUS.ÁŠ<sup>213</sup>[GAR]  
 11’ [A-N]A<sup>D<sup>H</sup></sup>a-taḥ-ka [ ]  
 12’ [1 UD]U A-NA<sup>D<sup>10</sup></sup> URU Zi-pa[l-ta]  
 13’ [ši-]pa-an-ti<sup><UZU></sup>rš-u-up-pa<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 14’ [ḥu-]u-e-š-u-wa-az zé-e[-an-ta-az]  
 15’ [ti-a]n-zi 1 NINDA.UDU pír-ši-ya

“[ ] The Shepard[ ], the ]Great[ Singer] of An[kuwa ], [the M]an of the Storm God one sheep x[ ] [he makes] pure [ ] and [he con]secrates a [young] female sheep for the goddess Kataḥḥa [ ], [one she]ep for the Storm God of Zippal[anda]. They [p]ose (for the deity) the flesh (choosing) from the raw and the cooked. He (the Man of the Storm God?) breaks a loaf of bread in the form of a sheep”.

This text written in three columns on each side was prepared during the time of Tuḥaliya IV, as revealed by the names of the scribes mentioned in the colophon, the instructor Ḥalwaziti and his pupil Piḥami (Torri 2008: 733) (rev. VI 1’-6’). The same colophon states that the text records a [festival] of Zippalanda (spelled *Zi-pal-ta*), though the season is not specified. It is mainly performed by a NAR.GAL, a singer not usually mentioned in Hittite festival texts (Torri 2006: 291-295). He is a singer from Ankuwa (according to the possible restoration in I 7’) and this would explain why the first paragraph mentions the goddess Kataḥḥa at first, followed by the Storm God of Zippalanda.

<sup>8</sup> As declared in KUB 25.28 obv. I 1-10, the journey from the capital city to Ankuwa lasted at least 3 days: the *ḥupralla* mentioned there needs to spend a night in Imralla, and a second night in Ḥuppigašša. He gets to Ankuwa on the evening of the third day. The journey of the king, or the prince, and his retinue was probably much slower although during the *nuntarriyašša*-Festival the travel to Zippalanda lasted two days. During this festival the king does not go to Ankuwa, but in the Spring-Festival, the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM, the travel to Ankuwa, through the mountain Daḥa, lasted at least one day more (Torri 2015: 365-367). It is impossible that the celebrants are starting the festival in Ḥattuša and move to Ankuwa on the second day, thus we have to consider that the incipit recalls the celebration of two parallel festivals, one by the king (in Ḥattuša) and one by the prince in Ankuwa and its vicinity. See Torri 2004: 461-469.

<sup>9</sup> At least in this period the Storm God of Zippalanda was not considered a son of the main divine couple of Ḥatti (see above).

<sup>10</sup> Following Neu 1980: 56 with n. 202.

<sup>11</sup> According to the proposal of Singer 1984:38.

<sup>12</sup> But this is only an example. See also KBo 30.12 rev. VI 5-6, part of the later version of the KI.LAM-festival.

<sup>13</sup> The surface of the tablet is abraded, and the sign is not clear. It seems however the best possible solution.

The fact that these two deities are mentioned together from the Old Hittite period onward, however, still does not provide any certainty about their possible ties.

Another interesting text, KBo 45.129, mentions these two gods in a group of seven deities (although because of a probable scribal mistake only five gods are listed):

KBo 45.129 rev. V

22' *iš-ḫa-ni-i* EGIR-*an-da* IŠ-TU KAŠ.GEŠTIN

23' *AŠ-RI<sup>HLA</sup>* *ir-ḫa-an-zi* LUGAL-*uš ti-ya-zi*

24' <sup>GIŠ</sup>ZA.GAR.RA-*ni* BAL-*an-ti*

25' EGIR-ŠU 7 *ir-ḫa- $\langle\langle an \rangle\rangle$ -iz-zi*

26' <sup>D</sup>Te-le-pi-nu-un <sup>D</sup>Ḫa-taḫ-ka<sub>4</sub>-*an*

27' <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-*na* <sup>D</sup>Me-ez-zu-ul-*la*

28' <sup>D</sup>10 <sup>URU</sup>Zi-ip-pa-la-*an-da*

“After the blood offering they go around the places with KAŠ.GEŠTIN. The king comes forward. He libates to the altar. Then he goes around for 7!<sup>14</sup> times: Telepinu, Kataḫḫa, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, Mezulla, the Storm God of Zippalanda”.

The roots of this relationship must perhaps be sought in the close link between the two cities (Crasso 2008: 92-93). Historical sources in this regard are missing: Ankuwa was an important center of the old Assyrian trade market during the 19<sup>th</sup> century BC (Kaneš Ib; Büyükkale 4d).<sup>15</sup> In this phase no mention is made of a city that could be identified with the one later called Zippalanda. On the other hand, Hittite sources ascribe an important religious role to this city, as is already stated in the Laws (§50-51; Hoffner 1997: 61-62). In this same composition Ankuwa, instead, is not considered. During the Old Hittite period Ankuwa seems mostly an administrative place (See Gorny 1991: 412 ff; Crasso 2005: 147-158). According to the *Landschenkungsurkunden* 5, 7, 8, and 41 (Wihlem 2012), it seems possible that at some point during the 16<sup>th</sup> century BC the city lost its importance and part of its possessions, which were transferred to Šapinuwa.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC the firm religious bonds between the cities of Ankuwa and Zippalanda are clearly outlined in the Summary Tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festival, in which the king moves from Zippalanda to Ankuwa in the very last days of the festival (34<sup>th</sup>-35<sup>th</sup> / 36<sup>th</sup>-38<sup>th</sup>) (Güterbock 1960: 84 and 87). The best preserved text for reconstructing the journey of the king and the statue of the Storm God on the route connecting Zippalanda, the Mountain Daḫa and Ankuwa is KUB 20.96 (Popko 1994: 190-197), which is probably the description of the celebrations that started in days 34-35 of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (according to VSNF 12.1): After coming from a mountain, whose name is lost but which is probably Mount Puškurunuwa, the king goes to Zippalanda. From there he goes to Mount Daḫa together with the statue of the god. After the rites on the mountain the king leaves the coach (<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫuluganni*) and mounts a wagon (<sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR). He drives to Ankuwa while the statue of the god is brought back at night to its temple in Zippalanda. Thus the god does not take part in the celebration in the town of Kataḫḫa. The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival ends in Ankuwa with the celebration of the Festival of the Rain (EZEN<sub>4</sub> ZUNNI).<sup>16</sup>

The effigy of the Storm God travels along the southern route to Ankuwa during some other celebration that is mentioned in KBo 30.155(+KUB 10.78+ KUB 20.25 (KBo 30.155 rev. VI 2'-5'; and the Colophon KUB 10.78+KUB 20.25 rev. VI 7'-11'; Popko 1994: 304-309; Crasso 2008: 94-96), a winter festival of the *kurša*-bag

<sup>14</sup> Either we amend number 7 to 5, or we should suppose that the scribes forgot a pair of deities.

<sup>15</sup> See Crasso's recent studies on the city and the sources of the Hittite period: Crasso 2005; ead. 2006; ead. 2008.

<sup>16</sup> The text KBo 13.214 says that in winter the king moves from Zippalanda to Katapa, in Spring instead he travels from Zippalanda to Ankuwa. See also the colophon of KUB 59.1 VI 13'-19': "Second tablet, not finished. When the king in Spring goes to Ankuwa for the Festival of the Rain", and the colophon KBo 22.214 VI 1'-3' "First Tablet of the Festival of the Rain in Ankuwa, not finished. Hand of Alalimi".

of the Storm God of Zippalanda (KBo 30.155 rev. VI 2'-5'): "As soon as the *kurša*-bag takes the southern route (KASKAL.IM.U<sub>19</sub>.LU) and from Zippalanda goes to Ankuwa...".

The vicinity of Ankuwa and Zippalanda, and the mutual penetration and exchange of religious beliefs between these two cities, can be compared with the situation of Nerik and Kaštama and the tie between the Storm God of Nerik and Zašhapuna in the texts related with the cult of Nerik.<sup>17</sup> At some point in Hittite history there was an attempt to develop a homogeneous pantheon, in which gods were related through parental ties. We do not know when deities of different cities were grouped into an organized system based on a family structure. On the other hand, some of these ties already existed in the older pantheon of the core of the Land of Ḫatti. The pantheon of Kaštama seems to be absorbed and adapted to the one of Nerik during the late Hittite period (Archi 2006: 157). In Kaštama, however, Zaliyanu with his paredra Zašhapuna were at the head of the local pantheon and were more important than the Storm God of Nerik (CTH 321: KBo 3.7 IV 15-20). Thus we see that deities in their own cities preserved specific features that they had apparently lost in coming into contact with the religious systems of other local pantheons.

The "Prayer of Muwatalli to the Assembly of the Gods" provides an interesting element for the present discussion (CTH 381; Singer 1996). As is known, the gods invoked in this prayer are grouped according to their cities. As concerns Nerik (I 68-70) the prayer mentions its Storm God and the gods of Kaštama in the same paragraph. The paragraph mentioning Zippalanda (I 57-58) does not refer at all to Kataḫḫa or any other deity of Ankuwa, but only to the Storm God, the Mountain Daḫa and the male and female gods of the town and the mountain. The goddess Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa is mentioned much further on in the prayer (II 60-61), together with a Storm God of the Rain. Therefore the theological construction of the Muwatalli's Prayer does not take into consideration the Old Hittite connection between Zippalanda and Ankuwa. We may also remark that this older tie is not constantly stressed in religious texts: the gods' lists of CTH 630, the Festival for the Moon and the Thunder, mentions the Storm God of Zippalanda (KBo 21.85+ IV 13') immediately after Aštanu/Ištanu, Taru, Tappinu and Ḫulla, thus showing the existence already in the MH period of a family similar to the one stressed in the Prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna.<sup>18</sup> The goddess Kataḫḫa is mentioned as the last in a group of deities led by Telepinu and Wurunkatte (KBo 21.85+ IV 17'-21').<sup>19</sup>

In light of these sources we may suggest that in the period of Muwatalli the nature of the association between Kataḫḫa and the Storm God of Zippalanda was still perceived as something different than the connections among the gods of Nerik and Kaštama. It has yet to be proved that the two young Storm Gods were later, under Ḫattušili III, assimilated. Sources just show a connection between the Storm God of Zippalanda and the city of Nerik in the prayers for the Sun Goddess of Arinna composed in the period of the royal couple Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa.<sup>20</sup>

A votive text of the period of Ḫattušili III, KUB 15.1, could be significant for a better understanding of the relationship between the Storm God of Zippalanda and Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa. The third column, from l. 17' refers to a fire in Ankuwa (de Roos 2007: 94-95). Three gods in succeeding paragraphs are summoned to rescue the city: The goddess Kataḫḫa (III 17'); the Storm God of Heaven (III 22'); the Storm God of Zippalanda (III 27'). To each of them the Majesty promises a model of the city made of silver and eight sheep, thus assigning to them the same rank. If these gods are listed according to a kind of hierarchy, then we could suppose that the goddess named Kataḫḫa "the Queen", and the Storm God, the main male deity of the Hittite pantheon, who in Ankuwa may have an association with the rain, comprise the main couple of Ankuwa. They are followed by a second Storm God, who is the Storm God of Zippalanda, usually considered a son of the main Storm God.

<sup>17</sup> The gods are worshipped in the same temple in KBo 2.4, obv. I 33-35 (for example). As known in the texts concerning the festivals of Kaštama, Zašhapuna is the wife of Mount Zaliyanu. Also in the case of Nerik and Kaštama the relationships among their gods should be fully investigated. Haas 1970: 79-87.

<sup>18</sup> Laroche 1973: 83. Soon after these gods there is also the Storm God of Nerik (<sup>D</sup>*Ne-e-ra-a-ak*).

<sup>19</sup> Laroche 1973: 84.

<sup>20</sup> According to Haas 1970: 107-109 these two "young" Storm Gods were melted in a single deity when the city of Nerik was lost. I do not agree with this view, as is shown in the following of the present work. See also the remarks of Klinger 1996: 150.

Also the festival text KUB 11.27 (+), a tablet of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival in Ankuwa, dating back to the late Empire period, presents a pantheon in which the main female deity is certainly not the wife of the Storm God of Zippalanda.

The colophon of the text in rev. VI says:

- 1' D[UB.x.KA]M ṚQA-TT<sup>1</sup> (?)  
 2' URU An-Ṛku<sup>1</sup>-i GIM-a[n]  
 3' I-NA É<sup>D</sup>Ka-taḫ-ḫa  
 4' AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> a-aš-ga-za šal-li  
 5' I-NA É<sup>MEŠ</sup> DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> NINDA.KASKAL  
 6' Éḫa-<li>-in-tu-u-wa šal-li  
 7' lu-kat-ma EZEN<sub>4</sub>-an

“Tab[let ]. Finished (?). [W]hen in Ankuwa, in the Temple of Kataḫḫa, (they bring?) the plant AN.TAḪ.ŠUM from outside, (there is) the great (assembly).<sup>21</sup> In the temples (they bring) food provisions. In the palace (there is) the great assembly. The following day (they perform) the festival”.

The first column of the festival preserves a long list of gods that opens with offerings for the Storm Gods. Of interest for the present research are the lines I 14'-27' (Archi 2006: 157-158):

- 14' Ṛ1 GU<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> 1 UDU<sup>D10</sup> AN-E URU An-ku-wa x  
 15' [1 UD]U<sup>D10</sup> É-TIM URU An-ku-wa 1 UDU<sup>D10</sup>HI.A  
 16' [ḫ]u-u-ma-an-te-eš 1 GIŠBANŠUR AD.<KID>
- 
- 17' [2 G]U<sub>4</sub> 2 UDU<sup>D</sup>Ḫé-pát mu-uš-ni an-na-al-li-uš<sup>4</sup>  
 18' Ṛ<sup>D1</sup>Ḫé-pát LUGAL-ma
- 
- 19' [1 UDU?] DUTU URU A-ri-na Ḫé-pát URU Šu-lu-up-pa-aš-ša  
 20' [1 UDU] Ḫé-pát URU Ka-tap-pa 1 UDU<sup>D</sup>Ḫé-pát URU Kum-man-ni  
 21' [1 UDU]Ḫé-pát<sup>HI.A</sup> ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš
- 
- 22' Ṛ<sup>D1</sup>Ḫé-pát Ḫé-pát<sup>D</sup> LUGAL-ma Ḫé-pát<sup>D</sup> Al-la-an-zu  
 23' [Ḫé-]pát<sup>D</sup> Ku-un-zi-ša-al-li  
 24' [Ḫé-]pát<sup>D</sup> Ḫa-šu-la-at-ḫi 1 GIŠBANŠUR AD.<KID>
- 
- 25' Ṛ<sup>D1</sup>10 URU Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da  
 26' [ ]URU Ne-ri-ik 1 UDU<sup>D10</sup> URU Ne-ri-ik  
 27' [ ]Ṛ<sup>D</sup>Za-aḫ<sup>1</sup>-pu-na-a

In these paragraphs the text shows the Storm God of Heaven of Ankuwa followed by the goddess Ḫepat, equated with the Sun Goddess of Arinna (I 19,) and, in my opinion, with Kataḫḫa herself, here mentioned as Ḫepat of Katapa, a location not typical for the cult of Ḫepat but surely connected to a deity named Kataḫḫa.<sup>22</sup> From line 25' there are the sons of this couple: the Storm God of Zippalanda, the Storm God of Nerik with the deity (?) Zašḫapuna. The name of Kataḫḫa is reported in line 37' after URAŠ, Ḫalki, Ea and Zithariya (I 33'-38', Archi 2006: 158), thus in a context of deities very far from the Storm God of Zippalanda.

<sup>21</sup> Following HW<sup>2</sup> (a): 420.

<sup>22</sup> Ḫepat is mentioned as a deity of Katapa also in KUB 6.45 I 46-47. See Trémouille 1997: 33, 62.



Of course, this text refers to a very late pantheon that strongly recalls the divine family presented by Puduḥepa in her prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. On the other hand, since it is a description of a festival in Ankuwa dedicated to the goddess Kataḥḥa – as the colophon states – it could still preserve some local tradition according to which the main deity, Kataḥḥa, was associated to a local Storm God (<sup>D</sup>10 É-TIM <sup>URU</sup>Ankuwa, I 15').

We could suggest that from a point of view of the religious system of Ankuwa Kataḥḥa was a “Mother Goddess”<sup>23</sup> and the Storm God of the neighboring city, Zippalanda, was a son of the Storm God of the Heaven.<sup>24</sup> The latter was the husband of Kataḥḥa. In Zippalanda a slightly different pantheon existed: the family of this same god was made up of a Sun Goddess of the Earth (under whose definition a number of local female deities could be hidden) and the Storm God of Heaven.

Also, an equation between the goddess Kataḥḥa and the Sun Goddess of the Earth is not unmanageable (Taracha 2017: 133): the third column of text KBo 17.89++ reports a list of local hypostases of the Sun Goddess of the Earth (Torri 1999: 90-91). Among them, one after the other, are a Sun Goddess of the Earth of Zippalanda and a Sun Goddess of the Earth of Ankuwa (III 10-11).

In the State Pantheon, late in the Empire period, all the local Storm Gods were openly considered as sons of the main couple,<sup>25</sup> the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Storm God of Ḫatti, as clearly represented in the prayer of Puduḥepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. However, festival texts still show contradictions and differences caused by the stratification of several local religious beliefs.

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<sup>23</sup> About Kataḥḥa as epithet of the Great Goddesses of central Anatolia see now Taracha 2017: 132-133. In the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival the cult of a deity mentioned as Kataḥḥa is performed during an *ḫadauri*-rite in the Temple of DINGIR.MAḪ: KBo 45.16+KBo 49.64 III 9'-10' (23rd Day of the Festival). In the *nuntarriyašḫa*-Festival the priestess NIN.DINGIR enwraps the distaff in the Temple of Kataḥḥa (KUB 59.2 II 6).

<sup>24</sup> See also the list KBo 4.13+ I 17. Forlanini 2007: 260, and Archi 2015: 14-17.

<sup>25</sup> Often recalling some existing older tradition (see above).

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