

Regional Characteristics in the Styles and Iconography of the Seal Impressions of Level II at Kültepe

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INTRODUCTION

This paper presents some of the results of my efforts to recognize regional characteristics in the styles and iconography of the seal impressions of Level II at Kültepe, ancient Kanesh.¹ In the cosmopolitan and literate environment of the colonial sites, it is possible to trace sources and cultural affinities in the visual record. Using visual analysis, aided by textual evidence, we can attempt to recognize the regional or urban origin for glyptic styles and iconographical features.

COLONIAL EXPANSION

In the years around 1900 B.C.E. traders from the city of Assur moved into central Anatolia to carry on their far-flung enterprise. While there are traces of previous Mesopotamian relations with Anatolia from the Akkadian and Ur III periods, and reflections of contact in the archaeological record even earlier, the nature and extent of the Old Assyrian contacts were new. The traders settled amicably in areas adjacent to major Anatolian centers. They lived in traditional houses and used indigenous pottery. They traded local raw materials, especially wool, and silver, in exchange for imported goods, tin, and textiles. A system of trading centers of varying size and importance was spread across Anatolia. Excavation has uncovered the remains of some of the trading stations, notably at Alişar Höyük, Boğazköy, Kültepe, and Acemhöyük. Other locations in Anatolia and North Syria are known from the texts.

Cuneiform Documents

Kültepe was the Anatolian hub of the trade. It is a large burned site that preserved houses with the archives of both Assyrian traders and native inhabitants in the *kārum*, or trading district, outside the citadel of the local ruler. The traders and their associates kept elaborate records of their business transactions. Such texts have been collected in large numbers. A significant sample has been studied. The

1. Research for this paper derives from my doctoral dissertation, "A Study of Anatolian Weather-gods of the Old Assyrian Colony Period" (Bryn Mawr College, 1984).



Fig. 1. Typical tablet and envelope from Kültepe.
Akurgal, Ekrem. *Die Kunst der Hethiter*
(Munich, 1976), figure 24.

texts are written in the Old Assyrian dialect of Akkadian, in a restricted and technical idiom, but are generally well understood.

The documents typically consist of a tablet inscribed with a message, contract, or business record. The tablet was wrapped in a clay envelope (fig. 1). The original text was then inscribed on the envelope in full or in short. In the case of a letter, only a brief address was written on the outside. The envelope was sealed with the seals of the witnesses and sometimes of the parties to the transaction. Letters were sealed with the seal of the sender.

To our present knowledge, these two practices, the cuneiform writing of Akkadian language, and the use of cylinder seals, were not employed in Anatolia before the advent of the Assyrian trade. From the texts we discover local individuals involved in business transactions with Assyrians—their names, their activities, their (generally lesser) rank—in the Assyrian business world. We learn of the system of mutual interest and exchange that governed relations between the Old Assyrian traders and the local potentates. We gain a secure chronological sequence and fixed dates.

Native Style Seals

The local adoption of cuneiform script, and the development of an indigenous craft of cylinder seal carving, provide a window onto Anatolian artistic and cultural traditions of the time, which are apparently not otherwise preserved. The locally carved cylinder seals reveal artistic styles and imagery that are unknown in

the earlier Anatolian record. The art of the seals, however, is not an experimental or new art. Even as we first see it, the native glyptic offers complex, highly evolved, and consistent representations of deities and motifs, and well-established conventions for composition and ornament. The iconography shows a long familiarity with Mesopotamian art as well as the local imagery. Some of the details of the figures, such as the horned crown, and certain attributes, subsidiary figures, and the introduction scene, are borrowed from Mesopotamian glyptic. Other figures such as the god in the form of the bull, several of the figures standing on animals, the animal fill ornament, and striated carving style, are foreign to the Mesopotamian and Assyrian repertoire.

Native Anatolian

The new types of figures and typical striated manner of seal-cutting we commonly call native Anatolian.² It may be useful to consider what this label actually means. Linguists have reconstructed the pre-Hittite linguistic map of Anatolia.³ An earlier language, Hattian, unconnected to the Indo-European family to which Hittite belongs, existed in the north central region. The Hattian-speaking people apparently provided much of the indigenous culture absorbed by the incoming Hittites. The distribution of several related Indo-European languages can also be traced on the map; for example, we place the Luwian-speaking population in the South and Southeast and other groups in the North and West.

Non-Mesopotamian native personal names recorded in the Old Assyrian texts indicate that people bearing Hittite, or Nešite names (as the early Hittites called themselves) were already present in the population of Kanesh.⁴ Individuals bearing Luwian personal names, or names in the pre-Indo-European Hattian language are also present in smaller numbers; and there are a few names with foreign linguistic origins, such as West Semitic and Hurrian.

The proportions of the various linguistic groups represented in the texts reflect the numbers of such names that happen to be preserved in the published documents, and presumably not the actual proportions of the linguistic affiliates living in Kanesh. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was already an ethnic and linguistic mixture to the population that we customarily call native Anatolian. Some of the individuals whose names we know may have been visitors or traders from the distant regions of Anatolia or abroad. It is likely that the blending and moving of the populations and languages had begun earlier, and that the population of Kanesh was mixed at the time of the Colonial establishments.

To date our approach in analyzing the cylinder seals of the native group has been to describe what seems original, different, and non-Mesopotamian, and identify it as Anatolian, or sometimes as Assyrian, or Syrian, or as the colonial counterparts of those styles, according to stylistic affinities. This strategy has yielded a workable

2. N. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara, 1965), 47–53.

3. H. Hirsch, "Handelskolonien," *RLA* 4 (1972–1975), 91–97, especially §2 "Bevölkerung," 92–93.

4. P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 127–68.

stylistic classification. We can retain the stylistic label "native" here as a convenient term while recognizing that it actually represents a blending of traditions.

Associated Texts

Using information derived from the texts associated with the seal impressions, we may further the analysis of both style and iconography to gain confirmation of the stylistic classification, and greater understanding of the origins and meaning of the iconography. In particular we may determine the ethnic and linguistic affiliations of the seal owner/user; where he resided at a given time; and where he came from originally.⁵

The possible geographical origins of the individuals appearing in the documents from Kanesh may be summarized as follows. There are Assyrians from the city of Assur living in Kanesh. There are also a number of Assyrians represented in the correspondence who remained in the city of Assur, or dwelt in other trading centers in Anatolia or north Syria. There are other foreigners participating in the trade, and residing in the colonies. On the Anatolian side, there are individuals whose names represent the traditional linguistic divisions, including Luwian and Hattian; Hittites, the relative newcomers to Anatolia, perhaps predominate, at least in the documents.

Of course, these categories are not really so neat. We cannot define the Anatolian areas clearly for this period. We don't know yet whether the natives were actually regional Anatolian migrants or naturalized Cappadocians. In the course of time, there were increasing numbers of intermarriages between Anatolians and Assyrians. The mixed offspring of these marriages sometimes carried on the Anatolian side of the family business. We also know that Assyrian businessmen travelled regularly between Kanesh and Assur. Some were stationed in the trading outposts throughout Anatolia and moved freely between them. It is likely that native traders participated in this mobility, at least within Anatolia.

Once the tablets have been studied, the analysis of the individual seal users should be a relatively straightforward matter of identifying the individuals and their locations, and comparing their seals for features, style, and iconographic content. When a document from Kültepe is not labeled, its actual origin is generally recognizable from the contents. Certain types of documents tend to be local to Kanesh, such as the sale of slaves, loan contracts, dissolutions of debts, and some sales of property. Transactions between Anatolians, and between Anatolian individuals and Assyrians, tend also to be local to Kanesh. Documents that clearly come from Assur include the reports of verdicts or decisions by the city of Assur, partnership contracts, and letters. Thus there are a number of sealed documents, uncovered at Kültepe, that actually originated in the city of Assur or another colonial center such as Burushattim or Zalpa.

The texts themselves usually record the witnesses and parties to the transaction that sealed the document. For example, the text will read, "Before Enum-

5. M. Larsen, "Seal Use in the Old Assyrian Period," in M. Gibson and R. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 6 (Malibu, 1977), 90–105.

Assur, son of Haba, before Tibula," and so on, listing five or six names. Many factors make this analysis in fact a difficult task. Problems inherent in the study include the frequent re-use and borrowing of seals, and the enigmatic patterns of seal use compared to the written documents. The number of named witnesses and the number of seal impressions may not coincide. Inscriptions of personal names on the seals may not correspond to the individuals named in the texts.

The difficulties involved in assigning seal ownership in a given instance are not insurmountable. In the case of the texts from Kanesh, the problems are compounded by the lack of archives either collected as such or reconstituted by Assyriological study. In addition, most of the published correspondence takes place between Assyrians. Few published documents come from native archives. In other words, we have few published native texts with seals to work with, and no archives.

Under the circumstances, the analysis of the seal impressions in relation to their texts must proceed from rare case to rare case. Having stated some of the problems, let us note that comparison of seal impressions and available texts has been fruitful in a general way. The texts support the stylistic classification of the seal impressions. The native seals occur on documents that record transactions local to Kanesh and involve native people as participants and witnesses. We will see this in greater detail as we look at individual examples. The lack of evidence prevents a more refined regional or chronological analysis of the native style for now. When the information derived from the texts is taken together with archaeological and artistic comparisons, we can recognize patterns of regional iconography, both within Anatolia and abroad.

NATIVE ICONOGRAPHY

The discussion of native iconography that follows is based on survey of all the published seals and impressions known to me. Generally there are approximately 15 to 30 examples of a particular figure in native style and 10 to 20 examples rendered in Assyrian style. All the accessible texts related to these impressions have been examined, but numerically they are restricted to two to five for an individual type of seal.

Bullgod

The various figures of the weathergods are numerous, varied, and ubiquitous, and offer the opportunity to examine familiar figures for their regional variants. The figure that is the most non-Mesopotamian and "original" of the native repertoire, is the god in the form of a bull. The details of the figure may be summarized from the more developed native representations (fig. 2).⁶

The body is rectangular and striated. The head, legs, tail, and horns are more naturally rendered. A triangle rests on the back of the bull to the rear. There is no ready interpretation for the triangle; it may represent a mountain, or the hump of a

6. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, 64-65.

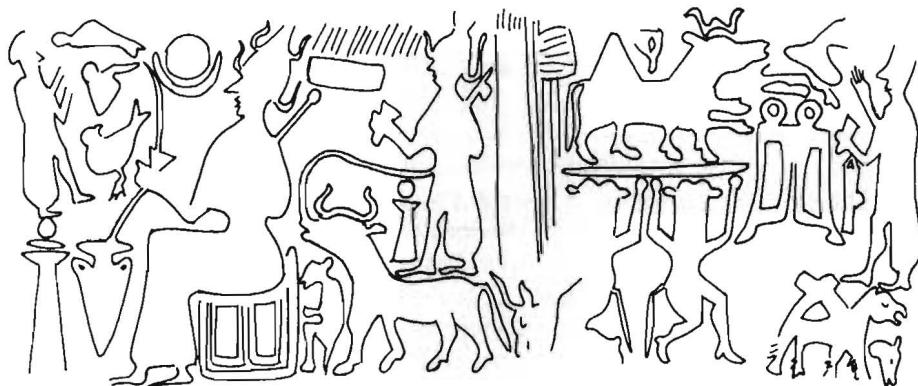


Fig. 2. Seal impression with native bullgod. Özgür, Nimet. *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara, 1965), number 40.

zebu, or have an unrecognized symbolic significance. A pair of human forearms and hands project from the bull's chest. These too are enigmatic. Do they provide the deity embodied in animal form with the means to receive his offerings, or to act in the human world?

The bullgod stands on an elaborate platform that may be supported by a number of figures, including a pair of bullman-atlantids, heraldically paired goats or lions, and a number of other variations. That this bull is a god is certain because he receives the attentions of worshippers and a number of offerings. He usually receives food offerings, ironically what appear to be joints of beef, as well as round objects, perhaps loaves of bread. The offerings rest on a table with animal legs.

The seal compositions with this figure consist of the bullgod and his attendants alone in the frieze, sometimes set beside a bullman/lion combat motif. Occasionally there is a juxtaposition of the bullgod with a seated deity who may also receive attendants, that is, there are two groupings of figures, the bullgod and his entourage, and the seated deity and his attendants; the relationship between the two groupings is parallel.

In the case of the bullgod, there are clear categories of native rendering and apparently derivative Old Assyrian (colonial) rendering. The Assyrian style seals employ simplified supporting figures for the bull, and have the characteristic rough, angular carving (fig. 3, seal D). The compositions are also simplified, and lack the elaboration of offerings and fill ornament.

The documents featuring the seals with the bullgod generally correspond to the seal style; the seal impressions rendered in native style appear on documents that cover local concerns such as the sale of a slave, or the repayment of a debt, and involve Anatolian individuals. On an envelope in Munich (1979.1911)⁷ (here fig. 4), there is the native style seal (A) of one presumed Nešite, Šuppi-ahšu, on a document that records the sale of property in Kanesh. The second seal (B) on this envelope

7. B. Hrouda, "Zu vier Abrollungen auf einer kappadokischen Tontafel," *Or.* 52 (1983), 102–6.

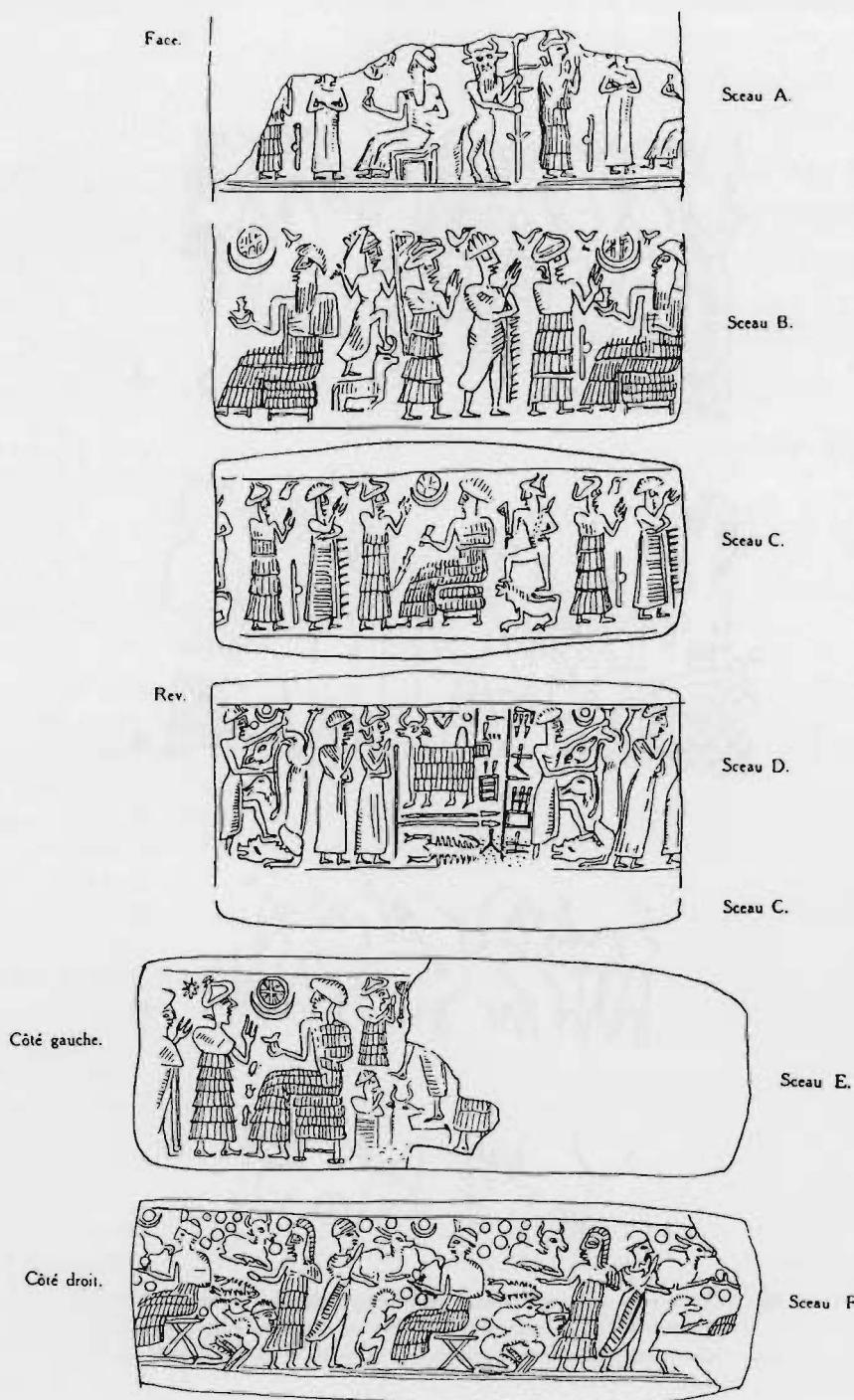


Fig. 3. Seal impressions with Assyrian Style bullgod (seal D). Hrozný, Bedřich. *Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kultépé I* (Prague, 1952), text 38a.



Fig. 4. Text with seal impressions illustrating bullgod iconography, Munich 1971.1911. Hrouda, Barteld. "Zu vier Abrollungen auf einer kappadokischen Tontafel," *Orientalia* 52 (1983), plates 1,2.

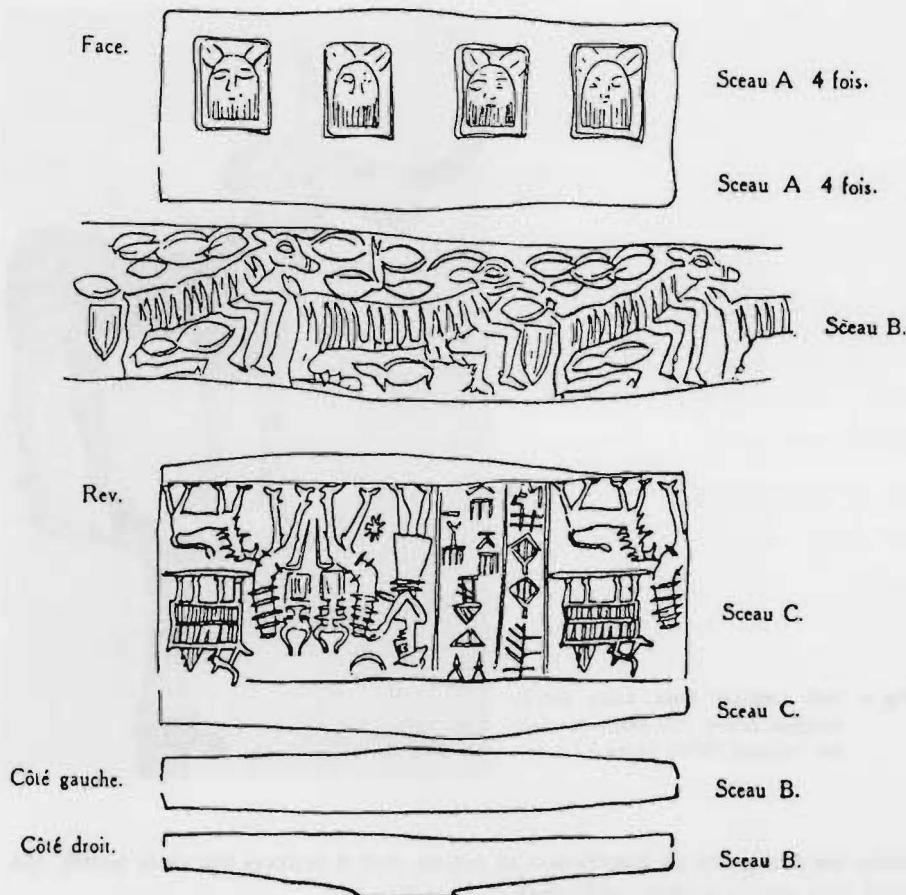


Fig. 5. Text with seal impressions illustrating bullgod iconography. Hrozný, Bedřich. *Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kultépé* 1 (Prague, 1952), text 24a.

belongs to an Assyrian, Šizur, the third seal (C), an Old Akkadian heirloom, to another Assyrian, Abšalim; and last simple cylinder (D) to native Šu-iškuna.

A second example, a document now in Istanbul (ICK 1: 24a, here. fig. 5), records a loan contract between Anatolians and is sealed by the contracting parties, Anana and Šutašušar, and one Assyrian witness, Idi-Sin. The seal impressions include two rough natives, one stamp, and one cylinder, and a second cylinder with the bullgod iconography in Old Assyrian style, inscribed with the name Idi-Sin. Thus the documents from Kanesh bearing the bullgod in Old Assyrian style tend to involve individuals bearing Assyrian names.

With this comparison and others that follow, we can see that the native iconography is favored by Anatolian individuals while the Assyrians favor Assyrian style and imagery. The preferences are not exclusive, but we may feel confident



Fig. 6. Bull standard from Alaca Höyük.
Akurgal, Ekrem. *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), figure 5.

when we recognize an impression as native, that it reflects the local social, cultural, and artistic context of Kanesh.

Bullgod History and Identity

What is the regional origin and cultural affinity of this figure? Can we identify the bullgod as a weathergod when he has no identifiable weather features? Here we can only review the iconographical evidence.

The bull is one of the most important animals in the imagery of the metal standards and sistra from the north central region of third millennium Anatolia (fig. 6). The stag and lion are also important, but the bull occurs most frequently and is the most embellished.⁸ The animals are crafted in metal and mounted on supports. They represent unaltered males, presumably of the wild, with exaggerated horns and elaborate decoration. The bull standards functioned as cult implements, possibly as the center or object of the ritual.⁹

8. W. Orthmann, "Zu den 'Standarten' aus Alaca Höyük," *Ist. Mitt.* 17 (1967), 34–54, tables 1, 2.

9. This is not the place to argue the function of the standards, although I believe that the distribution of the standards in the tombs makes their use as parts of furniture or wagons improbable. Verbal communication, Dr. Aslı Özyav, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

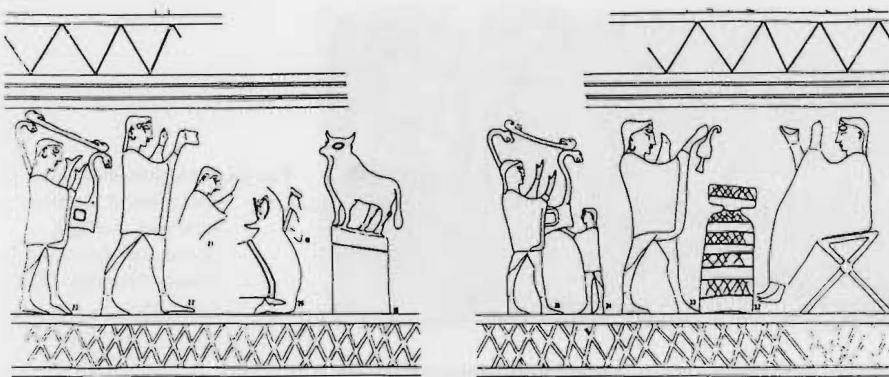


Fig. 7. Relief vase from İnandık—main panels. Özgür, Tahsin. *İnandiktepe* (Ankara 1988), fig. 64.

Alaca Höyük apparently did not flourish during the colony period. Old Hittite material from the same area, from nearby İnandık, shows that a deity in the form of a bull was worshipped in the subsequent period. A scene of attendance to a bull image occurs on a relief vase from the shrine,¹⁰ securely dated to the reign of the Old Hittite king, Hattušili I, approximately 1600 B.C.E. It is a large vessel, close to 1.5 m., divided into registers, and decorated with clay relief appliqués (fig. 7). The bull on the relief vase, as in the compositions on the seal impressions from Kanesh, receives an animal offering. In this case, a whole living bull is being slaughtered. We may also note the parallel worship of a seated female deity with the bullgod on the vase.

The same organization of figures occurs in the later Hittite wall reliefs from Alaca Höyük—that is, a deity in the form of a bull receives royal attendants, while on the opposite wall, a seated female also receives attendants (fig. 8).¹¹ In the Hittite context, these figures are readily identifiable from the cuneiform texts of Boğazköy, as the main weathergod of Hatti and the sungoddess of Arinna.¹² Hittite cult inventories of the Empire period describe various stormgods most often as taking the form of a bull, made of precious metals, wood, and stone, at a small scale, and sometimes set upon a podium or platform. Fragments of such statuary were uncovered in the sanctuary at Alaca Höyük (fig. 9)¹³ and appear as chance finds at Boğazköy.¹⁴

10. T. Özgür, *İnandiktepe* (Ankara, 1988), 84–106, fig. 64.

11. Th. Macridy, "La porte des sphinx à Euyuk," *MVAG* 13 (1908), 23, fig. 29.

12. H. Güterbock, "Hethitische Götterdarstellungen und Götternamen," *Bulleten* 7 (1943), 295–317; C. von Brandenstein, "Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten," *MVAG* 46 (1943), 1–104; L. Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," *MIO* 8 (1963), 161–217; *MIO* 9 (1963), 175–239; C. Carter, "Hittite Cult Inventories" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962).

13. H. Koşay, *Alaca Höyük Kazısı 1937–1939* (Ankara, 1951), 127, numbers Al. b. 9–18, 20; 120, 122, number Al. b. 54; pls. 52, 67.

14. R. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy*, Boğazköy-Hattuša 10 (Berlin, 1979), pl. 42, numbers 3394A, B, C.



Fig. 8a. Stone wall relief from Alaca Höyük showing main god, Akurgal, Ekrem. *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), figure 92.



Fig. 8b. Stone wall relief from Alaca Höyük showing main goddess, Bittel, Kurt. *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), figure 216.

The bullgod is a deity of great antiquity in north central Anatolia. Hittite ritual texts record incantations to the Hattian deities in the pre-Hittite language.¹⁵ Hattian was no longer a living language in the Hittite period. The great age of the deity in the form of a bull and the continuity in his worship in the central region of Anatolia are demonstrated by the use of the archaic language in ritual texts and the consistent traditional iconographical form. We may identify the bullgod of the colony period, especially in his most native manifestation, as the old weathergod of Hatti, and from the Hittite point of view, the indigenous deity of north central Anatolia.

The original regional home for this deity then is central Anatolia; his early cultural affinity is with the pre-Hittite Hattian folk. How and why this deity became so important in Kanesh is less easy to explain. We know that individuals bearing Hittite names seem to predominate in the native population of the *kārum*.¹⁶ It has been suggested that Hittite political power had already been consolidated in the colony period.¹⁷ Individuals bearing Hattian names occur less frequently in the texts. We may recall that we do not know the composition of the population of Kanesh, but only, to a certain extent, that of the population involved

15. E. Laroche, "Hattic Deities and their Epithets," *JCS* 1 (1947), 187–216.

16. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 167.

17. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), 54.

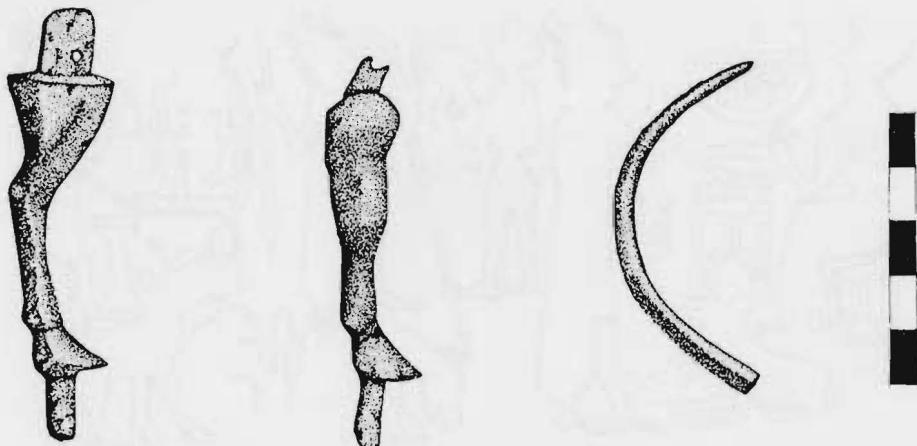


Fig. 9. Small scale statuary from Alaca Höyük. Koşay, Hamid. *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük (1937–1939)* (Ankara, 1951), numbers Al.b.9–18, plates 52, 67.

in the recorded transactions. On the other hand, on the basis of the linguistic and epigraphical evidence, and the visual evidence and its regional affiliations, we may reasonably reconstruct a Hattic-Hittite cultic amalgam already in existence, which brought the bullgod to prominence in Kanesh.

Whatever his origin at Kanesh, from there the bullgod was readily adopted into the Old Assyrian Colonial glyptic repertoire and even appears, in his schematic Assyrian form, on documents that originated in Assur. He also occurs on seals that travelled as far afield as Egypt.¹⁸ This is not surprising because the bullgod is one of the most frequently represented figures in all the colonial styles. In the Assyrian seals, the compositions become static, repetitive, and decorative, in contrast to the elaborate native forms. In these seals, the bullgod appears as an emblem of the colony of Kanesh, rather than a potent cultic image. The imagery may mark the seal owner as a participant in the colonial trade.

THE GOD ON A LION-DRAGON

The god standing on the back of a lion-dragon is a figure that occurs regularly in the native style at Kanesh,¹⁹ but has a well-known origin and history in Mesopotamian glyptic.²⁰ The deity steps up onto the wings or neck of the lion-dragon hybrid, a creature that combines features of a feline animal and a bird of prey

18. E. Porada, "Remarks on the Tôd Treasure in Egypt," in *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honor of I. M. Diakonoff* (Warminster, 1982), 287.

19. Özgür, *Anatolian Group*, 59–60.

20. A. Vanel, *L'Iconographie du dieu de l'orage jusqu'au VII^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1965); A. Assaf, "Die Ikonographie des altbabylonischen Wettergottes," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 14 (1983), 43–66.



Fig. 10. Seal impression showing native deity standing on lion-dragon hybrid. Özgür, Nimet. *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara, 1965) number 11.

(fig. 10). The body, legs, head, and fangs belong to a lion. The upright or curving tail, wings, and talons, are bird-like. The wings are not always present. The lion-dragon stands on all fours, his neck is elongated and head points downward. His jaw gapes open, exposing his fangs. He may spit a stream of fire and/or water.

The god wears a skirt that splits over his forward leg. He has a tall, horned, conical crown with a knob, and sometimes a tassel. He takes an active stance, stepping up onto the lion-dragons' wings or neck. He holds a lead line from the nose of the hybrid in his forward hand. The split, wavy fork of a lightning bolt extends upward from the same hand. He may hold a lance or mace down behind in his other hand. This deity generally lacks attendants and offerings. Occasionally an unveiling female stands in the frieze before his head. He faces a seated deity in some compositions. He appears commonly in native style seals, but in Old Assyrian and other styles as well. The Old Assyrian version tends to be quite simplified (fig. 11, seal C), recognizable from the forked attribute, active stance, and animal attribute, which is sometimes more lion-like than hybrid.

The God on Lion-dragon and Associated Texts

Texts associated with this deity confirm the stylistic distinctions well. A document in Istanbul (*ICK* 1: 35a, here fig. 12), that records the sale of a slave between Anatolians was also witnessed by natives. The names and seals cannot be coordinated, but the seal impressions include three cylinders and one stamp in native style. The uppermost seal impression (seal A) shows the god standing on a lion-dragon. A second text (*ICK* 1: 38a, here fig. 3, seal D), bears seal impressions with the figure rendered in Old Assyrian style. It records a legal proceeding from the city of Assur, sent to the relevant parties in Kanesh. All of the participants to the document have Assyrian names.

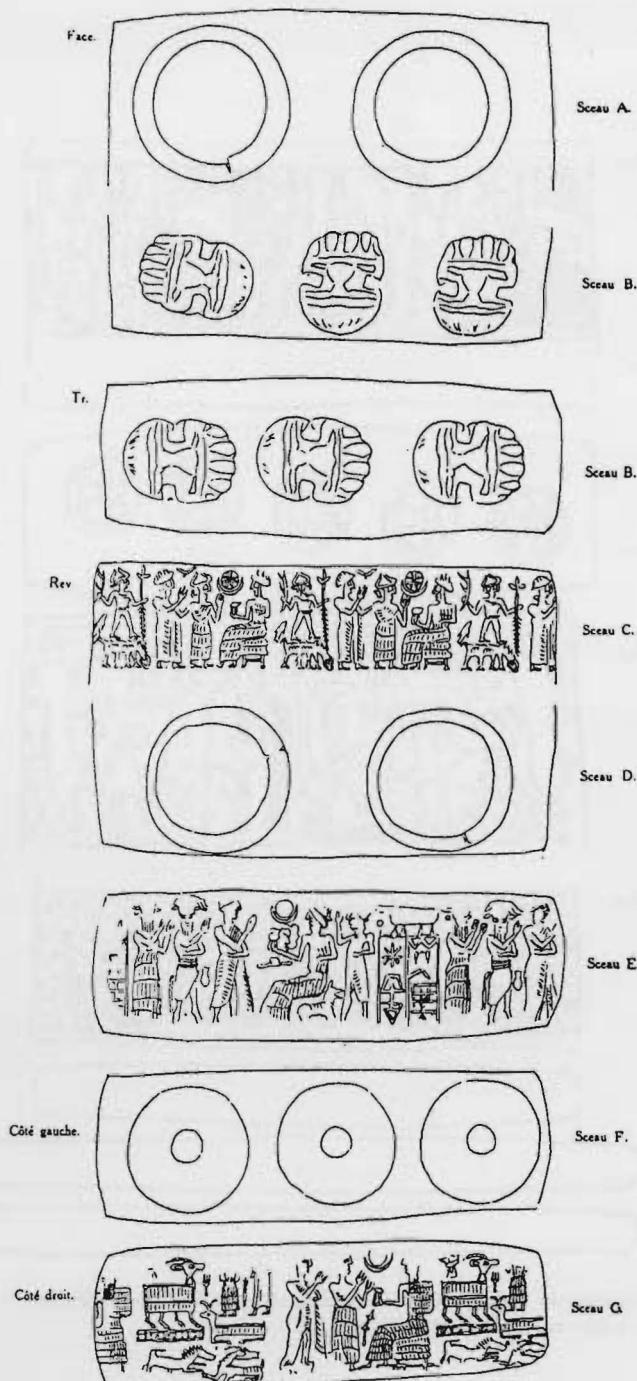


Fig. 11. Old Assyrian seal impression with a god standing on lion-dragon hybrid/lion (seal C). Hrozný, Bedřich. *Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kultépé 1* (Prague 1952) text 19a.

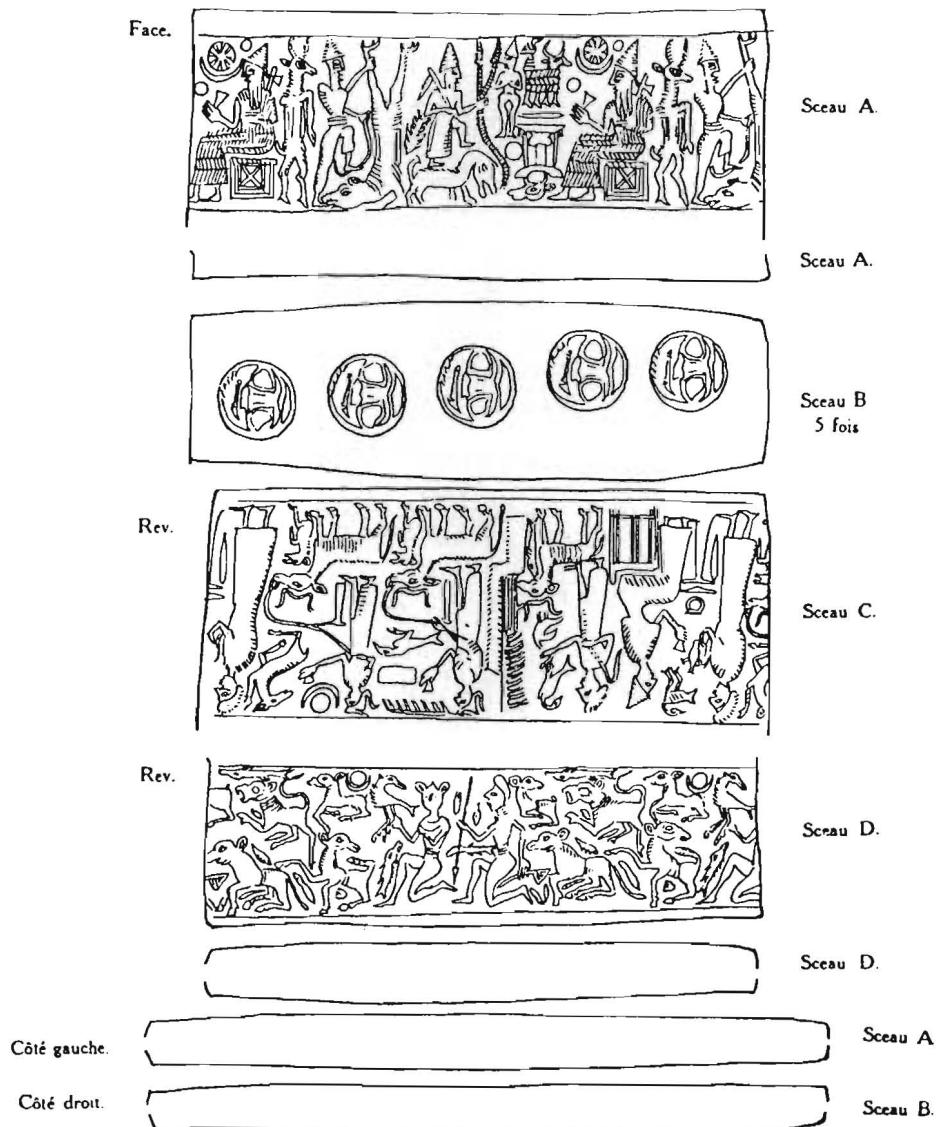


Fig. 12. Text showing the iconography of the god standing on lion-dragon. Hrozný, Bedřich. *Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kultépé 1* (Prague, 1952), text 38a.



Fig. 13. Impression of Akkadian seal showing stormgod with lion-dragon. Porada, Edith. *A Corpus of the Near Eastern Seals* (Bollingen Series 14, Washington, 1948), number 220.

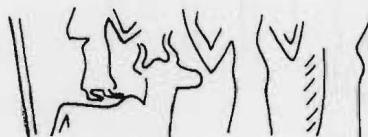


Fig. 14a. Ur III seal impression illustrating stormgod with bull. Buchanan, Briggs. *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven, 1981), figure 228.

Mesopotamian Heritage

Apart from his appearance in the native seals of Kültepe, the weathergod on a lion-dragon does not occur in Anatolian art. The main course of this figure's history lies in Mesopotamia. The earliest representations of this figure occur on Akkadian seals.²¹ Features of his iconography are consistent with the colonial figure (fig. 13). The similar hybrid has more realistic wings and spouts lightning or rain. The god stands on the back of the animal or in a wagon drawn by it. The Akkadian deity may have a nude female companion, and an attendant pouring liquid to the ground before him. The Akkadian figure starts the representation of the stormgod with a coherent imagery. It is also the beginning of the continuous tradition of representing deities on the backs of their adjunct animals.

Of the few neo-Sumerian illustrations of the weathergod, approximately half show the deity standing on the back of a lion-dragon (fig. 14b), and half on the back of the bull (fig. 14a).²² A proliferation of stormgod imagery takes place in the Old Babylonian period. The representation of the god on the bull is by far the favored form, with representations of the lion-dragon adjunct quite rare in general, but more common perhaps in the Old Assyrian glyptic than in the Old Babylonian, although this is not documented.

In the Mesopotamian world, these figures represent the Akkadian stormgod Adad. The inscriptions on the seals that bear stormgod iconography make reference to Adad regularly in the neo-Sumerian period, and predominate in the Old Babylonian period. The owner of the seal impressed on the neo-Sumerian tablet illustrated here (fig. 14b)

21. R. Boehmer, *Entwicklung der Glyptik der Akkad-Zeit* (Berlin, 1965), figs. 333, 345, 362–74; for earlier possible representation of a god driving a wagon drawn by mythological animals, see I. Winter, "After the Battle is Over: The Stele of the Vultures and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East," in J. Kessler and M. Simpson, eds., *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington, 1986), 15–16 and notes.

22. Neo-Sumerian illustrations of the stormgod are catalogued in Appendix B of my dissertation (n. 1 above), 263–64.



Fig. 14b. Impression of Ur III seal stormgod with lion-dragon. Buchanan, Briggs, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven, 1981), figure 229.

is a certain Ibbi-Adad.²³ The inscription on the Old Babylonian seal reads, "Adad, son of An, canal supervisor of heaven and earth. . . ."²⁴ The bull as adjunct animal occurs much more frequently than the lion-dragon in the Old Babylonian period, although the god on the lion-dragon does appear on an Old Babylonian seal in the Louvre (A485), whose owner professes dedication to Adad.

A re-emergence of the stormgod standing on the lion-dragon occurs in the sealings of Nuzi in northeastern Mesopotamia of the 15th century B.C.E.²⁵ The details of the divine figure and animal attribute remain the same: the lightning bolt, bird-feline hybrid, split skirt and horned crown recur. Hybrid demons abound in the fill ornament and an unveiling goddess often attends. See here the seal of Ithi-Teshub (fig. 15). It appears that this figure is adopted as the stormgod Teshub amidst the Hurrian population of Nuzi. At Kanesh, the god on a lion-dragon could represent Mesopotamian Adad recognized locally, or the Mesopotamian iconography may, as at Nuzi, have been appropriated for a local deity.

NATIVE GODS STANDING ON BULLS

Type One God on a Bull

There are two main forms of the god standing on the bull.²⁶ The two variants represent distinct deities because they appear together consistently, one behind the

23. B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals* (New Haven, 1981), no. 679.

24. Ibid., no. 1053; for Old Babylonian Adad iconography and inscriptions, see my dissertation, Appendix C, 265–88.

25. See, e.g., E. Porada, "Remarks on Mitannian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art," *Akkadica* 13 (1979), fig. 1, seal of Ithi-Teshup.

26. Özgür, *Anatolian Group*, 63–64.

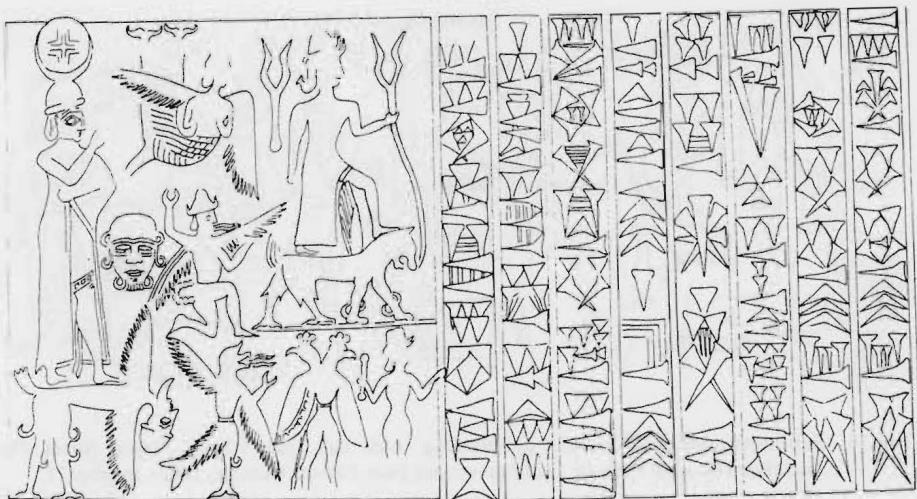


Fig. 15. Seal impression from Nuzi showing the god Teshup standing on lion-dragon (Ithi-Teshup).
Porada, Edith. "Remarks on Mitannian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art," *Akkadica* 13 (1979), figure 2.

other, and always in the same sequence, indicating a probable hierarchy (fig. 16). The leading deity is a somewhat simpler figure, iconographically. He stands straight and sedate on the bull's back, holding the lead line from the bull's nose and a goblet in his forward hand.

He wears a skirt that splits over his forward leg. His headdress is a round cap with horns, and a disk and crescent mounted on top. He usually receives attendants and offerings. The attendants, both human and monkey, approach with liquid offerings poured from a beaked pitcher or teapot. Round breads are set upon what appears to be a conical altar. This deity often has animals and heads of animals set around him as fill ornament in the field.

Type Two God on a Bull

The second type of god on a bull generally holds an active pose (fig. 16). He wears the long skirt, split over the forward leg. His headdress is a tall, horned crown with a knob at the top, to be contrasted with the rounder cap of the first figure. The second figure has two main sub-types. These both occur in the company of the first type of god on a bull, but not together, so that it is likely that the two figures represent variant iconographical forms of the same deity.

Variant, the God over the Mountainous Platform

In the first variant, the god steps up onto the back of the bull from a mountainous platform (fig. 16). The platform has a long, low extension under the bull and two peaks at the rear from which the god steps. The god holds one hand forward, grasping a line from the bull's nose. He often holds a goblet in the same hand. The second



Fig. 16. Seal impression showing native god standing on the bull, types 1 and 2. Özgür, Nimet. *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara, 1965), number 71.

hand hangs down behind, holding a long, wavy, fringed stalk. In some cases there also seem to be one or two serpents' heads at hand level that have been interpreted as snakes whose bodies hang down below the hand. The stalk usually reaches to the base of the platform, whether the snakes' heads are present or not. The fringed stalk is difficult to interpret by observation; it may represent a plant form, or a kind of stylized lightning, or water. Or it may have an unrecognized symbolic significance.

A small, unveiling female figure usually accompanies the god, set in the field at head level. Two symbolic or abstract elements also often appear, consisting of a group of slanted lines set above a hatched rectangle. Of course, there is no documented interpretation for these signs; however, by observation, they may refer to rain over the earth or land.

Variant, the God on Bull with Tapering Form.

The second variant form of the god wears the same dress, including the tall, knobbed, conical crown with horns, and split skirt (fig. 17). The abstract symbols of slanted lines and rectangle are also generally present. This figure stands sedately on the back of his bull. He holds the line to the bull's nose in one hand and either a goblet or a weapon in the other. Behind the god and bull or over the bull's back, stands a tall, tapering form. It is generally flanked at the rear by a line with a fringe projecting from it. The tapering form and fringe vary, and are difficult to interpret from observation, but clearly parallel the fringed stalk and mountainous platform of the previous variant deity.

Old Assyrian Comparisons

There are Old Assyrian counterparts to the gods that stand on bulls. These generally have a simpler, more careless style and lack essential details. The first type of simple god on a bull is by far more common, but parallel figures exist of the other types, in a recognizable if abbreviated form. Of course, it is impossible to

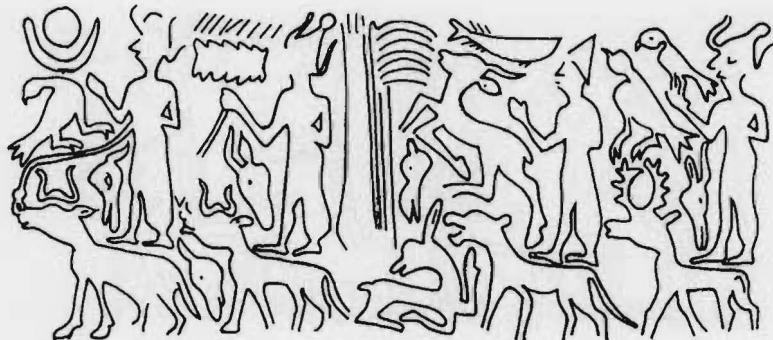


Fig. 17. Seal impression showing native god standing on the bull, type 2, sub-type. Özgür, Nimet. *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara, 1965), number 65.

state categorically that the Old Assyrian style god on a bull corresponds to the Anatolian form rather than the Mesopotamian one. However, there are impressions in Old Assyrian style that repeat details from the Anatolian group that do not exist in neo-Sumerian or early Old Babylonian styles, such as the unveiling female.

Associated Documents

There are relatively few texts published that bear seals with the three gods on bulls in the native style. This is clearly because of the lack of published native archives rather than any other cause. The few examples that may be studied confirm the stylistic divisions. Two records of the sale of slaves involve Anatolian contracting parties and witnesses, except for one Assyrian witness in each case. The first we have seen above in the context of the god on a lion-dragon. It has four different impressions, all native in style including one primitive stamp (*ICK* 1: 35a, here fig. 12). The second text has a similar set of impressions, including one illustrating the gods on bulls in common with the first text (*BIN* 4: 209, here fig. 18). It is impossible to match the individual names, which are all Anatolian, with the seals, but the generally native context for the glyptic is clear.

Documents associated with the Old Assyrian seal impressions appear to be restricted to business between Assyrians in Kanesh or actual communications from Assyrians in Assur. The first is a capital contract between Assyrians in Kanesh (*BIN* 4: 211, here fig. 19). The second is a long record of the dissolution of a business partnership inscribed in Assur and sent to Kanesh. This text has many witnesses and twenty-four seal impressions, including a number of Old Assyrian versions of native figures (*ATHE* 24).

Conclusions

There are a few general comments to be made about these three figures. All three, the simple god standing on a bull, the god stepping up on the bull from the mountain platform, and the god standing on the bull with a tapering form set



Fig. 18. Old Assyrian seal impression showing a god standing on the bull. Clay, Albert T. *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 4)*, text 209.

behind, hold a goblet and receive liquid offerings. They all belong to the group of figures that appear together consistently in the native style. The group includes the god on a lion, the god on a stag, and the female deity on an elaborate platform. These figures are usually set in a continuous file; that is, when the seal is rolled, the deities make a continuous lineup (fig. 17). When a beginning and end to the file of deities is indicated, the god on bulls seem to head the line and the simple god on a bull leads before the god on a platform or with the tapering tower (fig. 18).

The series of deities standing on a variety of animals in the native glyptic have connections to the third millennium iconography of central Anatolia in that the main animals, the bull, stag, and lion, are also important creatures of the art of Alaca Höyük and related sites. It may be significant that a similar grouping of animals recurs in the native style seals. Possibly in a conversion of early traditional animal divinities to human form, the local artists found it convenient to set the deities on the backs of their animal adjuncts.

The gods on bulls are different from the other figures that stand on animals, in that the details of bovid draft are conserved in the compositions. A nose-ring is clearly rendered. Two draft lines may be shown. The arrangement seems to be a kind of shorthand rendering of the god in a wagon. The double reins and the reference to a vehicle implies that the profile rendering of a single bull stands for a pair of bulls in reality. Four wheeled wagons do occur on colony period seals in the native style, generally drawn by two or four equids and driven by a human of uncertain identity and status. There is no apparent reason why such a vehicle does not appear with the stormgod.

THE GOD ON BULL—ORIGINS AND HISTORY

Third Millennium Comparisons

To understand the context of the gods on bulls better, we can look again at third millennium antecedents. The standards and sistra from Alaca Höyük and Horoztepe reveal a strong tradition for animals of special, perhaps divine, character.

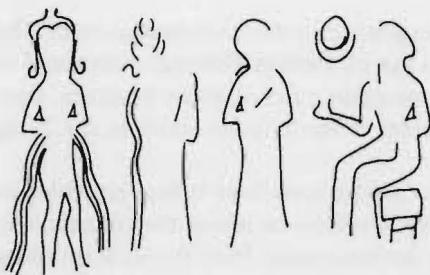


Fig. 19. Text with impressions illustrating the god standing on the bull. Clay, Albert T. *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 4)*, text 211.

Horoztepe Bulls

Against this background tradition for animal art, we may note an unusual find. A pair of free-standing bull figurines appeared in the course of a modern interment at the northern site of Horoztepe. The site was subsequently investigated by Tahsin Özgür and Mehmet Akok. The bulls are small, approximately 10 centimeters long and 10 centimeters high, including the horns. They are technically and stylistically similar to the usual Alaca Höyük production (fig. 20). The bodies are somewhat angular, limbs naturalistic, and decoration inlaid. They have an unusual complementary design. The front half of one bull, and the rear half of the other, were coated with a silver-colored metal that make it clear that the two figurines belong together as a pair.

The coated half of each figure is better preserved. There is a triangular inlay in the forehead of the better preserved front half. A thin wire of gold runs through the nose as a line. The better preserved rear half shows the bulls to be unaltered males, presumably wild animals. The pair of leashed bulls represent a team that,

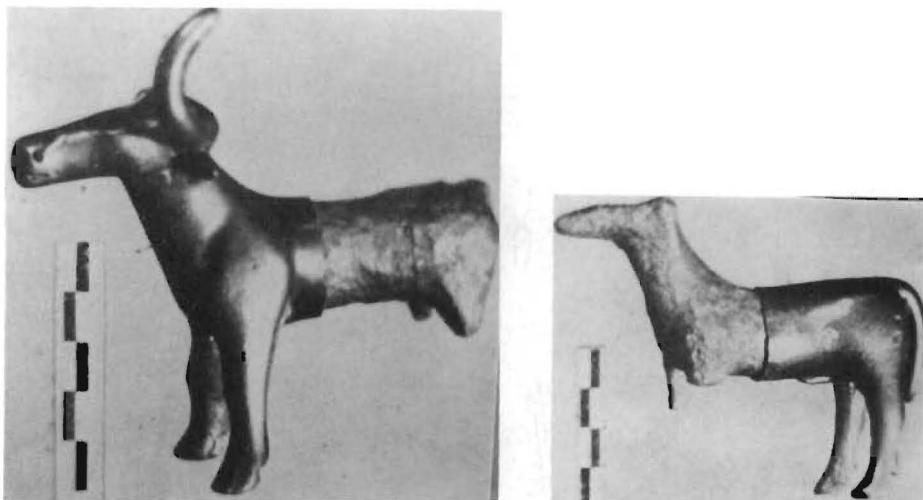


Fig. 20. Bull statuettes from Horoztepe. Özgür, Tahsin and Mehmet Akok. *Horoztepe: An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery* (Ankara, 1958), plate 11, numbers 2, 3.

in concept at least, would have drawn a wagon with a driver in human form. There are no traces of such a wagon or figure in the excavation although substantial cultic inventory was recovered. There are two other pairs of these figurines, one in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and another in the Oriental Institute in Chicago, similar in style and technique.

The pair of free-standing bull figurines with nose lines reflect an underlying concept of an anthropomorphic driver with a vehicle to which the animals would have been attached. This concept differs fundamentally from the idea of a single untamed animal in the Alaca tradition. As unaltered males, the bull figurines are not likely to represent everyday work animals since one unaltered bull lacks the calm nature required of a draft animal; and two unaltered bulls, harnessed together could be controlled only by superhuman force. The complete anatomy of the bull implies a divine driver. Thus in the midst of the Alaca Höyük animal tradition, we have clear evidence for a concept of a deity in human form, driving bulls. Although the artistry and technology of the bull pair are locally evolved, the concept of a human deity drawn in a wagon is foreign to the early northern Anatolian setting.

Akkadian Seal from Umm-al Hafriyat

Contemporary parallels for bull-drawn wagons and leashed bulls occur elsewhere. A seal excavated in a burial of the Akkadian period at the site of Umm-al Hafriyat near Nippur,²⁷ shows the usual Akkadian stormgod in a wagon, but in this case the wagon is drawn by bulls (fig. 21). The profile rendering on these

27. Courtesy of McGuire Gibson, excavator.



Fig. 21. Impression of an Akkadian seal showing the stormgod with bull. Illustrated here with the permission of the excavator Professor McGuire Gibson, with thanks.

seals shows a single bull or lion-dragon but the structure of the wagon with its draft-pole clearly implies two animals.

As is often the case with Akkadian glyptic, the seals representing the stormgod offer a well-established composition. The important elements of the composition include the god in an active pose, wielding a ship or other weapon; he drives a wagon drawn by a lion-dragon (or in this case the bull), or stands on the back of the animal; he is often accompanied by a nude female and receives a liquid offering.

Metal Wagon Models

A group of metal wagon models, now in collections, is believed to originate in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria of the third millennium B.C.E. The models provide a second contemporary parallel for the Horoztepe bulls, that helps locate the iconography of the bull-drawn wagon in the southeastern region. There are unfortunately no excavated models. The known examples have been catalogued and discussed by Littauer and Crouwel.²⁸

The craftsmanship of the models is much rougher than the bull figurines from Horoztepe although the scale of the bulls is comparable. (The bulls range from 6.3 to 12.0 cm. in length, the models as a whole, approximately 19 to 23 cm.) Details are lacking. We cannot tell whether or not the animals were intact males. Some of the technical details of the wagons are preserved. The models portray an archaic kind of four-wheeled wagon similar to that driven by the Akkadian deity (fig. 22). (It may be noted that a two-wheeled cart in use by this time was much faster and more maneuverable.²⁹) In reality, a bovid-drawn, four-wheeled wagon would have been more remarkable for thunderous noise than for speed, which may have been the point!

The wagon models appear to have functioned as cult objects. As works in metal, they are too complex and valuable to be toys or replicas of practical equipment. It is likely that they served as votive offerings in the cult of the stormgod as he was known in the southeastern region of Anatolia and northern Syria. Already

28. M. Littauer and J. Crouwel, "Early Metal Models of Wagons from the Levant," *Levant* 5 (1973), 102-26.

29. *Ibid.*, 122.

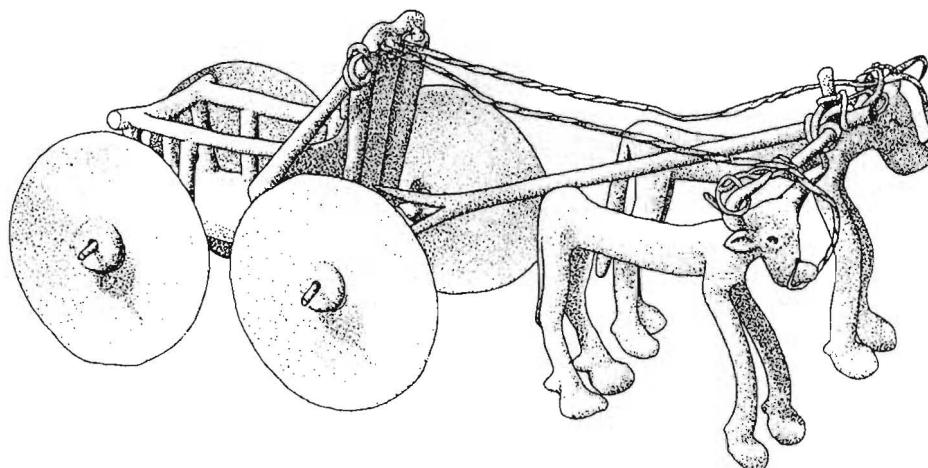


Fig. 22. Metal wagon model. (Littauer, Mary and Joost Crouwel. *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden 1979) figure 15.)

in the later third millennium the iconography of such a god could then be reflected as far afield as the Mesopotamian city of Nippur and the northern Anatolian site of Horoztepe.

The God in a Bovid-Drawn Wagon—Hittite Comparisons

It seems odd then that the stormgod in a wagon drawn by either bulls or the lion-dragon is in the main absent from the glyptic of the colony period.³⁰ The god in a bovid-drawn wagon does appear in the same southeastern region of Anatolia in later Hittite times. The cylinder seal in the Louvre³¹ (fig. 23), dated stylistically to the fifteenth century B.C.E., and impression Tarsus number 42³² (fig. 24), both show the stormgod behind a bull-drawn cart with spoked wheels. The scene on the Louvre cylinder includes indication of two animals, the active, armed pose of the god, an unveiling female, and a libation. These two examples originate in the Southeast, where the Hittites more commonly used cylinder seals, in deference to local taste.³³ From the Hittite capital, there are fragments of Old Hittite relief vases showing a deity stepping into a cart (fig. 25) as well as the pair of clay bull rhyta that imply the divine figure.³⁴ We may compare especially the triangle painted on the terracotta

30. To my knowledge, there is at least one unpublished impression bearing a god with a bull-drawn wagon among the impressions from Kültepe.

31. Louvre AO20138; A. Parrot, "Cylindre nouvellement acquis (AO20138)," *Syria* 28 (1951), 180–91, fig. 1.

32. H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule 2* (Princeton, 1956), 243–44, 246–47, figs. 401, 405.

33. G. Beckman, "A Hittite Cylinder in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981), 129–31.

34. R. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy*, Boğazköy-Hattuša 13 (Berlin, 1983), from Boğazköy, 41–42, nos. 47–50; from Alişar Höyük, d 2997a, b, p. 37, fig. 24.



Fig. 23. Seal impression Louvre AO20138. Parrot, André. "Un cylindre nouvellement acquis, Louvre AO20138," *Syria* 28 (1951), figure 1.

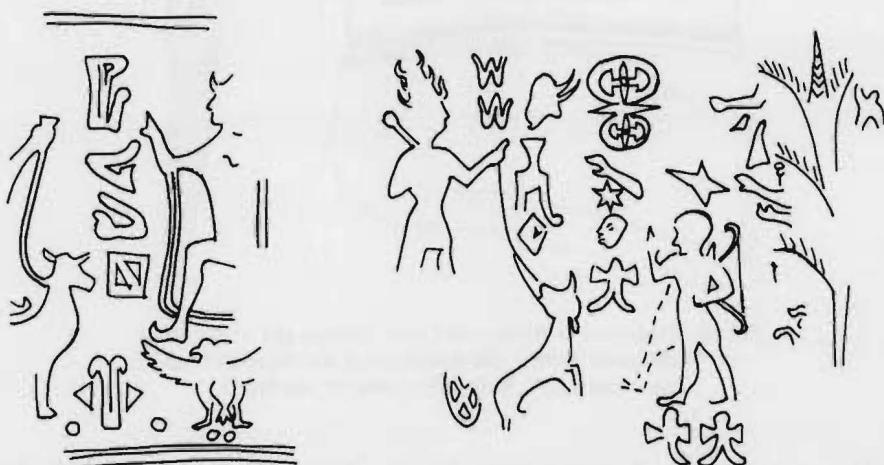


Fig. 24. Hittite period cylinder seal impression from Tarsus. Goldman, Hetty. *Excavations at Gözlu Kule 2* (Princeton, 1956), figures 401, 405.

bulls' foreheads with the inlaid triangle on the heads the statuettes from Early Bronze Age Horoztepe.

Evidence of the later Hittite periods is scarce but consistent. A rock relief at Imamkulu shows the stormgod with bull, two-wheeled cart, and unveiling female companion. Supporting mountain gods and genii recall colony period types of composition (fig. 26). Imamkulu is an open-air site, 70 km. southeast of Kültepe. Finally the late Hittite relief of the stormgod at Malatya includes the bull, a cart with properly archaic solid wheels, and a liquid offering. The later Hittite representations of the god in a cart demonstrate the local conservatism in the religious iconography of the southeastern region.

The Early Bronze Age wagon models and bull teams come from non-literate contexts, but the stormgod association is assured by their cultic function and bull imagery. In the literate Hittite era, the god in the bull-drawn wagon is identified with Hurrian Teshub. Outside of the Hittite capital, his imagery is located in

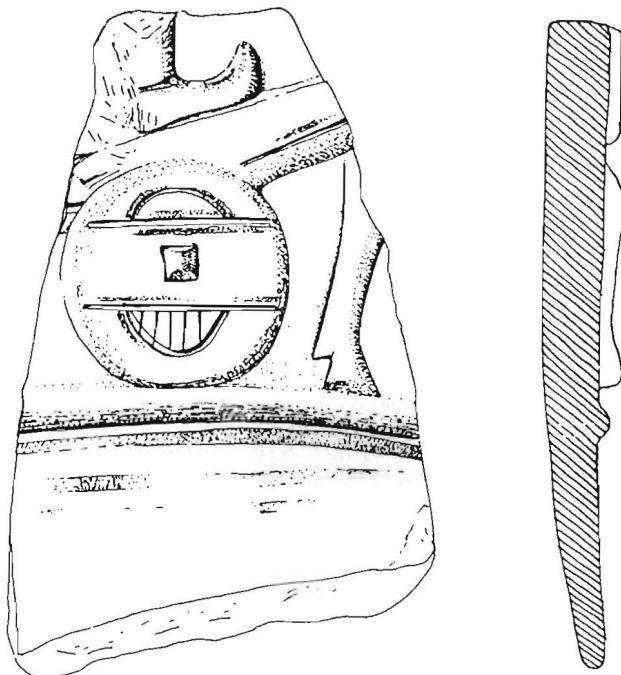


Fig. 25. Fragments of Hittite relief vase showing god with wagon.
(Boehmer, Rainier. *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy (Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII, Berlin 1985)* plate 15, number 47.)

southeastern Anatolia. It seems likely that the third millennium deity held the same locale, southeastern Anatolia, the same imagery, a bull-drawn wagon; and the same identity, that is Hurrian Teshub. In Akkadian art, the active pose of the god, the whip, wagon and bull, and nude goddess are new elements that appear as part of expanded stormgod imagery. The Akkadians may have given vivid expression to a divine image borrowed from the Hurrians to their north.

Teshub in Kanesh?

In the native iconography of Kanesh, there is one obvious counterpart to the stormgod in a bovid-drawn wagon. That is the second type of a god who stands on a bull (here figs. 16, 17). He has, of course, no wagon represented, but he does have a leashed bull and is armed, either with the fringed stalk held down behind, or a baton or axe, resting on his shoulder. In one of the two iconographical forms, the god assumes an active stance, stepping up onto the back of the bull from a peaked platform. In both iconographical forms, the god has an unveiling female companion and is prepared to receive a liquid offering, that is, he holds a goblet or cup.

What is the probability that this figure represents Hurrian Teshub? Even before the second millennium, the population of southeastern Anatolia represented a Hurrian-Luwian linguistic blend. It is not unlikely that in the colony period, there was



Fig. 26. Rock relief at İmamkulu with god and wagon. Bittel, Kurt. *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), figure 203.

already an admixture of Luwian and Hurrian influence in the religious iconography of Kanesh. We cannot be certain of the names that would have been applied to the figures of the gods on bulls at Kanesh. I prefer to see this influence as a borrowing of iconography rather than appropriation of the divinity at this stage. It is clear, however, that some of the Hurrian influence that is directly observable in Hittite art and religion seems to have begun already in early second millennium Kanesh.

The three figural types of gods on bulls represent two separate but closely related deities. We can only speculate on the nature of the relationship between the two gods. On analogy with known mythological patterns and the later Hittite theology and imagery as represented at Yazılıkaya, for example, we can suggest a filial connection between the gods. The older, more sedate figure would be father to the more active and complex son. They could also represent weathergods of unrelated origins, each considered too important to omit from the divine lineup.

Why are there two iconographical forms of the second type of god on a bull, one with a tapering form behind him and the second standing over the peaked platform? At the start of this paper, I noted that the native style of seal carving suddenly revealed an otherwise unknown body of iconography. The images of deities in the native seals may reflect actual prototypes. Such prototypes could have existed in three-dimensional form, as small-scale statuary in mixed media. There was a broad Near Eastern tradition of crafting cult statuary in mixed media at a small scale. Individual images of deities belonging to certain cult centers, cities, or regions, had specific forms of representation. These could provide the model for a characteristic local iconographical type of deity carried into the seals,

complete with standard offerings and attendants. The Hittite cult inventories describe just such objects dedicated in local places of the Empire period.

Hieroglyphic Comparisons

Certain enigmatic symbolic features occur as part of the iconography of individual divine figures. The rectangular and hatched symbols in the frieze in front of the heads of the type two gods on bulls as well as their fringed attributes, and to a certain extent the tapering form, peaked platform, nude female, offerings, and fill ornament, all seem to carry a kind of ideographic significance.

A parallel may exist between the ideographic imagery of the second millennium cylinders and the hieroglyphic writing of the first millennium. Early Anatolian hieroglyphs are more ideographic, later ones become more syllabic, and suited to expressing language more fully.³⁵ The later hieroglyphs were used to write different languages but the original language of hieroglyphic writing was Luwian.

We cannot expect a literal correspondence between Late Hittite hieroglyphics and early second millennium ideograms. The symbols called here "earth" and "rain" are not closely duplicated in the hieroglyphic sign list (fig. 27). They have a strongly ideographic quality, however. We may compare hieroglyph #228 meaning "country" and the peaks of the platform below the god. Perhaps also sign #244 meaning "building" and the platform itself are comparable.

We may visualize the tapering form on the back of the bull in three dimensions, perhaps in the shape of a stele, and then see a likeness to the sign #165 meaning "good" or "beneficence." There is some similarity between the animal hieroglyphs and the animal and animal head fill ornament of the seal impressions, and representations of vessels in both categories, that could signify offerings or rhyta in reality.

Details of the god in the form of a bull also seem to correspond to the hieroglyphic signs. The bull has a triangle on his back that compares with sign #279 meaning "well-being." Hittite deities described in the cult inventories are characterized as holding the sign for well-being or good fortune in their hands, something which again must be visualized in three dimensions. The bull's enigmatic pair of hands and forearms protruding from his chest could parallel the hieroglyphic sign in the form of two hands, #42, meaning "to take or taking." The proposition that a Luwian component functioned in the cult and art in Kültepe is further supported by this correspondence if upheld.

In sum, in the third millennium, the stormgod composition with an active god, wagon, animal adjuncts, nude female, and libation may be a Hurrian reflection in Adad imagery at Nippur. Similarly the concept of the god with a bovid-drawn wagon may be a Hurrian/Luwian reflection in the cult at Horoztepe. The god with the Mesopotamian lion-dragon is favored in later northeastern regions of

35. E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites I. L'Écriture* (Paris, 1960); J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies, and G. Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection* (Göttingen, 1973), 146.

165  1. « BON. » 2. *uā*.

Végétal en fleur ?

Variantes : 

228  « PAYS. »

244  « BÂTIMENT. »

41  1. « PRENDRE. » 2. *tā*.

Main qui prend.

42 

Mains qui prennent ou qui posent.

370  1. « BIEN, SANTÉ. » 2. (a)su.

104  {III} *sā*.

110  {P} *ma.*

111  {P} « MOUTON. »

105  {P} 1. « BŒUF. » 2. *u(wa)*.

128 

116 

Fig. 27. Chart of hieroglyphs for comparisons. Emmanuel Laroche. *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (Paris, 1960).

Mesopotamia, while the bull enters the composition under Anatolian influence. The Ur III and Old Babylonian proliferation of forms for Adad with the bull or lion-dragon appears to be an independent process, although bull imagery may be favored at Assur, and in contexts affiliated with the colonial trade with Anatolia. In the colony period at Kanesh, the adoption and proliferation of the Hurrian/Luwian imagery would represent local deities and may reflect an early phase for the development of the iconographical inspiration, no longer preserved in the material record, a possible reverberation between Anatolian and Akkadian art, for example, that has been noted before in relation to the glyptic.³⁶ The god standing on the bull could represent Teshub of some appropriate southeastern center. At Kanesh, the gods are probably local Hittite/Hattian weathergods, a blending of traditions already well advanced.

With the analysis of their iconography, we are beginning to recognize the identities of the weathergods at Kanesh, or at least the sources of their iconography. If our understanding of the divine world there is incomplete, we still have acquired a vivid picture of cult equipment and activities in use. We have begun to recognize visually the component parts of the mixed context of Kanesh.

36. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, 47.