

Experiencing the Hittite Empire in its Borderlands

by
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A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World
Brown University
May 2016

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I received Sue Alcock's e-mail telling me that I was being offered a space in the PhD program at the Joukowsky Institute, I was terrified. The decision to move to the US for a 6-year long PhD program while leaving my newly-wed husband behind was not easy. I took a leap of faith, and I have not regretted it one single moment after I arrived in Providence, even in the worst of academic times. I have been privileged to have worked with an extraordinary, supportive and smart array of professors and colleagues, who are so passionate about archaeology.

I cannot thank my committee members enough. Without their never-ending support, expertise, challenging questions and encouragement, I simply could not have written this dissertation. John Cherry: Thank you for all that you continue to teach me, for your unceasing support and advice. Among many other things, I am learning how to be a better writer/editor, a better scholar, and a better cook from you. Sue Alcock: Thank you for setting me back on track on all the times I ended up on your doorstep (or your e-mail inbox) confused, panicked, or simply not knowing what to do. You always ask the right questions and give the best advice. Ömür Harmanşah: Thank you for believing in me even before I came to Brown, for always pushing me to go further, and for entrusting me with the Yalburt material. You have fundamentally shaped the way I think about archaeology, Anatolian landscapes, borderlands and the Hittites.

Matthew Rutz: Thank you for being a great mentor all along. You placed a huge amount of trust in a confused first-year student, and it got me through until the end of grad school. Felipe Rojas: Thank you for being my academic “abi”, who always pushes me to think clearer, write better, and think about everything I (plan to) do in the larger scheme of things. Without your perspective, this dissertation would not be the same. Claudia Glatz: Thank you for sharing your vast expertise and love for “nerding about the Hittites” with me. You continue to be an inspiration and a role model. Peter van Dommelen: Thank you for all of your very kind support and great advise, for challenging me to think more comparatively and for all the times I walked out of your office with a ton of references on material I have never been exposed to before.

I have been very fortunate to be a member of the kind, caring, supportive, inspiring and intellectually-stimulating JIAAW grad student community. It is impossible to thank everyone enough in this short space, but I must single out some names. Linda Gosner’s friendship and support have got me through from the very start, from late nights at the institute in our first year to the dread of our sixth year, and beyond. Andrew Dufton, Kathryn McBride and Paul Margrave are my reinforcements, keeping me loved and sane through the years by activities ranging from quietly working by my side in coffee shops to screaming 80s songs in karaoke bars when I needed to decompress. Pinar Durgun has become my little sister, always understanding, cheerful and right there whenever I needed her. Catie Steidl has provided unlimited and unconditional care and support, from pep talks to home-

delivered delicious meals when my diet consisted of grilled cheese during the final stages of the dissertation. Katherine Harrington has provided the much needed support, care, commiseration and great humor. Willis Monroe has not only been an exceptional friend, but also as crazy as me to commit to finishing the dissertation a semester early, providing the much-needed empathy. Sarah Craft (Crafty), Jessica Nowlin (Texas) and Emily Booker brought happiness and great smiles into even the most dreadful days. Alexander Smith, Ian Randall, Clive Vella, Miriam Rothenberg and Darcy Hackley were unceasing sources of motivation. Elizabeth Murphy and Tom Leppard gave great advice and showed me there is light at the end of the tunnel.

I am grateful to the scholars who have shared their unpublished work, discussed ideas and/or read and commented on drafts of different chapters: Christoph Bachhuber, Peri Johnson, Steve Karacic, Fotini Kondyli, James Osborne, Cinzia Pappi and Christina Williamson. I am also thankful to Peri Johnson for her help with the Yalburt data both in the field, and during the writing of this dissertation.

Many parts of this dissertation would simply not be possible without Sarah Sharpe's lasting support. She provided not only logistical insight, but also timely advice and good cheer. Similarly, Jess Porter and Diana Richardson provided me with great cheer, dog-petting therapy and logistical support. I am thankful to all of them.

Different grants have funded various parts of this research. I am indebted to the support of the Brown University Graduate School as well as financial support from

the Joukowsky Institute. An ARIT Fellowship in the Humanities and Social Sciences funded my final research trip to the Akşehir Museum for this dissertation. I am thankful to the Fulbright Foreign Student Program for providing me with a Fulbright grant for doctoral degree, which was the catalyst in my coming to Brown.

I am indebted to various institutions for their intellectual and logistical support. I thank the British Institute at Ankara for providing me with access to the Beycesultan pottery collection from the James Mellaart excavations, which was fundamental in my understanding of the Beycesultan material. I am indebted to the BIAA Director Lutgarde Vandeput, librarians Burçak Delikan and Tuna Çapar for their help and support, as well as Prof. Dr. Eşref Abay, the director of the current Beycesultan excavations, for giving me permission to work with unpublished material from the previous excavations. I also thank the wonderful staff of the Akşehir Museum for kindly hosting me during my work on the Yalburt Yaylası Survey material, particularly Akşehir Museum Director Ömer Faruk Türkan and senior archaeologists Rabia Bakırel and Muzaffer Saçkesen.

Much of this dissertation was written in the coffee shops of Providence. Martha at Vanuatu Coffee Roasters, Blue State Coffee, Malachi's and Tea in Sahara: Thank you for the coffee, coffee and the coffee. I am also grateful to Tori Amos and to Alice Cooper (particularly for 'Poison') for enabling me to work for many hours straight with their amazing music.

I have been very lucky to have the love and support of exceptional friends. Gülbin Özcan-Deniz, Sevgi Yücesan, Behiye Gürevin, Pınar Topkaya and İpek Durusu: I cannot thank you enough.

Finally, I am grateful, beyond words, to my husband and my family, who have endured my many years of schooling. Their unconditional love and support got me through. I could not have asked for more loving parents than my mom and dad Güliden and Ayhan Durusu, and for a more caring, loving and supportive sister than Mine Durusu-Tanrıöver. I am so fortunate to have my two little sources of love and happiness, my nephew Mete and my niece Ece. I am grateful for the support of İsmet and Tuna Tanrıöver, as well as my brother Altuğ Tanrıöver. Finally, my husband Hakan has been my inspiration, strength and courage over the years, and I am grateful to him beyond words.

The research and writing of this dissertation coincided with a particularly troubled time of Turkey's history. This dissertation, for whatever it is worth, is dedicated to the wonderful, loving and caring people of Anatolia, past and present, with the hope of better days to come.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CTH: Catalog der Texte der Hethiter

EBA: Early Bronze Age

LBA: Late Bronze Age

MBA: Middle Bronze Age

RLWmW: Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware

SU: Survey Unit

I follow standard Assyriological abbreviations for primary texts and publication series.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

How would we understand the Roman Empire if Rome had never been discovered? How would we define the Khmer Empire if Angkor had never been found? Imperial capitals inspire awe and sustain nostalgia for powerful empires and their conquests. They can generate much data – a lot of houses, people, monuments, texts. Imperial capitals get to define the standards for their empires.

The story told by the capital, however, rarely reflects other parts of the empire. My dissertation confronts this problem, using the Hittite Empire as its case study. The Hittite Empire dominated parts of what is now modern Turkey and Syria between the 17th and 12th centuries BCE. To investigate the Hittite imperial system, I look across the larger Anatolian peninsula and northern Syria through a diachronic perspective spanning roughly a millennium, from ca. 2000-1180 BCE.¹ I explore what the Hittite Empire looked like on the ground in different regions – how its power was projected by the central administration and how it was received by the inhabitants of the border regions. Succinctly, the questions driving my research are: *How did Hittite imperialism*

¹ For a main frame of reference, my dissertation mainly focuses on the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in Anatolia and northern Syria, while making sporadic references to the Early Bronze Age. The Early Bronze Age roughly denotes the third millennium BCE, the Middle Bronze Age is c. 2000-1650 BCE, while c. 1650-1175 BCE makes up the Late Bronze Age. This chronology is intended to be a rough guide, since the chronology of the Bronze Ages in the ancient Near East is a topic of intense debate. Furthermore, this division is an arbitrary one that works to the detriment of continuity that most sites of the ancient Near East demonstrate throughout the Bronze Ages, including sites studied in this dissertation such as Emar and Hattuša. However, since the publications still use this terminology, I continue to adhere to it here.

operate in the different border regions over which the Hittites claim to have dominated?

How did these borderlands respond to Hittite rule? I approach these questions through three case studies using original texts and data collected through archaeological fieldwork. I argue that the impact of the Hittite Empire varied in every site and region, and that responses to Hittite imperialism were conditioned and contested by local identities and enduring traditions.

While seeking to explain the roles of and the responses to imperialism in Hittite borderlands, my dissertation aims first to invert the highly capital-oriented bias of Hittite studies and to look at the empire from its edges; second, to situate the Hittite Empire within the second millennium history of Anatolia;² and third, to place this empire as a case study within the larger scholarship on the archaeology of empires, imperialism, and borderlands.

In this introductory chapter, I situate my research questions within the historiography of Hittite archaeology. Afterwards, I proceed to highlight the original contributions that I make not only to regional studies (Anatolian and Near Eastern Archaeology), but also to theoretical debates on the archaeologies of empires and borderlands. I conclude by providing an overview of the chapters of this dissertation.

²I use the “second millennium BCE” as a term to denote the Middle and Late Bronze Age together. As such, the starting point of the Middle Bronze Age might actually be earlier or later than the second millennium BCE turning point at 2000 BCE, while the end point is usually placed around 1180 BCE for the end of the Bronze Age.

1.1 Short Historiography and Original Contributions of this Research Project

This project is inspired by a series of methodological and historiographical obstacles that Hittite studies face. The scholarship of the Hittite Empire is inextricably bound to the 1920s and 1930s, the decades of the most intense excavations at the site of Hattuša/Boğazköy (the Hittite capital) and the early years of the Turkish Republic. During the formative stages of the Turkish Republic, the Hittites were portrayed as ancestors of the new nation, the first culture to have ever unified Anatolia. This is exemplified by a speech by Afet İnan, one of the founders of the Turkish Historical Society and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's adopted daughter:

It is also necessary to acknowledge one more thing, and that is the fact that our ancient Hittites, our ancestors, were the first indigenous owners of our country. Thousands of years ago, they established this land as their homeland, instead of their motherland [in Central Asia]. They transported the center of the Turks from the Altai Mountains to Anatolia and Thrace. The unbreakable rocks of this homeland are among the unshakable foundations of the Turkish Republic (İnan 1932: 40; Atakuman 2008: 221).

This hunt for the ancestors accelerated investments in archaeology, and state-sponsored excavations began in Alaca Höyük with the aim of uncovering this early “Turkish” past (Çınaroğlu and Çelik 2010: 56). The interpretation of material finds from this work had far-reaching consequences for envisioning a holistic Anatolian culture embodied in the Hittite Empire, and seeing Anatolia as a self-evident territory, with the same borders of the nascent Turkish Republic.

Since the day that the Hittite capital Hattuša was discovered in central Turkey, Hittite history has been Hattuša's history.³ Long-term excavations carried out at the site by the German Archaeological Institute have made Boğazköy the standard for all other Hittite sites (Mielke 2011: 1036). As the emphasis of research intensified on the urban layout, monumental architecture and rich tablet archives of the capital city, Hattuša started to set the benchmark for all of Hittite archaeology. Its architecture, material culture and even its imperial narratives told in state-produced texts defined what we expect "Hittite" to look like in all the territories that the empire itself claimed to have ruled. Furthermore, almost all of the archaeological work of the site concentrated on the area within the city walls, isolating Hattuša from both the larger workings of the Hittite Empire, and from its own immediate hinterland.⁴

An explicit emphasis on the paramount importance of the Late Bronze Age posed another problem in Hittite historiography. Hittite 'history' usually begins with the Early Bronze Age, the time of the alleged Indo-European migrations into Anatolia. The scene then changes to the Middle Bronze Age as a prelude to the coming of the Hittites in the Late Bronze Age (e.g. Bryce 2010; Schuol 2014). This curious practice — namely, always talking about the totality of the Bronze Age, but using it as a mere background for the teleological and seemingly inevitable rise of the Hittite Empire —

³ See Bittel (1970: 7-11) for a detailed account of the discovery and early fieldwork of Hattuša.

⁴ Czichon 1999 and Marsh 2010 are notable exceptions of survey and geomorphological work that covers the area around the city.

not only severed the links between the Hittite Empire and its local past, but also introduced Hittites as colonial intruders into Anatolia:

The encounter between the Indo-European Hittites and the local Hattians resulted in a remarkable fusion between two entirely different cultures. The dominant Hittites adopted completely the cultural assets of their predecessors, especially in the domains of religion and mythology. However, this cultural fusion between Hittites and Hattians, not unlike the one between Romans and Etruscans, must have been preceded by fierce encounters of which we have very little information (Singer 2007: 14).

Hittite archaeology, thus, has a modern heritage of nationalist agendas, insistence on the singularity of the imperial capital and a specific time period. Although the last few decades have seen a boom in Hittite studies, where interests of more and more scholars generated works in topics ranging from historical geography (e.g. Barjamovic 2011) to novel interpretations of rock-cut monuments (e.g. Glatz and Plourde 2011; Harmanşah 2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2015) from network approaches for the Hittite Empire (e.g. Glatz 2007; 2009), to a renewed and more elaborate interest in the end of the Late Bronze Age as well as the continuity between Hittite and Syro-Anatolian cultures (e.g. Hawkins 2009; Harrison 2010; Gilibert 2011; Bryce 2012); synthetic studies focusing on regions outside of the Central Plateau and making use of multiple strands of data are still rare.

I offer three remedies to these concerns as the original contributions of this dissertation: a diachronic model that discusses the Hittite Empire in relation to the

entire second millennium BCE,⁵ an emphasis on the borderlands as opposed to the center, and the use of the theoretical frameworks and heuristic tools generated by the literature on the archaeology of empires and imperialism.

First, I go beyond synchronic models (that see entire regions as unified and static at given time periods through a teleological lens) and trace diachronic interactions. Instead of discussing a site in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages separately, I discuss its local diachronic history as one continuous narrative. Still, all projects need temporal limits, and this one is no exception. In this dissertation, I range mostly between 2000 and 1180 BCE. I admit that these are more guidelines than abrupt temporal fractures, and they will be adjusted accordingly in different case studies. The date I chose to end with, 1180 BCE, is familiar to students of the Mediterranean and the Near East as the conventional date for the end of the Bronze Age. While social, cultural and linguistic ties clearly bridge the Bronze Age with the Early Iron Age in Anatolia, the Hittite Empire is dissolved as a political entity at this point, marking the end of the imperial encounters that are at the core of this dissertation. My start date of 2000 BCE is more flexible, and will be adjusted to coincide with the levels interpreted as Middle Bronze Age in different sites and

⁵ Another fruitful line of inquiry would be to push the boundary in the other direction to cover the Early Iron Age, and thus to cover both *before* and *after* the Hittite Empire. While extending into the Early Iron Age would have been easier for certain categories of data, and especially the rock monuments, it would have proved difficult for others, such as texts, and even pottery in certain regions such as the Yalburt Survey region, discussed in Chapter 3.

regions.⁶ All of the case-studies discussed in this dissertation have histories going back to the Middle Bronze Age, and at times even before to the Early Bronze Age. I will demonstrate that the Middle Bronze Age pasts of these sites and regions were fundamental in their encounters with Hittite imperialism. This longer-term treatment contrasts with other recent studies of Hittite imperialism, which have more explicitly dealt with the Late Bronze Age only (e.g. Helft 2010; Glatz 2013).

Second, I investigate borderlands as opposed to concentrating exclusively on the capital city and the imperial heartland. By placing emphasis on the long term histories of the sites and regions at the edges of the empire, I aim to see both imperialism and response in their local contexts, not defined through the standards of the capital city. I propose to start from the margins of the empire and eventually work in towards Hattuša: my aim is not to demonstrate how it “dominated” the rest of the empire, but to see how its power was taken, challenged, and negotiated in different local contexts. Although studies *in* the borderlands have been a prominent trend of Hittite archaeology (e.g. Lloyd and Mellaart 1962; 1965; Lloyd 1972; Mellaart and Murray 1995; Gates 2001b; Postgate 2007; d’Alfonso 2011), such studies rarely were studies *of* the borderlands, focusing on a border region in its own right while

⁶ In some cases, such as Emar discussed in Chapter 4, the Middle Bronze Age follows the Early Bronze Age without any seeming interruption. In these cases, I will be briefly surveying the later third millennium BCE histories of my case-studies as well, to have a better grasp on the pre-Hittite past of these sites and regions.

theorizing it as a frontier, without trying to fit it into the frameworks established by central Anatolia.⁷

Last, I argue that the literature on empires and imperialism are efficient frameworks to discuss the relationship between the center and borderlands of the Hittite Empire. With their vast scales, empires encourage us to look at expansive geographies over long time periods and think comparatively. Biases of textual evidence from the center and the negotiation of imperial power are all topics amply discussed within the scholarship of other empires (e.g. Sinopoli 1994; Alcock et al. 2001; Areshian 2013a). The rich scholarship on the archaeology of empires and imperialism demonstrate the diversity inherent in empires and their borderlands, a topic I will discuss further in the following chapter.

1.2 Chapter Breakdown and Overview of the Dissertation

In the following chapter, I will discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks that led me to select my study areas and datasets. In this section, however, I provide a very brief overview of the different chapters of the dissertation.

⁷ Notable exceptions include the work of Roger Matthews and Claudia Glatz with Project Paphlagonia in the Black Sea region (Glatz and Matthews 2005; Matthews and Glatz 2009), the Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project directed by Ömür Harmanşah (Harmanşah and Johnson 2012; 2013; 2014; Harmanşah, Johnson, and Durusu-Tanrıöver 2014; Johnson and Harmanşah 2015), and the Cide Archaeological Project (Düring and Glatz eds. 2015).

Chapter 2: Archaeologies of Empires and Borderlands - I discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks that inspire and direct this dissertation. Focusing specifically on the juxtaposition between empires and borderlands, I argue that imperial interventions forge borderlands, while at the same time borderlands challenge and transform the empire. Afterwards, I demonstrate the need for locally rooted criteria to seek the impact of and the responses to Hittite imperialism. I suggest that the Hittite Empire had multiple different manifestations, ranging from the adaptation and use of material culture produced on the Central Plateau to its complete absence.

Chapter 3: Consuming the Empire at Yalburt - I explore the region covered by the Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project in inner southwestern Anatolia. Using material culture and rock monuments, I argue that the sites of the region conformed to both regional and imperial centers, while the Hittite Empire was mainly manifest in practices of communal consumption.

Chapter 4: Placing the Empire in Emar - I explore the site of Emar in northern Syria from the perspective of local and imperial power in both administrative offices and the urban landscape. I argue that the power of the Hittite Empire in Emar was mainly filtered through the office of the diviner, who oversaw cultic activities. The urban landscape of Emar remained unchanged throughout the Hittite period, still reflecting local power relations unaltered by imperial interventions.

Chapter 5: Domesticating the Empire in Kizzuwatna - As the only direct region of contact between the Hittite heartland and the Mediterranean, I argue that Kizzuwatna forged and maintained unique links to both overseas networks and to the Hittite core region throughout the second millennium BCE.⁸ In the context of the wider eastern Mediterranean, the Hittite Empire at Kizzuwatna was internalized, since central Anatolian material culture replaced parts of the local material assemblage instead of overseas imports.

Chapter 6: Dissolving the Empire at Hattuša - I explore the imperial capital at Hattuša and the region immediately surrounding it, arguing that the different manifestations of the Hittite Empire reflected back on the center. Focusing on the different monuments of the city, I propose that these monuments were following a peripheral model of monument-building, and were using a technology devised in the borderlands to communicate power to the varied population of the city. I also focus on Alaca Höyük, a city within the Hittite heartland, and suggest that it acted as an amalgam of the pre-Hittite and Hittite pasts of Anatolia.

Chapter 7: Conclusions - As the concluding chapter, this chapter lays down the essential ideas discussed throughout the dissertation. It also fleshes out the contributions this dissertation makes to the broader discussions in the archaeology of empires, as well as the prospects for future work.

⁸ Kizzuwatna is the Hittite name for the later Cilicia and modern Çukurova, a large plain in southern Anatolia, neighbouring the northern shores of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER 2: ARCHAEOLOGIES OF EMPIRES AND BORDERLANDS

The fates of empires and borderlands are entangled. There is a relationship fraught with imperial discourses of the center and the realities on the ground in the borderlands. Rarely, however, do centers stay as centers (Smith and Robinson 2003: 2). Empires create borderlands, and borderlands shape and transform empires.

Below, I contextualize the case studies in the later chapters within this understanding of empires and borderlands. I argue that the expansion and contraction of the non-territorial hegemony of the Hittite state and the extension of its power into the regions whose inhabitants did not necessarily self-identify as 'Hittite' created multiple borderlands. As a result, my three case studies in the following parts of this dissertation demonstrate that these regions reveal distinct manifestations of the Hittite Empire, stemming from local particularities and different imperial interventions. Those regional manifestations reflected back onto the center of the empire, started to transform it, and eventually contributed to its final demise – a topic to which I will return in Chapter 6.

Before moving in the following chapters to regional manifestations of the Hittite Empire, I first tackle the questions of diversity and imperial presence. If empires and borderlands are shaped by diversity in which multiple political entities, cultures and languages enmesh to create overlaps, variations and hybrids of these

phenomena, can we define and delineate *the* Hittite Empire in the borderlands? This chapter aims to approach this question from theoretical and methodological perspectives. Below, I first start with exploring the imperial nature of the Hittite state, and then unpack my understanding of the term “borderlands”. Afterwards, I introduce the case-study regions and the main categories of data that I will be using throughout the rest of the dissertation.

2.1 The Hittite Empire

Hittite historiography tends to use the words *empire* and *kingdom* interchangeably. This framework is mostly inspired by, and relies on, texts and the historical events described by them. Historians of the Hittites distinguish between an “Old” and a “New” Hittite Kingdom,⁹ situating the threshold between them at the start of the 14th century BCE, the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (Table 1). The so-called New Kingdom is sometimes also called the Empire period, and the use of the phrase “Hittite Empire”, thus, mostly denotes the last two centuries of the existence of the Hittite political entity (McMahon 1989: 62-71; Collins 2007: 32-80; Bryce 2010: 6; Genz and Mielke 2011b: 14-19). Šuppiluliuma I’s reign is seen as the start of a new era due to his expansionist policy, which resulted in Hatti claiming many new territories in

⁹ Scholars of the Hittite language use a slightly different chronological system and distinguish three eras in Hittite language – Old, Middle and New Hittite periods. This tripartite separation rests on the changes in the orthography and grammar of the Hittite language. As such, it does not relate to certain historical or political events, but can be roughly equated with the reigns of some kings.

Anatolia and Syria (Bryce 2010: 188). Therefore, to historians of Anatolia, the Hittite ‘Empire’ is strictly defined by the success of this aggressive movement, its associated military threats and the aftermath of the various military interventions.

In this dissertation, I study the Hittite Empire throughout the second millennium BCE and I use *empire* as an interpretive framework rather than as simply a chronological marker for the political scene in the last centuries of the Bronze Age. My use of empire as a theoretical construct is rooted in a common denominator in many of its different definitions: diversity. Empires are characterized by internal variability (Sinopoli 1995). They control diverse ecozones, diverse cultures (Schreiber 2001: 71; Subrahmanyam 2001: 43), and different languages (Sinopoli 1995: 8); the reasons driving their expansion are also varied (Areshian 2013b: 10). Empires incorporate many different areas and populations through expansion, and grow to be comfortable with diversity – although not necessarily resistance (Barfield 2001: 29-30). Underlying differences between the regions that an empire tries to bind together result in different responses to the imperial administration (Glatz 2013). Imperial ideologies are geared fundamentally towards diversity management, which is a trait that separates them from other kinds of political formations (Areshian 2013b: 7). At this point, it becomes an impossible task to try to define a phenomenon whose very understanding is rooted in diversity and variability. Empires, by their very nature, elude a uniform definition.

Even so, we can explore the imperial ambitions of a state. While imperialism has much modern intellectual baggage related to 19th-century capitalism (Lenin 1977 [1916]), it is possible to discuss the term in ancient contexts by going back to the basics of its definition. Having its roots in the Latin word *imperium*, the capacity to make laws, imperialism “describes the mechanisms by which one country or region came to dominate another” (Kiely 2010: 2-3). Imperialism is an act, a strategy, a way of governing, and a worldview that is based on expanding control, territories, and resources. Focusing on imperialism takes *being* an empire one step forward, to *acting* like an empire, and, as soon as actions are involved, we get one step closer to finding material, spatial and archaeological footprints.

The many vassal treaties through which the Hittites tried to gain control of neighboring regions are clear signs of the imperial aspirations of the Hittite state, as are the tireless efforts of the Hittite kings at military campaigns across Anatolia and northern Syria, and their non-stop urge to extend the borders of their empire, which is an almost universally driving force for empires and states of varying sizes (Cherry 1987). What is probably the most revealing is the imperial rhetoric: the inscriptions and texts of conquest, the claims of an “empty landscape”, and the discourse of moving massive amounts of people and cattle back to the imperial capital (Glatz 2013). This rhetoric is the embodiment of imperial ideals as promoted by the imperial elite of the Hittite capital. As such, the success of these imperial ideas cannot be taken

at face value, and should be contested and discussed like those of any other power-based polity.

The expansion of the Hittite state was not a territorial one that homogenously asserted Hittite power across the entire landscape of Hittite Anatolia and northern Syria. As demonstrated by Glatz (2007; 2009) in her analysis of the different yet overlapping networks of power within the Hittite Empire, the assumption of territorial expansion and imperial power as continuous, and as implemented in every area within the hypothetical border with equal strength, has to be questioned. This character of Hatti was not unique. Several studies have demonstrated that territoriality is not a given for ancient imperialism, and often shifted over the course of even one single state (Casana 2012; Mantha 2012; van Valkenburgh and Osborne 2012).

The imperial nature of the Hittite state, its will to expand and control, and its non-territorial networks of hegemony created the very regions that are the foci of this dissertation: borderlands. The constant attempts of Hatti to expand in different directions and the response it encountered from the populations resident in those areas, I argue, created regions that were fraught with different imperial ideals and regional identities. These imperial borderlands were not necessarily places on the fringes of the Hittite Empire. Since the territory of the empire shifted back and forth constantly, there was no fringe that was static. Different regions, cultures and both imperial and local aspirations overlapped in Hittite borderlands in different scales.

2.2 Archaeologies of Borderlands

Imperial borderlands are as diverse and difficult to define as their empires. Part of the difficulty lies in the use of the terms *border*, *frontier* and *borderlands* in the scholarship to define areas at the cultural, geographical, linguistic and political edges of states. By unpacking these terms below, I demonstrate that they stem from linked, yet different processes.

Borders are “linear dividing lines, fixed in particular space, meant to mark the division between political and/or administrative units” (Parker 2002: 373; 2006: 79). They can be external, such as borders between countries, or internal, such as borders between different regions of a federal system. The many external and internal state borders are overlaid onto other social boundaries between national, ethnic, religious or linguistic groups (Anderson and O'Dowd 1999: 594-595). Borders tend to be linear, but they are by no means impermeable. Even the borders that claim to be immune to crossings are crossed often, in multiple ways and by many people, as the current US-Mexico border and the many transnational families living on both sides of it demonstrate (Boehm 2013). If, even the borders of modern, territorial nation states – which are walled, fenced, patrolled and ‘closed’ – can be crossed both legally and illegally, we can only expect the borders of the ancient non-territorial states to be fluid and even more permeable.

Frontiers are zones between different communities, where multiple borders co-exist (Elton 1996; Parker 2006: 79-80). In his seminal work on the importance of the frontiers in American history, Turner conceptualized the frontier as a “continually advancing line”, which created the American life and experience over and over again with every expansion. For Turner, the frontier was the “outer edge of the wave – the meeting point between savagery and civilization” (Turner 1921: 3). Turner pointed to the differences between multiple frontiers (e.g. the trader’s, the rancher’s, the miner’s, among others), and argued that they were each shaped by the temporal and spatial realities of different regions, and, in turn, that they shaped the American experience in their own ways (Turner 1921: 4-16). Frontiers are thus better conceptualized as zones or areas where multiple borders overlap, rather than borders themselves.

Although sometimes used interchangeably in scholarship (e.g. Naum 2010), I would like to differentiate between frontiers and borderlands. Borderlands are “regions around or between political and cultural entities where geographic, political, demographic, cultural and economic circumstances or processes may interact to create borders or frontiers” (Parker 2006: 80). One of the most influential works on understanding borderlands has been Gloria Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands/La Frontera*. Her narrative defines borderlands as constant states of transition where ambivalence and unrest is familiar, as areas where two worlds come together to create a unique third world that is neither one nor the other (Anzaldúa 1987: 3-11). Anzaldúa’s heavily-cited definitions of borderlands are rooted in the very specific context of her biographical

account of growing up along the US-Mexico border as a queer person; they highlight how experiences of and in the borderlands are always contingent on particular circumstances. Arguing this point for Hittite Anatolia, Harmanşah (2015: 33) states that “borderlands are best understood as specific regional landscapes that are composed of constellations of interconnected *places*”. Borderlands, thus, are not fixed, but are rather capable of transformation and change, both geographically and culturally.

A particularly fruitful line of inquiry for exploring the in-between and interactive character of borderlands has been their study from a postcolonial perspective, including their identification with comparison to Homi Bhabha’s ‘Third Space’ (Naum 2010; 2012). “The nonsynchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space – a Third Space – where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences” (Bhabha 2004: 312). Within these tensions, the meanings of symbols shift, and signs come to appropriate multiple new meanings and significances (Bhabha 2004: 55). Through this, hybrid practices and hybrid material culture emerge, and “existing practices and objects are recombined into new ones” (van Dommelen 2006: 118). The postcolonial turn in borderlands studies went hand-in-hand with, and was largely facilitated by, archaeology claiming stakes in this literature and arguing for the value of material culture for understanding the processes taking place and shaping the borderlands. The archaeological perspective in studying borderlands was also

fundamental for demonstrating that these regions were not just passive recipients of center-driven innovations, but had their own histories that shaped both their and the center's trajectories (e.g. Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). For instance, Ylimaunu and colleagues (2014: 249) conceptualize borderlands as in-between places that form as two or more states are emerging around them. As such, they are neither one nor the other. Instead, "borderlands are physically present wherever two or more groups come into contact with each other, where people of different cultural backgrounds occupy the same territory and where the space between them grows intimate" (Naum 2010: 101). Going back to Turner's metaphor of the frontier as the edge of a wave, frontiers are the zone of a state that keeps expanding. Borderlands, on the other hand, are in the middle – of states, of political entities, of cultures. Borderlands are the areas that the wave itself covers.

Borderlands in the sense that I use them here and in the following chapters, thus, are not merely the borders of the Hittite Empire. By shifting the focus from the edges to the borderlands themselves, I specifically aim to study the zones where the Hittite Empire was juxtaposed with another state, polity, or culture, and not the line where the Hittite Empire ended. I argue that this specific juxtaposition of empire and borderlands is fruitful for studying the Hittite Empire. The imperial ambitions of the Hittite state and its expansion into different regions, encountering local resistance, and of other established states, were the fundamental reasons behind the creation of

borderlands. These borderlands, each and every one of them, created a new and distinct incarnation of the Hittite Empire.

2.3 Introduction to the Research Regions

Heterogeneity characterizes Hittite borderlands in general, and the case studies of this dissertation in particular. In the following chapters, I will explore three areas in Anatolia and northern Syria to discuss the experience of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands. My first case deals with a region of rural Konya in inner southwestern Anatolia (Chapter 3); this is the region covered by the Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project since 2010. The second case explores the city of Emar and its immediate landscape in northern Syria (Chapter 4). The third and final case is the region of Çukurova in southern Turkey (Chapter 5). Due to the large size of this region, and the wealth of archaeological work undertaken in the area, my discussion will focus specifically on the sites of Mersin-Soli, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Kinet Höyük, Sirkeli Höyük and Tarsus-Gözlükule (Figure 1).

All of these three regions are within the sphere of Hittite influence during the last two centuries of the Bronze Age (14th-13th centuries BCE), but are also situated between influential regions, states and empires throughout the second millennium BCE. The Yalburt Survey region is an interface between western, southern and central Anatolia; Kizzuwatna was situated amidst the Mitanni, wider eastern Mediterranean

networks and the Hittite Empire; and Emar was also between overlapping spheres of Mitannian and Hittite power. In addition to the larger hegemonies at work, these regions maintained their local traditions to a particular degree. They were, thus, not passive regions that were incorporated into the Hittite Empire, and eventually became imprinted with imperial material practices, but they were active regions switching, choosing and negotiating between alliances and influences, while also maintaining a strongly local character.

My three case-studies represent different scales for studying the empire: an ancient city – Emar, c. 70 ha – (Bryce 2009: 227), an area shaped around a lake basin and two plains – Yalburt Survey Region, c. 2,065 km², or 206,500 ha (Peri Johnson, personal communication) – and a large plain between the Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea– Çukurova, c. 40,000 km², or c. 4 million ha (Ünal and Girginer 2007: 60). These sites and landscapes also have very different geographical features. Emar is located on a bend of the Euphrates in northern Syria. Located at the edge of a steppe plateau, Emar's agricultural fate was fundamentally bound to the alluvial terraces constituted by the Euphrates (Mori 2003b: 21). Yalburt Survey Region is made up of a complex network of interacting landscapes including a lake basin, plains connected with river valleys, and slopes of large mountain ranges (Harmanşah and Johnson 2014: 377). Çukurova is one of the largest plains of the Mediterranean and is divided and irrigated by multiple river valleys, which make it a very fertile plain for agricultural production.

My choice of these varied regions reflects a deliberate attempt at multi-scalar analysis. The realm in which multi-scalar analysis has been used the most in archaeology is computer-aided spatial analysis. This line of scholarship has its roots in mathematician Benoit B. Mandelbrot's conceptualization of fractals and his applications of this mathematical theory to understanding nature (Mandelbrot 1975; 1977; 1982). His analyses were quickly picked up by geographers for conceptualizing and analyzing landscapes and environments as layers that exist at the same time in different scales. These ideas were instrumental in the expanding use of Geographical Information Systems for analyzing complex geographical and environmental networks (Burrough 1981; 1983; 1986). In recent research, multi-scalar analysis is used in relation with spatial analysis in regional surveys, where the relations between phenomena such as site location, site size and topographical features are explored (e.g. Bevan and Conolly 2004).

While recognizing the potential of such studies, my understanding and use of multi-scalar analysis extends beyond spatial analysis. For my purposes, a multi-scalar perspective is a mode of looking at borderlands in different scales, which enables me to focus on imperial dynamics in different resolutions. Thus, while I can zoom to the level of single structures and individuals in Emar, I can start exploring relationships between sites, regional centers and an imperial capital when I study the Yalburt Survey Region and, finally, look at the macro-scale for connections and interactions in the eastern Mediterranean when I focus on Çukurova.

The different resolutions that a multi-scalar approach enables me to look in also contribute to working with different datasets in the varied borderlands. A final concern in my choosing of the three case studies has been the very different experiences of empire they demonstrate. These experiences are combinations of the data different borderlands offer, the strategies of and responses to the Hittite Empire in these regions, and the scale in which I analyze them. The story of the Yalburt Survey region is a gradual shift in orientation from western to central Anatolia throughout the second millennium BCE. The experience of the Hittite Empire is most visible at Yalburt in its material culture (particularly pottery), and in large-scale rural landscape interventions, usually in the form of monuments and waterworks. The urban and rural landscape of Emar, in contrast, demonstrates a very limited intervention from the imperial state apparatus. The Hittite Empire in this context seems to be represented by a specific cult office contained within a single family, whose allegiance to the Hittite capital, and the favors they received in return, are visible in the textual record preserved in the family's archives. In my third example, the settlements of Kizzuwatna demonstrate a more intimate link to the Hittite Empire's material culture, with certain Hittite shapes replacing local wares in their pottery assemblages, while their wider Mediterranean contacts remained intact even during periods of intense Hittite interaction.

These three case studies are all different incarnations of the same empire. They are, however, not chosen merely by merit of being positioned at the geographical

limits of the Hittite state. On the contrary, they are areas that are sufficiently within the Hittite sphere of influence to create an incarnation of the empire, and sufficiently outside it to continue along local trajectories, albeit in varying degrees. In line with Harmanşah's (2015: 33) designation of Hittite borderlands as "complex zones of interaction and hybridization", the case-studies I discuss in the following chapters are Third Spaces, in which imperial and local trajectories clashed to produce unique manifestations of the Hittite Empire. These case-studies are not unique in having these characteristics. Many more cases could be added – such as the up-in-arms rebellion of the Kaška people in northern Anatolia that is well attested in textual sources, or the complete lack of Hittite material culture, rock monuments and mentions of the Hittite Empire in western Anatolia that situates resistance as a marker of imperialism. My aim, however, is to use these three case-studies to discuss how local people experienced the Hittite Empire at these particular places, rather than producing an overarching narrative defining *the* Hittite Empire.

2.4 Finding “Hittite” in the Borderlands

If, as argued previously, borderlands are dynamic areas that are located – socially, culturally, politically and geographically – where a multiplicity of states or cultures overlap, their experiences are inherently rooted in heterogeneity and difference. It is, thus, in vain to try to find *the* Hittite Empire, as defined on the basis of

an imperial center, in different border regions. When the task is to find singularity within variety, looking for a homogenous or a consistent dataset becomes impossible, and rather irrelevant.

My aim is to explore the different ways in which the empire demonstrated itself in different guises, while also being filtered through the cultural and regional backgrounds of its different audiences. How can such a story, which uses multiple and seemingly non-comparable lines of evidence, be written? Wickham (2005) deems it possible, and worthy, to do comparative history that is both diachronic and spans a large geographical area. The challenge is, however, one of methodology. How can one compare complex entities (i.e. states) over large geographies and in different time periods? Wickham (2005: 12) argues that the solution is to find what he calls a “spyhole” – the lens through which we can examine and compare different entities. Once the spyhole is found and utilized, different and seemingly non-comparable entities become comparable.

The spyholes I am looking through for my case studies are the incarnations of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands, as they are manifest in local material culture and texts that were not produced by the imperial core. How were these manifestations different from region to region, and what might be the reasons for this difference? While this establishes a perspective, a way of looking at the case studies and my research question, the obstacle is the difficulty in finding the lines of data with which this question can be answered. I suggest that we can do this by using the

available second millennium BCE textual and material traces with the specific aim of finding the index of imperial manifestations of Hatti.

2.5 Index(icality) as a Theoretical Framework

Here, I turn to semiotics, and in particular to the work of Charles Sanders Peirce, to define a framework for exploring the Hittite Empire in the borderlands. Peirce proposed a tripartite system of sign relations consisting of the sign, the object and the interpretant. Contrary to previous theories of semiotics, Peirce postulated that an informant understood a sign in relationship with itself and with the object it is referring to, thus having a meaning depending on the specific context (Peirce 1867; Preucel 2006: 54-55). As such, the sign does not have an inherent and true meaning waiting to be revealed, but meanings can be constructed differently over a period of time.

Peirce argued that a sign could refer to its object in one of three ways: as an icon, an index, or a symbol. Icons are signs that mimic the object in order to refer to them, such as a diagram or a painting. Symbols are signs that get attached to their object by different cultural conventions, such as a flag becoming the symbol of a country. Indexes are signs that refer to their objects by virtue of being affected by them (Preucel 2006: 56) Peirce defined indexicality as “the mode of signification that

signals the contextual existence of an entity” (Preucel 2006: 71).¹⁰ An example would be smoke acting as an index of fire, even when we cannot see or smell the fire itself. Indexicality recognizes the potential for multiplicity of meanings, and treats knowledge as situated within specific contexts, allowing for the same sign to have multiple meanings over time (Haraway 1988; Bauer 2002: 39-40). While accounting for multiple meanings in a diachronic sense, however, indexicality does not recognize multiple meanings that exist in a synchronic way. In other words, indexicality does not account for the ability of the same sign to refer to multiple objects for different people at the same time, treating the sign as having one meaning at any point (Bauer 2002: 47).

Although a linguistic concept in origin, archaeologists used indexicality in their discussions of the meaning of objects in the past. This has not been a wholesale adoption, where the linguistic assumptions of the concept were kept intact. Archaeological literature argued against the understanding of each sign having one true meaning at any point, mainly on the basis of the differences between material culture (i.e. portable objects produced and/or consumed within a specific cultural context) and language. This argument has been based on the tangible character of material culture, which can cause the same index to refer to multiple different meanings synchronically (e.g. Hodder 1992; Bauer 2002; Preucel 2006: 84).

¹⁰ Here, I am using index and indexicality as discussed in linguistic semiotics, although indexicality is a framework popularly applied to other genres of data, such as cultural understandings of photography.

In this chapter, I use indexicality along with a material culture critique that explores multiple meanings to ask how we can use texts and material culture, the definitions of which are mainly derived from the Hittite capital at Hattuša and its immediate hinterland, to understand Hittite imperial power in the borderlands of the empire. As such, I treat texts, material culture and rock monuments as indexes of imperial power, the meanings of which could be negotiated between the imperial center and the borderlands. Thus, I reject a single, top-down and uncritical interpretation of objects or monuments as markers of total hegemony. Instead, I argue that different objects could hold a variety of contested and negotiated meanings at any one point in time, signifying both imperial demands and local resistance. At the same time, multiple different indexes can refer to the same meaning at any given time, making the web of relations between the indexes and meanings even more complex.

2.6 Diachronic Local Histories in the Borderlands

How and where can we find indexes of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands? In this dissertation, I suggest using diachronic local histories that focus on borderlands and span the entirety of the second millennium BCE. This enables us to focus on the local trajectories of sites and regions in detail, and to identify the contexts in which Hittite influence is felt, as well as what remains unaffected by Hittite imperialism.

Thus, this methodology requires the exploration of not only “Hittite” texts and material culture, but the wider and local contexts in which these materials and texts were produced and used. By doing so, we can start to reconstruct local practices before and during the Hittite Empire and look for patterns in the practices that the empire chose to target or ignore, as well as responses of the inhabitants of the borderlands to imperial intentions and interventions.

It is through such diachronic and local histories that I will find the indexes of the Hittite Empire in the following chapters. Such a synthetic study will necessarily be biased towards the data thus far available to us. Pottery, texts and rock monuments are the most common types of data in the regions discussed in the following chapters. Before delving into the case studies in the following chapters, however, I will discuss and unpack the biases and limits of these types of data.

2.6.1 Texts

Most scholars looking for the extent and power of the Hittite Empire have relied mainly on treaties and royal annals. Close studies of place names and geographical features over which Hittite kings claim dominion in such texts led to the construction of maps for the “maximum geographical extent” of the empire, portraying the Hittite state as covering a large portion of Anatolia and expanding into northern Syria and possibly Cyprus (Figure 2).

These treaties and royal annals belong to the larger Hittite textual tradition. Hittite scribes wrote texts mostly on clay tablets in the cuneiform script in the Hittite language, and stored them in state archives.¹¹ The richest source of textual material is Hattuša, yielding 30,000-35,000 texts and fragments, probably belonging to c. 3000-3500 original tablets (van den Hout 2002a; Beckman 2009: 220). The textual material of the Hittite Empire, however, poses many challenges, which become blurred when looking at a map displaying homogenous impact, such as Figure 2. The cuneiform tablets that form the basis of such studies are fragmentary, and are pieced together from multiple fragments. Although we know from their mentions in cuneiform texts that tablets in other, perishable materials (such as wood) existed, these materials did not survive in the Anatolian climate (Payne 2008; 2010; Waal 2011; 2012). Thus, we have only a portion of the entire Hittite textual corpus. Anatolian history is also scarcely documented in the histories of other contemporary kingdoms, such as the Middle Assyrian Empire, New Kingdom Egypt and the Mycenaean Kingdom, making it difficult to match Hittite historiography chronologically with other corpora. The Hittite state is not mentioned at all in the later traditions of the Mediterranean, while the Biblical references are to the contemporary Neo-Hittite kingdoms of the first millennium BCE and not to the Hittite Empire of the second millennium BCE. These problems are coupled with significant problems surrounding the chronology of Hittite

¹¹ Hittite palatial archives contain texts in seven different languages; Hittite, Akkadian, Sumerian, Hattic, Hurrian, Luwian and Palaic, whereas Mittanian Aryan has been attested as an eighth language active in the empire through foreign words in the Hittite texts (Yakubovich 2010: 1).

kingship, since multiple kings ruled with the same names, and yet the texts do not distinguish between them (Klengel 2001: 101-102).

Furthermore, Hittite texts are political and colonial at the outset – they are composed by a central administration with an agenda, and present a view of the imperial center and its desired and supposed dominance over the different parts of the empire (Souček and Siegelová 1996; Klengel 2001: 101). Discussing a similar genre of texts from the Vijayanagara Empire of southern India, Morrison (2001: 253) argued that the process of incorporation and conquest was much more violent on the ground than the sterile and detached texts produced by the imperial elite. This problem is even further exacerbated in the Hittite context, since archives have been discovered only within the Hittite heartland, at the sites of Hattuša, Sarissa, Tapikka, Šapinuwa and Kayalıpınar (Genz and Mielke 2011a: 13). A number of sites have produced relevant tablets in much smaller numbers, including Tarsus in Kizzuwatna, Ugarit on the Levantine coast, Tell Atchana in the Amuq plain, Tell el-Amarna in Egypt and Dur-Kurigalzu in Babylon (Beckman 2009: 220). Emar, a site in northern Syria, provided archives dating to the Hittite period, but belonging to the Syrian tradition. These documents, written mostly in Akkadian and housed in multiple different buildings throughout the city, demonstrate the continuation of local scribal communities who also accommodated the needs of the Hittite administrative system on an infrequent basis, rather than the scribes who exclusively served the Hittite state apparatus in central Anatolia (Beckman 1996; Cohen 2005; Cohen and d’Alfonso 2008). While Emar

demonstrates a continuation of scribal activity in the city with the incorporation of Hittite elements, Tell Atchana in the nearby Amuq Plain features only a few Hittite tablets in this period, while its Middle Bronze Age predecessor Alalakh housed a large archive (Von Dassow 2005; Lauinger 2007). Other regional centers with long histories of archaeological exploration did not yield any archives dating to the Bronze Ages. Beycesultan in the west (Lloyd and Mellaart 1962; 1965; Lloyd 1972; Mellaart and Murray 1995) is an example of this phenomenon. Another interesting case is the site of Kaman Kalehöyük, a site in central Anatolia. Kalehöyük yielded a large amount of seal impressions with hieroglyphic writing, surpassed in number only by Hattuša. Yet the archaeological explorations of the site that have been continuing without interruption since 1986 have not unearthed any cuneiform Hittite writing (Yoshida 1999; 2006; Weeden 2010; 2011: 118). Although there is always the prospect of new discoveries changing this narrative, we can be fairly certain that the archives in Hattuša, Sarissa, Tapikka, Šapinuwa and Kayalıpınar will not be duplicated in the borderlands. Thus, the extent of the empire shown in Figure 2 is drawn from texts that are found in a very small portion of that geographical range.

Within the small area that produced archives, moreover, secure contexts for tablets have not always been recorded carefully, particularly in Hattuša. 19th- and early 20th-century excavations at the Hittite capital were geared primarily towards finding texts, but not contextualizing them (Collins 2007: 5). Archaeological documentation of the find-spots of the texts was not a major concern during the

excavations led by Theodor Makridi, enabling us to connect a fragment to the vicinity of a building at best, hindering our ability to contextualize the texts (Wilhelm 2013).

Coupled with the non-territorial nature of the Hittite power, we can understand Hittite textual material as giving us the nodes of dominion from the royal point of view, rather than reflecting a homogenous empire projected on the entire landscape spanning the area between western Anatolia and northern Syria. Indeed, Hittite texts themselves argue against a homogenous blanket of power across this region. Hittite kings signed many treaties with the kings of the neighboring and vassal kingdoms. These so-called vassal treaties included a historical introduction of what led to the current situation, provisions detailing the primary duties of the vassal king, and a list of divine witnesses overseeing the oath of loyalty the vassal king was making towards the Hittite King (Beckman 1999: 2-4).

There was a special type of vassal treaty that Beckman calls a “protectorate status,” through which the kings bound by the protectorate treaties did not send in tribute to the Hittite state (Beckman 1999: 4). The example Beckman uses is the treaty between Tudhaliya II of Hatti and Sunashshura of Kizzuwatna, which first designates Kizzuwatna dependent on the Hittite Empire (§7), and then makes it clear that the king of Kizzuwatna is seen almost as an equal (§9):

§7 (Ai 30-33): Now the people of the land of Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle and have chosen their stable. They freed themselves from the ruler of Hurri and turned to My Majesty. The ruler of Hurri offended against Hatti, and he offended gravely against the land of Kizzuwatna.

§9 (Ai 38-44): The Hurrians call Sunashshura a subject, but His Majesty has now made him a true king. Sunashshura must come before His Majesty and look upon the face upon the face of His Majesty. As soon as he comes before His Majesty, the noblemen of His Majesty <will rise> from their seats. No one will remain seated above him. As soon as <he wishes>, he may go back to the land of Kizzuwatna (translation in Beckman 1999: 19).

The tone of other examples of vassal treaties, however, clearly delineated the subordinate and dependent position of the vassal king. The starting clause of the treaty between King Muršili II of Hatti and Niqmepa of Ugarit demonstrates this point:

§1 (lines 1-12): Thus says My Majesty, Mursili, [Great King], King of Hatti: I [... with] your brothers, Niqmepa, and I, the King, placed you upon the throne of your father and returned the land of your father to you. You, Niqmepa, together with your land, are my subject. And [if] you, Niqmepa, from this day on into the future do not protect the King of Hatti, [your] lord, [and] Hatti, you will transgress the oath (translation in Beckman 1999: 65).

I am not suggesting here that we should definitely treat Ugarit and Kizzuwatna with the status that is detailed for them in the texts above. The textual material by itself should not and could not be the only index of imperial power relationships. However, these texts contain hints of understanding different forms of power by the Hittite administration, whether or not it corresponded to the situation on the ground. Rather than a homogenous blob as shown in Figure 2, these texts actually are records of multiple parts of a complex set of relationships in second millennium BCE Anatolia, and constitute an important vantage point when coupled with archaeological material.

2.6.2 Pottery

Pottery has been a popular indicator of Hittite presence in terms of material culture. The predominant Hittite pottery type is the so-called “drab ware”¹², i.e. vessels well fired to achieve a biscuit or buff color in the section and in the surface. Their surfaces are smoothed with no further elaboration, and decoration is non-existent (Schoop 2011: 242). These production techniques result in vessels with a monotone color scheme and standard forms. Arguably because of this standardization, drab ware became the marker of the power of the Hittite Empire in an uncritical way, and in turn has been interpreted as imperial control over the sites on which it has been found (e.g. Postgate 2007).

This approach is problematic in many ways. First of all, major studies on the typologies and functional analyses of drab ware heavily focus on Hattuša, which presents the “most complete sequence of all Hittite settlements excavated so far” (Schoop 2002: 167). Second, this sequence is continuous for the entirety of the second millennium BCE (Schoop 2009: 154). The standardization of wares and shapes makes dating problematic, to the degree that Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age ceramics are sometimes impossible to distinguish without archaeological context. Although it is possible to both define contexts and also use scientific dating methods during an excavation, as has been the case in Hattuša (Schoop 2006), it is not possible to use such approaches during surface surveys. This proves especially problematic

¹² The same type of pottery is sometimes also called Monochrome Ware (Karacic 2014).

while discussing the borderlands, since pedestrian survey is the most effective archaeological fieldwork methodology that has been so far devised to understand regional trajectories (Dunnell and Dancey 1983; Kardulias 1994; Wilkinson 2000; Alcock and Cherry 2004).¹³ The construction of dams in eastern and southeastern Anatolia in the 1970s and 1980s necessitated large areas to be surveyed before they were flooded. In turn, large amounts of data were collected from the southeastern and eastern borderlands of the Hittite Empire. However, continuity in the technologies of drab ware proved a big challenge for these surveys, which relied on sherds collected from the surface without archaeological stratigraphy as one would have at excavations. As a result, publications of these projects had to use the Middle and Late Bronze Age as one single category of classification (e.g. Whallon 1979). To this day, the accurate dating of drab ware relies on statistical or archaeological analysis of secure contexts, problematizing its use as a direct index of the Hittite imperial control for regional research questions.

The final problem with treating drab ware as a direct sign of Hittite hegemony is the equation of the presence of pottery with the domination of the empire. An example is the discussion of firing marks as signs of imperial control. Although there are multiple different forms of firing marks that can be scratched, incised, stamped or painted on a vessel either before or after firing, here I use the term for simple signs that are applied to the vessel before firing, which were thus preserved through the life

¹³ With pedestrian survey, I refer to the mode of systematic fieldwalking conducted by evenly spaced team members, recording the material culture they encounter on the ground.

of the vessel (Glatz 2012: 5-6). Gates (2001b) interpreted such firing marks as signs of a centralized economy in multiple regions, where the marks refer to different categories of production and vessel form imposed by a central government on the local potters producing the pottery. Glatz (2012), however, used anthropological comparisons and a close analysis of the pot marks, the types of vessels on which they occur, where they are situated on the vessel and their chronological as well as geographical distribution, to conclude that these marks were indexes of individual potters labeling their works while using shared kilns, rather than a conscious attempt at a centralized economy. Thus, Glatz read these signs as indexes of local production, while Gates read them as indexes of imperial control. The expectations built by the historical texts for certain regions to be under imperial control, the limitations and biases of which I already discussed in the previous section, became the framework for the interpretation of material culture, sometimes leaving little room for the recognition of local traditions and community identities.

Scholars exploring shared cultural milieu and material worlds within imperial contexts are prone to seeing “rapid and wholesale replacement of one tradition by another, through appeals to invasion, displacement, and/or conquest” (Paynter and McGuire 1991: 2). In Hittite studies, this trend manifested itself with associating the presence of pottery from a center only with full administrative control over different regions. In contrast to this hegemonic imperial extreme, other fields such as Classical Archaeology or Mediterranean Prehistory have long-lived scholarly traditions of

discussing imported pottery within the frameworks of trade, gift exchange, cultural influences and migrations. For example, studies on the Mycenaean states, which were contemporary to the Hittite Empire, have long treated Mycenaean pottery found overseas as evidence of trade and population movements (e.g. Zerner, Zerner, and Winder 1993; Crielaard, Stissi, and van Wijngaarden 1999; van Wijngaarden 2002). Admittedly, the Mycenaean states did not constitute an empire and the imperial overtones of Hittite pottery should not be completely discarded for the sake of a trade narrative, especially since finding evidence of trade in the texts and material culture of the Hittite Empire has been a notoriously hard task (Helft 2010). The general lack of Mycenaean pottery in Hittite sites has generated scholarly interest (e.g. Cline 1991; 1994; 1996; Bryce 2003b), although recent studies on the exchange networks of the Hittite Empire (Helft 2010) and the Mycenaean finds from Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1978: 66; Mee 1978: 132-133; Özgüç 1982: 102-103; Mee 1998: 141; Cline 1994: 68; Kozal 2003, 68), Hattuša (Genz 2004) and Kuşaklı (Mielke 2004a: 26; 2004b: 155-157) within the Hittite heartland have started to complicate this picture (Genz 2011). A range of interpretations is possible between the two extremes of imperial hegemony and trade, both of which are models tied to production in a center radiating outwards. A recent study by Karacic (2014) using Neutron Activation Analysis on Hittite pottery from the site of Tarsus-Gözlükule in Kizzuwatna, for instance, demonstrated that most of the Hittite pottery found at the site was produced locally. This opens up new

possibilities for interpreting drab ware somewhere between total hegemony and trade, within frameworks such as emulation and negotiation.

It is also possible to see that the absence of materials can be as suggestive as their presence, and can act as indexes of resistance. The site of Beycesultan, located in the Çivril district of Denizli in southwestern Anatolia, is an important example to demonstrate this point. The first Late Bronze Age levels of Beycesultan date to the end of the 14th and the start of the 13th century BCE, and directly continue from the Middle Bronze Age occupation. There are significant similarities in the urban layout between these two periods. The Late Bronze Age level features a standardization of the pottery repertoire at the site, with a strong emphasis on vessels related to feasting. This pottery collection, however, does not overlap at all with central Anatolian forms beyond a small fraction of the overall assemblage. On the contrary, the repertoire reflects similarities with the upper Meander Valley, and thus situates itself within more local traditions. The marker of the Hittite Empire in Beycesultan, then, was an increased intensity of ties to the local material culture, and a lack of intervention into the urban fabric. The reaction of the inhabitants of Beycesultan to the Hittite expansion was a conscious one, deliberately ignoring imperial interventions and turning to more local traditions (Mac Sweeney 2011).

The response of Beycesultan's inhabitants to imperialism was embodied in the absence of imperial material culture. Of course, conscious ignorance is a form of resistance, thus speaking to the presence of imperial power felt by the indigenous

population at Beycesultan. However, when interpreted together with the continuity in the urban layout and the absence of other indexes such as seals, the residents of Beycesultan seem to have been able to define the limits of their engagements with Hittite imperial power. Such cases of everyday resistance, which are different than confrontational political resistance or revolutions, show us that we do not need to think about the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed as a binary opposition, and that the relationship between them is in fact more complex (Paynter and McGuire 1991: 13). At the Yalburt monument, located approximately 100 km away from Beycesultan as the crow flies, Hittite king Tudhaliya IV claims rulership over the entire area including Beycesultan (Hawkins 1995: 49-57). However, in Beycesultan, an indigenous population made deliberate and conscious choices regarding how they wanted to interact with the same imperial power claiming to be administrators of their city. Thus, we have to look for a middle ground of continuous negotiation of local identity in an imperial context, a borderland that sits between open defiance by the oppressed and total hegemonic control by the oppressor.

2.6.3 Rock Monuments¹⁴

The final category of data I explore here and throughout this dissertation is constituted of rock monuments, images carved in low relief on stone slabs or living rock surfaces in bedrock outcrops, mostly accompanied by inscriptions. Like pottery, these monuments also have been utilized to define the extent of the Hittite Empire, the “dots” defined by the physical and immobile locations of monuments on the landscape inviting an appealing “connect the dots” puzzle (Figure 3). Found throughout Anatolia and northern Syria during the Late Bronze Age, rock monuments have often been treated as a coherent art historical corpus, showing a linear progression of style (e.g. Akurgal 1949; 1961; Orthmann 1971). This treatment is misleading, however, since it does not do justice to the varied patronage and contexts of these monuments. Most of them were commissioned by local kings, vassals and princes, while only a few were commissioned by the Hittite King. They ranged from extra-urban to urban monuments, some very visible while others were impossible to access, the latter making it difficult to argue for imperial propaganda (Glatz and Plourde 2011).

¹⁴ These monuments have been referred to in multiple different ways: rock figures (“Felsbilder” in Kohlmeyer 1983), rock reliefs (Ullmann 2010; 2014; “Felsreliefs” in Ehringhaus 2005), rock monuments (Harmanşah 2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2015), and landscape monuments (Glatz and Plourde 2011; Glatz 2014). I prefer the term “monument”, since I see a specific connection between these endeavors and memory. Glatz’s terms come equipped with theoretical and methodological attitudes towards these monuments and understanding them as part of the larger political and social aspects of place-making and power. However, it mainly engages with the rural landscape, which does not cover all of the monuments that I will be exploring in this dissertation. Here, I will be analyzing monuments in both urban and rural contexts together, so I will be following Ömür Harmanşah’s terminology in using “rock monuments”.

A survey of the rock monuments show that out of the thirty examples we can securely date to the Late Bronze Age, seven were commissioned by the Hittite King, four by vassal kings, eight by princes and two by officials, while the patrons of nine monuments cannot be identified because of the lack of inscriptions or their weathering, or in some cases the total destruction of the monuments themselves (Ehringhaus 2005; Glatz and Plourde 2011).

Thus, it is hard to conceptualize these monuments as markers of territories owned by an empire, while they can be more convincingly interpreted as indicative of competition among multiple political entities (Glatz and Plourde 2011). These reliefs are also in geographically and locally significant places, marking changes in geology, or at spots of long-enduring local narratives (Harmanşah 2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2015). While these monuments have at times been interpreted as tools of imperial propaganda by marking the extent of the Hittite Empire, their varied patronage and micro-geographical contexts speak to multiple contested meanings associated with them at the same time.

An important and somewhat understudied aspect of these rock monuments has been their audiences. The variety in the locations and the patronage of these reliefs already speaks a wish to accommodate a heterogeneous audience. One aspect is especially significant to the discussion of the intended audiences of these reliefs: their use of language.

The inscriptions on Hittite rock monuments were in the Luwian language rendered in a hieroglyphic script. As opposed to the cuneiform used on clay tablets, Hieroglyphic Luwian was a pictographic script used only on monuments, stamps and seals during the Late Bronze Age.¹⁵ These two contrasting scripts, the dense cuneiform and the monumental hieroglyph, were consistently used for rendering two different, but closely related, Indo-European languages: Hittite and Luwian. Hittite belonged to the realm of cuneiform tablets, while Luwian mainly belonged to the realm of the monuments. Although there are seventeen documents from Hattuša that are in Luwian executed with the cuneiform script (Güterbock 1942; Otten 1953; Starke 1985; Melchert 2001), there are no examples of the use of cuneiform Hittite on any monuments, or the use of the hieroglyphic script to render Hittite. In terms of chronology, while the cuneiform texts from the archives in Hattuša yield evidence from the 16th/15th through the 12th centuries BCE (Beckman 2000: 19), the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from all over Anatolia and northern Syria cover the period between the 14th and 8th centuries BCE (Hawkins 2000a; 2000b; 2000c).

Bryce (2003a: 27) defines the Luwians as one of the three groups of third millennium BCE Anatolia who spoke an Indo-European language, with the other two being the Palaians in Paphlagonia and the Hittites in Central Anatolia. A variety of geographical attestations in the second millennium Hittite texts have been identified with Luwian territories, mostly in Western Anatolia (Bryce 2010: 54-55). There is no

¹⁵ During the Iron Age, Hieroglyphic Luwian was also for letters written on lead strips. Examples have been found at the sites of Kululu in eastern Turkey and Assur in northern Iraq (Hawkins 1987; 2000b).

textual evidence for a Luwian state, while the attestations of Luwian names in Hittite territory situate them in a broad geography extending from western and northern Anatolia to northern Syria (Melchert 2003: 2).

The depiction of Luwians as an essentially peripheral population, the locations of whom shifted frequently, yet always remained tangential to a static imperial core, is problematic. This understanding does not account for why Hittite kings would invest in building monuments displaying Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. On the contrary, the consideration of multiple ethnic and linguistic groups, who have both viewed reliefs of Hittite kings and also constructed monuments of the same style, indicates that these reliefs had the capability of acting as indexes with multiple different meanings for varied audiences and patrons. An example is a group of rock monuments that are situated in very close proximity to each other. The relief at Fraktin displays the Hittite King Hattušili III and his wife Puduhepa libating to the gods, while the reliefs at Imamkulu and Hanyeri were commissioned by Ku(wa)lanamuwa, a prince with a Luwian name (Kohlmeyer 1983: 67-101; Ehringhaus 2005; Glatz and Plourde 2011: table 2; Harmanşah 2015: 100-110). The names of both Hattušili and Ku(wa)lanamuwa are written on the reliefs themselves in the Hieroglyphic Luwian script. As such, this group of monuments attests to the contested power relationships of Bronze Age Anatolia, and the same group of monuments were capable of carrying messages of imperial hegemony and local resistance.

If this was indeed the case, rock monuments speak to what Bowles and Gintis (1986: 23) identify as the “heterogeneity of power”, outlining that “in opposition to the unitary conception of power we propose what we term the heterogeneity of power. Power is multifaceted and not reducible to a single source or structure”. This also means that power conceived as such cannot be seen as limited to only one single area of society, and was exercised from multiple power bases (Paynter and McGuire 1991: 6). For Hittite Anatolia, rock monuments is among the best indexes of understanding different power bases, since they are almost always in-situ, i.e. still in the place that they were originally intended to be, and they are mostly labeled by their patrons, enabling us to identify who chose to commission a monument where, and in relation to which other rock monuments.

2.7 Exploring the Hittite Empire in Its Borderlands

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that empires and borderlands transform and challenge each other. Hittite borderlands were not passive regions or empty landscapes on the edges of the empire on which imperial demands and identities were laid. On the contrary, these borderlands were regions of dynamism and creativity where multiple states or cultures intersected and new understandings of being part of, or staying out of, the Hittite Empire were negotiated and performed.

Focusing on three categories of data that I will be using throughout this dissertation, I argued that texts, ceramics and monuments of the Hittites were constructs whose meanings and impact could change from region to region, even on the Central Plateau – the self-proclaimed center of the empire. Vassal treaties contain references to instances where the power relationships of the empire were conceived as multiple and heterogeneous even by the center. Similarly, the presence of drab ware in a site or region does not necessarily signify the full imperial control of the Hittites over that region, and alternative and multiple scenarios rather than the extremes of either total imperial hegemony or rebellion need to be considered. Finally, I discussed the various patronages, audiences and locations surrounding rock monuments, and suggested the same group of reliefs could act as multiple different indexes at the same time, signifying both imperial power and local resistance.

Through this multiplicity of potential meanings and the different ways in which the Hittite Empire might have been experienced in each region, I argue that diachronic local histories can reveal their own indexes of Hittite imperialism, and counter the homogenizing and overarching narratives produced by the imperial center. Instead of defining criteria on the basis of the imperial heartland and exploring its presence in the borderlands, we should shift the main focus of our study to the borderlands. In this way, each unit of analysis, be it a site, area or a region, can reveal its own set of criteria as reflectors of the impact of, and the response to, imperialism. In the following chapters, I will use this approach for three areas: in southwestern Anatolia,

in the Yalburt Survey region; in the city of Emar and its hinterland in northern Syria; and in the Kizzuwatnan plain in southern Anatolia. Working through the specific trajectories of these areas, I will define local indexes that are indicative of imperial interventions and the responses they generated.

CHAPTER 3: CONSUMING THE EMPIRE AT YALBURT

On a monument located at Yalburt Yaylası in southwestern central Turkey, Hittite Great King Tudhaliya IV (r. 1237-1209 BCE) claims to have traveled to the frontiers of his empire and conquered several cities in western and southern Anatolia (Poetto 1993; Hawkins 1995). Since 2010, the Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project has been conducting intensive and extensive pedestrian survey in the Ilgın Plain, with a focus on the immediate and the extended vicinity of Tudhaliya's monument.¹⁶ Contrary to the grandiose claims of Tudhaliya IV, and the very existence of a Hittite monument at this site, the survey team encountered few artifacts at Yalburt Yaylası that can be directly associated with Hittite material culture (Harmanşah 2015: 47).¹⁷ The settlement around the Yalburt monument has continued to be occupied, with layers covering from the Iron Age through the end of the Byzantine period. The site reached an impressive maximum of an area of settlement and cemeteries covering 72 ha during the Roman period (Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 265). The absence of second millennium BCE central Anatolian pottery within

¹⁶ The Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project (hereafter the Yalburt Survey in short) is a diachronic regional survey directed by Ömür Harmanşah, with Peri Johnson as the field director. At the time of writing, Yalburt Survey has conducted six survey seasons (2010-2015). I am grateful to Harmanşah and Johnson for allowing me to take part in the fieldwork of the Yalburt Survey for four seasons over the last five years and to work on the second millennium BCE material for this dissertation.

¹⁷ During the 2015 season, Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery that has affinities to both Beycesultan and Hattuša was collected in Yalburt, in a locus far off from the monument. I worked on these materials in the Akşehir Museum during a study season in September 2015. In total, there are nine Late Bronze Age and six Middle Bronze Age sherds from this locus, still making up a very small portion of the overall ceramic assemblage from Yalburt.

the large amounts of material culture we collected from the site is, thus, meaningful. Furthermore, our encounters with late second millennium BCE material culture yielding parallels with central Anatolian pottery and architecture at other sites in the broader survey region demonstrate that central Anatolian materials made it to the Yalburt Survey region, but are peculiarly absent from the site associated with the monument itself.

The Köylütolu Earthen Dam is constructed with an impressive 750 m embankment and is located 20 km southeast of the Yalburt monument (Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 258-259). The construction of the Köylütolu Dam is again dated to the reign of Tudhaliya IV through an inscription found at the site, to which I will turn in more depth below (Masson 1980: 106-118; Woudhuizen 1995: 162). Similar to the Yalburt monument, second millennium BCE central Anatolian pottery is almost entirely absent from Köylütolu.

How can we explain Tudhaliya's constructions at Yalburt Yaylası and Köylütolu and their lack of Hittite material culture? How can landscape monuments consisting of 22 inscribed and many uninscribed ashlar blocks or an almost one kilometer long embankment, the constructions of which must have taken a long time, not yield any significant amount of pottery that can be directly associated with the political entity by which they were produced? Apart from processes of site formation and preservation (such as alluvial deposition, continued agricultural use and looting), it is clear that looking only for "Hittite" material culture is insufficient to recognize the

communities that thrived in the borderlands of the Hittite Empire during the Late Bronze Age.

In this chapter, I tackle this problem by analyzing the ceramic assemblages collected by the Yalburt Survey in detail. The second millennium BCE pottery assemblage of the region includes forms and surface treatments that parallel both central Anatolian¹⁸ and inner western Anatolian pottery. Using Boğazköy and Beycesultan as representatives of these two traditions, respectively, I demonstrate below that the Yalburt Survey region reflects different shades of hybridity¹⁹ between the imperial and the regional centers, at Hattuša and Beycesultan, respectively.²⁰ Since both the bulk of the vessels with central and western Anatolian parallels and hybrid examples are abundant in the category of consumption vessels,²¹ I suggest that consumption practices strongly reflected the Hittite influence in the region. This group of vessels also shows a shift from more heavily western Anatolian parallels to central

¹⁸ The pitfalls of calling the pottery favored in massive quantities in Hittite centers of central Anatolia “Hittite” have been extensively discussed by Claudia Glatz (2007: 67-74). Instead, Glatz calls this material assemblage NCA, “North-Central Anatolian” pottery. In a similar vein, I use a geographical designation here, and use “central Anatolian” for vessel types and forms that have parallels from the MBA and LBA of the central Anatolian plateau.

¹⁹ Hybridity is a term with many different descriptions and a lot of theoretical and practical baggage. This will be unpacked and discussed further in section 3.4.4 below.

²⁰ I use of Beycesultan and Hattuša as representatives of the use of pottery traditions in their respective regions, rather than suggesting that they were the only centers in control of the production and use of pottery.

²¹ Here, I use the term “consumption” for the vessels whose purpose was to serve and consume foodstuffs in, and not in another widespread meaning of the term referring to purpose and use of any vessel. Since all of the ceramic finds I am referring to in this chapter are evaluated from the perspective of use (as opposed to production), and my use of the term “consumption” is limited to the subset of serving vessels.

Anatolian ones throughout the second millennium BCE, which can be read as a reflex of shifting of power dynamics from regional to imperial realms.

The second millennium BCE pottery assemblage from the Yalburt Survey region does not represent a typical assemblage known from either the Upper Meander Region (as represented by Beycesultan) or central Anatolia (as represented by Hattuša),²² suggesting two preliminary observations. First, previously unstudied local practices of producing and using pottery continued throughout the second millennium BCE, resulting in assemblages we are not able to identify with the current archaeological knowledge of the region.²³ Second, the existence of central Anatolian pottery does not equal a homogenous and oppressive Hittite power over the region. Rather, it suggests that certain types of Hittite practices were favored by the inhabitants of the area. This dynamic resulted in the presence of very specific central Anatolian vessel types existing throughout the region, while others were rejected, neglected, or simply unknown. Before returning to these questions of pottery, I will first contextualize this body of data within Hittite historiography, the landscapes of

²² I am not assuming that all conquests or colonial episodes result in an unfiltered and total adoption of the dominant power's entire material culture by the subject communities. As many cross-cultural examples point out, these interactions are always negotiated and filtered through the lens of both the conquered and the conqueror. Some examples include the transformation of Roman sculpture in the provinces to produce a new understanding of being "Roman" (Jiménez 2011) and the continued indigenous pottery practices in central Mexico during and after the Spanish conquest (Hernández Sánchez 2012: 2-7). Furthermore, these interactions are not one-way. As evidenced by the popularity of the provincial *terra sigillata* in the Roman Empire, the material culture of the colonized also often infiltrated the realm of the conqueror.

²³ See Glatz, Düring, and Wilkinson (2015: 90-91) for the discussion of the same problem for the previously under-studied Cide region in the Turkish Black Sea.

the Yalburt Survey region, and the methodology we used for identifying sites and collecting data during fieldwork.

3.1 Borderlands and Imperial Interventions in the Hittite Lower Land

The Yalburt Survey region falls within the region designated as ‘Lower Land’ (*mātu šaplītu*) in Hittite texts. The designations of *upper* and *lower* were a Mesopotamian way of understanding the world, referring to sometimes direction (up and down a river) and at others topography (highlands and lowlands). The Hittite use of the term aligns itself with the second mode, with the highlands from eastern Anatolia to the area around Hattuša referred to as the ‘Upper Land’ (*mātu elītu*), making the Konya Plain and its environs the “Lower Land” by virtue of their contrast to the Central Plateau (Gurney 2003) (Figure 4). Traditionally, scholars have used the bend of the Kızılırmak river to define the limits of the Hittite heartland at the ‘Upper Land’.

The epigraphic evidence from Yalburt itself, as well as historical documents and epigraphic evidence from Hattuša suggest that the royal elite of the Hittite Empire envisioned the Yalburt Survey region as a border zone. The Luwian hieroglyphic sign for “frontier” (FINES, block 3 §2) is mentioned in the inscription on the Yalburt monument, along with the reference to a “stone stand-place” (SCALPRUM.CRUS.LOCUS, block 4 §1c) located in this frontier. The phrase of the stone

stand-place very likely refers to the monument itself, qualifying the Yalburt Survey region as a place perceived as a frontier by the Hittite Empire (Harmanşah and Johnson 2014: 378). The nearby mountain range of Sultan Dağları, the series of mountains that separate central Anatolia from the Lakes District, has been identified as the mountain of Huwatnuwanda in Hittite sources (Barjamovic 2011: 371), equating the Ilgın Plain with a part of the region of Pedassa/Pitassa, a region claimed to be conquered by the Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1995: 51; Harmanşah and Johnson 2014: 378) (Figure 5).

What significance did the Lower Land hold for the imperial administration? It is plausible to suggest that it acted as a buffer zone between Hatti and the other polities further west, namely Hapalla, Lukka, Arzawa-Mira, Seha River Land and Wilusa. The Bronze Tablet, for instance, suggests that Pedassa/Pitassa acted as the border between Hatti and Hulaya (§3-4 Beckman 1999: 114). In the Indictment of Madduwatta by Arnuwanda I (CTH 147), which documents the rebellion of Hittite vassal Madduwatta in western Anatolia during Tudhaliya I/II's reign in the late 15th / 14th century BCE, Pedassa is counted among the places that rebelled against the empire:

Madduwatta caused the chieftains [of] the land of Pitassa [and] the elders of Pitassa to swear an oath against [My Majesty], and led [them astray, (saying)]: “Be my partisans! Occupy [the lands of His Majesty]! Attack Hatti!” Then they proceeded [to attack the lands of My Majesty], and they burned down fortified cities. I, My Majesty, [came back], and my own troops [displayed (?)] their triumphant heart. In those days Madduwatta hid his eyes and [...] forth to the people of Pitassa (KUB 14.1+KBo 19.8 rev 38-42, translated in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011: 89).

Similarly, in the treaty between Muršili II of Hatti (r. 1321-1295 BCE) and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya, Pedassa is listed as one of the places that Mashuiliwa, vassal Kupanta-Kurunta's rebellious father, provoked to wage war on Hatti (Beckman 1999: 75). In both of these cases, the king claims to have taken the situation under control and put some cities to the torch in the process.

Even when Pedassa is not listed as one of the western regions of the conflict, it was located on the way to it. Hittite King Muršili II's (r. 1321-1295 BCE) account of his travels to the lands of Arzawa and Mira to solve the conflicts with polities such as Ahhiyawa²⁴ and the Seha River Land²⁵ suggest that he spent his third regnal year in western Anatolia going back and forth, waging war and making treaties with these polities (CTH 61 in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011: 10-27). Pedassa was on the major route that connected the Hittite Lower Land with western Anatolia, and was one of the major roads the Hittite kings used for their military campaigns to the west (Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 260-261). This route remained important in later periods and was mentioned by Xenophon as that used by Cyrus and the Persian army (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.14-18, cited in Harmanşah and Johnson 2012: 336). We can, thus, tentatively suggest that Pedassa lay along the route of the Hittite king when he made the trip from central Anatolia to the west.

²⁴ Ahhiyawa is now widely accepted to refer to the Mycenaean kingdom and its affiliated populations to the west of Hatti, while the exact geographic reference of the term and whether it refers to all of the Greek mainland, islands and western Anatolia, all of the above, or different combinations of different geographic locations at different times is still debated (Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011).

²⁵ This region is located to the west of the Yalburt Survey region and is thought to be centered around the modern Marmara Gölü (Gygean Lake) in the LBA (Luke et al. 2015: 435).

These earlier encounters between the empire and Pedassa are mostly framed by contexts of conflict, warfare and rebellion. Later accounts of the region, however, tell a different story. Pedassa is mentioned in the Bronze Tablet recording the treaty of Tudhaliya IV (r. 1238-1209 BCE) with Kurunta, the ruler of Tarhuntašša,²⁶ as neighbouring the Hulaya River Land (Otten 1988: 10).²⁷ Together with the Hulaya River Land, it acted as a border region between Hatti and Tarhuntašša, the regional capital of which still awaits discovery (Harmanşah and Johnson 2014: 378).

Tudhaliya IV's reign in the later 13th century BCE seems to have fostered a renewed interest in the region but with a different agenda than mainly settling border conflicts. The imprint of Tudhaliya IV in the region is clearly visible from the impressive monument at Yalburt Yaylası, which is built on a mountain spring bearing a long inscription written in Hieroglyphic Luwian on 22 blocks. Currently, 17 of the blocks are restored on the site. Here, Tudhaliya IV commemorates his military victory over the Lukka lands and the surrounding region (Figure 6, Figure 7) (Harmanşah and Johnson 2012; 2013; 2014; Harmanşah, Johnson, and Durusu-Tanrıöver 2014; Harmanşah 2015, 40-41). The blocks bearing the inscription were originally the walls of a sacred pool complex, which was later incorporated into, and overlaid with, a Roman pool. Only

²⁶ Tarhuntašša can roughly be equated with Rough Cilicia, the mountainous region to the west of Çukurova. Like Kizzuwatna (Plain Cilicia), which I will be discussing in detail in Chapter 5, Tarhuntašša was not uniformly under Hittite hegemony during the Late Bronze Age, and switched back and forth between Hittite rule and independence. The importance of the region is most visible from Muwatalli II's move of the imperial capital from Hattuša to the capital city of Tarhuntašša, which bore the same name. This city is still archaeologically undiscovered and holds the potential to fundamentally alter our understanding of Hittite history and archaeology, once located.

²⁷ The Hulaya River Land is identified as the Çarşamba Çay river system, the eastern extreme of a system flowing from Beyşehir Lake into the lower Konya plain (Garstang 1944; Hawkins 1995: 53).

three sides of the complex stand today, made up of blocks reconstructed in the 1970s (Temizer 1984; Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 257-258,). One of these fragments, which is not in the reconstructed pool on the site, but rather in museum storage in Ankara, very likely depicts Tudhaliya IV under the embrace of a Mountain God (Harmanşah 2015: 79).

The blocks of the inscription were found reused, and out of order, and the reconstruction of the monument is based on the reconstruction of the textual narrative. The inscription, quite formulaic, lists the conquests of King Tudhaliya at the frontiers. Tudhaliya mentions the lands of Kuwalatarna, Nipira, Wiyanawanda, Pinali, Awarna and Talawa among the places he smote, relating that the women and children surrendered to him in most places (Hawkins 1995: 68-71). Hittite historical geography is still an area in which much work needs to be done (Alparslan and Doğan-Alparslan 2015), and it is impossible to know to which exact regions these names were referring, while we are clearly dealing with the southwestern borderlands of the Hittite Empire.

Another monument in the region, Köylütolu, is an earthen dam and a limestone basin fragment with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found in its vicinity (Figure 8). The inscription mentions an official by a name read as Sausga-Ru(wa)-ti or Sauskakuruntis and it can be stylistically dated to the last decades of the Hittite Empire (the reign of King Tudhaliya IV) on orthographic and onomastic grounds, although it does not name the king himself (Masson 1980: 106-118; Woudhuizen 1995: 162). The sediments of the dam suggest the existence of different soil types, some

foreign to the region, suggesting that the dam was a large scale investment and effort. Results from coring done by the Yalburt team suggest that the massive earthen dam never held any water, and it was thus a failed project (Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 258-259). The reasons of this failure are hard to definitely pin down without further research, but they were likely linked to a misunderstanding of the topography, hydrology, and the way in which the dam could have held water.

Bearing the longest Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription surviving today, and overlooking a vast landscape, Yalburt is definitely an impressive monument, whose production might have taken a significant amount of time.²⁸ Second millennium BCE central or western Anatolian pottery, however, is represented with a very small assemblage. The same is true for the site of Köylütolu. This means that we cannot really envision either of these sites as Hittite settlements, or second millennium BCE settlements that were in sufficient contact with central Anatolia. Why, then, did Tudhaliya IV spend a considerable amount of resources on these two monuments?

Monuments bearing images and/or names of Hittite kings, princes and vassals on rock surfaces in the rural and the urban landscape start in the Late Bronze Age, and continue through the Iron Age in the Syro-Anatolian city states. Many of these

²⁸ Without scientific provenance analysis, it is not possible to definitely know whether the blocks of Yalburt were quarried from the nearby quarries, erected and carved on site, or were transported from Hattuša, requiring only assembly. Geomorphological work conducted by the Yalburt Survey team, and particularly Ben Marsh (Bucknell University) suggests that Yıldıztepe could have acted as a quarry for some of the building blocks in the vicinity, most importantly those at the Kale Tepesi citadel. Archaeological survey by the team in Yıldıztepe during the 2011 and 2012 pieces yielded many pieces of gabbro, a hard stone known to have been used in Hittite quarrying. Thus, there are precedents in the region to suggest that the blocks of Yalburt could have been sourced locally and carved on the site.

monuments were located in geographically extraordinary locations such as springs, chasms, and hills; or they mark changes in the geography. As such, they occupy already significant places before the rock monuments were executed there (Harmanşah 2011a; 2011b; 2014; Ullmann 2010; 2014). This viewpoint maps very well onto the limited amount of recognizable second millennium BCE pottery the Yalburt Survey team was able to find around both the Yalburt and the Köylütolu monuments. Although we can surely date both of these monuments to the Hittite imperial period, and specifically to the 13th century BCE on stylistic and linguistic grounds, the absence of large assemblages of central Anatolian pottery at these sites mean that these were sites of local importance, but not settlements.

Harmanşah (2015) argues that the importance of these sites was related to water, and specifically its cultic importance. Within the context of the Yalburt Monument, he suggests:

Tudhaliya IV's methodical and bureaucratic intervention to local cult places of the Anatolian countryside illustrates a very critical moment, when the Hittite state was deeply engaged with defining and structuring a heterogeneous cultic landscape through an empire-wide program of cultic surveillance, and a process of monitoring and appropriation of powerful places, their deities, their rituals, and therefore their cultural significance for the local publics. The powerful emergence of the practice of carving rock monuments in the borderlands regions correspond precisely with this Hittite interest in small rural cult places (Harmanşah 2015: 57).

Water was an important actor in the cultic practices of the Hittite state. Water sources were deemed important not only for their cleansing importance during rituals, but water itself was seen as divine, even deified in the form of river and spring

goddesses (Murat 2012; Erbil and Mouton 2012). The Yalburt spring was the perfect embodiment of a mountain spring, located right by a mountain and overlooking a vast horizon (Harmanşah 2015: 75). To this day, the inhabitants of the Ilgın district remember myths about how sweet, cold and rich the water source at Yalburt was (Harmanşah, Johnson, and Durusu-Tanrıöver 2014).

The ability to hold and distribute water, however, would also contribute to the agricultural activities of the region. Köylütolu was an imperial intervention for agriculture (Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 271-272). Textual sources such as Puduhepa's letter to Ramesses II in which she mentions that the treasury²⁹ in Hattuša had burned down (KUB 11 38 obv. 10), or the 13th century BCE correspondences between Hatti and Ugarit in which Hatti continuously asks for grain (Astour 1965) demonstrate the empire's shortage of food. Under these circumstances, it would make sense that regions such as the Konya Plain, which is still deemed one of the most fertile grain production areas in Turkey, would be utilized for intensified agriculture.

However, this seemingly firmer grip of the empire in the Lower Land should not be taken as an uncontested realm of Hittite hegemony. Another Late Bronze Age landscape monument located just 9 km south of the Konya city center at Hatip depicts Kurunta (a king of Tarhuntašša in the 13th century BCE), naming him the Great King,

²⁹ What I translate as "treasury" is written out as É^{NA4}KIŠIB, literally "the house of the seal". Although it is impossible to exactly know what this building is, it was fairly certainly a place of storage that would be secured with an imperial seal. Beckman's (1999: 132) translation "storehouse" is a good alternative.

which was a title reserved for Hittite kings ruling from Hattuša. This monument alone suggests that we cannot assume a homogenous Hittite power uncritically accepted by local populations. Even the monuments of Yalburt and Köylütolu, which name the Hittite Great King and a high-ranking official respectively, cannot be understood as uncontested hubs of Hittite power. Both of these monuments are located in regions that yielded extensive amounts of pottery, but very few numbers of central Anatolian shapes. This suggests that they were rather largely entangled in local material practices, and did not mark settlements that were founded and strictly administered by the Hittite Empire, as is the case with the settlements in central Anatolia such as Ortaköy. Instead, they were important locales for local and regional networks, on which the empire decided to imprint its power in a monumental fashion.

What was the nature of the Hittite power in the region known as Pedassa and how did the inhabitants of the area respond to this power? My aim in this chapter is to answer this question from a bottom-up perspective, using the evidence gathered by the Yalburt Survey project.

3.2 Introduction to the Yalburt Survey Region

The region of the Yalburt Survey centers on the modern district of Ilgın in Konya, while it also covers parts of the districts of Yunak and Kadınhanı (Figure 9). Ilgın is located 70 km northwest of the city center of Konya, which must have been the

important Hittite settlement of Ikkuwaniya (Hawkins 1995; Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 73).

The Yalburt Survey Region includes many different kinds of archaeological landscapes. Three hydrologically connected tectonic plates (Çavuşçu Lake Basin, Ilgın Plain and Atlantı Plain) make up the bulk of the survey region.³⁰ Two massifs abundant in underground water and springs limit the survey region in the north (Kara Dağ massif) and the south (Boz Mountains) (Harmanşah and Johnson 2014: 377). The Sultan Mountains separate Ilgın and its environs from the karstic geography of the Lakes Region to the south and southwest (Harmanşah and Johnson 2012: 336-337).

The Yalburt Survey region is archaeologically largely *terra incognita*. The only archaeological excavation in the region took place at the Hittite monument at Yalburt under the directorship of Raci Temizer between 1972 and 1975 (Temizer 1984). These excavations were not published in detail, and we have also been unable to locate all of the materials from the excavations stored in the Ankara Museum with the exception of 55 inventoried artifacts in the museum storage, mostly dated to the Late Hellenistic/Early Imperial Roman periods from the excavations on the Yalburt mound (Ömür Harmanşah, personal communication). The only archaeological project that has taken place in the Yalburt Survey region since then is an archaeological survey that was directed by Hasan Bahar and Özdemir Koçak in 1994 and 1995 (Bahar 1996;

³⁰ The connective corridors between these areas have been a special focus of the Yalburt Survey since 2012, as we follow these 'River Transects'. The most important of these corridors is the Bulasan River Valley that connects the Ilgın and Atlantı plains.

Bahar, Karauğuz, and Koçak 1996; Bahar and Koçak 2004; Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 257-258).

The Yalburt Survey thus constitutes a valuable insight into the archaeology of this region proclaimed as a frontier by the textual sources produced by the Hittite Empire itself. This does not mean, however, that the region was merely a buffer zone without any important settlements. Karaköy Kale Tepesi, for instance, is a significant second millennium BCE site (Figure 10). The site is located on a steep hill approximately 3 km from the Köylütolu Dam, overlooking a narrow pass on the Bulasan River. One of the richest and most significant springs of the region, which many local communities still visit to get water, is on the northeast slope of this hill. The major feature in this settlement is the citadel structure on the northwest slope of the hill, directly to the southeast of the spring. The walls are built of monumental cut-stone blocks that fit together without the use of mortar. Detailed work on the architectural qualities and the workmanship of these walls suggest that they date to the pre-Hellenistic period, and are likely products of Hittite masonry traditions.³¹ The surface material, which dates the site as a continuous occupation from the Late Bronze Age until the end of the Roman Empire, supports the architectural dating of the walls (Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 77-78). The presence of the nearby Yıldıztepe quarry, which is dated to the Bronze Age through the presence of hammer

³¹ The masonry of Kale Tepesi feature ashlar blocks cut in a style similar to the Yalburt monument. Ömür Harmanşah's detailed architectural work on the site suggested that tools of hard metal were not used on the site, strongly suggesting a pre-Hellenistic dating. Yakar et al. (2001) proposed a similar date (Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 78, n.6).

stone fragments made of green gabbro, reinforces the Late Bronze Age date proposed for the citadel.

The main category of data that the Yalburt Survey was able to yield from the second millennium BCE was, unsurprisingly, pottery. At the time of writing, this assemblage is the most varied dataset through which we can explore the material practices and responses of the inhabitants of the area to the self-proclaimed conquest of the Hittite Empire.

3.3 Field and Recording Methodologies Used by the Yalburt Survey

The Yalburt Survey is a regional survey with a particular emphasis on the borderlands of the Hittite Empire, while also studying the landscape diachronically. The methodology of the Yalburt Survey puts places and locales into focus as well as an emphasis on understanding the geomorphology of the region to contextualize sites within their larger environmental and landscape contexts.

The major unit of analysis of the Yalburt Survey is the Survey Unit (hereafter SU), which is the entirety of a site that has been identified as an ancient settlement and has been studied by the survey team, although not all of them have yielded ceramic finds. Some of these SUs were sites of spolia and inscriptions, without any ceramic finds to go along with them.

Placing emphasis on SUs as the main unit of analysis enables us to follow connections in the landscape (such as rivers and routes) as part of an extensive survey, and zoom into the sites important to our research questions once we locate them. Yalburt Yaylası, Karaköy Kale Tepesi and Boz Höyük are examples of such settlements that are central to understanding imperial dynamics of the second millennium BCE. In these places, we followed an intensive survey methodology of dividing the SU into further units of investigation, called ‘Locus’. Afterwards, we surveyed these loci separately by fieldwalking 4 meters apart and collecting everything on our tracks. The locus system also provides us with the flexibility of adjusting to the realities on the ground in different sites, such as patches of good visibility (e.g. road cuts, looting pits) in otherwise overgrown areas (Johnson and Harmanşah 2015: 265). Architectural features, such as walls, tombs or inscriptions are recorded and given separate identification numbers as ‘Features’.

As a result of the classification system utilized in the project, the pottery and small find collections are collected and stored according to loci that are nested under different sites. In my analysis of the pottery presented below, I continued using this system, which is visible in Tables 5-9 listing the numbers of pot sherds according to different typological classifications. For the sake of a clearer narrative, however, I present my overall site analyses without referring to different loci below, except for cases where it is indeed one or a couple of loci that yielded the second millennium BCE material culture in a site, such as Locus 5 in Boz Höyük that provided 750 second

millennium BCE sherds, a quantity that is not even remotely paralleled on the rest of the site, and even the broader survey region.

3.4 The Second Millennium BCE Ceramic Assemblage of the Yalburt Survey Region

My aim in this section is to contextualize the second millennium BCE material culture of the Yalburt Survey region within the larger narratives of imperial Hittite interventions in the borderlands and to explore imperialism in its local indexes. I argue that in the ceramic assemblages of the Yalburt Survey region, the Hittite Empire was materialized in the ceramic record mainly in consumption practices and we can see this reflected in the larger numbers of central Anatolian pottery that are consumption vessels as opposed to vessels for food preparation, storage, or ritual.

3.3.1 The Nature and Limits of the Data Set

The analysis of the Yalburt Survey pottery here rests on the second millennium BCE assemblage collected during the first three seasons of the survey, in 2010, 2011 and 2012. Although the Yalburt Survey executed three more seasons of fieldwork between 2013 and 2015, these seasons were conducted under a different regulation of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism that did not allow archaeological survey projects to collect and store archaeological materials. Instead, the new regulation

demanded that all the artifacts be studied and discarded in the field (Sekedat, Luke, and Roosevelt 2014). As such, we had to shift the conditions of data analysis dramatically after the first three seasons, from sherds collected from the field and transported to our lab to be washed, drawn, and recorded in detail, to working with unwashed pieces while in the field. This certainly lowers the amount and accuracy of data that can be gathered from surface collections (Heilen and Altschul 2013). We also lost the ability to add artifacts our stored collections, to which we continue to return for study to this day. I have visited the 2010-2012 collections stored in the Akşehir Museum in Akşehir, Konya Province three times during 2013, 2014, and 2015, to study materials in more depth than could be afforded during a field season and to calibrate my data analyses from previous years as I continued to learn more about the pottery traditions of the region. Since I have not had that opportunity for the 2013, 2014 and 2015 collections, those materials belong to a different mode of study and analysis that is not compatible with the assemblages from the first three seasons. Thus, to be able to work with a consistent and coherent data set that is analyzed with my current knowledge and understanding of the material, this chapter draws only from the pottery collected during the first three seasons of the Yalburt Survey.

Over the last six seasons, the Yalburt Survey documented a total of 80 sites in the region (Figure 11). Restricting the data to the first three seasons of the Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Research Project leaves 48 SUs from which pottery was collected (Figure 12). These 48 SUs demonstrate material culture ranging from the

Neolithic to the modern day, with the amount of second millennium BCE pottery varying from site to site.

My first aim was to distinguish second millennium BCE concentrations in the Yalburt Survey region from off-site scatters or small amounts of sherds misidentified as second millennium BCE material. The literature on pedestrian archaeological survey has long recognized the presence of off-site scatters, be they the result of a “mythical donkey” who occasionally drop pots from its load, or non-permanent activity areas, or of post-depositional natural and human processes (such as rain, erosion, or ploughing) that end up moving soil from one location to another, and thereby the sherds it contains. Although all of these factors (except the mythical donkey) very likely have had their share in disturbing and moving surface pottery, manuring seems to be the primary way that sherds moved around the landscape (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988: 507-508). As part of a fertile landscape known as the bread-basket of modern Turkey, the Yalburt Survey region is still heavily used for agriculture, which means manuring and ploughing occur on a very frequent basis. This increases the possibility of very small collections being off-site scatters, and care must be taken to distinguish these scatters from sites of second millennium BCE activity.

Even when a SU is indeed a site and not a scatter, there is always the possibility of misidentifying materials while working through surface material in an area as under-investigated as the Yalburt Survey region. In the absence of archaeological

excavations that give us a stratigraphy of local material culture, caution must be taken to make sure we are indeed dealing with a second millennium BCE settlement.

To avoid both of these pitfalls and to find the sites that would give me a comprehensive dataset to answer questions of imperialism, I applied two parameters. First, I limited the data set to sites in which at least 10% of the entire assemblage is constituted by securely identified second millennium BCE pottery. This criterion leaves us with only 14 sites out of the 48 (highlighted in Table 2) Second, I eliminated any site with fewer than ten sherds dating to the second millennium BCE, so that meaningful analyses could be done and larger patterns could emerge.³² This left me with, fittingly, ten sites that are evenly distributed around the Yalburt Survey region: SU 111 Orta Tepe, SU 115 Göktepe, SU 117 Boz Höyük, SU 120 Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük, SU 134 Kaleköy (Küllük) Höyük, SU 140 İmircik Höyük, SU 144 Dereköy Höyük, SU 152 Kapaklı Höyük, SU 158 Çallı Ağıl, SU 162 Codurun Höyük (Figure 13).

Below, I first outline the methodology of analysis I used to work through these assemblages. Afterwards, I explore the pottery of each of these ten sites separately, but in a synthetic way, i.e., I will be focusing on trends in presence and change of central and western Anatolian forms, rather than producing a pottery catalogue listing all of the material from each site. The complete publication of this material will be

³² The difference between the numbers of sherds presented at each site constitutes an obvious problem of comparison between sites that boast hundreds of sherds, while others produce much more modest amounts. While these two categories of sites do not provide the same viability and resolution of statistical analysis, I decided to include as many sites as I can to analyze more data in an underworked region.

part of a larger monograph on the results of the Yalburt Survey, which Ömür Harmanşah, Peri Johnson, and I are preparing.

3.3.2 Methodology of Analysis

The mainstream literature on Anatolian Bronze Age pottery has been based heavily on typological approaches. These publications divide the pottery into categories based on the shape of the vessels, such as bowls, jars or jugs (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965; Müller-Karpe 1988; Mellaart and Murray 1995). Recent studies such as Mac Sweeney (2011) and Glatz (2015a) drifted away from typological approaches towards functional categorizations, evaluating the pottery according to the function it served. Putting an emphasis on the use context of the pottery rather than its formal typology shifts our attention to social significance of pots and the social practices in which these vessels were entangled (Glatz 2015a: 187). This chapter aligns itself with this latter form of inquiry and uses functional categories of central and western Anatolian ceramics to access the second millennium BCE material practices in the Yalburt Survey area.

Focusing on use rather than production for a surface collection requires me to assert one immediate caveat.³³ The first is the obvious lack of stratigraphy in survey

³³ For the ceramic record of some of the other time periods, such as the Hellenistic and Roman wares of the area, I would have needed to acknowledge the non-uniform preservation of surface treatment in the surface material, and its bearing on classifications for table and non-table wares. The second

materials. Identifying functions of vessels rests on both their tactile qualities (such as form, fabric or surface treatment) and their contextual associations. Finding a stack of medium-sized pots in a grain storage area could suggest an interpretation as a storage vessel, while finding the same pots in a household context along with tableware would push in the direction of serving and food consumption. The lack of these contextual associations in a survey collection is obviously challenging, but does not necessarily mean that we should limit our classifications to merely typological grounds. Broad functional classifications are still possible by taking into account the tactile qualities of vessels and their contextual associations in nearby and affiliated excavated contexts.

Because of this condition, coupled with the varied preservation of material culture in different sites, my functional categories mainly rest on typological classification of the Yalburt material and the associations of these shapes in other places. Taking into account the well-published Bronze Age sequences from the Central Plateau (Fischer 1963; Müller-Karpe 1988; Parzinger and Sanz 1992; Müller-Karpe 1998; 2000; Müller-Karpe 2002; Schoop 2002; 2011) and the pottery of Beycesultan, the closest archaeological site that has been scientifically excavated and published (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965; Mellaart and Murray 1995; Mac Sweeney 2011), I organized the

millennium BCE ceramic assemblage of the Yalburt region, however, along with most of the second millennium BCE eastern Mediterranean, do not conform to this dichotomy with their versatile uses of plain wares (see Glatz 2015b for multiple case-studies).

Yalburt Survey material in five broad functional categories: food preparation, consumption, storage, ritual and multi-purpose vessels (Table 3).

While future work in the region will enable me to contextualize our pottery assemblages within regional datasets, the current state of the archaeological record necessitates using associations of material culture in other areas onto the Yalburt region. That is why this chapter should be considered as a first step towards understanding the surface collections from the Yalburt Survey area, and not an end product. Future work in the area should strive to produce a more nuanced understanding of the local meanings of pottery traditions and appropriation of shapes for different and varying purposes.

Despite these limits, constructing a narrative with broad brush strokes is possible and plausible. If we zoom out enough to categories of pottery instead of specific types, so that a difference between a particular bowl type for serving semi-liquid or dry food and consuming drinks falls under the same broad category as vessels for consumption, we can still tell a story about the material practices of a region, and leave room for later interpretations of the local meanings and alternative uses of the material culture. My aim in this chapter is, thus, to paint a plausible big picture. Future research in the area will add resolution to this picture, and will enable us to focus on specific contexts and discuss nuances.

3.3.3 SU 111 – Orta Tepe

Orta Tepe is a site made up of two small mounds that cover 8.5 ha. It is located in the area of the Kaya Boğazı Mevkii in Ilgın, immediately south of the Çavuşçu Lake. The southern part of the site has a series of rock outcrops that are currently exploited as a quarry. The site has a very rocky surface and a steep topography, which means it has remained uncultivated into the present day unlike the lush agricultural fields surrounding it. It was surveyed in the 2010 season.³⁴

The ceramic repertoire from Orta Tepe is dominated by bead-rim bowls (Figure 14), followed by inverted rim bowls. These two shapes are the most common finds at Beycesultan during the MBA, corresponding to Beycesultan MBA shapes 1 and 2 respectively. Together, they constitute the majority of the ceramic finds from the site of Beycesultan (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965). With their burnished and/or washed surfaces, and sharp carinations, these Orta Tepe vessels are completely at home at the MBA pottery traditions of the Upper Meander region, of which Beycesultan was a part. Belonging to this same tradition are many pedestal base pieces with red burnished and/or washed surfaces. While it is not possible to determine to which full vessel form these burnished or slipped pedestal bases belong (such as fruitstands, chalices, goblets, etc.), they belong in the realm of consumption vessels from Beycesultan, and they are not found in central Anatolian vessels.

³⁴ For site descriptions, I mainly relied on the Yalbur Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project database, especially the Site/Landscape Reconnaissance (SLR) Forms that we fill out at each site as a team. The site sizes I provide were calculated by Peri Johnson, who used the areas enclosed by loci and SU boundaries that we trace with hand-held GPSs at each site during fieldwork.

As a result of the large number of bead-rim and inverted-rim bowls, the Orta Tepe pottery collection is one that is heavily dominated by vessels for consumption (Figure 15). The site offers one of the most varied consumption assemblages in the Yalburt Survey region. Pouring and drinking vessels with both central and western Anatolian affinities exist, enabling us to start teasing out parallels from both realms. YY10.111L2C2, a double-spouted jug made of fine drab ware, is at home in MBA central Anatolia; while YY10.111L4C8, a quatrefoil cup, has parallels from Level IVa of Beycesultan (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: fig. P. 36:7) (Figure 16).

Orta Tepe is also the only site in the survey region that has yielded a storage vessel in Beycesultan style. YY10.111L3C33 is a large jar of brown coarse fabric, with a washed cream/white interior and exterior (Figure 17). The vessel parallels Beycesultan MBA Shape 25, and specifically Beycesultan V fig. P. 9:6.

3.3.4 SU 115 – Göktepe

Göktepe is a mound 5.2 ha in size, located by the Çavuşçu Lake and partly submerged by it. Located on the northeastern shores of the Çavuşçu Lake, approximately 150 meters away from the water, Göktepe is in Gedikören village in Ilgın. The north side of the natural hill mostly consists of exposed bedrock, which has been used as an ancient and modern quarry. *In situ* Roman sarcophagi that are half quarried are still visible at the site. There is an abundant spring still heavily used by

the locals at the feet of the mound, very close to the lake. Göktepe was surveyed in both the 2010 and the 2012 seasons.

The pottery repertoire of Göktepe shows a strong favoring of multi-purpose vessels, followed by vessels of food preparation (Figure 18). Göktepe is one of the few sites in the Yalburt Survey region that has a very small percentage of consumption vessels. The five consumption vessels yielded from the site are almost all bowls, four of them paralleling the S5 type in the Müller-Karpe (1988) classification (see Figure 19 for two examples). S5 was a shallow bowl type that was geared for individual consumption of liquid or semi-liquid food, such as soups. These bowls were garnered with a wedge-like strengthening on the rim, which earned it the name “anti-splash” rim bowl (Müller-Karpe 1988: 106; Schoop 2011: 245). Considering that this type of bowl was associated with the consumption of food, Göktepe yields almost no evidence for drinking, except for a jug for serving. From this, we could speculate that local forms that we are unable to distinguish might have been favored for the consumption of drinks on an individual level. However, the 42 piece second millennium BCE ceramic assemblage of Göktepe makes it impossible to either approve or reject this speculation until further research.

3.3.5 SU 117 – Boz Höyük

Boz Höyük is a low mound covering 5.4 ha located on the road between Ilgın and the villages of Orhanözü and Çatak, 2.3 km away from Ilgın city center. It is located to the south of the Çavuşçu Lake and in the southwestern corner of the Ilgın Plain. While surrounded by agricultural fields, the mound itself is currently used as a dump for the district of Ilgın. The southwestern branch of the Bulasan River very likely passed very close to the mound in antiquity. The site was surveyed in the 2011 season (Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 76).

Boz Höyük yielded the richest ceramic evidence for the second millennium BCE in the Yalburt Survey region. It is important to note that bulk of this material (750/900 sherds) comes from a single locus, Locus 5, which was a field to the west-southwest of the mound. It is possible that this field was located directly on top of a monumental structure, the material culture of which came to the surface in the recently ploughed field (Ömür Harmanşah and Peri Johnson, personal communication). Although the 900 sherds from this site are somewhat evenly distributed between multi-purpose vessels, consumption vessels and food preparation vessels (Figure 20), the almost complete absence of storage vessels is striking. One could speculate that this function must be at least partly fulfilled by the multi-purpose pottery, which would offer smaller capacities of food storage. However, the lack of large scale storage vessels might also just be an artifact of the areas we were able to survey on the mound, and the part of the site we were able to sample from the site.

The consumption vessels from the Boz Höyük assemblage heavily lean towards eating. Almost half of the consumption vessels are “anti-splash rim bowls” (Figure 21). These bowls constitute a large part of the assemblage in Hattuša, very possibly linked with events of communal consumption, i.e. feasts. Recently, Glatz (2015a: 189) pointed to the importance of feasting in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, which would be “often associated with rituals and dramaturgical events and serve multiple social purposes from highlighting of internal social difference to furthering community cohesion”, as evidenced by the more than 160 events involving communal consumption in the Hittite ritual calendar.³⁵ However, as Glatz (2015a: 203) again demonstrates, there was not a uniform “Hittite feasting kit” that can be attested throughout Hittite-influenced Anatolia, and different sites highlight different parts of the Hittite consumption repertoire. Evaluating the Boz Höyük consumption vessels with central Anatolian correlates within this context, it is possible to say that the inhabitants of the site showed a clear preference for a specific type of Hittite bowl for eating.

Drinking cups are represented in more modest numbers at Boz Höyük, but they nevertheless point to interesting preference patterns. The site boasts 30 of the S-12 type small drinking cups, which are familiar from central Anatolia as individual drinking vessels. Also represented in significant numbers, however, are drinking cups

³⁵ Bryce (2002: 188-190) suggests that there were 165 celebrations recorded in the Hittite official calendar, while many local celebrations very likely existed, but were never recorded in the official record. Some of these celebrations were very short, and could be done in a day, while others lasted days, and even weeks, and incorporated many elements, including processions and feasts.

that correlate almost perfectly with examples from Beycesultan. The hallmark shape of Beycesultan drinking vessels, the so-called “fruitstand” (which is a misnomer, Beycesultan LBA shape 4) is well represented in Boz Höyük, while chalices/goblets (Beycesultan LBA shape 2) and beer mugs (Beycesultan LBA shape 25) are also represented, albeit much less frequently (Figure 22 and Figure 23). Boz Höyük is also the only site from which we have LBA kitchenware that are very similar to the Beycesultan examples (Figure 24 and Figure 25). Mellaart described the kitchenware of LBA Beycesultan as the only real link they could find between LBA Beycesultan and central Anatolia (Mellaart and Murray 1995: 45). In a settlement where consumption vessels represent traditions of both western and central Anatolia, the presence of food preparation vessels of a type identified as a link between the two realms is not surprising.

Within the second millennium BCE temporal spectrum, the assemblage of Boz Höyük comfortably fits entirely within the LBA. This makes the site a rarity in the Yalburt Survey region, where many of the sites have both MBA and LBA material culture. Considering the substantial number of sherds collected from this site, this cannot really be interpreted as an accident of preservation. Unlike many other sites in the Yalburt Survey region, Boz Höyük revealed a steady second millennium BCE presence, with 900 sherds from this time period. The absence of MBA sherds within this significant corpus is, thus, meaningful.

The lack of MBA material culture followed by a very rich corpus of LBA pottery means that Boz Höyük must have been a center for the LBA settlements of the Yalburt Survey region and was very likely a new foundation during the second half of the second millennium BCE. Without further analysis and excavations revealing architectural practices and specific contexts, it is impossible to say if this was a site commissioned or built by the Hittite Empire or a local political entity as a new foundation. Boz Höyük, however, is not a settlement aligned only with the Hittite power in central Anatolia. The mix between Beycesultan and central Anatolian forms in the pottery repertoire, and the balanced view offered by the drinking vessels aligned with both areas suggest that Boz Höyük was a regional center that communicated with both the Hittite realm and the region at large. Since the largest number of vessels with Beycesultan parallels comes from the realm of consumption, it is not difficult to envision communal eating and drinking as a venue for constructing, performing and maintaining a unique stance between local and imperial identities.

Furthermore, some of the pottery from the site represents cross-overs between central and western Anatolia in the same vessel. Sherds YY11.117L5C33 (an anti-splash rim bowl with red micaceous wash)³⁶, YY11.117L5C52 (an eggshell bowl with pattern burnish), YY11.117L5C57 (an anti-splash rim bowl with buff micaceous wash and streaks of burnish) and YY11.117L5C89 (a T1 type pot with pink lustrous wash)

³⁶ While the plain wares of the second millennium BCE all have mica in the fabric, the micaceous wash singled out here contains mica exceeding these normal numbers, resembling to the lustrous micaceous washes of Beycesultan pottery.

demonstrate this phenomenon with shapes and fabrics paralleling central Anatolia, but surface treatments that are at home in the Beycesultan pottery assemblage (Figure 26).

3.3.6 SU 120 – Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük

Nodalar Höyük is a mound located in the better-irrigated southern part of the Ilgın Plain, which has richer vegetation with the Battal Deresi flowing into the lake nearby. It covers an area of 2.3 ha. The surrounding fields are used for sugar beet cultivation, while the mound itself is not used for cultivation and is subject to heavy looting. The site was surveyed in the 2011 season.

Consumption vessels make up more than half of the pottery collected from Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük, while the remaining vessels are divided between food preparation and multi-purpose vessels (Figure 27). Among these sherds are typical central Anatolian forms, such as flat plates of coarse fabric, one with a string impression under the rim (YY11.120L1C10) (Te1 in Müller-Karpe 1988) (Figure 28), and a drab ware anti-splash rim bowl (YY11.120L1C1). The addition of the string impression under the rim of an anti-splash rim bowl might be a local addition, since impressions are not normally encountered on these types of bowls at Hattuša. The presence of flat plates, a form that is one of the only new additions to the second millennium BCE central Anatolian pottery corpus after the 15th century BCE, firmly

proves the occupation of this site in the LBA. Although very small in number, inverted rim bowls and bead-rim bowls typical of the MBA also exist, suggesting that this site is occupied throughout the second millennium BCE.

Along with typical central Anatolian shapes, Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük also boasts pottery that is typical of Beycesultan in the LBA. Although most of these pieces are body sherds from which it is impossible to deduce vessel types, one sherd with pattern burnish on beige/buff thick glossy slip is exactly in line with the surface treatments of LBA Beycesultan pottery.

The assemblage of this site is quite small, consisting of 18 sherds, so that insights into single sherds are more meaningful than trying to see patterns in a small pool of data. Very illuminating in this sense is a piece from a deep carinated bowl (YY11.120L1C2) (Figure 29), which parallels Beycesultan deep carinated bowls of the LBA. The fine buff fabric and the polished surfaces are among the fingerprints of the Beycesultan LBA assemblage, while this piece also has a string impression under the rim on the exterior. String impressions are a characteristic of Hittite pottery, and appear in Beycesultan LBA only on kitchenware. This sherd, thus, represents a middle ground between a regional shape and surface treatment with a production technique that is from central Anatolia.

3.3.7 SU 134 – Kaleköy Küllük Höyük

Located east of the Çavuşçu Lake and in the center of the Bulasan and Düğer Valleys, Kaleköy Küllük Höyük is a low mound that spreads over 1.1 ha and is 3 km north east of Kale Tepesi (Bahar 1996: 155; Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 77). It is downstream of the Bulasan River flowing from Kale Tepesi and is currently used for agriculture and grazing. The site was surveyed in the 2011 season.

Kaleköy Küllük Höyük is the site of a large EBA settlement that is well represented in the pottery record. It also presents one of the most varied second millennium BCE pottery repertoires from the Yalburt survey region. All the major categories are represented, albeit in varied frequencies (Figure 30). The existence of inverted and bead-rim bowls with washed and/or burnished surfaces suggest an MBA presence at the site (Figure 31). At least one of these bowls, YY11.134L4C15, is a bead-rim bowl of brown common fabric, burnished to a polish inside and outside. It features vertical burnish streaks right under the rim, with a very slight groove under the rim as well, and would be right at home in the pottery assemblage of MBA Beycesultan. Along with these are common Hittite shapes, such as many anti-splash rim bowls (both S1 and S5 types) (Figure 32). The existence of a flat baking plate (Te1 in Müller-Karpe 1988) in common ware, with its plain, gritty surfaces and secondary burning damage (YY11.134L4C41) unmistakably proves central Anatolian connections.

One of the most interesting finds from the entire Yalburt Survey second millennium BCE corpus is the neck of a spindle bottle in Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware (RLWmW) that was found in Kaleköy Küllük Höyük (Figure 33). This piece represents the (so far) only RLWmW in the Yalburt Survey region and contributes to firmly dating LBA levels at the site, since RLWmW, like the flat plates, is one of the few exclusively LBA introductions to the Anatolian ceramic repertoire of the 2nd millennium BCE. While the origins of RLWmW are still under scholarly debate, we know that the fabric was favored mainly for ritual vessels, of which the slender shaped spindle bottles were one (Mielke 2007; Schoop 2011: 262).

While typical shapes for both regional and imperial second millennium pottery exist at Kaleköy Küllük Höyük, there are also single sherds that represent mixing of traditions. Most of these, such as YY11.134L2C3 and YY11.134L2C5 and YY11.134L2C11, represent Hittite anti-splash rim bowls with elaborate surface treatments (Figure 34). YY11.134L2C3 and YY11.134L2C17 are washed inside and outside, with rare burnish streaks, YY11.134L2C5 and YY11.134L2C11 are washed and polished. It is interesting that all of these hybrid, in-between examples are S5 bowls that are for food consumption. The realm of consumption seems to be the medium in which the inhabitants of Kaleköy Küllük Höyük needed and maintained the middle ground between central and western Anatolia.

3.3.8 SU 140 – İmircik Tepe

İmircik Tepe is a low mound located to the E-NE of Atlantı, at the center of the Atlantı Plain (Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 78). It covers 4.4 ha and is currently frequently used for grazing as well as by migrant workers for camping. The site was surveyed in the 2011 season.

İmircik Tepe represents a continuous settlement throughout the second millennium BCE. While bead-rim bowls and inverted rim bowls with polished or washed surfaces clearly speak to the MBA (Figure 35), drab ware bowls with no surface treatment and occasional string impressions speak to ties with the central Anatolian plateau during the LBA (Figure 36). It is also possible to see links with Beycesultan in the LBA in the form of body sherds with radial pattern burnish, which is the hallmark surface treatment of Beycesultan in the LBA (Figure 37).

The pottery from İmircik Tepe is dominated by consumption and multi-purpose vessels, while vessels for storage and food preparation are also represented in smaller percentage (Figure 38). The very low representation of both food preparation and storage vessels is very likely due to the large amount of multi-purpose vessels, which were capable of serving those functions.

Although consumption vessels make up most of the repertoire from this site, there is no specific form that dominates the corpus. Different types of bowls have a balanced representation, while fine ware is non-existent.

3.3.9 SU 144 – Dereköy Höyük

This mound is located on top of a natural hill by an abundant spring 400 m west of the village of Dereköy and covers an area of 2.2 ha (Harmanşah and Johnson 2013: 79). Dereköy is a hill settlement situated close to a pass that links Yalburt to the Çavuşçu Lake basin and further west. This site was surveyed in 2011.

Dereköy is one of the few sites in the Yalburt Survey region that has examples from all of the functional categories (Figure 39). The pottery repertoire signals a shift in different categories over time. Almost all of the consumption vessels (8/10) are MBA, with 6 bead-rim and 2 inverted rim bowl examples (Figure 40). On the other hand, pottery that we can date to the LBA based on comparisons with Hattuša is predominantly for food preparation (Figure 41). Still, since we are dealing with a small corpus, it should not be ruled out that this might be a pattern from preservation and not actual usage. However, it might be possible that this is a pattern of shifting alliances – the site could have been in more contact with Beycesultan during the MBA and turned towards central Anatolia in the LBA. This would be in alignment with the nature of the pottery that contains typical examples from both places, but not any cross-overs. While MBA surfaces are polished, or washed, and resemble Beycesultan examples, the LBA forms are completely devoid of surface treatment, thus not containing any hybrid examples resembling those that were discussed above.

3.3.10 SU 152 – Kapaklı Höyük

Cut through by the highway between Ilgın and Akşehir, Kapaklı Höyük is a 3.7 ha settlement located by a small streambed with only a local catchment but flowing springs further south. Both of these suggest that the mound might have been located by a stream in antiquity. The mound is situated between the old and the new cemeteries of the Kapaklı village, which is 200 meters away from the site. Currently, the southern sector of the site is used as a dump for construction debris, while the local communities also use the site as a mudbrick quarry. Kapaklı Höyük was surveyed in 2012.

Kapaklı Höyük's pottery repertoire is extraordinarily heavily dominated by consumption vessels, while food preparation vessels make up less than a quarter of the entire collection (Figure 42). Ritual, multi-purpose and storage vessels are entirely missing from the site. It should be emphasized, however, that we are dealing with a very small corpus of 15 sherds, and the absence of any category is not necessarily meaningful. However, within these 15 sherds, MBA bowls of the inverted rim type (Beycesultan shape 2) and shallow bowl type (Beycesultan type 3) very familiar from Beycesultan take the lead (Figure 43). The only sherd that represents any possible link with central Anatolia is YY11.152L2C13, a medium sized pot (T1 in Müller-Karpe 1988) of buff common ware with a string impression just under the rim (Figure 44).

Kapaklı Höyük was also the site of a large EBA settlement, which is well represented by a variety of ceramics. It might be the case that the EBA-MBA transition actually represents the final dense settlement of the second millennium BCE, after which the site gradually got smaller.

3.3.11 SU 158 – Çallı Ağıl

The mound of Çallı Ağıl is located approximately 5 km north of Çavuşçu Lake and is close proximity to a modern soil quarry, which has cut into the mound itself. The site is located at the edge of the northern Çavuşçu Lake basin. Geomorphological sections reveal that there was a stream with a spring-fed local catchment near the mound in former times as well. Current land use includes the soil quarry and a former sheepfold that was turned into an apiary. The site was surveyed in 2012.

Locus 4 of Çallı Ağıl Höyük, located 600 m northwest of the mound itself, is a looted second millennium BCE cemetery containing burials in pithoi. This locus covers 0.3 ha. The burial area is on a slope facing northwest, right beneath bedrock outcrops (Figure 45). The 22 looting pits in the cemetery reveal thin limestone cap stones covering the pithos burials (Harmanşah and Johnson 2014: 382) (Figure 46).

Locus 4 of Çallı Ağıl is one of the few locales in the Yalburt Survey region to manifest each of the functional categories (Figure 47). Food preparation vessels make up the majority of the site's pottery repertoire. It is very likely that both food

preparation and the multi-purpose vessels were used for burials (Figure 48). The site yielded a sherd from a pilgrim flask made of fine drab ware and slipped white interior and exterior (YY12.158L4C3) (Figure 49). Pilgrim flasks were storage vessels for liquid and semi-liquid materials used primarily during travel (Müller-Karpe 2002). This find represents the only example, so far, of a pilgrim flask in the Yalburt Survey region.

3.3.12 SU 162 – Codurun Höyük

Located on the northwest corner of the Ilgın Plain and the southwestern corner of the Çavuşçu Lake basin, Codurun Höyük is a high mound covering 1.6 ha and in close proximity to the Çavuşçu Lake. It is surrounded by many wheat fields, some of which cover the mound itself. This site was surveyed in the 2012 season.

The pottery collection from Codurun Höyük is dominated by consumption vessels, with food preparation vessels making up the second most significant category. Together, these two groups make up 97% of the entire assemblage, and the remaining small percentage is taken up by multi-purpose vessels (Figure 50). Almost the entire repertoire consists of bead-rim bowls (Figure 51), and the only clear central Anatolian parallels are two sherds from T8 vessels, which would have been used for the production and possibly consumption of beer, and an S2 style multi-purpose bowl (Figure 52).

3.4 General Trends in the Pottery Assemblage from the Yalburt Survey Region

In the previous section, I explored the pottery assemblages from ten sites in the Yalburt Survey region in Konya. Here, I will follow five main threads that emerge from the overall analysis of these data: the chronological span represented by different sites; trends in site placement, preferences for certain parts of the regional and central Anatolian pottery corpus; how these preferences for the local and imperial map onto time; and lastly, the concept of hybridity.

3.4.1 Chronology

The continuity of second millennium BCE pottery in many parts of the Anatolian peninsula has always been a challenge for differentiating between MBA and LBA settlements, especially for survey projects (e.g. Whallon 1979). Central Anatolian settlements such as Hattuša or Kuşaklı demonstrate very little difference between their MBA and LBA assemblages. In Hattuša, for instance, the repertoire becomes increasingly standardized from the MBA onwards. The main changes occur in the realm of surface treatment, which becomes gradually simplified and discarded throughout the second millennium BCE (Schoop 2009: 154). This has led Ulf Schoop to devise a statistical dating scheme for Hittite pottery, which rests on the close study of the changes in elements such as the rim length and rim thickening (Schoop 2006). This approach, of course, necessitates a sample that can be statistically meaningful and

coherent, such as a sealed archaeological context, which was deposited at one single time period. Unfortunately, this method of statistical dating is not applicable to surface collections.

In a similar vein, the MBA and LBA repertoires in Beycesultan are not differentiated with clear boundaries. Lloyd and Mellaart (1965: 69) declared that “ceramically speaking, MBA does not exist” in Beycesultan. Instead, they suggest that the earlier second millennium BCE is a slow and gradual transition between the EBA and LBA traditions – while the earliest level identified as MBA (Beycesultan V) shares $\frac{2}{3}$ of its repertoire with the EBA levels, the latest MBA level (Beycesultan IVa) shares $\frac{2}{3}$ of its shapes with the later LBA levels.

Under these circumstances, our best hope would be to find at least one vessel type for each period that does not appear in the other one. For the MBA, this would be the so-called bead-rim bowl.³⁷ As the hallmark of the MBA in Beycesultan, bead-rim bowls started as imitations of metal vessels with their angular, sharp carinations and high-quality burnishing reminiscent of a metallic sheer (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: 70). It stays the most common bowl type throughout the MBA of the entire region and provides the most reliable “guide fossil” for the MBA of western Anatolia (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: 129). The bead-rim bowl comes to an abrupt end and does not appear in the LBA of the region. The existence of bead-rim bowls in the assemblage from a

³⁷ Even when they are no longer produced, earlier ceramic forms can of course appear in later periods as a result of being curated as heirloom objects or depositional processes. However, in the case mentioned here, when bead-rim bowls exist in a site, they always constitute a statistically meaningful part of the ceramic repertoire, making accidental or depositional later appearances less likely.

site, thus, provides a clear and reliable identification for dating the MBA in the Yalburt Survey region, and indeed was documented at seven out of the ten settlements in question here.

To mark the other end of the spectrum, the LBA, we have slightly more forms at our disposal. The first is the so-called Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware (RLWmW), which was imported to central Anatolia possibly from Cyprus. This ware, and the spindle bottles and libation arms³⁸ fashioned in it, appear in central Anatolian contexts from the 15th century BCE onwards, clearly situating these examples in the LBA realm (Mielke 2007; Schoop 2011: 262). Two vessel types, the small bowls (N1-N5) and baking plates (Te1 and Te2), are also later introductions to the pottery repertoire (Schoop 2011: 247, 249). Thus, any of these forms and fabric types can act as a marker of a LBA level at a site.

Dating the ten sites in the Yalburt Survey region in question using these chronological markers, it is possible to find different chronological ranges. While six of them (SU 111, SU 120, SU 134, SU 140, SU 144 and SU 162) have both MBA and LBA pottery, three of them (SU 115, SU 117 and SU 158) strictly represent the LBA. Just one site, SU 152, has only MBA pottery (Table 4). This suggests that most of the region was occupied throughout the second millennium. A more detailed look at the sites with

³⁸ Also called arm-shaped vessels, these are slender vessels in the shape of a forearm, terminating in a hand holding a bowl. These bowls are reminiscent of the libation/votive vessels (Type N1 in the Müller-Karpe 1988 classification), while the arm-shaped vessels themselves were yielded from the ponds of Hattuša in big numbers (Neve 1995: 9). The combination of these two factors earned these vessels the name “libation arms” with the assumption that they were used for libating during the rituals.

only MBA or LBA levels demonstrates that SU 115, SU 152 and SU 158 have EBA levels. Among the second millennium sites, it is only SU 117, Boz Höyük, which has no previous Early or Middle Bronze Age levels. This suggests two important and consequential conclusions. First, new foundations of the second millennium were a rare phenomenon in the region sampled by the Yalburt Survey region. Second, the only new foundation in the group is Boz Höyük, which also yielded the largest amount of central Anatolian pottery from the entire region.

The site of Boz Höyük requires special and extended attention as the only new foundation in the region during the second millennium BCE. LBA is the earliest documented period at the site, making it a true new foundation during the Hittite period. The intensity, extent and variety of the LBA settlement of this site elevate it to the status of a center for the entire region, at least as far as the Yalburt Survey boundaries go. Boz Höyük is the site with the greatest variety of both central Anatolian and Beycesultan sherds dating to the LBA. The assemblage of consumption vessels, which make up half of the repertoire from the site, is a mix between Beycesultan and Central Anatolian shapes (Figure 53). The complete lack of ritual vessels that can be identified in comparison to either central Anatolia or Beycesultan, but the overwhelming presence of typical consumption vessel forms from both places, points to a regional center that tried to communicate with the rest of the region, as well as western and central Anatolia, in consumption contexts, but not cultic ones.

The importance of communal consumption and feasting for bringing communities together and for producing and maintaining identities has been discussed for many different cultures and time periods (e.g. Hamilakis 1999; Dietler and Hayden 2001; Bray 2003; Dietler 2006; Glatz 2015a). What makes the material trace of communal consumption significant within the specific aim of this dissertation is the lingering importance that consumption vessels held in the region throughout the second millennium BCE. Consumption vessels, which were the most common pottery type during the MBA, not only continued to make up most of the LBA repertoire, but also were the only functional category to have any hybrid examples demonstrating both western and central Anatolian traits. It was in the realm of consumption that the regional and the imperial meld together in different capacities and different levels.

3.4.2 Site Placement

The ten sites that I explore in this chapter are spread around the larger Yalburt Survey Region. While their physical locations, proximity to the Çavuşçu Lake or different streams vary, all of these sites share a strong preference for the lowlands (Table 4). Eight out of these ten sites are located on one of the three tectonic plates that make up most of the Yalburt Survey Region: Orta Tepe, Göktepe, Çallı Ağıl and Codurun Höyük are located in the Çavuşçu Lake Basin, Boz Höyük and Nodalar (Eldeş)

Höyük are In the Ilgın Plain, İmircik Tepe is in the Atlantı Plain and Kaleköy Küllük Höyük is located in the Bulasan Valley. Most of these sites lie at elevations of about 1040 m, while Kaleköy Küllük Höyük and İmircik Tepe are closer to the 1000 m threshold.

Dereköy Höyük and Kapaklı Höyük are the only two sites that are located, comparatively speaking, in the highlands. Kapaklı Höyük's location can best be described as a small plateau, while Dereköy Höyük is on a pass that connects Yalburt to the west. Considering the heavily Middle Bronze Age repertoire from Dereköy Höyük and the lack of Late Bronze Age materials from Kapaklı Höyük, we can suggest that the Late Bronze Age settlements of the Yalburt Survey Region favored plains, lake basins and valleys for their placement, rather than the highlands.

3.4.3 Presence and Absence of the Imperial Pottery Corpus

The third important thread that emerges from the detailed study of the pottery assemblages from these ten sites is the patchy representation of the overall central Anatolian pottery corpus (detailed breakdowns of what forms are represented in what frequency can be found in Table 5-9). The region shows a preference for consumption and multi-purpose vessels, while the other categories of food preparation, ritual and storage are significantly under-represented.

Ritual vessels that we can recognize from either Beycesultan or central Anatolian assemblages are almost entirely absent from the region. Six settlements (SU 115, SU 117, SU 120, SU 140, SU 152 and SU 162) did not yield any fragments of ritual vessels at all, and ritual vessels represented a very small fraction of the overall assemblage in three further sites (3% in SU 144, 4% in SU 111 and SU 144). I should stress that most of these fragments belong to beak-spouted jugs that I classified as libation vessels in line with recent interpretations (Heffron 2014), while they could also have been used as fine tableware.

The only meaningful concentration of ritual vessels, unsurprisingly, came from SU 158, the site of Çallı Ağıl, Locus 4 of which was used as a cemetery. From this locus, we have fragments of not only beak-spouted jugs, but also votive vessels. Thus, the only concentration of ritual vessels that is above 4% comes from the only site we can securely identify as a burial context.

Our inability to identify ritual vessels in the Yalburt Survey assemblage does not necessarily mean that ritual vessels were altogether absent in the region. Although this absence might simply be rooted in taphonomic processes, or the comparatively fewer numbers of ritual vessels we could expect to find at a domestic context in relation to other types of vessels such as those for food preparation and consumption, we can still speculate on some ideas. The absence of ritual vessels in the region can point to the use of local wares and forms that continued over from the EBA of the region and that are foreign to the present understanding of the western

and central Anatolian ceramic forms of the second millennium BCE. Alternatively, it could point to a differential use of second millennium BCE shapes, and the utilization of different forms of vessels known from Beycesultan or central Anatolia for ritual purposes. In either case, it means the Yalburt Survey region's ritual practices were not in alignment with either Beycesultan or central Anatolia. Neither the empire, nor the regional center, had a large bearing on the cult practices of Yalburt's residents.

Storage vessels are also not represented in high numbers in the Yalburt Survey region. Overall, storage pithoi are almost entirely absent from the region in the second millennium BCE. Storage practices seem to be on a more modest level, and multi-family long-term storage, such as that evident in the magazines of Temple 1 in Hattuša with huge pithoi stored side-by-side (Schirmer 1969: 32-36), seems to be non-existent in the area. Since that scale of storage was tied to Hittite imperial administration in palatial urban centers and did not penetrate into daily life and rural practices (Schoop 2011: 256), the lack of large storage vessels in the Yalburt Survey region is hardly surprising.

Vessels for brewing and consuming beer are not represented in the region in high numbers. From the entire ten sites combined, we have 87 vessels in total that are related to beer brewing and consumption. Considering that Orta Tepe alone yielded 61 bead-rim bowls that would be used for consuming drinks other than beer, the beer

brewing vessels do not constitute the most significant assemblage for drinking.³⁹ Most prominent among them is the so-called T1 type that gets replaced by T8 through the second millennium BCE (Müller-Karpe 1988: 61-68). This can lead us to the conclusion that beer was either not the first drink of choice in the region and was secondary to what was consumed with the smaller, individual consumption vessels; or that beer was consumed in these smaller individual-sized vessels as well, after being brewed in large multi-purpose vessels.

Vessels for food preparation that we can recognize from central or western Anatolian contexts also do not exist in meaningful amounts. Most such vessels are generic cooking pots of the second millennium BCE and, to a very small degree, baking plates. Pots for preparing food as identified in central Anatolia (T4, T16, T17 and T20) and more specialized vessels such as sieves are absent from the ceramic repertoire. This suggests that local ways of preparing food were still frequent in the region, resulting in forms that we are not able to identify.

As mentioned above, the most abundant genre of pottery that is also attested in central Anatolia or Beycesultan is the category of consumption vessels.

Consumption vessels that we can identify from either of these places make up at least half of the entire collection in the majority of the sites. Nevertheless, they represent a

³⁹ There is comparative visual and archaeological evidence from third and second millennium BCE Mesopotamia and Middle Bronze Age Israel that beer would be consumed directly out of the brewing vessel with the help of long straws to avoid the foam and particles that would float to the surface of the liquid (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948: 51-52; Hartman and Oppenheim 1950: 12-13; Moorey 1980: 182-183; Kantor 1978-1979: 35; Maeir and Garfinkel 1992: 221).

partial repertoire from both of these corpora. From Hittite bowls for consumption, the anti-splash rim bowl S5 is the only type that is represented in meaningful numbers. Other types of central Anatolian bowls make very few appearances or none at all, and ‘drinking cups’ are also very rare. Since the climax of the S5-type vessel in central Anatolia dates to the last centuries of the Hittite Empire (Schoop 2011: 245), this can also suggest that the impact of the empire was felt the most in the later centuries. From Beycesultan, the best-represented types are the so-called fruitstands (Beycesultan LBA Shape 4), while chalices, goblets and mugs appear in very small numbers. This suggests that the inhabitants of the Yalburt Survey region did not adopt the consumption practices of either western or central Anatolia wholesale. The strong patterning in vessel numbers suggests that some types were clearly favored over others.

From this overall discussion, two general conclusions can be drawn. First, consumption was the realm in which vessels that were familiar from central or western Anatolian contexts were used, and this was the case for the entirety of the second millennium BCE. The only strictly MBA site of the region, at Kapaklı Höyük, has an overwhelming percentage of consumption vessels. All other sites with MBA levels have at least one third of their entire assemblage comprised of consumption vessels. In this case, a regional *koine* of ceramics seem to be mainly in the consumption realm. The Hittite Empire, when it extended its influence to the region, seems to be part of a larger network of material practices that was already at play in the region.

Second, the waxing and waning of different categories leads us to question the presence of central Anatolian pottery as a legitimate index of total imperial domination. The differential and selected presence of specific vessels types in the Yalburt Survey region as opposed to a more complete Hittite repertoire speaks against narratives of total imperial domination and wholesale appropriation of central Anatolian material practices in the region. On the contrary, the selected repertoire of Hittite vessels that are dominantly geared towards consumption nicely follows from the MBA practices of the region, rather than signaling an imperial intervention.

3.4.4 Shifting Preferences between Western and Central Anatolia

Interesting patterns emerge when the ceramic data are studied according the amount of Beycesultan and central Anatolian parallels, and the results are plotted by site (Figure 54). Three sites immediately stand out for their high affinity with Beycesultan – Orta Tepe, Kapaklı Höyük and Codurun Höyük. All of these sites have extensive MBA material. While Orta Tepe and Codurun Höyük span the entirety of the second millennium BCE, Kapaklı Höyük is abandoned after MBA and does not contain any LBA pottery.

Looking for parallels with the Hittite heartland, the three sites with the most extensive central Anatolian parallels are Göktepe, Çallı Ağıl and Boz Höyük, which are the only three second millennium BCE sites in the region that do not have MBA levels.

Occupying the middle tier, with examples of both central Anatolian and Beycesultan pottery, are the sites of Nodalar (Eldeş), Kaleköy Küllük, İmircik and Dereköy, all of which have both MBA and LBA levels.

The strong preference for Beycesultan pottery in the MBA seems gradually to shift to central Anatolia throughout the later MBA, almost completely vanishing by the end of this period. The complete lack of Beycesultan material in the single-period LBA site of Göktepe is a case in point. The overall assessment of the ceramic assemblage from these ten sites thus points to shifting alliances throughout the second millennium. While Beycesultan seems to have had a considerable impact on the Yalburt Survey region during the MBA, the inhabitants of LBA sites shifted their preferences towards central Anatolia. The same change, however, does not take place in Beycesultan itself. Central Anatolian parallels are almost non-existent at this site, with the only exception being LBA kitchenware (Mellaart and Murray 1995: 25).

Here, I am not suggesting that this was a shift dictated only by the Hittite Empire as a result of total hegemony over the area. If this were the case, we would have seen a more complete central Anatolian pottery assemblage rather than one that is heavily dominated by consumption and multi-purpose vessels. Instead, we have a partial assemblage that is filtered by agency and choice of the inhabitants of the region leaning towards certain practices and their material correlates, rather than imperial mandates.

3.4.5 Hybridity

The final thread that needs to be highlighted here is the existence of hybrid ceramic practices all through the region. The existence of hybridity, however, needs to be unpacked further. Saying a region is “hybrid” can be misleading if it works in favor of leveling layers of difference to a homogenized sameness (Thomas 2007; Ehrhardt 2013: 370). On the contrary, the Yalburt Survey region pottery assemblages show different shades of hybrid practices in different sites. While some sites have examples of central Anatolian shapes with Beycesultan surfaces (Boz Höyük, Kaleköy Küllük Höyük), others use typical shapes from both places at the same time (all sites except Göktepe), and others have eclectic sherds that marry Beycesultan shapes with Hittite technology (Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük). This variety demonstrates that different hybridities co-existed in different parts of the region. Hybridity was neither an imperial agenda trying to bridge a ground in between the imperial and the local realms, nor a region-wide decision and performance of community identity. Rather, different sites and their potters found their own middle grounds.⁴⁰

Hybridity is a term with both a heavy theoretical baggage and a very wide use in archaeological literature that sometimes makes it just another word for culture contact and admixture (Silliman 2013; 2015). The first issue to be addressed is the antecedent of hybridity. Owing to its origins in biology, a hybrid product is generally

⁴⁰ Here, I use the term “middle ground” in the sense that Richard White (1991) used the phrase as a space shared by two different peoples resulting in new meanings and practices.

assumed to be a result of the mixture of two sterile, distinct and bounded “parents” (Silliman 2015: 7). Such entities, of course, are problematic archaeologically. A region is rarely isolated and “pure”, and this is an impossible expectation to hold for such an interconnected geography as Anatolia, especially during the second millennium BCE, the start of which saw the Assyrian Trade Colonies and trade networks spanning most of the peninsula (Barjamovic 2011). The material culture of the Yalburt Survey region was not the result of the clash of two polar opposites, but was rather a series of middle grounds that was influenced by, and in return impacted, central and western Anatolian pottery traditions.

Hybridity, as a concept, is intimately linked to post-colonial theory, and colonial encounters have produced the bulk of the cases that have been discussed within the framework of hybridity (e.g. Silliman 2010; van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012). However, hybridity is also applicable to situations that were not full episodes of colonialization. These interactions mostly take place in frontier and boundary regions, where social and material exchanges were not dominated by only one hegemon (Ehrhardt 2013: 370). They are rather “geographical locations positioned between two centers (and) can emerge as difficult middles and third spaces” (Naum 2012: 68). The Yalburt Survey region was one such area, where multiple middle grounds were reached in different sites throughout the region.

An example of hybridized interactions in the borderlands is Kathleen Ehrhardt’s case study on the pre-colonial interactions between the Europeans and the

Illinois in the 17th century. Exploring European copper and brass, she demonstrates that these foreign materials were incorporated into local networks and value systems, and were worked with native technologies to produce items of personal adornment. There was a reason why these particular materials were favored by the Illinois – their color (red) was already symbolically charged within local value systems, which made them a popular choice for personal adornment items (Ehrhardt 2013). This case clearly suggests that the hybrid materials produced by the Illinois were the result of their interaction with the Europeans, but it was their own values and practices that determined what materials were integrated in this exchange.

Silliman (2013) argues that hybridity should be sought in the realm of practice, and not materials or people. Hybrid vessels or hybrid practices do not produce hybrid people. Considering that all of the examples of hybridity that I discussed above for the Yalburt Survey region come from the realm of consumption vessels, I argue that material practices related to consumption are specifically what we should discuss in considering hybridity in the Yalburt Survey region. It was the local importance of communal consumption that drove the incorporation of central and western Anatolian materials into the Yalburt Survey region, resulting in a hybrid corpus of consumption vessels.

The larger picture here is the selective application of hybridity in different material practices. Rather than saying the Yalburt Survey region was a “hybrid area” or settled by “hybrid people”, it was the arena of hybrid consumption practices that

would be legible and familiar to people of different areas and traditions. In other ways, the region was not affected by the cultural powers of either the west or the east to the same degree. The degree and level of hybridity in consumption also differed from settlement to settlement. From acquiring vessels very likely produced in Beycesultan or Hattuša, to local production of vessels mixing and matching different technologies and surface treatments, each site had its own middle ground, manifest in differently hybrid material culture. “Hybridity”, rather than a thick blanket covering an entire region, was a collection of different strategies, which were chosen and applied in differing variations at different sites.

3.5 Conclusion

The locale that Tudhaliya IV chose for a landscape monument signed with his name, commemorating his victories was a spring framed by mountains and overlooking the vast plain. The monument was not associated with a settlement, while the Hittite material culture yielded from the entire environs of the monument remains small.

Demonstrating the large percentages consumption vessels occupy in the assemblages of all the sites in both the MBA and the LBA, I argued that communal consumption was a very important practice in the area. It is in the realm of consumption that vessels with both western and central Anatolian parallels are

present in the region of Pedassa. The region seems to be more heavily influenced by western Anatolia, and specifically the site of Beycesultan during the MBA, while central Anatolian ceramic forms outnumber Beycesultan examples in the LBA. This points to changing power dynamics in the region, related to the rise of the Hittite Empire as a centralized power in the east. In both of these periods, consumption practices were one of the major venues that the residents of the Yalburt Survey region negotiated with regional and imperial centers, and their interactions with these powers resulted in select forms from either region represented in the Yalburt repertoire.

The presence of the Hittite Empire in both the landscape (in the form of monuments) and material practices (in the form of pottery) point to a political apparatus that wanted to tap into locations and practices of local importance to negotiate its power. The influence of the Hittite Empire in Pedassa was manifest and negotiated in the places and practices of lingering local importance throughout the second millennium BCE. The empire, as envisioned, imposed, and negotiated in this area, existed mainly in the realm of important local places that were marked with Hittite monuments and communal consumption. Its infiltration into other realms – be they ritual, domestic, or industrial – remained more trivial.

We should not, however, exclude the possibilities offered by what is not preserved, or simply not there, on the ground. In the lowlands of Pedassa, Boz Höyük was established as a Hittite new foundation. Judging from the agricultural

intensification projects Hittite kings undertook in the region in the last century of the empire, we can tentatively identify Boz Höyük as a site overseeing this production. The rare occurrence of Hittite large-scale storage vessels in Boz Höyük and the rest of the areas covered by the Yalburt Survey can lead to suggest that most of the agricultural product was not stored there, but may have been sent elsewhere, most likely the Hittite Upper Land.

In sum, I would suggest that the main indexes of the Hittite Empire in the Yalburt Survey region were consumption vessels and landscape monuments, both of which owed their presence to the earlier and local developments in this region. These indexes are of course biased by the dataset available to us at the time of writing. Future work in Pedassa should strive to produce a better resolution for the material practices of the region to enable more in-depth discussions of different hybridities, middle grounds and community identities and discuss different appropriations of Hittite power and material culture.

CHAPTER 4: PLACING THE EMPIRE IN EMAR

Emar, the Syrian Meskene-Qadime (modern Eski Meskene), is located on the right bank of the Euphrates, 100 km east-southeast of Aleppo (Margueron 1993). Its location and discovery are linked to the medieval site of, which is Balis located to its immediate east (Figure 55). Emar was abandoned at the end of the Bronze Age, c. 1180 BCE, and was never resettled, except for the occasional uses of parts of the site for burials during the Byzantine and Islamic periods, as an extension of the settlement at Balis (Finkbeiner 1999-2000: 32).

A diachronic study of Bronze Age Emar reveals two indexes – administrative structure and place – for studying both the presence of, and the responses to the Hittite Empire. The organization of administrative power on both the local and imperial levels highlights the importance of offices and individuals in Emar for understanding continuity and fracture in local power and imperial intervention. First I will examine local administrative power structures, which survive the Hittite imperial interventions with minor transformations, then turn to reflections of imperial power and the alterations it introduced to the local system in Emar. As for attitudes toward place, Emar demonstrates a remarkable continuity throughout the Bronze Age. Developments that are observed following the Hittite intervention can all be seen as results of the site's local trajectory; in other words, there are no visible imperial

interventions in the landscape. Emar, a site of temples and houses in the Early Bronze Age, was still a site of temples and houses when it was abandoned at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Bringing the two indexes together, I argue that the manifestation of the Hittite Empire in Emar was constituted through offices and individuals appointed by, or in tight relationships with, the Hittite center and projected onto a landscape created by local relationships and regional trajectories in the Middle Euphrates area during the Late Bronze Age.⁴¹

Previous discussions of local and imperial power at Emar have mostly been undertaken without any consideration of physical space beyond that of individual buildings at the site. The few studies that do explicitly examine the urban landscape are geared toward understanding its typological elements from primarily textual material, with archaeology used only as a point of reference and comparison (e.g. Mori 2003a; 2003b; 2008; 2010). The philological studies by and large do not engage with archaeological contexts from which their tablets come (a notable exception being Rutz 2013). Investigations of the rural landscape, meanwhile, are principally geomorphological in nature, situating Emar within its broader geographical context, while paying little attention to the contribution of these landscapes to the collective

⁴¹ There are, of course, other ways and means to study the Hittite Empire and its impact in Emar. Some examples of the roads not taken in this chapter include the hybrid sealing practices demonstrating both Hittite and Syrian traits Beyer (2001), likewise hybrid scribal practices (Cohen 2005; Faist 2008) and the use of multiple ritual calendars at the city (Adamthwaite 2000; Fleming 2000; 2003), although I will touch briefly on the calendars while discussing ritual processions in Section 4.4.5 below. Although these all offer fruitful ways to explore the interaction between the imperial and the local contexts, I focused my discussion here on power and place to emphasize a peculiar interplay between imperial and local power on the urban landscape.

identity of the residents of the city (e.g. Geyer 1990; Reculeau 2008). Our present conceptualization of Bronze Age Emar is thus essentially stripped of its physical aspect and derived overwhelmingly from the rich textual material. This trend in scholarship is to a great extent dictated by the research history of the site, which demonstrated an understandable fascination with the extraordinarily rich archives unearthed at Emar.

Does the split in philology and archaeological space necessarily mean, however, that we must give up on thinking about space and place in ancient Emar? I argue that we can still talk about issues such as the manifestation of power in the urban landscape or public spaces without excavating the entirety or a substantial portion of the site. In the second part of this chapter, I will return to these questions with both archaeological and textual data. I will argue for a perspective deliberately oriented towards understanding place-making, using the rich textual record from of Emar as a way to map the city. To put it in another way, textual spaces can be read in spatial ways.

4.1 The Local Diachronic History of Emar (2300-1180 BCE)

Emar was discovered during the construction of the Tabqa Dam, which ultimately flooded parts of the archaeological site. The initial salvage research was carried out by a French team under the direction of Jean-Claude Margueron between

1972 and 1976 (Margueron 1975a; 1975b; 1975c; 1976; 1982). The texts yielded during these field seasons were published in a much more complete and quicker fashion than the archaeological finds from the site (Arnaud 1985a; 1985b; 1986; 1987). To this day, the major publications devoted to the archaeological materials found by the French team consist only of an edited volume (Beyer 1982) and a comprehensive study of the seals and sealings found at the site (Beyer 2001).

After the French expedition ended, intense looting took place at Emar, until the Syrian Antiquities Department returned for four seasons between 1992 and 1995 under the directions of Shawki Sha'ath and Farouk Ismail. During the almost two decade of looting, many cuneiform texts made their ways onto the antiquities market and ended up in private collections. Such texts still appear and are generally published under the vague label of "Texts from Emar and its Vicinity," since their original find contexts are unknown. Between 1996 and 2002, the Syrian Antiquities Department collaborated with the University of Tübingen for five more seasons of excavations under the direction of Uwe Finkbeiner. This new series of excavations produced a more detailed understanding of the archaeology of the site, and the production of a topographical plan including the Lower Town, the Upper Town and the Temple District (Finkbeiner 1999-2000; 2001; 2002; Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003a; 2003b; 2010) (Figure 56).

As this short history of research at Emar offers, any attention to the archaeological heritage of the site has suffered from flooding and looting, while its

rich textual sources received a lot of attention. This chapter also makes extensive use of textual material, reflecting the imbalance in scholarship.

4.1.1 The View from Texts

Evidence for the city in the Early and the Middle Bronze Age comes mainly from archives outside of Emar. These texts mainly focus on trade activity and provide hints about the city's administration and dynastic marriage. For instance, Ebla texts dating to the second half of the third millennium BCE mention Emar (Imar) as a partner in trade (Archi 1990). The number of textual attestations in other archives starts increasing after the third millennium.

Eighteenth-century BCE tablets from Mari, for example, describe Emar as a significant commercial harbor administratively under Yamḥad (Mori 2003b: 13). This geographical location meant that Emar was at an optimum position for transferring the goods between land and riverine transportation (Margueron 1996: 77). Sporadic attestations exist throughout the early second millennium BCE and come from the sites of Tuttul, Ḥarādum and Alalah VII. Much like the third millennium material, the second millennium BCE sources mention Emar (Imar) only in contexts relevant to their own concerns, and reveal very little information about the inner workings of Emar itself (Rutz 2013: 47).

At some point during the mid-second millennium BCE, Emar was taken over by the Mittanian Empire. The mechanics of this annexation and the impact of Mittani on the city are poorly, if at all, understood, owing to the incomplete understanding of Mittani as a whole. We can only explore the relationship between Mittani and Emar within the context of a treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Hatti and Šattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 51)⁴², which marked the incorporation of northern Syria into the Hittite sphere of influence in the mid-fourteenth century BCE (Beckman 1999: 41)

During the fourteenth-century, the textual material from Emar increases tremendously with multiple excavated archives from the city itself. The bulk of these texts belong to the period of the Hittite occupation, but a small amount can be dated to before. These texts cover many genres (rituals, literary, lexical, letters, administrative documents, medical and divinatory texts) and languages, including Hittite, Hurrian and Sumerian, though Akkadian remains the dominant language throughout.⁴³ It is this corpus – the texts of the second half of the second millennium BCE – which will be most frequently consulted in the following parts of this chapter.

⁴² For Hittite texts, I use Laroche's scheme of numbering for reference. A full list of the CTH numbers can be found through the CTH website, at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>.

⁴³ The corpus of Hurrian texts from Emar has been published as I was concluding this dissertation (Salvini 2015). I regret not having had more time to incorporate this work into my study.

4.1.2 The View from Archaeology

The archaeology of the second millennium BCE of Emar follows a more convoluted path. The first series of excavations conducted at the site, the French mission under the directorship of Margueron, did not yield any evidence of pre-Hittite occupation. The mentions to Emar in the archives from the third and second millennia BCE sites such as Ebla, Mari and Alalah, however, insisted upon the existence of an earlier settlement (Belmonte 2001). Margueron interpreted this mismatch as indicating a resettlement of the site. He advocated for an older Emar on the Euphrates, which was not within the borders of the contemporary excavation, and presented the idea of a Hittite relocation and rebuilding in the Late Bronze Age (Margueron 1980; 1993). However, the recent German-Syrian excavations at Meskene Qadime were able to prove that Emar indeed had Early and Middle Bronze Age layers, not downstream from the site, but under Late Bronze Age Emar itself (Finkbeiner 2001: 43). Just beneath the floors of the temple of Ba'al and its associated courtyards, rooms dating to the Early Bronze Age were unearthed, with in situ pottery and terracotta figurines (Finkbeiner 2001: 88-93). The Middle Bronze Age was attested in building levels under the temple of Aštarte, as well as the city wall (Finkbeiner 2002: 128-130) and the Upper Town (e.g. Squares 75-76/54-55) (Finkbeiner 2001: 74).

This new archaeological perspective of Emar as a site with a much deeper history prior to the Hittite occupation is a fundamental departure from a colonial Hittite history to one that recognizes the local networks and places over which the

empire would have sprawled. The picture is indeed one of a long-lived site with similar building and ceramic technologies held in place throughout the Bronze Age. The Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage unearthed during the French expeditions, for instance, is very comparable to both the Early and the Middle Bronze Age material at the site, with only very few technological and artistic changes observable during the second millennium BCE (Caubet 1982; 2014: 75). This continuity also situates Emar within the larger Middle Euphrates region, along with sites like Mari, which provide consistent assemblages from the late third millennium BCE to the end of the Bronze Age (Caubet 2014: 72). This view is shared by the findings of the German team, for example, in the Late Bronze Age pottery from the Upper Town, the closest parallels for which come from other Middle Euphrates sites such as Hadīdī, Munbāqa and Al-Qīṭār (Finkbeiner 2001: 63-73).

Building technologies and architectural elements demonstrate a similar continuity. This is best visible in Squares 75-76/54-55 in the Upper Town, where multiple layers are built on top of others with walls of the same orientation, generally placed exactly on top of the earlier walls. In this way, the exterior layout of the buildings and the road system were maintained in the same placements from the Middle Bronze Age (Building Phase 6) to the final Late Bronze Age (Building Phase 1), although the interior use of the space and floor plans shift over time. The care taken to maintain the exterior layouts might be a reflection of the urge to protect property boundaries (Finkbeiner 2001: 80).

These observations should not be taken to mean that Emar was a timeless place, which stayed exactly the same throughout the long second millennium BCE. For instance, the construction of the twin temples to Aštarte and Ba'al date to this period (Finkbeiner 1999-2000; 2001; 2002; Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003b), as well as the so-called *bīt-ḫilāni* (Margueron 1979).⁴⁴ What is important for our purposes, however, is that all of these new constructions are part of the locally entrenched long-term traditions of both Emar, and (to a lesser degree) the Middle Euphrates region and do not represent Hittite state-sponsored projects or urban imperial interventions.

4.2 Mechanisms and Institutions of Power at Emar: Local Administration

I here survey the major administrative offices that held power throughout the Bronze Age in Emar. Owing to the nature of the evidence, this section is almost exclusively textual in character; the archaeological and spatial implications of administrative power will be treated in Section 4.4.

During the Bronze Age, the local administration of Emar was distributed among many lines of power. The three most prominent offices that are mentioned in the texts throughout this time period are: the ruler/king, the Elders (a group with a prominent role in real estate sales) and the Brothers (a group who imposed financial penalties). All of these local offices of administration linger through the Hittite intervention in the

⁴⁴ See Section 4.2.1 for a discussion of *bīt-ḫilāni*.

city, although their roles fluctuate throughout the Bronze Age. In this section, after presenting the textual evidence related to each office, I argue that the time period during which these offices were under most pressure from the Hittite Empire was the 13th century BCE, the final century of Bronze Age Emar's occupation.

4.2.1 The King, or the Lack Thereof

Within the cuneiform cultures of Bronze Age Anatolia and Mesopotamia, the cuneiform sign LUGAL is almost always used to write “the king”. LUGAL, which literally meant “great man” in its third millennium BCE Sumerian context, got picked up as part of the cuneiform writing system and became commonly used in both Akkadian and Hittite texts of the second millennium BCE. The use of LUGAL as the word for “king” in Hittite texts is so common that the declension of the Hittite counterpart, *haššuš-*, is only partially attested, while most of the paradigm consists of LUGAL supplemented by Hittite suffixes (Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 4.47).

This conspicuous appearance of LUGAL in both Akkadian and Hittite texts stands in stark contrast to the attestations related to Emar before the second half of the second millennium BCE. In the Ebla texts from the third millennium, the rulers of Emar are denoted with the term “EN-rulers” (Archi 1990). Although these officials had been interpreted as kings (e.g. Pettinato 1981) we cannot assume they meant ‘king’ in Emar as well, on account of the lack of any dynastic succession, the election

undertaken for such rulers, and the “senate” that accompanies the EN-ruler (Adamthwaite 2001: 181-182; Fleming 2004). This senate was “the Elders”, who exercised power over the EN-ruler’s authority. The Middle Bronze Age attestations of Emar in other archives are similar in character. Emar is mentioned in the economic and diplomatic texts discovered in Mari and Alalah Level VII. Neither of these archives mention a king at Emar denoted with the logogram LUGAL, or, in fact, any high-level ruler beyond the senate of the Elders (Adamthwaite 2001: 185-187).

In the second half of the second millennium BCE, the texts from Emar itself vary in their use of this terminology. They mention kings (with the logogram LUGAL), and a dynasty of rulers seems to be in place. The difference between the use of the EN and LUGAL for different rulers in different time periods, coupled with the emergence of a new dynasty, has been interpreted as a shift from a tradition of communal rule abruptly changing to monarchy through the encounter and the intervention of the Hittite state. This scholarly position situates kingship, the centralized authority of only one individual, in Emar as a Hittite innovation (Arnaud 1980b: 254-255, n.50; Fleming 1992: 66; Adamthwaite 2001: 179-180). This interpretation is problematic, not only because the recent excavations demonstrated Emar to have a much deeper history than only the Late Bronze Age, but also because it conditions the relationship between Hatti and north Syria in colonial discourses, undermining the nuances of a series of imperial and local encounters.

Recent studies have suggested alternatives to understanding kingship in Late Bronze Age Emar within less centralized political models. Cohen (2005: 193) asserts that “in spite of the Hittite conquest, the local political structure appears to have remained the same” in Emar. In a similar vein, Beckman (2002: 107) thinks that Emar “was the home of a relatively egalitarian society of traders and small producers.” The idea of kingship as a Hittite novelty in Emar has previously been supported with the claim that Emar as a Hittite new foundation. Mostly resting on Margueron’s ideas of a relocation of the city in Hittite times, kingship in Emar has been conceptualized as a Hittite-forced institution, accompanied by a series of walls that were envisioned to be the *bīt-ḫilāni* plan of a palace in settlement *ex novo*. *Bīt-ḫilāni* is an architectural structure with an entrance portico, mainly known from Neo-Assyrian texts, identifying it as a royal structure built in the manner of the Land of Hatti (Renger and Hrouda 1972-1975; Lehmann and Killebrew 2010: 24). Following this identification, Margueron argued that the *bīt-ḫilāni* of Emar was a Bronze Age palace, which embodied Hittite influence (Margueron 1979). However, there is only one building dating to the Hittite Empire in central Anatolia (Building E on Büyükkale) with a similar plan, and even this cannot be definitely identified as a *bīt-ḫilāni*. On the contrary, *bīt-ḫilāni* is a Syrian phenomenon, which had widespread use in cities of north Syria throughout the first millennium BCE (Genz 2006: 503). Osborne (2012) demonstrated that *bīt-ḫilāni* structures were indeed tightly woven into the political rhetoric of the Syro-Anatolian city-states of kingship, centered on a throne room that would serve as the nexus of

king's power. The building plan of the *bīt-ḫilāni* was a spatial counterpart to the Syro-Anatolian iconographic and textual discourses of kingship (Osborne 2012). All of Margueron's comparisons, indeed, come from first millennium BCE Syro-Anatolian settlements, such as Tell Tayinat and Zincirli (Margueron 1979). Both the material culture and the texts found in the *bīt-ḫilāni* building of Emar strongly argue against the palace identification (d'Alfonso 2008; Faist 2008: 203).

The second reason for arguing that the centralizing of political power at Emar was a Hittite introduction has been the appearance of dynasties. So far, two such dynasties of local kings are attested in the textual record. The installation of the second dynasty was previously deemed a Hittite attempt to create a more powerful vassal state that would be fundamental in negotiations with the wider region that was conquered (Adamthwaite 2001: 203-207; van Exel 2010: 77). Recent studies on the chronology of the texts now strongly suggest that the start of the second dynasty happens before the Hittite intervention (Cohen and d'Alfonso 2008).

What is further striking is the very limited idea of kingship that seems to be in place during these two dynasties. The kings are only mentioned as witnesses in witness lists and as benefactors in some ritual texts. They are not singled out as monarchs, but they simply seem to be privileged individuals. Examples such as Emar 6/3:158,⁴⁵ which is a sale document for a house, list the whole dynastic family at the

⁴⁵ Throughout the chapter, I will use the publication abbreviations of the Emar texts, instead of their Msk find numbers. The publications that these abbreviations refer to are: AuOrS1 (Arnaud 1991), Emar

end as witnesses. However, there is no further mention of them anywhere in the text. Their roles in such transactions seem to be ensuring that the transaction was reliable, and decreasing the possibility of disputes, but nothing more.⁴⁶

Hittite King Šuppiluliuma I followed an aggressively expansionist policy towards north Syria during his reign in the 14th century BCE. Upon his conquest of the region, Šuppiluliuma I treated Carchemish and Aleppo as exceptions to the vassal kingdom pattern, and established two of his sons as kings in these cities. This major expansion of Hatti into north Syria during the rule of Šuppiluliuma I also marks the incorporation of Emar into the Hittite Empire. The reign of Ini-Tešub in Carchemish was a turning point for Emar and northern Syria with a tightened grip of Hatti mediated through Carchemish as a regional center. The second dynasty was removed from power along with the Elders and the Brothers, while the Hittite officials started to act as judges and witnesses in family law documents (van Exel 2010: 77). Many documents dealing with private affairs from Ugarit and Emar are said to be written “in the presence of Ini-Tešub”, but it remains uncertain whether this indicates a periodic visit to these cities by the king of Carchemish or a trip by the contesting parties to him (Beckman 2007: 164-165). Revised chronology places the reign of Ini-Tešub at c. 1265-1225 BCE (Cohen and d’Alfonso 2008: 25, Table 7). This intense period of hegemony, which started with Ini-Tešub and continued with the two final kings of Late Bronze Age

6/1 (Arnaud 1985a), Emar 6/2 (Arnaud 1985b), Emar 6/3 (Arnaud 1986), Emar 6/4 (Arnaud 1987), FsKutscher (Sigrist 1993), SMEA 45 (Salvini and Trémouille 2003), RE (Beckman 1996).

⁴⁶ It is possible that the relative invisibility of the king in the archives is related to the non-royal nature of these archives. However, I would suggest that the broad categories of texts found in these archives, qualify them as a representative sample on the administration of the city.

Carchemish (Talmi-Tešub and Kuzi-Tešub), lasted for a century until Emar's destruction around 1175 BCE.

Given our changing understanding of the archaeology of the city and its newly recognized temporal depth, it is essential to reconsider the Late Bronze Age kingship in Emar. We should not uncritically project the discourses of kingship with which we are familiar from the more centralized states of the Bronze Age Near East, which had a background of a more distributed and communal rule. We should not entirely overlook the impact that the Hittite conquest of Mittani would have had on the region. It is thus important to search for a middle ground that will account for continuity and change in the city, as well as in the larger region.

4.2.2 ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders of the City

“^dNIN.URTA and the Elders”, or “^dNIN.URTA and the City”, appear in many transactions in Emar as sellers of real estate.⁴⁷ By exercising the power of the ^dNIN.URTA seal, the elders, or the city in general, had authority in their own right (Adamthwaite 2001: 189-190). The uses of “Elders” and “City” in these clauses led to the claim that they are interchangeable and that the Elders were representatives of the city of Emar, and they, together with ^dNIN.URTA, would be selling the properties

⁴⁷ In the expression ^dNIN.URTA, the determinative DINGIR qualifies NIN.URTA as a divine name. NIN.URTA was one of the main gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon, while his name came to be used as the label for the city gods. In the Emar example, we do not know for sure which local god was meant by the ^dNIN.URTA epithet.

that the city had once bought (Yamada 1994). Interestingly enough, however, there are no sale documents that list ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders as buyers of property (Beckman 1997: 105). It is possible to think about confiscation from many of the mentions where ^dNIN.URTA has taken properties from citizens. A phrase in one of the sales documents, for example, states that: “the property’s previous owner had committed an offense against his city and his lord. In accordance with the offense which he committed, ^dNIN.URTA has taken his house, which he is hereby selling” (Beckman 1997: 106). In total, ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders are the sellers of one third of all real estate transactions from Emar (Beckman 1997: 105). A closer look at the fields sold by ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders show that these empty lots are located in multiple different parts of the city, have different dimensions and price schemes (Viano 2010: 267). This variety suggests confiscation of real estate of different citizens as punishments for crime.

The Elders are attested as early as the Ebla texts referring to Emar in the 3rd millennium BCE. However, van Exel (2010: 76) points to how the first dynasty at Emar in the Late Bronze Age appears as first witnesses in sale documents where ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders are the sellers. From this observation, he claims that the Elders were already losing power in Emar before the Hittite conquest, and the first dynasty was rising as a power. Although this is an important observation, it still does not change the fact that ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders continued to hold rights to the property for

confiscating and selling, even if these transactions now validated by the kings of the first dynasty.

4.2.3 The Brothers

The Brothers (^{lú.meš}AḪ.ḪI.A) are mentioned in some penalty clauses as the party receiving the fines, but they never appear as sellers of property – as opposed to ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders. “At times they seem to act as a law court and several of the sale transactions which mention ‘the Brothers’ in the penalty clause also mention the *ḥukku*-bread ritual, apparently a ratification of the transaction” (Adamthwaite 2001, 191). The Brothers are included in some rituals relating to real estate sale, but their presence did not cause any change in the price of the property (Viano 2012: 154).⁴⁸ Their administrative role in Emar was to impose penalties for the claims in sales and the validation of wills (Bellotto 1995). The scribes made the differentiation of using the writing ^{lú.meš}AḪ.ḪI.A for this extended kin, versus the logogram ŠEŠ ‘brother’ for the real kin (Beckman 1996: 58). While it is difficult to speculate on the origins of this distinction, ^{lú.meš}AḪ.ḪI.A might be the metaphorical appropriation of the real kin for an administrative role. In any case, the office and real family ties are clearly marked in the textual evidence of Emar.

⁴⁸ These texts include RE 33, RE 31, Emar 109, Emar 110, Emar 130, Emar 171 and Hirayama I (Vino 2012: 154).

4.2.4 Local Power at Emar: Summary

The ruler/king, the Elders and the Brothers are the three main local offices that had a claim in the administration of Emar. The third millennium texts from Ebla mention EN-rulers and Elders (or the city). The Late Bronze Age is the first time that the texts from Emar itself mention a king and a local dynasty in the city. However, the council of the Elders continues to act as sellers of property, those that most likely the city confiscated, while the office designated as Brothers act as the recipient of ceremonial payments during the sales.

As the references to both kings and dynasties in Emar predate the Hittite occupation in the city, it is impossible to see them as Hittite institutions imported from Anatolia. During the two local dynasties of Emar, the role of the king continues to be limited to being the witness on some documents, and the king is rarely mentioned in ritual texts. Thus, although the king was partially referred to with the same term (LUGAL) as the Hittite Great King,⁴⁹ or the Hittite vassal kings at Carchemish, the roles and power of the office were fundamentally different in all of these situations.

The reign of Ini-Tešub as king of Carchemish marks a period of more intense Hittite control over Emar and the rest of northern Syria. During his rule, the second local dynasty in Emar is removed from power, and the Elders and Brothers stop being the sole witnesses in legal documents. Instead, Hittite officials start acting as

⁴⁹ Hittite documents differentiate the Hittite Great King, i.e. the king ruling at the capital city Hattuša, by referring to him as LUGAL GAL ('Great King') while also using ^dUTU (literally 'Sun God') as a title roughly corresponding to the modern term 'His Majesty'.

witnesses in legal suits. This century between the start of Ini-Tešub's reign and the destruction of Emar at the end of the Bronze Age might indeed mark the period in which the grasp of the empire was felt the most in Emar and partly uprooted local mechanisms of governance.

4.3 Mechanisms and Institutions of Power at Emar: Imperial Administration

The occupation of the Hittite Empire in northern Syria was not an abrupt endeavor and did not affect the region overnight. One of the results of these multiple encounters was a variety of imperial offices that operated on different levels. Some of these offices were not permanently installed in the city of Emar and operated within larger northern Syria (e.g. Overseer and Son of the King). Emar also seems to lack heavy land tenure *ilku* duties for its citizens,⁵⁰ which are familiar from other northern Syrian sites such as Ugarit. The only permanent office that was in a close relationship with the imperial administration of Hatti seems to be that of the diviner. In this section, I explore the role of this figure, and argue that he was at the core of the negotiation between the local and the imperial contexts.

⁵⁰ See section 4.3.5 for a more detailed discussion of the *ilku* duty.

4.3.1 Hatti's Expansion into Northern Syria in the Late Bronze Age

The preferred strategy behind Hittite expansion was signing treaties with allies and conquered political units. There are approximately 35 such surviving documents, but they record references to many more that have not been preserved. The surviving ones constitute more than half of the examples of this genre from the whole of the ancient Near East, demonstrating the importance Hatti placed on negotiated political arrangements and the textual records that document them (Beckman 1999: 1). The conquered kingdoms that became vassals were usually left to be administered by a vassal king chosen from the defeated dynasties (Beckman 1992: 45). The imperial strategy for governing north Syria depended on the agency of vassal princes, who were usually the members of previous ruling families who pledged alliance to Hatti.

Hatti's expansion into north Syria started after the defeat of the Mittani Kingdom, which had controlled that region (Pruzsinszky 2007). Emar was one of the many kingdoms and cities that were entrusted to Hatti in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza (CTH 51) (Vita 2002: 114). Therefore, the conditions that Emar was subjected to as part of Hatti were bound up with the fate of the rest of land that was Mittani and the city did not have specific conditions of subordinations of its own.

Like many other north Syrian cities, the first point of Hittite oversight for Emar was Carchemish, rather than the imperial capital at Hattuša. While the Great King at

Hatti remained the ultimate authority, Carchemish was the regional center that oversaw immediate supervision of the area (Beckman 2007: 163-164). Although, there were rare occasions when the Great King of Hatti intervened, the cities in Syria would have authority over their own economic and internal political affairs, while the king of Carchemish would be the recipient of tribute and services. The Carchemish king would also be the settler of disputes among Syrian cities, between a citizen of the city and the local king (on rare occasions), or a witness for some transactions (Beckman 1992: 46, 49). In that way, local and imperial administrative systems existed side-by-side (Pruzsinszky 2007: 31).

Hittite encounters with the Middle Euphrates were fragmented and came in waves. d'Alfonso (2011) illustrates the multiple episodes of waning and waxing of Hittite power on Emar, where at first Carchemish emerged as a military power, then lost its hold on its territory, and lastly established authority over its hinterland and as far as Emar. Such a narrative reflects the fluidity and nuances that would have been involved in such an encounter. Carchemish itself was far away from the Hittite heartland, and it was conquered at the same time as the Northern Syrian cities, during Šuppiluliuma I's first campaign in Syria. Under such circumstances, it is not possible to expect Carchemish to assert stable power over northern Syria that would endure in the same capacity for 150 years. The reflections of the power of Carchemish over Emar might be visible through the changing roles of the offices, such as the Elders. The council of the Elders never disappears in Emar, but its power on the jurisdiction of the

city varied considerably during the two centuries of Emar texts. Still, they never stopped being the sellers in the documents, which means they still hold the right to property.

4.3.2 Diviner

Within the whole of the administrative system, one single office demonstrates a more dramatic shift than others with the intensification of Hittite hegemony over Emar – the office of the diviner. Divination, a common practice in the ancient Near East, was a way of interpreting natural phenomena (such as flights of birds or intestines of sacrificed animals) that were believed to transmit important information in an extraordinary way. The interpretations were done using a cumulative body of scholarly literature and the results were geared towards understanding the current world while also to predict the events of the future (Rutz 2013: 1).

Ritual texts from Emar itself point to the powerful status that the diviner held in the city. The ritual for the installation of the NIN.DINGIR, the high priestess of Emar, bears a lot of similarities to the EZEN *pulaš*, which was the Hittite rite for the installation of a new priest, mainly recorded on the tablets from Hattuša (KUB 17.35 I 17'-37'). In both rituals, the priest/priestess is selected by lot and the structure of the rites follows a very similar trajectory: it has three stages and then the priest/priestess processes to the temple (Taggar-Cohen 2002). The two rituals indeed bear

resemblances, but their chief difference is the role of the diviner in the rituals – after every sacrifice during the NIN.DINGIR installation at Emar, the diviner obtains parts of the animals. Some of these parts are divination materials (such as the intestines); while most others are parts of commercial value (such as the hide). His central role in rituals is not restricted to the installation of the NIN.DINGIR. At the “The Ritual of Six Months”, he is again seen as receiving the important parts of the animals that are sacrificed, mostly hides.

One of the diviners whom we know by name is Zū-Ba’la, whose family continues to fulfill the role of the diviner of the city for another four generations until the final destruction of the city. Zū-Ba’la’s role as the diviner starts around 1275 BCE, almost synchronous with the reign of Ini-Tešub in Carchemish (Cohen and d’Alfonso 2008: 13, table 7). Text SMEA 45.1 shows that the Hittite king Ini-Tešub intervened on behalf of Zū-Ba’la in a dispute between him and Alziyamuwa, possibly a Hittite official at Emar. Alziyamuwa wanted to confiscate Zū-Ba’la’s house and to make him execute tax labor. Zū-Ba’la complained to Ini-Tešub, who subsequently wrote to Alziyamuwa, ordering him to stop his oppression of Zū-Ba’la’s (Yamada 1998: 325-326). Building M1 in Emar is identified as the house belonging to Zū-Ba’la and his family.⁵¹ Ninety

⁵¹ Building M1 has been interpreted in multiple ways. French excavations at the site identified this building as a temple, which gained some currency in the literature to follow (Margueron 1975b, 65-66), Fleming (2000) suggested that it was used as a shared public space and a “House of the Gods”, while Arnaud (1980a) put forth the interpretation of a scriptorium of a temple. Drawing from the similarities of Building M1 with other domestic buildings at Emar, and its differences from the temples in the city, as well as the scant amount of material culture excavated from the building, Rutz (2013: 305-307) convincingly demonstrated that Building M1 should indeed be identified as a domestic structure rather than a temple or library.

percent of the inscribed objects found in Emar were excavated from this building (Rutz 2013: 302). Zū-Ba'la and the rest of his family produced texts only of the so-called Syro-Hittite type (Yamada 1998; Ikeda 1998; Faist 2008: 196).

The Late Bronze Age archives of Emar yielded two different scribal traditions. The first, named Syrian, was a distinct style which used the tablet across its short side, put the seals on the margins, and reflected its Old Babylonian heritage through paleography and orthography. This tradition spans the entire reigns of the Emar kings and exists before the Hittite intervention at Emar. The corpus of Syrian texts includes a significant percentage of the land sale documents, while all occasions of having kings as witnesses and using the ^dNIN.URTA seal of the city come from the Syrian corpus. The Syro-Hittite documents, on the other hand, do not define a distinct cuneiform style on their own, and are only defined in opposition to the Syrian style. The texts use the tablet along its longer side and demonstrate stronger affiliation with Middle-Babylonian cuneiform conventions. The corpus is limited to the final four generations of kings in Emar (Skaist 1998; Di Filippo 2004; Cohen 2005; Faist 2008; Fleming 2008). The 'Syrian' type represents a fixed style that had a much smaller distribution area than the misleading term 'Syria' suggests, and was shared by Ekalte (Tell Munbaqa) and Azu (Tell Hadidi). The Syro-Hittite documents, which Fleming and Démare-Lafont (2009) call 'free format', on the other hand, is really a phenomenon that is not paralleled anywhere else in northern Syria, although a limited amount of parallels can be found with some older documents from Ugarit. Emar's free format

documents rather give the impression of being documents that were drawn up for specific circumstances, without much consideration of adhering to a set of canons or norms (Fleming and Démare-Lafont 2009). During the reign of Pilsu-Dagan, the production of Syro-Hittite documents increased in number, interpreted as a rising effect of Hatti on Emar (van Exel 2010: 77).

As Rutz (2013: 312-314) argues, we should not see the differentiation between Syrian and Syro-Hittite documents as a polar opposition, since this delineation clearly exists only in the genre of legal texts, the medium in which the differentiation was first devised. There are many tablets that fall in between these two different styles, while there are examples of both styles being used simultaneously on the same tablet or the manuscript. Even then, however, the tendency of Zū-Ba'la and his family to produce documents that are more easily identified as Syro-Hittite than Syrian draws attention to the different modes of scribal training.

“While Old Babylonian cuneiform writing was to an extent at least embedded into city life, with schools at Nippur and Ur apparently being held in private houses, or teaching being done in the student’s own home, Hittite cuneiform writing tended to be a state affair” (Weeden 2011: 117). While there were cities such as Maşat Höyük or Ortaköy that seems to have hosted domestic structures for scribal education and production, these mostly date to the earlier side of Hittite imperial history, while Hattuša emerges as the main center of scribal production during the 13th century BCE, i.e. during the time period Zū-Ba'la and his family was active. This would mean that

Zū-Ba'la, as the first diviner to produce Syro-Hittite type texts, might have acquired his scribal training at Hattuša and established networks during his education that later benefited him during his tenure at Emar (Cohen 2011). However, this remains a mere speculation, since there are also records of itinerant teachers, such as Kidin-Gula, who seems to have come through Emar (Cohen 2004).

Ultimately, however, the scribal training and the religious power of one individual and his family within Emar could not have penetrated much further than the cultic life of the city. We are disadvantaged here, since we cannot discuss domestic life in detail because of the lack of detailed archaeological explorations and publications about the mundane and material aspects of Late Bronze Age Emar. However, the pottery finds from the site did not yield many similarities to Hittite forms except for a particular type of pitcher which is common both in Hattuša and Ugarit (Genz 2006). Thus, we cannot really see any diffusion of Hittite material culture into the life of Emar apart from large public festivals with partial parallels in Hittite central Anatolia in which the diviner acquired items of value, scribal traditions, and sealings. The scribal traditions and sealings, though, would be visible, and legible, to only a minor part of the community, and it did not mean that all of Emar was now living according a 'Hittite' way of life.

One final point to emphasize again is the bias that the disproportionate number of texts that were excavated in Zū-Ba'la's house introduces into this discussion. Although they underscore the importance the diviner held in the

community life of the city, we are ultimately dealing with the documents that the diviner wrote and archived in his own house.

4.3.3 Overseer of the Country

The logogram compound of ^{lu}UGULA.KALAM.MA has been identified as the “chief of the country” (e.g. Adamthwaite 2001), or “overseer of the country” (e.g. Beckman 2007). Beckman (2007: 165) thinks that there was one such officer for the entire southeastern part of Hittite Syria. While ^{lu}UGULA.KALAM.MA is not attested in texts from Ugarit, Beckman takes his presence in witness lists from the southeast as the indication of an itinerant administrator who was responsible for “military intelligence, administrative oversight, witnessing of various legal transactions, as well as participation in the local cult” (Beckman 2007: 165). This suggests that the overseer was an officer of non-permanent nature in the city (Bunnens 1989: 26). Furthermore, the Semitic name of the last known overseer Aḫi-malik (as opposed to the non-Semitic names of the overseers before him) and his lack of mention of any collaboration with the Zū-Ba’la family, who was close to the Hittite administration, suggest that the grip of the Hittite Empire on this office might have grown weaker during the final decades of the empire (Cohen 2012). With such a temporary engagement with the city, however, it is not possible to talk about the ^{lu}UGULA.KALAM.MA as an important

authority within Emar, who was able to constantly act as an official of the Hittite Empire.

4.3.4 Son of the King

Officials bearing the title DUMU.LUGAL are known from texts found in Hattuša, Ugarit and Emar. These reveal that these “Son(s) of the King” traveled in Hittite Syria as officials of high rank, sent to the Middle Euphrates by the Great King to perform specific tasks (Beckman 2007: 165). The title DUMU.LUGAL appears in 13 texts from Emar for Hešmi-Tešub, Tili-Šarruma, Kundi-Tešub, Tuppi-Tešub, Zulanna, and Tuwata-zitti. Hešmi-Tešub is the individual for whom this title is most often used, with six texts mentioning him, five of which also bear his seal. From Emar 6: 19, we also learn that he is the brother of Ini-Tešub, king of Carchemish between c.1265-1225 BCE (Adamthwaite 2001: 60-69). In Emar documents, however, this office appears the most as primary or first witnesses in transactions of real estate and slaves (Beckman 2007: 165).

In the comparative evidence from Ugarit, the Sons of the King are shown as officers in charge of many matters, as well as messengers on treaties. They also might have had political or judicial power (Bunnens 1989: 27). Their power in Emar seems to be more limited. Arnaud (1984b) discussed the fact that both ^{lu}UGULA.KALAM.MA and the DUMU.LUGAL were Emari-Hittite offices; duties that were performed by Emar

citizens for Hatti (Bunnens 1989: 25). However, this might not always be the case. As mentioned above, Emar 6: 19 establishes that Hešmi-Tešub was the brother of Ini-Tešub, the king of Carchemish. From textual evidence, it is possible also to establish that the royal line of Carchemish continued for five unbroken generations between Šarri-Kušuh and Kuzi-Tešub, including Ini-Tešub (Hawkins 2000a: 73). This would make Ini-Tešub a direct descendant of Šarri-Kušuh, the son of the Hittite Great King Suppiluliuma I, and thus a member of the royal court at Hatti. At this point, if the kinship tie between Ini-Tešub and Hešmi-Tešub is real, it might be likely that Hešmi-Tešub was not a citizen of Emar, but was appointed as DUMU.LUGAL from Carchemish. This would speak for the itinerant nature of this office for the whole of northern Syria, as opposed to an Emar citizen fulfilling this role on a permanent basis in the city.

4.3.5 *ilku* Duty

The *ilku* duty is mentioned in the Old Babylonian and Assyrian texts from Mesopotamia as well as Mari, Alalah, Ugarit and Hattuša. In Hittite laws, *ilku* was directly related to the land tenure supplied by the palace (Pruzsinszky 2007: 30). “For all periods and locations it involves the grant of immovable property in return for services to a higher authority, usually the crown” (Adamthwaite 2001: 87-88).

After reviewing the textual evidence pertaining to the *ilku*, Adamthwaite (2001: 96-97) makes four key points: a) it was Ninurta and the Elders who held the rights of

possession, confiscation and resale of property, which was an authority not enjoyed by the king of Emar, Carchemish or Hatti. In a similar vein, it seems improbable that *ilku* was exercised by the Hittite king. However, the comparative evidence from Ugarit also makes it seem impossible that the Hittite king would leave the operation of the *ilku* duty to the city Elders, bypassing the king. b) In all the resale documents of confiscated property, the Emarite king is the primary witness. c) The confiscated properties are regularly resold, and they are not assigned to other people through the authority of the king, temple or the Elders. d) The offense is always done against a private person who is not the king. Thus, Adamthwaite concludes that the local administration of Emar did not impose any *ilku* duty on its citizens. However, ^{giš}TUKUL *našû*, or ‘carrying the spear’, might have been a form of *ilku*, which was not widespread at all, but which was still an agreement in return for land. At this point, it might be plausible to look for *ilku* lands in Emar, which would be limited in number, and would be given in return of the ^{giš}TUKUL duty (Adamthwaite 2001: 113-114). Towards the end of the empire, the military resonance of the *ilku* duty was lost.

4.3.6 “To Carry the Weapon before the King”

Although the *ilku* duty is not explicitly mentioned in the Emar texts, some scholars concluded that the phrase ^{giš}TUKUL *našû ana muhhi* LUGAL, ‘to carry the weapon before the king’, may be interpreted as *ilku* duty (Adamthwaite 2001: 99).

Arnaud linked this phrase with the ^{giš}TUKUL DINGIR.MEŠ mentioned in the ritual text for the installation of the NIN.DINGIR. In reference to the beginning of the text, where the father of the NIN.DINGIR carries the weapon, Arnaud interprets carrying the weapon as a “fossilized legacy from semi-nomadic times and demonstrates one’s full membership in the tribe or clan” (Arnaud 1984; Adamthwaite 2001: 103). Others, however, interpret carrying the weapon as a form of military service. Adamthwaite (2001: 113-114) concludes that the mentions of the ^{giš}TUKUL *našû* point to a military duty paid to the king of Carchemish, albeit in a non-specific way. He counters the idea of a royal bodyguard by saying we simply do not have enough textual evidence at this point to make such a targeted claim.

Vita (2002: 23), offering one of the most nuanced viewpoints, points to the more Hittite nature of the ^{giš}TUKUL duty, through which certain types of soldiers were given land. However, as in Hatti, in Emar the military character of the duty was probably gradually lost, and in the end ^{giš}TUKUL came to mean tasks and functions not necessarily military in character.

4.3.7 Imperial Power at Emar: Summary

As the above overview of the local and imperial apparatuses of power demonstrates, Emar’s administrative tradition is a blend of local traditions and minimal interventions from an imperial body. Throughout the late third millennium

and second millennium BCE, Emar has been located in the borderlands of powerful kingdoms. This location added to the production and maintenance of local features during the third millennium BCE, among them collective governance (Durand 1990; Fleming 2004: 213; Pruzsinszky 2007: 23). Imperial power in Emar was mostly of an itinerant nature with officials such as the Overseer of the Country and the Son of the King, while the duty known as “carrying the weapons before the King” could be a form of land tenure for a particular part of the population. The only imperial office that seems to have entertained consistent power and prestige is the office of the diviner. While imperial offices were mostly itinerant, the local offices were sedentary, and longer lived, making local administrative power strongly felt in the later stages of Emar’s history under Hittite intervention.

The Hittite intervention at Emar also needs to be contextualized within its larger northern Syrian context. Beckman (2007: 173) argued for understanding coastal and inland Syria as “a single political, economic and cultural system” during the last 150 years of the Bronze Age. This system was vulnerable, and did not survive the end of the Bronze Age. I think, on the contrary, that coastal and inland Syria followed very different trajectories. Many offices reviewed above point to the differences between Ugarit and Emar, where the same words/logograms are used with different meanings. An example is the DUMU.LUGAL, who fulfills a more limited set of responsibilities in Emar than in Ugarit. There are also differences in attestations in texts, most vividly exemplified by the *ilku* duty, which is a very common attestation for land tenure in

Ugarit, while it does not appear in Emar at all (van Soldt 2010). However, the most interesting and stark difference is the central place that the palace occupies within the city and the administration of Ugarit, which is missing from Emar. Six archives were discovered in the palace of Ugarit, in addition to the smaller private archives that dotted the rest of the urban landscape (van Soldt 1991; 2000; Yon 2006; Rutz Forthcoming). Under such circumstances, one looks in vain for a unified Hittite Syria in the Late Bronze Age, similar both on the coast and inland.

One trait shared by both local and imperial administrative offices at Emar is the lack of any structures identifiable as exclusively administrative, since all the finds point to temples and domestic structures.⁵² Otto (2006) suggests that there was no such need, since the administrative duties were fulfilled by the Elders and the Brothers, the former of which was a more religious office, while the latter was more civic. She argues that the meetings of the elders with ^dNIN.URTA could have taken place within the temple, while the “Brothers” could have used their houses for their meetings. This interpretation might be plausible since it accounts for both textual and archaeological remains. Furthermore, since all the archives of Emar come from otherwise residential contexts, it is time to start discussing the nature of these dwellings, and the possibility that these houses could have been dynamic places, with changing functions and associations. This would mean that structures in which

⁵² While there is always the possibility of administrative buildings that have just not been discovered archaeologically, the textual corpus we have from Emar do not contain any references to such structures, making their future discovery less probable.

administrative work was undertaken would also shift with the changing membership of the Elders and the Brothers.

The exception to the shifting topography of power would again be the diviner. Building M1 housed the diviner throughout the generations during the Hittite occupation, which would make it the only building within the urban landscape that was housing the sole sedentary imperial office.⁵³ Apart from M1 and the diviner, imperial power in Emar was based on individuals who carried out their administrative duties and meetings in shifting domestic places, as opposed to certain administrative structures that would house changing administration. No such buildings were constructed during the Hittite intervention as well. Imperial power in Emar was based on, and drawn from individuals, and not from places.

4.4 Making Place at Emar

I concluded my survey of administrative power in Emar by pointing out to the mismatch between administrative power and place. I suggested that the Hittite power that was being imposed on to Emar did not have a spatial basis. In this section, I

⁵³ I should note that there is a possibility that the family moved at some point while bringing their tablet collection with them. We know of tablets moving with the sale of immovable property from the Ur-Utu archive, where the transfer of texts along with transferred constituted a family archive spanning six generations (Jacquet 2013: 77). Even in this case, the family archive of Zū-Ba'la family would be at one place at one time, on the contrary to the buildings used in rotation by the Elders and the Brothers.

explore place-making⁵⁴ in Emar and its relationship with memory association.⁵⁵ I argue that collective memory was a spatial layer in Emar, and it was reflected in and by the urban landscape, acting as a basis for collective identity.

Below, I study the urban landscape of Emar through several lenses. First, I discuss the inheritance patterns of real estate to demonstrate that kinship in Emar was embedded within spatial relations. Next, I look at the evidence for ruins in the city and argue that the landscape had a depth, including visual references to the past. Finally, I explore the evidence for ritual processions that bound multiple parts of the city and its extra-mural landscape together. Throughout, I argue that place in Emar was made and experienced through social and communal relations that worked against the Hittite Empire.

4.4.1 Placing the Site

Emar sits on top of a rectangular limestone plateau that rises steeply from the Euphrates. It was delineated by the Euphrates on the east and the north, by a wadi on the south, and by an artificial trench on the west. All the three sharp sides on the east, north and south were terraced (Festuccia and Mori 2010: 293-294) (Figure 57). This

⁵⁴ With place-making, I mean the space-based associations that inhabitants of an area develop with their physical surroundings.

⁵⁵ In using the term “memory association”, I follow Mowla (2006), who argued that memory association is essential to creating a sense of place. Our experiences of the contemporary world are mediated through a lens connected to, and partly constituted from, past events and objects. We tag places with personal and collective memories. This makes memory a spatial layer of ideas, remembrances, and images.

location enabled Emar to have a commanding view over the river valley, which is now completely flooded by the Tabqa Dam (Mori 2003b: 21). The large cliff occupying all the western side of Emar was a steep slope, placing Emar 80m above the floor of the river valley (Figure 58). This cliff was visually so prominent that the inhabitants of Emar referred to it as the ḪUR.SAG, literally “the mountain”, as evident in texts Emar 171, RE 70, Fs-Kutscher 4, and probably RE 7 (Reculeau 2008: 136). Like the settlers of any landscape, the residents of Emar had a clear idea of where and how they were placed within the larger landscape, and the “mountain” was very likely an important landmark in their mental map. The sheer slope of the limestone massif would be easily visible from a distance, in line with what Kevin Lynch (1960: 9) calls *imageability*, “that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment”. This massif, then, would act as a landmark for both situating the city within its larger landscape, and reading the city while within it.

The earliest archaeological evidence unearthed at Emar goes back to the Early Bronze Age (third millennium BCE). This means that by the time the Hittite Empire took over northern Syria, the city of Emar had already been located in the same place for at least one and a half millennia.

4.4.2 Placing Ancestors at Emar

Many texts from Emar demonstrate that the inheritance of real estate was hierarchical along the lines of the family. The eldest son of the family inherited the “main house”, the eldest daughter got the “small house”, while the youngest son inherited the *kiršitum*, which he would repair/build with the help of his elder siblings (Zaccagnini 1992: 44; Mori 2008: 118).⁵⁶ There are interesting exceptions to this pattern, in the form of daughters being adopted by their own parents as sons to inherit the ancestral house (Grosz 1987; Westbrook 2001). The residents of Emar demonstrate a dominant urge of continuing the patriarchal line, even if in fictive ways.

These contracts also make it clear that the ancestor cult and the family shrine stayed with the eldest (or adopted) son in the main house. The most explicit clause for this comes from text AuOrS1 (42, lines 12-13): DINGIR-*li* É GAL ḪA.LA 'PN DUMU-*ia* GAL, “The gods (belong to) the main house. The main house is the share of (Personal Name), my eldest son.” Along with this inheritance, would come the responsibility to take care of and honor the gods and the dead (van der Toorn 1994: 43-44). This practice would have spatial correlates. The mention of this shrine as an identifier in a sale document suggests that such shrines would be visible in the urban landscape and could act as markers of different families (Mori 2008: 118).

The houses of Emar were thus perceived to have a temporal depth to them as the dwellings of ancestors. The inheritance patterns in place for the passing on of the

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the meaning of *kiršitum*, see section 4.3.4

main house demonstrate an anxiety about the continuation of this spatial practice, and would have created a temporally nuanced landscape than one with houses that were seen to be inhabited only by the current generation. Patricia McAnany (2011: 139) observes a similar phenomenon for the relations between ancestor and houses among the Maya and argues that “a commitment to place involves stretching and lengthening of the temporal fabric of the residence in order to make house histories.” As such, the house was part of the active power relations within the community, exacerbated through the selective burial of some ancestors under the house floors and not others. Another significant example of the practice of curating ancestral links by burying a selective set of individuals inside houses is the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük (Meskell 2008). While there are not any Late Bronze Age burials found in Emar,⁵⁷ the interaction with the ancestors similarly marked power on place – in this case for the devotees rather than the ancestors. It was the select living, who inherited the ancestral house, whose power and obligations were marked onto the urban landscape.

4.4.3 Placing Kinship at Emar

The real estate sale documents from Emar follow a standard formula. They first identify the type of property being sold, followed by its general location and other

⁵⁷ The one exception is a Late Bronze Age infant inhumation discovered in Area O (Goffinet 1982: 139, O III SE, T28; Margueron 1975b: 68, fig. 6; Rutz 2013: 75)

qualifications, neighboring landholders and topographical features, purchaser, seller and price, then proceeds to state that the seller was satisfied, lists the sanctions against not respecting the agreement and finally lists all the mortal and divine witnesses to the transaction (Beckman 1997: 101-102). Through an examination of the neighboring landholders, the purchaser and the seller, all of whom almost always identify the party by a personal name followed by a patronymic, or by the name of the institution (in the cases of ^dNIN.URTA and the Elders and Brothers), we are able to partly reconstruct the kinship relations within the urban space and demonstrate that families tended to acquire new buildings around their main house, possibly as a nuclear family expanded. Ethnographic studies around the region demonstrate that this is still a widespread practice today (Mori 2008: 119). In this way, the new buildings and ruins acquired around the main house would act as not entirely independent buildings but rather as the extensions of the ancestral household.

The importance of place in structuring kinship relationships in Emar can also be explored by looking at instances where unrelated individuals were adopted in a fictive way to make the sale valid. These aliens would be fictively called ‘brothers’ or ‘sons’, and the sale would thus be qualified as pre-mortem inheritance. This tradition is known from many documents from Nuzi, Ugarit and Mari, and thus situates the fictive adoption of aliens for sale purposes as a wider regional phenomenon (Zaccagnini 1992: 36). An example is Emar 6: 213, where Ḫudi, wife of Abi’u, says “herewith my house, vines, including Ḫazirtu her daughter (and) all my assets, I give

(them) to Battu, my daughter.” Later in the text, it is evident that Ḥudi was indebted after the death of her husband, none of the brothers of his husband ‘showed respect’ to her, but Ba‘al-Malik, the diviner, did, and paid off Ḥudi’s debts and acquired her house. Ḥudi married her daughter Battu to Ba‘al-Malik, thus forming a real kinship for the continuity of the house, while she also moves on to call Ba‘al-Malik ‘son’ for the rest of the text (translation by author, following the revised edition in Durand 1986: 226).

In Emar, then, placement in the urban landscape was the major structuring element for the society and its bonds. Relations and kinship were placed within specific parts in town, while place was the major categorizing and demonstrative element for these relationships.

4.4.4 Ruins and Temporal Depth in the Urban Landscape

Although the exact terminology is still debated, many scholars agree that ruins are featured among the real estate sale documents from Emar.⁵⁸ One archaeological example is a house in the Upper Town, known by its grid name: 72-73/52-53. This is a so-called front-room house, with the largest room having an entrance from the street,

⁵⁸ Following Lipiński (1992: 43 n. 22), Faist (2006) reads *ḥablu* as from *ḥabālu III*, related to the Hebrew *ḤBL* root “to destroy”, and suggests that *ḥablu* should be understood as “ruined house”. Following Mayer (2001), Mori (2003a: 60) reads the same noun from *ḥabālu IV*, meaning “to bind, annex”, and reads *ḥabalu* as an annex building. In its stead, she reads *kiršītu* to mean “ruin” with contextually justified reasons such as sale documents suggesting houses can become *kiršītu*, but there is no etymological association for this identification (Mori 2003b: 48-53).

and also providing the entrances for the two smaller rooms at the back. To the east of this building, there is another structure that is built on an earlier front-room house, whose plan is identical to the house to its west (Faist 2006: 472). In the final building phase preserved, the earlier building of the front-room plan is abandoned and its walls are incorporated into a structure with one uninterrupted space (Mori 2008: 118).

Faist (2006: 474) thinks this is a *ḥablu*-building mentioned in the Emar texts, while Mori (2008: 118) identifies it as a *kirṣītu*. They both, however, agree that this building is a ruin, and their difference in identification simply stem from their different interpretations of topographic terminology in Emar texts. A closer look at the two structures reveals that the eastern structure is almost as large as the western house, while the in situ finds suggest that the eastern structure was a grain-processing area. There are other examples of both *ḥablus* and *kirṣītus* being used for extended domestic purposes, such as a *ḥablu* for baking (Text HCCT-E 22; Mori 2003a: 61). The Emar urban landscape was dotted with such structures, 12 if we take *ḥabalu* as the word for ruin, and 40 if we take *kirṣītu*. In either case, these ruins that were sold, reappropriated, rebuilt, or repaired are testaments to a dynamic urban landscape that had visual markers of different pasts.

4.4.5 Procession in Ritual Texts: Continuity and Fracture in Performance

Emar yielded a variety of descriptive ritual texts that paint a detailed picture of the acts that should be fulfilled during rituals. Many examples such as the installation ritual of the high priestess of the Storm God bear passages detailing the processions that bind different parts of the urban landscape together (Fleming 2003). In this section, I will focus on the particular example of the *zukru* festival, which stitched the urban landscape of Emar into its immediate surroundings.

The *zukru* festival of Emar was celebrated in two different forms. There was an annual *zukru*, and a grand *zukru* that took place once every seventh year, in which 50 calves and 700 lambs were sacrificed. Knowledge of the annual *zukru* survives only in tablet fragments, and is thus not as well understood as the grand *zukru*, which we know through the largest ritual text ever found at Emar (Arnaud 1986: n. 373; Fleming 2000: 48-49).

Zukru lasted for seven days, and the most climactic event of the ritual was the procession and the feast: the citizens walked outside of the city gates for offerings and communal feasting. They then returned to the city, after anointing the *sikkānu* stones and watching the god Dagan pass through them. The movements of Dagan were vital in the procession:

187⁵⁹ On the next day, the 15th day (of) Šaggar, they bring out Dagan Lord of the Offspring,

188 along with all the gods and the *Šaššabēyānātu*-spirits in procession to the gate of the upright stones (^{na4.meš}*si-ka-na-tu*)

189 Dagan's face is covered for his departure. They give to the gods the offerings as prescribed on the tablet.

190 They bring out in procession Dagan the very father and Šaggar on the very same day.

191 Also the Šaggar breads for all Emar go up. Just before the evening,

192 Dagan passes between the upright stones. They cover his face.

193 In the great gate of battle they perform the rites just as for the consecration day.

194 The breads and the meat that were before the gods go up into the city. (...)

197 On the seventh day Dagan, along with all of the gods and the *Šaššabēyānātu*-spirits, goes out

198 in procession, his face covered. They give the ritual requirements to the gods, just as for the day (mentioned) previously.

199 All of the meat and the breads, everything that they consume, from the [seven] days

200 and from [between] the upright stones they take up and [place] in return.

201 Nothing goes up [into] the town. After the fire, just [before evening]
...

202 They uncover Dagan's face. The wagon of Dagan passes [between] the upright stones.

203 He proceeds to ^dNIN.URTA. [They have ^dNIN.URTA mount (the wagon) with him.]

204 They perform the rites just as for the day (mentioned) previously. (Fleming 2000: 251)

⁵⁹ The line numbers of the text follow Fleming's collation (Fleming 2000: 234-257).

The same acts of processing, leaving the city, feasting and coming back also occurs on the year before the grand *zukru*, as a preparation of the for the festival to be celebrated the following year, and on the first day of the celebration as well, making these acts a very central part of the overall *zukru* celebrations. Fleming (2000: 76-77) suggests that processions to these stones were essential for the inspiration to celebrate the *zukru*. Different passages throughout the text might support this argument:

60 After eating and drinking, they anoint the upright stones with oil and blood.

61 Just before the evening, they bring the gods back up into the city.

62 [In front] of the great gate of battle they perform the lesser sacrificial homage. They burn for all the gods

63 one ewe, one jar, and [two] pair of (barley-) mash loaves provided by the king.

64 [The breads, the beverages], and the meat go back up [into the city].
(Fleming 2000, 241)

In each occurrence of the event, the anointing of the stones immediately precedes the passing of Dagan through the stones, and thus marks this passage as a crucial act. Regardless of the distance, taking the statue of Dagan out separated the ritual from the institutional power of the sanctuaries inside the city walls. “The site itself is not described as a temple or shrine (*É/bītu*), and the stones were set up to allow passage ‘between’ for a wagon of unknown size” (Fleming 2000: 85). In this way, a continuum was established between the urban and the rural cults, and the landscapes of both realms. Since there is no mention of the stones being brought from

the city in any of the texts, it is plausible to see these stones as already part of the landscape (Fleming 2000). As the upright stones acted as a gate for the god to pass through, they defined a liminal space. Although the passage of the deity through the stones was an intangible event, which would only be preserved in the memory of the audience, the upright stones provided a material and architectural correlate to this event, and acted as a monument of the interaction with the divine.

These processions belong to a larger network of rituals and cult activities shared through Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Examples are abundant in northern Syria with cases such as the Dagan of Terqa taken onto regular processions by boat to Tuttul (ARM 6, 73) and the god remaining there for a number of days (Pappi In prep; Feliu 2003). A significant portion of the Hittite rituals were fulfilled out in the open country. An example is the “Festival of the Sickle for the God of the Night”, which was carried out at a sacred spring. The cult statue of the deity was carried to this spring for the ritual, and was carried back to its temple in the form of a procession (Carter 1988: 186). Although a shared practice in a large region, such processions would have peculiar characteristics embodied in the materiality of the urban and rural landscapes in which they occurred, as well as their dynamic nature. “Both space and landscape could be imagined as provisionally intertwined simultaneities of ongoing, unfinished stories. Space, as a dimension, cuts through such trajectories, but not to stabilize them into a surface; rather space is imbued with time”, and landscape is the product of such intertwining trajectories (Massey 2006: 46). Since relations between the city

and its surroundings, the participants and the deity, the festival and the cult would be re-iterated and constantly re-staged, the resulting spatial relationships would have been peculiar to each situation. In this way, the upright stones of Emar and their connections to the city would be locally embedded in the landscape, and different from those of Tuttul, Mari or Hattuša.

4.4.6 Urban Landscape at Emar: Summary

The urban landscape at Emar housed material and spatial correlates of the past and of the different kinship relations that the residents of Emar forged among themselves. It was filled with claims to power relationships between the families and individuals of Emar. The so-called main house of each family hosted the family shrine and along with it came the obligation to care for ancestors and gods. Links to the past added temporal layers to the urban landscape both visibly (as shrines) and invisibly (in mental maps of the residents of Emar). The cityscape was thus imbued with memories and different understandings of, attachments to, and claims on the urban landscape.

The anxiety of having a spatial continuity in the urban landscape is also visible in the sale documents where strangers are qualified as fictive kin. At the same time, there were families that kept on acquiring property next to their main house, probably

to house the members of a growing family, and acting as the extensions of the ancestral space.

This was the spatial context upon which the Hittite Empire exercised its power. The lack of any new administrative buildings constructed during the 13th century BCE (i.e. the period of the most intense Hittite intervention of the city), along with the continuation of the long-lived patterns of building domestic structures and laying kinship claims to the urban landscape force us to contextualize imperial power within this local spatial context. This is what I turn to last in this chapter.

4.5 The Displaced Empire

Imperial Hittite power was cast on already existing and complicated nets of practices structured in space in Emar. Rituals, festivals and their associated processions constituted one facet of this structured landscape that was a palimpsest of Emar throughout the Bronze Age. A close look at the urban landscape of the city shows no major additions or rearrangements during the Late Bronze Age, apart from the regular building activity of domestic structures. There were no Hittite monuments, no new temples – the spatial context of Emar remained unchanged through Hittite imperial rule, being the base for its resistance to fundamental imperial interventions.

I am not suggesting here that the residents of Emar were in a fierce rebellion, up in arms against the Hittite Empire. We have no evidence of such an act.⁶⁰ On the other hand, we also do not have any signs that the Hittite Empire fundamentally altered life in the city. The archaeological evidence and the textual material in tandem paint the picture of a city that felt the impact of the Hittite Empire, but whose inhabitants were able to, and chose to, continue local and familiar lifeways. In Emar, the Hittite Empire was an idea mainly embodied by the diviner, followed by some other officials.

In other words, the ‘Hittite Empire’ in Emar was not an urban space, not a monument, not a building. It was an individual, or a series of individuals, who occupied the same urban landscape as before. The urban landscape had a depth to it, it held tangible reminders of the past and ancestors in terms of ruins, shrines and extended households. The empire had the means to intervene in this urban landscape, but it did not.

This very individual-based understanding of the Hittite Empire is in stark contrast to other examples of imperialism, such as the one followed by the Roman Empire in Anatolia and northern Syria roughly a millennium and half after Emar’s abandonment. In addition to other technologies of empire including individuals, offices, and religion, the Roman Empire was also embodied in its architecture and

⁶⁰ There is only one instance of rebellion noted in Emar, which was a revolt against the local king Zû-Aštarti preserved in text Emar 6/3: 17 (Durand and Marti 2003: 142-145), while no rebellion against a Hittite king is mentioned in the documents.

engineering: in the arch, the aqueduct and the monument (Mattingly 1997; 2011).

Here, I am not saying that these technologies were invented by the Roman Empire, or that these monuments were necessarily making people 'Roman', if that is ever possible, but that the Roman Empire chose to mark its presence with an architectural imprint, while the success of these monuments is the topic of another conversation.

The Hittite Empire, on the other hand, demonstrated no efforts to mark its presence in the urban landscape. The few monuments they erected in the Bronze Age throughout northern Syria are almost all in the rural landscape, and as far as we know none is located in the vicinity of Emar. The Hittite Empire remained uninterested in making its presence felt with urban interventions and urban monuments in Emar and relied heavily on individuals for its imperial strategies.

4.6 Conclusion

Colonial discourses of conquest unrealistically project themselves on empty spaces. Throughout this chapter, I have demonstrated that Emar was anything but a blank slate on which Hittite power could be engraved. Emar had strong traditions rooted in the urban and the rural landscapes of the city, which survived the Hittite intervention, partly due to the lack of interest on the part of the Hittite Empire and partly through the wealth of practices that the residents of Emar based on their temporally rich urban landscape. This does not mean that there was no Hittite impact felt in the city, but rather that the impact was limited to particular individuals and

their jurisdictions in a way that enabled the survival of Emar's own customs within the context provided by the urban landscape.

We glean important clues for the individuality of Emar from the texts, such as in the phrase *kīma URU^{ki}*, “as (the custom of) the city”, which was so well known that it required no explanation (Beckman 1996: 58). Similarly, in Emar 6: 17, Ini-Tešub asks his brother Hešmi-Tešub *attā māmīta ša Emar ul tede*, “don’t you know the oath of the city of Emar?”. This *māmītu*, the oath of the city, was again so well known that it is never made explicit in the Emar text corpus (Matthew Rutz, personal communication). I argue that, whatever these customs and oaths may have been, they were placed within a collective landscape of embodied practices in Emar.

CHAPTER 5: DOMESTICATING THE EMPIRE IN KIZZUWATNA

Hittite Kizzuwatna (modern Çukurova and classical *Cilicia Pedias*)⁶¹ constitutes the northeasternmost border of the Mediterranean Sea. The many terrestrial and maritime connections Çukurova forged and maintained through millennia have been mainly interpreted, rightly, as owing to this geographical location in close proximity to the Levant, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and Egypt.

In this chapter, I argue that the Hittite Empire was one of the many connections that Kizzuwatna maintained throughout the second millennium BCE. Even during the final centuries of the Late Bronze Age, when the grip of the Hittite Empire was tight on both Kizzuwatna and other borderlands (including the previous case studies in this dissertation), central Anatolia did not become the sole economic and political horizon for all of the sites and landscapes of Kizzuwatna. The relationship that this region forged with the Hittite Empire was far from being monolithic. Rather, it was shaped by the earlier second millennium BCE (Middle Bronze Age) histories of the different sites in the region. While Kinet Höyük's Middle Bronze Age material culture, which is almost entirely local in character, was replaced by an assemblage heavily dominated by Hittite ceramics in the Late Bronze Age, Tarsus and Yumuktepe's cosmopolitan (for the lack of a better term) assemblages

⁶¹ Throughout this chapter and the rest of the dissertation, I will refer to this region as 'Kizzuwatna' when I talk about the region specifically in the second millennium BCE, and as 'Çukurova' when I refer to the region as a geographical entity regardless of time.

continue to be as varied in the Late Bronze Age, with the Hittite material culture becoming one of the many threads and not a sole dominator.

As Kizzuwatna continued to nourish its overseas connections, it became almost the only outlet of central Anatolia into the lively maritime trading scene of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, making the Hittite heartland depend heavily on Kizzuwatna for procuring materials, especially metals. The leverage Kizzuwatna held on central Anatolia had a transformative power on the constitution of the center of the empire, a point to which I will return in the next chapter.

Thus, in Kizzuwatna, the Hittite Empire was manifest in multiple indexes of impact and power. Below, I will discuss these different indexes first in relation to Hatti – the impact of Hittite pottery traditions on the Kizzuwatnan assemblages, the architectural imprint of Hatti on the region, and the interplay between local and imperial power as evidenced in rock monuments. Finally, I will explore Kizzuwatna's wider Mediterranean contacts.

5.1 Sites Explored in this Chapter and Their Histories of Archaeological Research

In Çukurova, Late Bronze Age levels were excavated in Mersin-Yumuktepe (Garstang 1953; Sevin and Köroğlu 2004; Jean 2006; Manuelli 2009), Mersin-Soli (Yağcı 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2007c), Tarsus-Gözlükule (Goldman 1956: 183-229; Kozal 2005; Mountjoy 2005), Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer 2008), Kinet Höyük (Gates 2001a; 2004; 2006;

2008; 2009) and Sirkeli Höyük (Kozal 2013: 213) (Figure 59). I will be referring to these sites below throughout the discussion, with the exception of Tatarlı Höyük, which has a shorter history of archaeological exploration.

The sites of Soli, Yumuktepe, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Sirkeli Höyük and Kinet Höyük are spread around the Kizzuwatnan plain (Figure 1). The western part of Çukurova, where Soli and Yumuktepe are located, very likely was considered to be the border zone between Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntašša (Rough Cilicia) in Hittite geography, as well as *Kilikia Pedias* (Cilician plain/Çukurova) and *Kilikia Trakheia* (Rough Cilicia) in classical times (Strabo XIV.V.1, 8; Yağcı 2011). The eastern end of Çukurova is separated from the Amuq plain by the Amanus Mountains.

Soli is located 11 km west of Mezitli (Viranşehir), within the borders of the city of Mersin. It was a harbor settlement starting from the second millennium BCE. The site has been excavated by a team led by Remzi Yağcı since 1999 (Yağcı 2002; 2003b; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007c; 2008b; Yağcı and Kaya 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2011; 2012; 2013).

Yumuktepe is located 2 km northwest of the modern port of Mersin. It is 7 km away from Soli-Pompeiopolis, and easily visible from that site (Garstang 1953: 1). The first archaeological excavations at the site were undertaken by Garstang and his team for two seasons between 1937 and 1939. Garstang then returned to the site for a final season to prepare the publication in 1946-1947, after the intervening Second World War (Garstang 1953: 3-4). A new set of excavations has been initiated by the Mersin

Museum in 1993 and have been continuing under the direction of Isabella Caneva and Veli Sevin since 1994 and has been continuing ever since (Caneva and Sevin 2004).

Tarsus-Gözlükule is an inland settlement in the Tarsus district of the city of Mersin, c. 30 km away from Yumuktepe. Until the 6th century CE, the city might have been connected to the Mediterranean by a lagoon that served it as a harbor (Karacic 2014: 7). The first archaeological excavations here were undertaken by Hetty Goldman between 1934-1939 and in 1947-1948 (Goldman 1935; 1937; 1938; 1940; 1950; 1956; 1963). Starting in 2001, Boğaziçi University initiated a new interdisciplinary project at the site. This new project also engages with unpublished material from the Goldman excavations (Özyar et al. 2003; 2004; 2005; Özyar 2005, Özyar et al. 2006; Özyar and Danişman 2009), and subsequently has initiated new excavations on the mound in 2007 (Özyar et al. 2009; Özyar et al. 2010; Özyar et al. 2011; Ünlü 2011; Özyar et al. 2012).

Sirkeli Höyük is the only site discussed in this chapter with no harbor outlet to the Mediterranean in the ancient times, although it was located on the Ceyhan River. Sirkeli Höyük is located 40 km east of the city center of Adana, Ceyhan, in the village of Sirkeli. The site is located on ancient trading routes coming from and travelling to all the cardinal directions (Novák et al. 2009: 297). The corridor from northern Syria to central Anatolia passed through Sirkeli and then the Cilician Gates (Kozal and Novák 2013: 229). Sirkeli Höyük has a long history of archaeological research, which started with one season of excavations carried out by John Garstang in 1936 (Garstang 1937;

1938). The mound was excavated by Barthel Hrouda between 1992 and 1996 after a season of survey (Hrouda 1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 1998), while Horst Ehringhaus directed one season of excavations in 1997 (Ehringhaus 1999a; 1999b; 2001). The most recent excavations have been continued with the collaboration of Tübingen University and Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University under the leadership of Mirko Novák and Ekin Kozal. This new generation of excavations explicitly aims to understand the stratigraphy, interregional connections and urban planning at the site, and specifically in the Hittite period (Novák et al. 2009; Novák and Kozal 2010; 2011; 2013; 2015). These excavations have suggested that Sirkeli might be identified as Lawazantiya in Hittite sources (Casabonne 2002; Novák et al. 2009: 298).

Kinet Höyük is located in the eastern end of Çukurova, in the district of Dörtöyl in the city of Hatay. Kinet Höyük sits 0.5 km inland from the İskenderun Bay and the Mediterranean Sea today (Gates 2013: 224). Geomorphological work, however, suggests that Kinet had two harbors in antiquity, one on the north that is an inlet from the Mediterranean Sea, and the other on the south that was a river estuary (Ozaner 1994: 260; Gates 1999). Both of these harbors silted up after the Hellenistic period, cutting off the site from the Mediterranean, which was fundamental to its interregional connections. The site was excavated by a team directed by Marie-Henriette Gates between 1992 and 2012 (Gates 1999; 2000; 2001a; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012).

I will now turn to a thematic discussion addressing the trends in central Anatolian pottery consumption, architectural interventions, the interplay between local and imperial power (particularly as gleaned from the Sirkeli rock monuments), and finally the wider Mediterranean connections that different sites maintained throughout the second millennium BCE.

5.2 Kizzuwatna and the Hittite Empire in the Second Millennium BCE

In this section, I explore the contested nature of the encounters between the Central Plateau and Kizzuwatna. While site-by-site evidence suggests that Kizzuwatna was under a strong sphere of Hittite influence for much of the Late Bronze Age, exploring the entire region over the second millennium BCE demonstrates that these encounters were more nuanced than one formula for the entire region.

5.2.1 Kizzuwatna in the Second Millennium BCE: A Diachronic Perspective

Kizzuwatna holds an exceptional place in Hittite historiography – both ancient and modern. The archives at Hattuša were found to hold a significant number of texts dealing with Kizzuwatna, which are mostly in the realm of diplomatic, religious and ritual texts. There is clearly an increasing royal interest in this region throughout the second millennium BCE, which peaks during the reigns of Hattušili III and Tudhaliya IV,

the first of the two, Hattušili III, married to the Kizzuwatnan priestess Puduhepa, who ended up being one of the most influential and powerful queens in Hittite history.⁶²

The second, Tudhaliya IV, was their son.

Diplomatic texts from the archives of Hattuša place the first phase of expansion into Kizzuwatna within the Old Kingdom. While the region acted mostly independently at the end of the 16th century BCE, it came under a stronger Hittite hegemony during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE (Beckman 1999: 11). The marriage of Hattušili III to Puduhepa has been interpreted as both a result and a cause of more intense relations between central and southern Anatolia.

Kizzuwatna is the only other region, after central Anatolia, which has produced examples in every category of material culture that one could associate with Hittite administration and culture. The region, as a whole or partially, is mentioned in texts in Hittite archives as Kizzuwatna. There are two treaties signed with the local rulers of Kizzuwatna: the treaty between a king of Hatti and Paddatissu of Kizzuwatna (CTH 26 Meyer 1953; Beckman 1999: 11-13), and the treaty between Tudhaliya II of Hatti and Sunashushura of Kizzuwatna (CTH 41 and CTH 131 Weidner 1923: 88-111; Goetze 1924; del Monte 1981: 215-219; Beckman 1999: 17-26). The textual material from Kizzuwatna itself is limited to one tablet was found at Tarsus-Gözlükule (Karacic 2014: 49). Seals and seal impressions have been recovered from all of the sites that I will be

⁶² Material traces of Puduhepa in Kizzuwatna include a seal impression with her name and title 'Great Queen' found in Tarsus in a secondary context (Gelb 1956: 248-249, no. 15), and the rock monument in Fraktin that depicts Hattušili III and Puduhepa pouring out libations to the Weather God and the Sun Goddess, respectively (Kohlmeyer 1983: 69-71; Ehringhaus 2005: 64)

mentioning later in this chapter: e.g. Kinet Höyük (Gates 2002: 59; 2008: 288; 2010: 306), Soli (Dinçol and Dinçol 2007; Yağcı 2008a: 1217) and Tarsus (Gelb 1956: 248-249, no. 15). Many sites in the region such as Tarsus-Gözlükule and Kinet Höyük also feature drab ware assemblages that the excavation directors suggest compare to the types in Hattuša exactly (e.g. Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 76-80; Novák et al. 2009: 300-301; Yağcı and Kaya 2011: 116; Gates 2013: 229; Karacic 2014: 160-162). There are structures and fortification walls that parallel architectural production in the Hittite center: e.g. Kinet Höyük (Gates 2013: 228-229), Soli (Yağcı and Kaya 2009: 467) and Tarsus-Gözlükule (Karacic 2014: 129-133), while the rock monuments of Sirkeli, Hemite and the Zamantı Su Valley group are also located in Kizzuwatna (Kohlmeyer 1983, 67-101; Ehringhaus 1995a; 1995b; Hrouda 1997a; 1997b; Ehringhaus 2005; Novák et al. 2009: 297; Glatz and Plourde 2011; Harmanşah 2015: 100-110).

Apart from the Central Plateau and Kizzuwatna, however, there is no other region that provides this overlap of recognizably central Anatolian architecture, sealing practices, pottery and texts. Partly due to this wealth of data, Kizzuwatna has always been discussed as an integral part of the empire. Exploring Kizzuwatna diachronically in the second millennium, however, reveals that the region did not work as a seamless whole under the imperial administration.

The scholarly narratives of second millennium BCE Kizzuwatna suggest a strong shift towards the Hittite heartland in central Anatolia in the second half of the Late Bronze Age (Kozal 2013: 213). Within this literature, the alignment of the Late

Bronze Age with central Anatolia is countered by a more heterogeneous, yet regional character shared with the Amuq Plain and Syria in the earlier second millennium BCE. The most common pottery tradition in the region in the Middle Bronze Age is Cilician Painted Ware,⁶³ whose distribution patterns cover Kizzuwatna, the Amuq Plain and northern Syria (Ahrens, Kozal, and Novák 2010: 56-57). It is argued that the regional character of the material culture continues in the earlier Late Bronze Age, before yielding to central Anatolian forms and practices in the final two centuries of the Bronze Age (Kozal 2013: 213).

A good example demonstrating this shift observed by excavation directors is the second millennium BCE biography of Kinet Höyük, in which the entirety of the Middle and Late Bronze Age are attested.⁶⁴ Early Middle Bronze Age (MB I, c. 2000-1800 BCE) is represented with a burnt mudbrick building, which has yielded the characteristic pottery assemblage of the region (Gates 2010: 306-307). In the later Middle Bronze Age (MB II, dated to the 18th century BCE), the settlement becomes the

⁶³ This ware is known as Syro-Cilician Painted Ware or Amuq-Cilician Ware as well, signaling its distribution patterns.

⁶⁴ I use Kinet Höyük as an example here, while the same trajectory is argued for many different sites in Çukurova. At Tarsus, both architecture and pottery show a turn towards central Anatolian with the start of Late Bronze Age II. The scale of Hittite architecture on the site suggests that it was a regional center for the area (Karacic 2014: 256). Middle Bronze Age assemblages from Sirkeli Höyük are dominated by Amuq-Cilician Ware, and the globular/lentoid jugs of Syro-Mesopotamian origin. Small finds demonstrate connections with Boğazköy, the Levant and the Amuq in the MBA IIB (Ahrens, Kozal, and Novák 2010: 56-57). Yumuktepe's Middle Bronze Age levels are dominated by Cilician Painted Ware. An architectural fill that was encountered at the site by both the new and the old teams starts the Hittite levels at the site, in which the pottery assemblage begins to be dominated by central Anatolian drab ware (Jean 2006: 315, 323). While Middle Bronze Age levels at Soli have not been published, it is possible to see the same shift towards an intensifying Hittite power in the second half of the Late Bronze Age, in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. During this period, Soli's pottery assemblage starts looking north, while a seal impression on a jar handle and a bulla, both with Hittite hieroglyphs, were found in architectural contexts dating to these centuries (Yağcı 2008a: 1217).

site of monumental investments. On top of the earlier Middle Bronze building another one is constructed in mudbrick and on the same orientation. This building dates to the 18th century BCE and has multiple rooms, some with in situ storage jars and kitchen equipment (Gates 1999: 266). Many of the vessels found in this building are paralleled in local assemblages at other sites of Kizzuwatna (Gates 2001a: 206), including a rich drinking and serving assemblage of Cilician Painted Ware (Gates 2005: 165; 2011: 184-185). Storage jars were discovered from each room of the building, totaling c. 100 vessels that were capable of holding over 5,000 liters (Gates 2011: 185). Overall, Gates (2001a: 206) interprets the second half of the Late Bronze Age, especially the 14th century BCE, as the period of the cultural impact of the Hittite Empire, when Kizzuwatna was under Hittite rule. The Late Bronze Age also demonstrates a shift in foodways: for instance, Hittite baking platters replace Middle Bronze Age casseroles used on open hearths (Gates 2013: 229).

Since, as demonstrated above, the central Anatolian connections of Kizzuwatna are discussed expertly and in detail by the scholars working on the area, I will take a different perspective in much of the rest of this chapter. After a brief exploration of the encounters between the Central Plateau and Kizzuwatna, I will shift the focus to outside of Anatolia. Instead of looking north, towards Hatti, I will be mainly looking south, towards the Mediterranean. My aim here is to contextualize the relationship between Hatti and Kizzuwatna rather than to undermine it. I argue that the archaeological record throughout the second millennium BCE demonstrates that

Kizzuwatna operated at a larger, eastern Mediterranean scale that ventured beyond the Anatolian peninsula throughout the second millennium BCE. Relationships forged and maintained with Egypt, Cyprus, Levant, Mesopotamia and western Anatolia left tangible material traces in the region. These links were of course dynamic and ever-changing – intensities of contact with specific regions changed from site to site, while all connections fluctuated over time. Kizzuwatna as a whole, at no point throughout the second millennium, established one major relationship with only one place, even with the Central Plateau. Rather, different sites forged, maintained and abandoned relationships with different regions, as is the case with many coastal borderlands, ancient and modern. The common denominator for all of Kizzuwatna was the presence of these connections and horizons, among which central Anatolia occupied a part, rather than making up the whole.

5.2.2 Narratives of Replacement: Central Anatolian Pottery in Kizzuwatna

A more in-depth look at specifically the uses and contexts of central Anatolian pottery in Kizzuwatna reveals three main trends of interacting with central Anatolian pottery.⁶⁵ First, while the appearance of central Anatolian pottery wares and forms is interpreted as abrupt, exploring the entire region suggests that this moment of encounter was not the same for all of Kizzuwatna. At Kinet Höyük, plain wares from

⁶⁵ . As discussed in Chapter 3 within the context of the Yalburt Survey region, by “central Anatolian pottery” I mean the well-fired, plain wares with no surface treatment that are familiar from the Hittite core region on the Central Plateau.

central Anatolia flood the assemblage in the Late Bronze Age. This assemblage parallels central Anatolian technologies, forms and functions, and “wiped out every trace of the Middle Bronze Age serving vessel, tableware and painted drinking set, and replaced them with Hittite dining conventions” (Gates 2013: 229). The transformation seems to be abrupt, and local painted wares are replaced by both new plain wares and forms that belong to the central Anatolian tradition (Gates 2011: 187).⁶⁶ At Sirkeli Höyük, the Middle Bronze Age assemblage that had parallels with the Amuq Plain, Syria and the rest of Kizzuwatna (Ahrens, Kozal, and Novák 2010: 56-57) is largely replaced with newly-introduced plain wares, which were mostly plates with thickened rims. Some of these pieces bore potmarks (Novák et al. 2009: 300-301; Kozal 2013: 218). Central Anatolian pottery found in multiple different contexts at the site of Soli mostly consists of vessels with potmarks that date to the 15th century BCE, with a limited number of examples from the 14th century BCE (Yağcı and Kaya 2011: 116). While the intrusion of central Anatolian forms and techniques seems to be a region-wide phenomenon, the different dates suggested for the maximum extent of this influence (15th century BCE in Soli and 14th century BCE in Kinet) also suggest that we should not envision the encounters between the central and southern Anatolian pottery traditions as monolithic. As I have argued for northern Syria in Section 4.3.1,

⁶⁶ Gates (2007: 691) suggests that the central Anatolian wares of the Late Bronze Age gradually transitioned into the Iron Age. During the final phase of the Late Bronze Age (Kinet Phase 13.2), central Anatolian forms and wares were kept while their standards were reformulated, but the ceramic tradition remained Hittite without a break.

encounters of Hatti with its borderlands seem to have operated in waves, rather than as one-time, abrupt, definitive and lingering conquests.

Second, once the waves of encounter in different sites settled on a steady relationship with Hatti, central Anatolian wares seem to have been produced locally, as gleaned from at least one site for which we have data from scientific analyses. At Tarsus-Gözlükule, drab ware (also called Monochrome Ware in the site reports and subsequent pottery publications from this site) emerged as the most common assemblage in the ceramic repertoire in the Later Bronze Age (LBA IIA), and presented a break with the forms and fabrics of the previous levels. While it emerged as an already developed mode of production, with roots in central Anatolia, Monochrome Ware was one of the four wares represented in the Late Bronze Age, along with Red Burnished Ware, Buff Painted Ware and Cooking Ware (Karacic 2014: 160-162). Formal and scientific analysis (Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis) done by Steven Karacic (2014: 245) demonstrated that “there were at least three different potting communities supplying the community of Tarsus-Gözlükule with Hittite-style pottery and two of those communities also produced pottery from ceramic traditions that did not originate from the Hittite heartland”. In other words, central Anatolian wares suddenly appear and take on the functions of local pottery, and do not behave like imported pots. The links that Kizzuwatnan sites formed with the wider Mediterranean before the Hittite intervention continued and flourished under the Hittite Empire.

A third and final conclusion that can be drawn here is that central Anatolian pottery was regarded and used as part of a larger local repertoire of pottery as opposed to taking on the functions of imports from the wider eastern Mediterranean. Similar to Tarsus-Gözlükule, at Mersin-Yumuktepe Hittite drab ware is present together with other pottery traditions. Red burnished ware is present all through the Late Bronze Age levels of the site, but gradually decreases. Orange ware is abruptly introduced and becomes popular in the Later Bronze Age (Yumuktepe Levels VI-V) (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 76-80).⁶⁷ At the same time, overseas connections of Kizzuwatna continue, as evident in the imported pottery and material culture from multiple sites, which I will discuss in detail in Section 5.3.

The overall picture that emerges from the ceramic data from different sites in Kizzuwatna is a process of encounters between the administration on the Central Plateau and the communities at Kizzuwatna. These encounters had varying manifestations in the material record at different sites. Eventually, however, central Anatolian material culture was internalized at the sites in Kizzuwatna, as for example is evident in its replacement of local wares in Kinet Höyük and its local production at Tarsus-Gözlükule. Central Anatolian pottery was ‘domesticated’ in Kizzuwatna, as opposed to its taking on forms fulfilled by the material culture imported from a regional center (Beycesultan) in the Yalburt Survey region.

⁶⁷ Orange ware has no parallels in the other Late Bronze Age Anatolian sites and is mainly represented by deep bowls with interior rim thickening and a groove on the exterior (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 76-80).

5.2.3 Architecture and the Urban Landscape

In Kizzuwatna, the Hittite Empire left an architectural imprint. Paralleling the evidence from ceramic data, Kizzuwatnan sites demonstrate similarities with central Anatolian architectural traditions in the later Bronze Age at differing time frames. While this data is very rich and could easily support a much longer discussion, I will very briefly focus on two points here. First is the break between the architectural traditions of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages that has been suggested by multiple excavation directors at their sites, strengthening the initial point that the Hittite Empire left an architectural signature in Kizzuwatna. Second, there is not a uniform correlation between the architectural evidence and the ceramic assemblages. In other words, a proliferation of Hittite-style fortifications or buildings did not necessarily bring along an increase in central Anatolian pottery.

Let me explore the nature and appearance of architectural traditions in the style of the Central Plateau first. At Kinet Höyük, for instance, masonry techniques familiar from central Anatolia appear during the first phase of the Late Bronze Age (LB I, 16th century BCE) for the first time, while the architecture starts to diverge from the previous levels at the site (Gates 2013: 228-229).⁶⁸ The affinities with the Central

⁶⁸ The Middle Bronze Age architecture of Kinet Höyük is mostly known from a building that was interpreted as a military structure by virtue of its massive towers (Gates 2007: 688-689). The building stood at the edge of the Middle Bronze Age mound like a citadel. Multiple excavation seasons unearthed a total of four seals from this building, all of which were stamp seals that had geometric patterns on them (Gates 2010: 306). This building was destroyed at the end of the Middle Bronze Age with a combination of earthquake and fire (Gates 2013: 226, 234 n.1). This area of the site is abandoned during the rest of the Bronze Age. By the time the medieval settlement in the OP K area of Kinet is built

Plateau are embodied in a single structure with stone foundations (Gates 2009: 356). Gates (2013: 228-229) interprets the furnishings of this building and its later Bronze Age successors also as “strikingly Hittite, with a material culture that is also pretty well aligned with central Anatolia”, although the details on the architectural furnishings of the building are awaiting the final report of the 20-year-long Kinet Höyük excavations, which is in preparation.

A similar break is observed in Yumuktepe. A filling, encountered both by Garstang in the earlier excavations, and by the Sevin-Caneva team in the new excavations, separate the pre-Hittite/early Hittite (Levels X, IX and VIII) and Hittite Imperial levels (Levels VII, VI and V) (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 75). Garstang’s excavations revealed a city wall and a fortress that he argued dated to the Hittite period. His arguments on the Hittite link were based on the grounds of technologies of architectural production.⁶⁹ The foundations of the fortress are in level VIII, while it remains in use between this level and level V (1500-1200 BCE). This wall and the settlement it encloses were destroyed in a big fire (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 73).⁷⁰ The new excavations also did not yield any evidence of the Level VII city wall, leading to

directly on the Middle Bronze Age levels, the area had been unoccupied for nearly a millennium (Gates 1999: 266).

⁶⁹ “The fortification has casemate walls composed of two parallel stone walls (inner and outer) each about 1m thick and perpendicular dividing walls between them, with rectangular towers added on at the corners. As this method of construction is well known from the upper city walls of Hattuša/Boğazköy, this castle is one of the main connections between Boğazköy and Mersin” (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 73).

⁷⁰ The city wall and fortress reported by Garstang did not preserve to our day since their stones were used for the construction of the railway passing through the Cilician Gates during the Second World War. This makes relating the stratigraphy of the new generation of excavations to the Garstang levels very difficult (Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 73-74).

the conclusion that the city wall might be encircling a smaller area than envisioned and its southern end might be further up, below the Iron Age levels (Sevin and Koroğlu 2004: 75).

While a break in the technologies and styles of architectural production is observed in Kizzuwatnan sites, the timing of this break and its relationships with the other central Anatolian traits in the region were not uniform. At Tarsus-Gözlükule, there is a correlation between when the architectural and ceramic traits of the Central Plateau appear. Tarsus-Gözlükule's LBIIA levels belonged to the era of Hittite imperial rule, and were argued to be sponsored by the Hittite Empire (Karacic 2014: 110). The site is significantly reconfigured, and a monumental structure called the 'Hittite' temple by Goldman (1956: 356) is built (Figure 60). The structure yielded evidence of ritual vessel fragments, such as libation arms and votive vessels (Slane 2006: 6). However, it was interpreted as a palace by Naumann (1971: 404-405) on the grounds of its materials and building techniques. This structure finds its strongest parallels in the temples and administrative buildings of the Hittite heartland, both in terms of technologies of architectural production and overall placement within the settlement (Karacic 2014: 129-133).

On the contrary, Soli demonstrates a mismatch between the dates of architectural and ceramic influence from the Central Plateau. At Soli, a box-style fortification wall dating to the 16th-15th centuries BCE bears resemblances to the Mersin-Yumuktepe Level VII-V city wall and the city wall of Hattuša (Yağcı and Kaya

2009, 467). These Pre-Imperial contexts are mostly sealed under a thick ashy layer, including a bulla bearing the name *(M)u-wa-zi* and a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware (RLWmW) flask (Yağcı 2007a: 800). The bulla has been dated to the late 16th-early 15th century BCE on epigraphic grounds (Dinçol and Dinçol 2004). The occupation at Soli and its connections intensify during the Hittite Imperial period. 14th and 13th centuries BCE are well represented with workshops and monumental buildings. These architectural contexts of the Imperial Period yielded a bulla and a seal impression on a jar handle, both with Hittite hieroglyphics (Yağcı 2008a: 1217). What is striking here is the continued construction of monumental buildings with central Anatolian characteristics during the 14th and the 13th centuries BCE. During these two centuries, the central Anatolian ceramic repertoire was on a gradual decline at Soli (Yağcı and Kaya 2011: 116). This demonstrates that the not even at one site at one time the cultural references to the Hittite Empire acted in the same way.

The differing interplays of ceramics and architecture in Kizzuwatnan sites can be read as indexes of a complex process of negotiations between the imperial administration and the local communities. These negotiations should not be read solely in a top-down way, only privileging the Hittite administration in this interaction. On the contrary, more complex processes including possibilities for elite emulation,

adoption and hybridity that gives agency to the local communities should become part of the discussions of the Hittite Empire in Kizzuwatna.⁷¹

5.2.4 Local and Imperial Power in Rock Monuments

The final category of material that demonstrates the interplay between the imperial administration and the local communities are rock monuments. I will be focusing on two rock monuments abutting the city wall in Sirkeli Höyük.

The city wall of Sirkeli, which overlooks the Ceyhan River, contains two rock monuments (Ehringhaus 2005) (Figure 61). The first is dated to the reign of Muwatalli II (r. 1295-1272), and is known as the earliest landscape monument of a Hittite king, while all of the earlier examples belong to princes (Glatz and Plourde 2011: 56, table2). In 1994, a second relief was found at the site, which might belong to Muršili III (Muwatalli II's son) or Kurunta (his brother) (Ehringhaus 1995a; 1995b; Hrouda 1997a; 1997b; Ehringhaus 2005; Novák et al. 2009: 297). A stone building, which is preserved with only one room due to the erosion at the edge of the site, is connected with the relief of Muwatalli. The cup marks located on and in the vicinity of the building suggests libations and possibly other ritual activities being carried out at the site (Ahrens, Kozal, and Novák 2010: 58-59).

⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of local communities and imperial dynamics in Tarsus-Gözlükule, cf. Karacic 2014.

The first of the reliefs belongs to king Muwatalli II and depicts him wearing the ceremonial regalia (a long dress, shoes with curved-up toes) and holding a curved wand, or *lituus* (Figure 62) (Kohlmeyer 1983: 96-97). These are all attributions of the Sun God in his figural depictions. The Sun God was the chief god of the state and his name was used by the Hittite kings to say “majesty”. In figural representations, the presence of a winged sun disk was the only marker of differentiation between the king and the god, the god being marked by the presence of the sun disc (Güterbock 1993). There are only two other reliefs from all of Late Bronze Age Anatolia that depict the king in this attire, and they both belong to King Tudhaliya IV (r. 1237-1209 BCE) and are located in the Hittite heartland – in Alaca Höyük and in Yazılıkaya. At Alaca Höyük, the king is shown libating to the gods in his ceremonial regalia in front of an altar. Tudhaliya IV’s depiction in Yazılıkaya (relief no. 64) is the relief that most closely resembles the Sirkeli relief. Here, the king is standing on two mountains himself and the writing of his name in hieroglyphic Luwian continues under the sun disc, marking his status as more divine than mortal.

In 1994, another relief was discovered in Sirkeli, next to the relief of Muwatalli II. The relief seems to have been destroyed in antiquity, and only the outlines of the figure remains. These outlines depict a similar depiction of the figure, in ceremonial regalia (Figure 63). This second figure was argued to depict one of the sons of Muwatalli II, either Kurunta or Urhi-Tešub, considering the political history of the empire in the decades after Muwatalli and how both Kurunta and Urhi-Tešub made

moves towards the Hittite throne. Urhi-Tešub was Muwatalli's son, but his uncle Hattušili III (Muwatalli II's brother, and Urhi-Tešub's uncle) claimed the throne from him. Kurunta was Urhi-Tešub's cousin, and he seems to have enjoyed a high level of independence from the Hittite kingdom, as is visible from the treaty he signed with Tudhaliya IV that was recorded on the so-called Bronze tablet (Otten 1988).

Multiple features of Muwatalli II's relief point to a postmortem execution of the relief, thus not by Muwatalli himself, but a later king. The king is depicted alone, not under the embrace of, or in presence of a god, which is the norm for reliefs of Hittite kings. Other singular depictions of Hittite kings (Šuppiluliuma in the Südburg monument at Hattuša, Tudhaliya IV in Yazılıkaya Relief No. 64, Tudhaliya in Temple 5 in Hattuša) are all cases of ancestor veneration, and all are by Tudhaliya IV or Šuppiluliuma II. The setting of the Sirkeli complex is somewhat similar to Yazılıkaya, with reliefs on the living rock attached to a religious complex. Furthermore, the cup-marks for libation associated with the building points to rituals belonging to the realm of ancestor veneration.

The reliefs of Sirkeli, then, mark the choice of an ancestor over another one. They re-claim a territory from one lineage in an attempt to erase it from the memory of the empire. If I am correct in my reading of Muwatalli II's relief as a postmortem monument, it means that the chiseled-out relief discovered in 1994 was either earlier than or contemporaneous with the Muwatalli relief, instead of following it. If indeed the older and contested relief of a ruler who tried to seize the Hittite throne is simply

chiseled out and replaced by another relief in the later years of the empire (and possibly in its final decades), we can evaluate it as an attempt at erasure that aimed to replace a specific memory with the narratives of empire.

Further north from Çukurova, in the Zamantı Su Valley that connects Kizzuwatna with the Central Plateau, a group of four rock monuments demonstrate that the memory of local rulers or strong Kizzuwatnan families making a stand against Hattuša was not erased as easily as the imperial administration would like. Although the Zamantı Su Valley is not located in the plains of Kizzuwatna, like the other sites and monuments discussed in this chapter, its access to central Anatolia charges this valley as an important corridor of interaction and access between the Hittite imperial administration and the southern borderlands (Figure 3). As mentioned briefly in Section 2.6.3, these monuments reflect varied patronages, sometimes synchronically. While İmamkulu and Hanyeri A were commissioned by Ku(wa)lanamuwa I, a prince with a Luwian name, during the reign of Muršili I, Fraktin depicts Hittite king Hattušili III and queen Puduhepa libating to deities half a century later. During the reign of Hattušili III, prince Tarhuntabiyammi and an official also commissioned rock monuments in the Zamantı Su Valley (Kohlmeyer 1983: 67-101; Ehringhaus 2005; Glatz and Plourde 2011: table 2; Harmanşah 2015: 100-110). Local kings and princes of Kizzuwatna, thus, continued to utilize rock monuments to take a political stand against the Hittite administration, attesting to the complexity of the encounters between the Central Plateau and Kizzuwatna.

5.3 Wider Eastern Mediterranean Connections

I now turn towards the Mediterranean. The main thread that I will follow in relation to Kizzuwatna is the eastern Mediterranean trade networks that thrived during the Late Bronze Age, and Kizzuwatna's connection with, and role in this system. Although many states were tied into this network, as is evident from the Amarna letters (Moran 1992), below I offer a targeted view of the Levant, Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean to argue that specific sites had established relations with particular regions starting from the Middle Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze Age, under the Hittite political control, these relations continued and flourished. I suggest that rather than acting as a whole, Kizzuwatnan sites harbored direct contacts with overseas regions, which were then targeted and exploited by the Hittite Empire to access the eastern Mediterranean trade networks.

5.3.1 An Interconnected Eastern Mediterranean

During the final two centuries of the Bronze Age, an interconnected trade and exchange network emerged in the Mediterranean. While neither connectivity nor exchange were new for the Mediterranean for much of its human history, the scale and level of organization of this Late Bronze Age trade marked a new threshold for the eastern Mediterranean.

The seeming absence of Hittites from these eastern Mediterranean trade routes has been debated in this specific literature for a long time. Central Anatolian artefacts are unmistakably absent within the international koiné of the late second millennium BCE. As demonstrated by the catalogue that Eric Cline put together for the *Orientalia* and the *Occidentalia* in the LBA Aegean, there are 4 ‘Anatolian’ objects coming from LH/LM I-II⁷² contexts among a total of 149, while the LH/LM III Aegean contexts yielded only 8 Anatolian objects from a total of 516 objects (Cline 1994: tables 3, 5).⁷³ Reworking this corpus, Helft concluded that not even all of these eight objects can be considered as Anatolian, and dropped the number to 7 (Helft 2010: 133). The specifics of these artifacts and whether or not they are indeed ‘Hittite’ can be debated, but the overall picture remains the same – central Anatolia seems to be absent from the international scene of the royal gift-exchange in material terms. This absence of the Central Plateau from the international scene painted a landlocked and isolated picture of Hatti. Cline (1991) even put forward the idea that Hatti might have imposed a sort of embargo on Mycenaean artifacts, since the absence is reciprocal and foreign artefacts are not found in rich numbers from the Hittite heartland as well.

There are several problems with this view. First, there is no internal evidence from the Hittite Empire related to an embargo against the Mycenaeans. While textual evidence of trade embargoes in the Hittite Empire exists, these texts are not

⁷² According to the modified chronology that Cline uses in his book, LH/LM I-II covers the period between c.1700-1390 BCE, while LH/LM III spans between c. 1390-1070 BCE (Cline 1994: table 1).

⁷³ The LH/LM III numbers do not include the data from the shipwrecks.

concerned with Mycenaean merchants. The most-cited example in that sense is the Šaušgamuwa Treaty (CTH 105), where the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV instructs Šaušgamuwa (the king of Amurru) to consider the king of Assyria an enemy, since he is an enemy for Tudhaliya IV. He then goes on to propose that Šaušgamuwa's merchants should not go to Assyria, and Assyrian merchants should not be allowed in Šaušgamuwa's land (Beckman 1999: 106). However, this treaty should be evaluated within the specific scope of the political competition between Hatti and Assyria during the last decades of the Hittite Empire, and should not be wholesale adopted to talking about Hatti's relationships with the Mycenaean states. Furthermore, there are many other documents that point to the importance Hatti placed upon trade. Laws suggest large fines (up to 100 minas of silver) or even the death penalty be employed in the event of robbing or killing merchants (Goetze 1955; Hoffner 1997; Roth 1997; Monroe 2009: 192). Traders were counted as palace personnel and might have been strictly royal functionaries (Klengel 1979; Monroe 2009: 193). It would be unrealistic to assume that Hatti would be able or willing to sanction trade embargoes with multiple states at the same.

A second problem is related to the conceptualization of Mycenaean trade without the temporal dimension of the interactions. Scholars most often mention the impressive numbers of Mycenaean sherds or complete vessels through the eastern Mediterranean, such as the over 500 stirrup jars from LB III contexts in the eastern Mediterranean (e.g. Haskell, Jones, and Day 2011: 1). However, considering the span

of time that LB III covered, we are actually talking about an average of 2 stirrup jars per year that have made it to the different centers in the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, there is no need to assume that Mycenaean goods were desired to the degree that they would become the sole drivers of an eastern Mediterranean-wide network.

Third is the perspective focused on finished elite products that are recognizable from centers. In the specific case of the Hittite heartland, the problem is exacerbated by the abandonment of Hattuša before the fall of the empire, thus leaving us with very few small finds from the key site that came to define “Hittite” material culture. RLWmW is the only product to link Hittite sites to eastern Mediterranean trade (Kozal 2007: 145). But there are grounds to suggest that Hatti’s interest in this trade network was driven by raw materials and perishables instead of finished elite items. Hittite texts rarely mention coastal settlements and ports, but when they do, it is mostly within the framework of the grain and metals trade.

For instance, Soli has been identified as Ellipra by Remzi Yağcı (2011: 56), while a more plausible attestation seems to be the Hittite Ura as proposed by Trevor Bryce. If Bryce is correct in this interpretation, it is possible to pinpoint the start of formal interactions between Soli and Hattuša to the treaty between Arnuwanda I (r. late 15th-mid 14th century BCE) and the city of Ura (Bryce 2010: 155). A text from Ugarit (RS 17.316) mentions the inhabitants of Ura, who are under the protection of the Hittite king, as royal merchants (Yağcı 2011: 56). Ura is also mentioned in Hittite texts as the port which would receive the grain shipped from Ugarit, which would have acquired it

from Egypt or Canaan (Bryce 2010: 356). Even if we cannot definitely prove that Ura was Soli specifically, rather than any other specific port city in the vicinity, the point stands that Kizzuwatna constituted one of the most important links of the empire to the wider world of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The final problem is the emphasis that studies such as Eric Cline's put on the importance of the economies of the palatial centers. While there is no doubt that these centers were among the chief beneficiaries of this trade, as well evidenced by the Amarna letters (Moran 1992), there is no reason to conceptualize eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age trade as networks mainly driven by the palatial centers. The gift-exchange between the distant palaces could not have made up the bulk of trade, and on such a scale as to push social change (Manning and Hulin 2005: 273). On the contrary, the Late Bronze Age networks of the eastern Mediterranean were networks established by and in the borderlands, especially for the Late Bronze Age states and empires whose core areas were landlocked, as the Hittite state. Most of the Late Bronze Age trade was facilitated in the borderlands of these empires with the goods demanded by the capitals then shipped by land, as in the Hittite example, or via rivers, as in New Kingdom Egypt and its ring of capitals located along the coasts of the Nile. In the case of the Hittite Empire, the southern borderlands demonstrate a greater access to foreign goods, further strengthening the position of Kizzuwatna as the first entry point of foreign imports. I will now turn to a more detailed exploration of the maritime connections that different sites at Kizzuwatna demonstrate.

5.3.2 Kizzuwatna's Maritime Connections

A very interesting imperial-period context at Soli is an example of the connections that the Hittite borderlands forged and maintained during the empire. This is an intramural dispersed urn cremation burial dating to the 13th century BCE. It consists of a broken jar, cattle bone fragments and grave offerings (Figure 64 and Figure 65). The grave offerings include a bulla of *Parnapi*, who was most probably a military officer since he bears the title “sword/dagger man”. This sealing epigraphically dates to the early 13th century BCE (Dinçol and Dinçol 2007). The more “international” face of the burial is represented by an uninscribed Egyptian amulet and a very small fragment of a White Slip II Cypriot milk bowl, while a bead and a bronze pin are in line with the Anatolian traditions of Late Bronze Age burials. This burial belongs to the underrepresented phenomenon of urn cremation burial, which is attested in a few more cases from central and southern Anatolia. The earliest example of this type comes from the nearby site of Tarsus-Gözlükule and dates to a Pre-Imperial Hittite context. The grave, thus, can be seen within the context both of a continuing Hittite tradition and of developing international connections in the Late Bronze Age (Yağcı 2008a). Different objects demonstrating links to the Cypriot, Egyptian and Anatolian realms were chosen to be deposited for this cremation burial. They can be interpreted in many different ways, ranging from family heirlooms to the conscious demonstration of the identity of *Parnapi*. All of these interpretations,

however, demonstrate that Soli was a site with established connections that made it possible to acquire these artefacts.

Other Kizzuwatnan sites were equally connected. At Kinet Höyük, the excavators discovered large amounts of Canaanite jars⁷⁴ and one possible Late Minoan IB conical rhyton (Gates 2009: 357). Phase 13.1 of Kinet Höyük yielded two handles of Canaanite jars with Hittite-type seal impressions, one of the impressions containing hieroglyphic Luwian (Gates 2008: 288). There are also handleless ovoid vessels with broad mouths with possible origins at Ugarit (Gates 2011: 185). An octagonal ivory seal, with vertical panels filled with imitation script resembling that on Levantine seals, was found in a closed 13th century BCE context, although there are not any exact parallels (Gates 2002: 59). At Sirkeli Höyük, one of the Late Bronze Age sherds belongs to a closed, footed vessel of white-filled incised and impressed gray ware that has parallels with Kilise Tepe and Tarsus-Gözlükule in Kizzuwatna, while the ware is paralleled in Tell el-Yahudiye in the Levant (Novák et al. 2009: 300).

This is not an exhaustive view of all the imports from these sites, but rather a targeted one demonstrating that connections, relations and imports shaped the lives of Kizzuwatnan sites in the Late Bronze Age. Within these networks, Cyprus emerges as a place of sustained and thriving interest for Kizzuwatna. Cypriot pottery is found at

⁷⁴ Recent scientific analyses demonstrated that “Canaan” jars were not all necessarily produced in their namesake region, and there were also production centers in Cyprus, while some signatures of northern Levant also overlap with the southern part of the Amuq plain making this area another possible origin for Canaanite amphorae (Smith et al. 2004). None of the elemental signatures overlap with any other sources in Anatolia except for this southern tip of the Amuq, marking Canaanite jars as definite imports into Kizzuwatna.

all of the five sites considered in this chapter: Mersin-Yumuktepe (Garstang 1940: 132-133, pl. 58:4, 6; 1953: 242), Soli (Yağcı 2003c), Tarsus-Gözlükule (Mellink 1956: 219-220, fig. 329:1248-1252; Slane 1987: 399, 402, pl. 131:576, pl. 134:585; Kozal 2005), Kinet Höyük (Kozal 2003: 69), and Sirkeli Höyük (Kozal 2013). However, among all these sites, Kinet Höyük demonstrates the most intense relationship that was maintained with Cyprus through the Late Bronze Age.

Contacts between Cyprus and Kinet are attested from before the intense Hittite influence over the region. A room at the northwestern corner of the monumental building yielded the largest concentration of imported vessels in the building, a large number of Cypriot pots dating to the mid-17th to 16th centuries BCE (MC III-LC IA) (Gates 2002: 59-60). As Hittite plain wares took over the Kinet assemblage in Late Bronze Age II, ceramic imports from Cyprus continued and flourished. The number of Cypriot vessels in Kinet is significantly higher than the numbers of Cypriot vessels that other sites in Kizzuwatna have produced (Gates 2011: 188). In Tarsus, the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery from Goldman's excavations were re-examined by Kozal, and yielded a total of 16 pieces of Cypriot pottery. One is a red-on-red sherd, while the rest belong to White Slip II bowls that would be exchanged for their own sakes since they are open vessels not suitable for transportation of liquids. Unfortunately, it is impossible to match these sherds with their find spots from the Goldman excavations (Kozal 2005: 135-136). At Soli, Cypriot imports are represented in very small numbers. White Slipped II Cypriot bowls are present in Soli between the 15th and 13th centuries

BCE (Yağcı 2007b), while the total assemblage consists of only seven Cypriot sherds in total (Yağcı 2003a; 2007b; 2008a). Similarly, at Sirkeli Höyük, connections are attested but are exemplified by small numbers. While imports from Cyprus and Syria start in the second half of the Middle Bronze Age, single examples of White Slip II and Base ring II Cypriot forms show that the connections were maintained in the Late Bronze Age (Kozal 2013: 219). At Mersin-Yumuktepe, there are two or three White Slip II bowls, again making up a very small assemblage (Helft 2010: 172).

Overall, Cypriot imported vessels are present in Anatolia starting from the Middle Bronze Age and they show a sudden increase in Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age. By far, the majority of these vessels were found in Kizzuwatnan sites (Helft 2010: 173). Still, in total there are 153 pieces of Cypriot ceramics from all of Anatolia throughout the second millennium BCE, while only 80 of them come from stratified, secure contexts. Within the find spots, Troy accounts for approximately half of this assemblage in the form of White Slip II bowls, while Kinet Höyük is the second site in all of Anatolia in terms of the amount of Cypriot imported vessels it has produced (Kozal 2006: 122-124).

Textual information highlights another aspect of the role of Cyprus in the wider eastern Mediterranean context: the copper trade. Amarna letters such as EA 35, the correspondence between Egypt and Cyprus, demonstrates that Cyprus was active in the copper trade throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Moran 1992). The secure

identification of Cypriot metal in Anatolian contexts, however, requires scientific analysis and sourcing of the metal finds (Kozal 2013: 219).

In sum, relations between Kizzuwatna and Cyprus were established and maintained throughout the second millennium BCE, while the evidence from Kinet Höyük suggests that they intensified during the Late Bronze Age. The Kinet evidence also points to a more direct relationship this site had with Cyprus, as opposed to the other Kizzuwatnan, and in fact Anatolian, sites (Troy being the only exception). The proliferation of these maritime connections of specific sites further supports my claim above: while Hatti became a part of Kizzuwatna's political and economic horizons, it replaced and represented part of the 'local' modes of production and consumption rather than longer-lived maritime connections continuing to provide imported products.

5.4 Conclusions

The coast of Kizzuwatna was the major, and perhaps the only outlet of the Hittite Empire to these eastern Mediterranean networks. At the mid-point of his reign, king Muwatalli II abandoned Hattuša as the capital and moved his residence to Tarhuntašša, the exact location of which still remains unknown. Tarhuntašša seems to be a previously insignificant region aimed at and developed specifically by Muwatalli II. This shift in the capital of the Empire has been discussed mainly from a military

viewpoint, namely, one that emphasizes the wish of Muwatalli II to be closer to Syria and the Levant after the ongoing conflict with Egypt, which had culminated in the Battle of Kadesh a decade earlier. Its negative consequences on the Empire have also been emphasized giving Hattušili III, Muwatalli II's brother, power over the northern regions of the new capital, now including Hattuša itself, and eventually leading to Hattušili III's illegal seizure of the throne after his brother's death (Bryce 2010: 211-215). However, it is also possible to see that relocation for strategic reasons related to the eastern Mediterranean trade. Broodbank (2013: 405) sees the Hittite push to the south "to the extent of flirting with an alternative capital" as the importance of the east Mediterranean networks, and Hatti's push to get to them.

In this chapter, I explored Kizzuwatna, the southern borderlands of Hatti between central Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean. Textual references to Kizzuwatna in the Hittite archives suggest that the region started to interact with the Hittite hegemony in the 16th century BCE, experience a period of relative independence in the 15th century BCE, and became heavily dominated by the Hittite Empire during both the 14th and the 13th centuries BCE. Archaeological evidence discovered at the sites of Soli, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Sirkeli Höyük and Kinet Höyük validates the view of more intense relations with central Anatolia during the two final centuries of the Bronze Age. However, even during this time, Kizzuwatna does not work as a whole under the Hittite Empire, and Kizzuwatnan sites continue to maintain their eastern Mediterranean connections.

I discussed these five sites through different indexes (pottery, architecture and rock monuments) and suggested that Kizzuwatna's incorporation within the Hittite sphere of influence was a long and complicated process. As evidenced by the waning and waxing nature of central Anatolian styles in architecture and pottery in Soli, for instance, there was not a "Hittite package" that was transposed onto the region. What was adopted from central Anatolia depended on the local trajectories of different sites. Depending on the strategies of Hatti and the needs and agency of the local communities in Kizzuwatna, Hittite forms, techniques and materials replaced different parts of local assemblages, instead of wholesale replacing them.

Similarly, maritime connections of Kizzuwatna in the Late Bronze Age had their roots in the Middle Bronze Age histories of different sites. Heavily exploited relationships such as the one between Kinet Höyük and Cyprus in both halves of the second millennium BCE testify to the value of long-standing partnerships, trade connections and corridors. These relationships made Kizzuwatna the key region to discuss the relationship between the Hittite Empire and the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade. Kizzuwatna was a much more integrated part of the eastern Mediterranean trade system than the Hittite core in central Anatolia ever became.⁷⁵ The push of the empire towards the south, to the extent even of relocating the capital city there, can be evaluated within this framework.

⁷⁵ It is possible that the reason why we see such a weak footprint of central Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade is Hatti's interest in perishables or raw materials rather than finished goods.

In Kizzuwatna, then, we see the Hittite Empire manifest in a multiplicity of indexes including pottery, architecture, and rock monuments. The impact of the Hittite Empire in Kizzuwatna, however, seems to be on a local level – the settlers of the area chose to incorporate the empire at a local level, replacing some of their local practices and material culture. The existing interregional connections of the sites remained uninterrupted, while new connections were not forged either. The extensive networks to which the port cities in Kizzuwatna had access to turned it into an indispensable region for the empire. The leverage that Kizzuwatna held for Hatti's access to trade networks had a transformative power on the center of the empire. It was this region that saw a florescence of Hittite culture in the Iron Age, after the central administration of Hattuša fell.

CHAPTER 6: DISSOLVING THE EMPIRE AT HATTUŠA

“Hattuša itself is a peripheral region for the empire ‘at its maximum extent’, i.e. when it was expanding towards the south and the southeast” (Bittel 1970).

So far, I have introduced three different Hittite Empires. At Yalburt, the power of the empire was manifest in a landscape monument erected in an already meaningful locale, as well as in practices of communal consumption that involved a combination of vessels with parallels in the assemblages of both the imperial center at Hattuša and in those of the regional center at Beycesultan. In the Middle Bronze Age, the importance of communal consumption in regional negotiations is visible in the assemblage that overlaps with Beycesultan to a great extent. The Hittite Empire largely replaced the role of Beycesultan, a regional center, in the Yalburt Survey Region.

At Emar, the power of the empire was reflected in a series of offices, the most important and permanent among them being the office of the diviner, who oversaw cultic activities. A single family seems to have enjoyed a direct relationship with Hattuša, and to have held the office of the diviner over multiple generations. Both the office of the diviner and the cultic activities this office oversaw were integral and important parts of Emar during the Middle Bronze Age. At Emar, the Hittite Empire intervened in a crucial office and realm of local power.

In Kizzuwatna, the Hittite Empire was visible in central Anatolian ceramic and architectural forms. Central Anatolian ceramic repertoire in Kizzuwatna replaced parts of local assemblages rather than vessels imported from the wider Mediterranean. The empire also targeted and tried to benefit from the already established trade connections with the wider eastern Mediterranean. Most port cities of Kizzuwatna started forging maritime connections at the end of the Early Bronze Age, while the Middle Bronze Age was the period during which trade relations first intensified.

These cases demonstrate that the Hittite Empire integrated itself into existing networks that were already in place in the earlier second millennium BCE. It was the Middle Bronze Age pasts and connections of different regions that defined the specifics in which power was understood and practiced in each region and site. The imperial strategies of Hatti were not monolithic, but were conditioned by the realities, meanings and systems of the borderlands.

Similarly, the response of the borderlands to the empire was not monolithic. Local manifestations of power continued to exist, independent of Hatti. At Yalbur, the links with the regional center of Beycesultan, which stood out of the Hittite sphere of influence, continued – albeit on a diminished scale. At Emar, the urban landscape continued to be a product of local kinship relationships and did not reflect any intervention from Hatti. In Kizzuwatna, local rulers continued to use rock monuments to contest the power of the central plateau.

The juxtaposition of differing imperial strategies and varied responses created multiple incarnations of the Hittite Empire. In this chapter, I argue that these different imperial incarnations in the borderlands affected, in turn, the center of the empire. As Kurt Bittel's statement at the head of this chapter suggests, Hattuša itself was already geographically on the margins of the empire as the center of gravity shifted more and more south and southeast. Apart from this physical dimension, however, the flexible strategies used by the center to control the borderlands started to transform the sites at the center of the empire. As the Hittite Empire tried to mold itself into many different guises in different regions to tap into networks of local power, it became many different Hittite Empires, to the extent that where Hatti had started, namely central Anatolia, became irrelevant to the rest of the empire.

In this chapter, I will give two specific examples of the sites at the center of the Hittite Empire being transformed, stretched and dissolved into different borderlands. I will first discuss the rock monuments of Hattuša, which I argue were a peculiar technology and mode of negotiating power that was devised in the borderlands, specifically for contesting the empire. I will then explore how ancestral nostalgia to a pre-Hittite past turned Alaca Höyük, a site c. 30 km away from Hattuša, into a temporal borderland.

6.1 Rock Monuments: Negotiating Political Power and the Past

As I introduced in Chapter 2, and used in examples from Yalburt and Kizzuwatna in the following chapters, rock monuments were used by Hittite Great Kings, local kings, princes and officials as a mode of manifesting and negotiating political power. While these monuments were widespread in the Late Bronze Age, their real surge was during the Iron Age, in the urban contexts of Syro-Anatolian sites such as Carchemish, Zincirli and Melid. During the Iron Age, stone reliefs, then translated into orthostats, became a fundamental part of the urban landscape, and they adorned parts of important buildings, mostly abutting important public open spaces, and acted as commemorative agents within the civic and religious lives of the city (Gilibert 2011; Harmanşah 2011a; 2011b).

The earliest examples of rock monuments are the ones in İmamkulu, Hanyeri A, Akpınar and Suratkaya, and they belong to princes (Glatz and Plourde 2011, 56). Scholarship on rock monuments places the relief depicting Muwatalli II at Sirkeli as executed during the reign of this king and thus as the earliest example of a monument by a Hittite Great King (Ehringhaus 2005: 97; Harmanşah 2015: 96).⁷⁶ However, I argued in the previous chapter that Muwatalli II's relief might also be read as a later monument carved by either Tudhaliya IV or Šuppiluliuma II for ancestor veneration. If this indeed was the case, it would mean that the only Hittite kings to have executed

⁷⁶ Ömür Harmanşah (2015: 96-98) suggests that the relief at Sirkeli was created under the patronage of Muwatalli II himself as a response to Ramesses II's relief at Nahr el-Kalb, thus linking the relief directly to Muwatalli's reign.

rock monuments were Hattušili III, Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II, at least according to the current archaeological knowledge. This would also mean that Hittite kings started to use rock monuments half a century after they started to be used in multiple borderlands as a specific medium for demonstrating one's political power while contesting others. Even if Muwatalli II's relief was indeed commissioned by himself at Sirkeli, it is later than the monuments belonging to princes in İmamkulu, Hanyeri, Akpınar and Surat kaya. From this perspective, rock monuments were truly innovations of the borderlands.

Rock monuments of the borderlands were almost always located in the rural landscape. Some of the examples are in-between, such as the relief depicting Muwatalli II in Sirkeli carved on the section created by the settlement mound (Figure 61) (Ehringhaus 2005: 95-98). During the last decades of the Hittite Empire, however, two monuments were erected within the city walls of Hattuša: the Südburg and Nişantaş. The Südburg (literally the "South Citadel") and Nişantaş are located in close proximity to each other in the eastern part of the city (Figure 66). Both monuments date to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II, the last known Great King of the Hittite Empire, and were parts of larger complexes, the upper structures of which have not survived.

The prominent location of the Südburg and Nişantaş in the urban landscape of Hattuša brings a technology mainly devised for display of power in the rural landscapes of the borderlands within the walls of the capital city. The monuments demonstrate that a seemingly peripheral tradition of power display has become

sufficiently meaningful within the empire that these monuments would be erected in very visible parts of Hattuša.

The Südburg and Nişantaş urge us to consider the audiences of rock monuments, both in rural and in urban contexts. The language and script preferred for all of the inscriptions on rock monuments, namely the Luwian language rendered in the hieroglyphic script, diverges from the major Hittite means of recording, which was clay tablets⁷⁷ inscribed with Hittite language⁷⁸ written in the cuneiform script. Although there is a small corpus of cuneiform Luwian documents from Hattuša (Otten 1953; Starke 1985), the bulk of the records on Luwian is rendered in the hieroglyphic script.

The Südburg and Nişantaş are among the very few examples of the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian in the Hittite capital. The other two cases are Yazılıkaya, an open air sanctuary two kilometers away from Hattuša, and the Sacred Spring Grotto, a cultic site dedicated to the “divine spring of Lurahu(ta)” with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (Güterbock 1969: 49-52; Beckman 2013: 157; Harmanşah 2015: 65). Both at Yazılıkaya and the Sacred Spring Grotto, the hieroglyphs are used as labels to indicate the name of deities and kings in the former, and the dedication of the spring in the

⁷⁷ There is ample evidence demonstrating that tablets of other materials, mainly wood, were also in use in the Hittite court. There are different words for referring to a scribe writing on wood (Payne 2008; 2010; Waal 2011). None of these alternative media, however, are preserved in the Anatolian climate, leaving us with clay tablets as the sole and incomplete records of writing in the second millennium BCE (Waal 2012).

⁷⁸ The archives at Hattuša contain words from seven languages (Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian and Hattic), but Hittite seems to have remained the main language, since words in other languages are glossed in Hittite texts so as to suggest they were foreign.

latter. In comparison, the Südburg and Nişantaş constitute longer texts, which were historical inscriptions of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II (Hawkins 2000a: 18).

For the Bronze Age, our knowledge of Hieroglyphic Luwian entirely rests on such rock monuments and seals/sealings.⁷⁹ The Südburg and Nişantaş may thus present as convincing evidence as any for the presence of Luwian speakers in Hattuša in this period. Considering the population movements mentioned in Hittite texts and linguistic parallels between Luwian and Hittite, it would not be speculative to think about a Luwian presence in the capital city.

As Hoffner (1997) suggests, we should conceptualize Late Bronze Age Anatolia as a compilation of diverse and dynamic communities. Texts dating from the reigns of Muṣili II, Hattušili III and Šuppiluliuma I make mention of NAM.RA, used along with GUD and UDU, being carried away after the conquests of cities.⁸⁰ These three words are generally translated as “inhabitants, oxen and sheep” and mostly as “inhabitants and cattle” in short. The texts dating to Muṣili II’s reign mention high numbers of people (66,000 in one instance, and 15,500 in another) carried off from the western borderlands to Hattuša before their cities were burned to the ground (Watkins 1994; Hoffner 2002). Such texts, when viewed in conjunction with the evidence from Hittite laws discussing different treatments for people of different identities (Luwian, Hittite,

⁷⁹ The only other forms of Hieroglyphic Luwian texts are lead letters from Kululu and Aššur, all dating to the Iron Age (Hawkins 1987; 2000b: 503-513, 533-555).

⁸⁰ Sumerian NAM.RA is usually translated into Akkadian as *šallatu*, ‘booty’. However, the word takes on a slightly different meaning in the Hittite language and comes to specifically describe deportees of defeated cities and kingdoms (Klengel 1980-1983, 243),

etc.) urge us to consider different and mobile populations in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, partly moved through the acts of the Hittite Empire.

Hawkins (1986) sees a gradual elaboration in both the hieroglyphic script and the Luwian language, and argues that the hieroglyphs used to render Luwian were an indigenous development in second millennium BCE Anatolia, rather than being an adoption from anywhere else – as was the case with the cuneiform script that was adopted from Mesopotamia. Linguistic work by Yakubovich (2008) suggests that the Luwian hieroglyphics were a joint venture of the Hittite and Luwian speakers seeking to create a national script. Demonstrating that there are Luwian phonetizations that derive from Hittite lexemes such as *pai-/piya* (Hitt) and *piya* (Luw.) “to give”,⁸¹ Yakubovich locates the development of the Hieroglyphic script in Hattuša itself, around 1400 BCE, when the city had a thriving and mixed population of both Hittites and Luwians. For him, the motivation was to develop a different script than Mesopotamian cuneiform, one which could also be used for inscriptions on stone (Yakubovich 2008). According to Waal (2012), the emergence of the Hieroglyphic Luwian script is a much earlier act of former multi-lingual communities such as those at Kültepe. Based on similar signs on seals and a limited amount of Middle Bronze Age hieroglyphic inscriptions, she argues that the Anatolian Hieroglyphs emerged as a rudimentary script for keeping records already at the end of the third millennium BCE,

⁸¹ See Yakubovich (2008: table 3) for detailed examples of phonetic affinity of Hittite and Luwian.

and became an established and developed writing system in the second half of the second millennium BCE.

While the opinions of Yakubovich and Waal disagree on the origins of the Luwian Hieroglyphs, both scholars offer sound linguistic grounds with which we should reject the marginal status of Luwian as a language during the Late Bronze Age. The evidence from the Hittite texts and laws also paint a more dynamic picture for the Luwian population, which was not restricted to certain geographic locations. Earlier Late Bronze Age texts refer to a particular geographic area as “Luwiya” and a more or less specific community inhabiting those regions. During the last two centuries of the Hittite Empire, however, mentions of Luwiya as a land disappear from the textual records. Gradually, Luwian became a more prominent language for the imperial administration (Yakubovich 2011: 537). Thus, there are good reasons to argue that a population, which previous scholarship conceptualized as peripheral to the Hittite Empire,⁸² was indeed thriving at the center of the empire.

Nişantaş and the Südburg, then, were very likely inscribed for an audience made up of a mixed population including Hittite and Luwian-speaking groups, among others. Looking beyond the inscriptions, the constructions of these monuments themselves in the capital were also significant acts that reflected rural technologies of power. The larger structures to which these monuments belonged qualify these

⁸² James Mellaart suggested that Luwians arrived in Anatolia through migration, and inhabited the western and southern edges of the empire (see Bachhuber 2013, with bibliography).

monuments as sites of ancestral veneration, establishing links between Hattuša and earlier Hittite kings.

One peculiar aspect of Hittite archaeology is the complete lack of royal tombs. Hittite Royal Death Ritual instructs the cremation of the king and the queen on the first day of the ritual. Everything that was seen important for the afterlife of the deceased was sent to the netherworld by means of burning. “After the cremation, the bodily remains were initially put into a silver *huppar* vase and ended up laid down on a bed in the so-called ‘Stone House’ ... Judging by our texts, the Hittites did not, on the whole, seem to attach much importance to the physical remains and were more interested in an ancestor cult that made use of statues or various kinds of icons” (van den Hout 2002b: 73). Although no physical remains of any of the Hittite kings have come to light, interpretations of texts in correlation with the urban and rural landscape of Hattuša have yielded interesting results for the possibility of ancestor cult in Hattuša. It can now be confidently suggested that at least the Südburg, Nişantaş, Yazılıkaya and Temple 5 had elements of ancestor veneration.⁸³

⁸³ Although Yazılıkaya Chamber B and the Temple 5 complex offer very interesting contexts for discussing ancestor cults, I limit my discussion here to the Südburg and Nişantaş. It should be mentioned, however, that Yazılıkaya was an open air sanctuary 2 km away from Hattuša, and yielded a large depiction of Tudhaliya IV as a god among many other anthropomorphic representations of gods and goddesses. Temple 5 contains a stele with the imagery of a king as the divine warrior, labelled as Tudhaliya. Based on the divine attributions of the king and the mentions that Tudhaliya IV makes to Tudhaliya I along with his father and grandfather, the stele has been interpreted as belonging to the first king bearing this name (Bonatz 2007). On the contrary, van den Hout suggests that there is no argument for not perceiving this image as Tudhaliya IV himself, since the archaizing script does not necessarily refer to an early date (van den Hout 1995).

The Südburg incorporated a sacred pond and an inscription identifying itself as a funerary monument, while Nişantaş was identified as a ^{NA}4hekur by scholars with reference to textual sources (Taracha 2009: 134). The monument hosts the so-called Hieroglyph Chamber (also called Chamber 2) which incorporates figural imagery with an inscription. The relief opposite to the Luwian text portrays a king with the divine attribute of the pointed and horned hat (Figure 67). The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the walls of the chamber, written from the mouth of Šuppiluliuma commemorating his deeds as the Great King, ends with the identification of the monument itself as the “Divine Earth-Road” (Hawkins 1995: 23). The designation of the monument as DEUS.VIA+TERRA (Hieroglyphic Luwian) ties into the ^PKASKAL.KUR⁸⁴ (Cuneiform Hittite), the name of which derives from the Sumerian expression kaskal kur-ra(k), “the road of the Netherworld” (Archi 2007: 187). This attestation makes Chamber 2 a link between the urban landscape of Hattuša and the netherworld, where the ancestors resided, as well as a very probable case of ancestor cult (Hawkins 1995).

A massive outcrop at Nişantaş was once guarded by two sphinxes that flanked the gates (Figure 68). The outcrop was adorned with a long hieroglyphic inscription, which except for the genealogical introduction is unfortunately mostly illegible due to weathering (Figure 69). Still, the name of author Šuppiluliuma and the ancestors he names – Tudhaliya IV and Hattušili III – are possible to read. Some scholars see the

⁸⁴ See Gordon (1967) and Otten (1976-1980) for thorough discussions of this term.

monument as embodying the successful campaigns of the king Šuppiluliuma II, to whose reign this monument dates (Bryce 2012: 21). Güterbock, on the other hand, matched the beginning formula of Nişantaş exactly to the first lines of the text KBo 12 38 found in the House on the Slope, and suggested reading the Nişantaş inscription in light of KBo 12 38 Col. ii, lines 17-21: “I built an Everlasting Peak (^{NA}*ḫegur*). I made the image and carried it into the (building called) Everlasting Peak; I installed and [...]ed it” (Güterbock 1967: 78). From these lines, Güterbock suggested that the Nişantaş monument was the Everlasting Peak that Šuppiluliuma II built for his father Tudhaliya IV (Güterbock 1967) and this suggestion has been widely accepted (e.g. Bolatti-Guzzo and Marazzi 2004). In this way, Nişantepe is a site of ancestor cult, located on the intersection of three axes of the city, going through the major city gates (van den Hout 2002b). The Südburg and Nişantaş, thus, created a space of nostalgia within the capital city, which displayed the narrative of power of the ancestral kings with a technology of memory devised mainly in the borderlands.

By the time the Südburg and Nişantaş were built, Hattuša had become a city of temples. The 31 temples so far identified in the city included dedications to a variety of deities from different parts of the empire. During the final two centuries of the Bronze Age, the Hittite pantheon was incrementally influenced by Syrian, Mesopotamian, Hurrian and Luwian religion and ritual practices. The change towards more Hurrian elements might have been facilitated by the Kizzuwatnan links of the

royal family from early the 15th century BCE onwards (Taracha 2009: 80-82).⁸⁵ During the reign of Hattušili III, for instance, the Anatolian Storm/Weather God Tarhunt and its Semitic equivalent Adad of Aleppo were worshipped in the form of the Hurrian Storm God Tešub (Haas 1994: 31; Schwemer 2001: 443; Taggar-Cohen 2006: 2, n.3). The Luwian tutelary god written as LAMMA started to gain a significant position in state religion. Deities representing particular centers, such as Arinna, rose to prominence mainly because of the importance of the geographic location in which they were originally worshipped. Hittite religion became anchored to the “Thousand Gods of Hatti”, which was an amalgam of the territory that Hatti claimed to have covered (Taracha 2009: 84-87).

As the Luwian and Hurrian deities were incorporated into Hittite religious thought, the celebrated festivals increased in number. Many of these festivals were celebrated at Hattuša. We know at least 18 of them by name, as they are listed in an instruction text for temple officials (CTH 264). Most of these festivals also took the king to other cult centers, such as the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival of the spring that lasted between 35-40 days (Taracha 2009: 137-139). The cultic travels of the Hittite king were centered at Hattuša and restricted to central Anatolia. In the festivals celebrated in

⁸⁵ While Taracha (2009: 80-82) suggests that the dynasty that ruled the Hittite Empire between early 15th century to the end of the Bronze Age was Kizzuwatnan in origin, de Martino (2010) argues that the 15th century dynasty was a continuation of the previous ruling family. In either case, however, we know that Hattušili III married Puduhepa, a priestess of Ishtar from the city of Lawazantiya. Puduhepa continued her religious role as the chief priestess of the empire, and largely reorganized the cult, especially in terms of establishing syncretisms between Hittite and Hurrian deities (Bryce 2010: 250, 287).

Hattuša, the king visited the temples of the city that hosted the cults of the deities from different borderlands of the empire (Sir Gavaz 2012: 225).

As the borderlands were looking forward, Hattuša had started to look more and more at its past, while its ways of conveying messages of power were now in the style of the borderlands. These transformations were not unique to Hattuša, and can be seen at some other sites of central Anatolia as well. The increasing engagement with ancestral nostalgia created temporal borderlands at the heart of Hatti.

6.2 Alaca Höyük as a Temporal Borderland

Like any other empire, Hatti's state formation and expansion were contested processes. I suggest that the Hittite Empire abandoned most of its ancestral sites related to the struggles and tensions of its own state formation, and, instead, it projected ancestral nostalgia onto a variety of uncontested sites in close proximity to the capital city. In this way, the state surrounded the imperial capital with sites that acted as temporal edges – landscapes and settlements where the ancestral past could be visited and ancestral nostalgia could be commemorated. I call these sites temporal borderlands.

I previously defined borderlands as regions where geographical, cultural, social, linguistic and political borders of multiple states and communities intersect to create an area of interaction that is unlike any of the others surrounding it. Expanding

upon this perspective, I define temporal borderlands as areas where multiple temporalities and diverse pasts overlap in the same architectural space and create unique juxtapositions between time and space. Seen from this point of view, of course, almost all archaeological and even contemporary sites could be temporal borderlands, since only very rarely is a place abandoned after a short period of time and never re-occupied again. However, I would like to differentiate a temporal borderland from any other long-term site through the conscious and deliberate effort of juxtaposing a specific past with the present to construct a particular narrative of displacement and longing. Temporal borderlands, as I see them, are sites, landscapes and places of nostalgia.

In this section, I will focus on one particular site, Alaca Höyük, and demonstrate how it came to act as an amalgam for the pre-Hittite past. This task, however, first requires a brief detour to the evidence on Hittite state formation and the associated sites.

The earliest text written in the Hittite language is the so-called Anitta Text that dates to the 17th century BCE. Assumed to be inscribed in Hittite on a stele displayed in the city,⁸⁶ our knowledge of the Anitta-Text rests on a copy found from Hattuša, dating to c. 150 years later than its actual composition (Neu 1974). It is a historical narrative

⁸⁶ The phonology, morphology, syntax and word formation of the Anitta-Text suggests that it was originally composed in Old Hittite, and was not translated from Assyrian or Proto-Hattic (Neu 1974: 132). In terms of the original context, Anitta himself makes the following claim in the text: “[I have copied] these [words] from the tablet(s) in my gate. Hereafter for all time [let no] one de[face] th[is] tablet. But whoever defaces it, [let him] b[e] an enemy of [the Stor]mgod (Anitta Text lines 33-35 Hoffner 2003: 183).

of events surrounding the conquest of cities in central Anatolia and the eventual Hittite state formation. Its author, Anitta, identifies himself and his father Pithana as the kings of a city called Kuššar. He gives specific details about his father's conquest of Neša (Kaneš, modern Kültepe), a very important regional center and the main hub of the Assyrian colony trade network in Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age (Bryce 2010):

The king of Kuššar ca[me] down out of the city (of Kuššar) with large numbers and to[ok] Neša during the night by storm. He captured the king of Neša, but did no harm to any of the citizens of Neša. He treated [them] (all) as mothers and fathers⁸⁷ (Anitta Text lines 5-9 Hoffner 2003: 182).

After capturing Neša, Pithana makes the city his capital. The reigns of both Pithana and Anitta seem active with campaigns and rivalries. Among the sites opposing these kings, it is possible to see Hattuša:

A second time Piyušti, king of Ḫattuša, came. At the city of Šalampa [I defeated (?)] his auxiliary troops which he brought in (to aid him).

[I ...ed] all the lands [...] this side of Zalpuwa by the sea. Previously Uhna, king of Zalpuwa, had carried off (the cult statue of) our goddess (Ḫalmaššuit) from Neša to Zalpuwa, and I brought [Ḫu]zziya, king of Zalpuwa, back alive to Neša. P[iyušti] had [f]ortified Ḫattuša. So I left it alone. But subsequently, when it became most acutely beset with famine (?), their goddess Ḫalmaššuit gave it over (to me), and I took it at night by storm. In its place I sowed cress.

Whoever after me becomes king and resettles Ḫattuša, [let] the Stormgod of the Sky strike him (Anitta Text lines 36-51 Hoffner 2003: 183).

⁸⁷ It is impossible to know whether Anitta literally meant ethnic links between the populations of Kuššar and Neša or rather was trying to render his father as a benevolent ruler with the construction *an-nu-uš at-tu-uš i-e-et*, literally *he made them his father and mothers*. "The image belongs to the language of diplomacy – or propaganda. It need not reflect literal truth" (Bryce 2010: 37-38).

The rest of the Anitta Text mentions many more campaigns (Neu 1974), and the metal dagger inscribed with “Palace of Anitta, the king” (É.GAL *A-ni-ta ru-ba-im*) provides material evidence of Anitta’s presence in Neša (Özgüç 1956).

From here on, the story shifts dramatically. After a period of abundant written records, the written records cease for close to a century. The next document produced is the autobiography of Hattušili I. The Hittite kingdom is now based in Hattuša, the city razed and cursed by Anitta. At the same time, however, Hattušili calls himself *man of Kuššar of the man of Hatti* (LÚ^{URU}Kuššar KUR^{URU}Hatti) (Melchert 1978: 7). He, thus, tracks his lineage back to king Anitta and his city, but also is settled at the very city that Anitta claims to have destroyed and cursed. Although its memory lingers as a place of ancestry, Kuššar was never again a significant settlement. The city’s name became merely an epithet for Pithana and Hattušili I, qualifying them as the ‘King’, the ‘Man’, or the ‘Son’ of Kuššar (Barjamovic 2011: 144).

After Hattušili I, however, the site of ancestral imagination moves from Kuššar to Neša. Hittites start calling themselves “from Neša”, and their language “that of Neša”, *nešili*. Like Kuššar, in the Hittite period the once-bustling Neša was a quite insignificant settlement, with only very sporadic references made to it in Hittite texts (Barjamovic 2011: 230-231).

This episode marks a twist of memory in the Hittite Empire. While ancestral associations were developed with places that had once been capitals of powerful

kingdoms, those cities themselves were now just small settlements within the Hittite Empire. While ancestral links were established with the pre-Hittite past of Anatolia, these claims were divorced from their original spatial and material contexts to ensure that this legitimacy could not be contested. I argue that these memories and the claims invested in them were instead displaced to another city, one within the immediate vicinity of Hattuša. This is the site of Alaca Höyük, a place that would come to act as an amalgam of a deep, ancestral past.

Alaca Höyük is one of the many important cult centers in Hittite Anatolia. It is part of the cultic routes of the festivals of AN.TAH. ŠUM, KI.LAM, *nuntarriyashas* and possibly the *purulliyas*.⁸⁸ It, however, was not the sole site on these routes, and was part of a network of many more central Anatolian sites (Sir Gavaz 2012: 233). I suggest that it was the impressive third millennium BCE past of Alaca Höyük that set it apart from other cultic centers of Hittite Anatolia, and turned this site into a place of ancestral nostalgia.

19 tombs dating to EBA III (c. 2300-2000 BCE) were excavated in total in Alaca Höyük, with 14 of them dubbed “royal” because of the quantity and quality of the grave goods found in them (Steadman 2011) (Figure 70). These so-called “Royal Tombs” were interred over many generations (Gürsan-Salzmänn 1992: 67). The graves

⁸⁸ There is no consensus on the Hittite name of Alaca Höyük. The most widely accepted hypothesis equates Alaca Höyük with Arinna (Haas 1994: 585; Gurney 1995: 69-71; Gorny 1997: 556; Alp 2002: 38; Taracha 2011: 132; Sir Gavaz 2012: 134; contra Popko 1994; Popko 1995; 2009), which is supported by the distances that are distilled from the festival texts (Sir Gavaz 2012: 136-142). My discussion here is also shaped around Alaca Höyük’s plausible identification with Arinna.

contained extremely rich grave assemblages, mostly made of metal (Özyar 1999: 80). The impressive third millennium BCE Alaca Höyük is followed by a very modest early second millennium BCE settlement. This is exactly the same time period during which Kuššar and Neša were regional centers threatening and eventually sacking Hattuša. At that point, Alaca Höyük had a small metal workshop, and no monumental architecture (Gürsan-Salzmänn 1992: 25). As such, it did not play a prominent role in the city-state rivalries of the early second millennium BCE that Anitta references in the text mentioned earlier. This is the exact opposite from Neša/Kültepe, which boasted two monumental structures during the early second millennium BCE (Kulakoğlu 2010: 43; 2011). As such, Alaca Höyük represents not only a deep past, but also one that was uncontested and unthreatening for the emergence of the Hittite state. Alaca Höyük's unparalleled, but more remote, material signature also made it the perfect candidate for re-planting an ancestral imagination uprooted from the very real and impressively monumental places such as second millennium BCE Kültepe.

My suggestion that the Hittite Empire targeted Alaca Höyük specifically for the past it represented does not mean that the Hittites were necessarily aware that Alaca Höyük dated to this specific point in the third millennium BCE. Rather, it suggests that the collective memory of the Hittite Empire did not associate Alaca Höyük with the city-state rivalries of the second millennium BCE.

In the second half of the second millennium BCE, Alaca Höyük became the stage for major ritual needs of the empire. For the first time in its history, it gained

non-mortuary monumental architecture in the form of a Hittite palace that covers a large portion of the site (Baltacıoğlu 2014). This palace complex lies in close proximity to the Early Bronze Age graves. The Hittite city also kept the major Early Bronze Age processional road throughout the settlement, while further embellishing it with the monumental Sphinx Gate (Özyar 1999; Bachhuber 2016) (Figure 71). The third millennium BCE past was maintained as a clear part of Hittite Alaca Höyük.

In Alaca Höyük, then, we see a site of long-lasting local importance that was integrated into the cult practices of the Hittite Empire. The imposition of these practices, however, does not seem to have resulted in conflict and rupture – on the contrary, the local past in Alaca Höyük was embraced and worked into the architectural and cultic fabric and was made part of the Hittite Empire.

I suggest that we can understand the site of Alaca Höyük as a temporal borderland, a site where it was not states of neighboring geographies, but states of neighboring time periods, that were brought together through the actions of the Hittite Empire. In this sense, it was a site where differences came together and constituted a third space that was neither entirely Hittite, nor entirely third millennium BCE.

Homi Bhabha (2004) describes the Third Space as the intersection of two or more cultures. Bhabha's Third Space is defined by ambivalence and difference and stands against a homogenizing paradigm. When viewed from a temporal perspective,

as I argue here for the site of Alaca Höyük, the Third Space deconstructs a monolithic reading of *the* Hittite state formation or *the* Hittite history, and recognizes the various lines of continuity and fracture within ancestral imagination as marked upon the site. As such, Alaca Höyük as a temporal borderland is aligned with Edward Soja's (1996) definition of Thirdspace as lived, experienced space that is a combination of the real and the imagined.

Studies on the archaeology of memory have long realized the strong relationship between memory and place, and how memories need to be laid onto associations and correlations in physical space (e.g. Bachelard 1964; De Certeau 1984; Casey 1987; Connerton 1989; Nora 1989; Alcock 2002; Alcock and van Dyke 2003; van Dyke 2008: 277; Harmanşah 2011a; 2011b; 2015). The Hittite Empire was no exception to this. The peculiarity of the Hittite case was the uprooting of the ancestral memory from the relevant sites and its planting onto others with a deep past that was not threatening for the discourses of the Hittite Empire.

6.3 Concluding Thoughts

Throughout the Late Bronze Age, the sites of central Anatolia were impacted by the different manifestations of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands in different ways. In Hattuša, this impact was most visible in the rock monuments erected in the prominent areas of the city, as well as the multiple temples and festivals dedicated to

the deities of the borderlands. In Alaca Höyük, a new urban landscape was shaped through the juxtaposition of Hittite remains with third millennium BCE ones. Sites at the center of the empire became stages for the influx of ideas from the borderlands of the empire.

As the two examples of Hattuša and Alaca Höyük demonstrate, the “center” of the empire did not respond to these new developments as a monolithic entity. The center was as varied and diverse as the borderlands, being made up of different pasts, presents, communities and languages. The sites of Hattuša and Alaca Höyük, however, also demonstrate a rising interest in ancestral nostalgia, which was very likely one of the last resorts of an imperial center that was becoming irrelevant to the rest of its empire.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

The research questions that my dissertation revolved around were: *How did Hittite imperialism operate in the different border regions over which the Hittites claim to have dominated? How did these borderlands respond to Hittite rule?* I answered these questions by focusing on the borderlands of the empire and exploring sites and regions in the *longue durée* to produce diachronic local histories of the borderlands. I aimed to see both imperialism and response in their local contexts in the borderlands, not solely defined through the standards of the capital city.

I selected my three case-studies at the city of Emar in northern Syria, the area of the Yalburt Survey region in southwestern Anatolia and the region of Kizzuwatna in southern Turkey as an experiment in multi-scalar analysis of the Hittite Empire. By looking at geographical areas of varying sizes in different regions, I aimed to see the Hittite Empire in different resolutions. My choice of the case-studies was also conditioned by the different indexes of the imperial manifestation they provide: the empire seen in material culture (Yalburt), in religion and place-making (Emar) and in trade networks and connections (Kizzuwatna). Rather than being categories that I simply selected to look at, these were the indexes that the local diachronic histories of the borderlands produced. In other words, after reviewing the entire array of data that have been preserved from the second millennium BCE layers of these sites and

regions, I detected the indexes that defined the Hittite Empire in each region, and explored them in detail. Finally, I returned to the empire's core in central Anatolia to discuss the impact of the different imperial manifestations of the borderlands on the imperial center.

7.1 Original Contributions of the Dissertation

My dissertation has its roots in my effort to provide some remedies to two trends in the majority of the scholarship on the Hittite Empire. The first is the primacy that the capital city Hattusa has held in the literature on the Hittite Empire. The long and detailed research and the resulting publications from this site outnumber any other site in all of Late Bronze Age Anatolia to such an extent that it came to define what is "Hittite". But, if we judge all of the territories of the Hittite Empire with Hattusa's standards, very few other sites in Late Bronze Age Anatolia and northern Syria could be deemed "Hittite".

Second is the teleological way in which the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia has been singled out in Hittite studies. Of course, the Hittite Empire is a Late Bronze Age phenomenon. Curiously, however, many histories of the Hittite Empire start with the end of the Early Bronze Age as the time of alleged Indo-European migrations to Anatolia. The next stop in the narrative is the Middle Bronze Age, roughly the first half of the second millennium BCE, when merchants from northern Mesopotamia establish

trading colonies in Anatolia. Most of the scholarship on the Hittite Empire mention these time periods as the background to the Hittite Empire without constructing any meaningful links between them and the Later Bronze Age. This is a picture of passive communities in Middle Bronze Age Anatolia, trading with Mesopotamia while they are waiting for the empire to eventually happen to them. For historians of the Hittite Empire, the Late Bronze Age cannot come soon enough.

These two trends in the scholarship eventually shaped the two major contributions of my dissertation. The first is a true emphasis on the borderlands of the Hittite Empire as opposed to concentrating exclusively on the capital city and the imperial heartland. The second is a deliberate look towards the Middle Bronze Age, in other words pre-Hittite, pasts of different sites and regions, to explore the imperial dynamics, interventions and negotiations on the ground, through time, rather than focusing on the end product. I am not alone in my emphasis on the borderlands of the Hittite Empire and the number of scholars escaping the lure of Hattuša to talk about the borders of Hatti is definitely on the increase (e.g. Glatz and Matthews 2005; Glatz 2007; 2009; Matthews and Glatz 2009; Harmanşah and Johnson 2012; Gerçek 2012; Harmanşah and Johnson 2013; Glatz 2013; Harmanşah and Johnson 2014; Johnson and Harmanşah 2015; Harmanşah 2015). To the best of my knowledge, however, my dissertation is among the first studies to actively link the pre-Hittite past of its case-studies to the Hittite period and maintain an undivided research agenda for the totality of the second millennium BCE.

7.2 Summary of Major Findings

Empires can be studied at multiple scales, and they have different stories to tell from different vantage points. These scales are both geographical and temporal. In this dissertation, I used three case-studies from the borderlands of the Hittite Empire to demonstrate that the manifestations of Hatti were mainly conditioned by the pre-Hittite trajectories of these regions. I argued that the strategies the Hittite administration chose to use in different borderlands sought to identify what was important locally. The Hittite Empire aimed to integrate itself into networks that were already established as manifestations of power, instead of replacing them with new ones.

In the city of Emar, the power of the Hittite Empire was mainly tied to the fate of one family holding the office of the diviner. Although Hittite imperialism was felt through other means and offices, such as ‘the overseer of the land’ or ‘the son of the king’, the Hittite occupation of the city did not have any impact on the material culture. Emar, a city that started with temples and houses, was still a city of temples and houses at the end of the Bronze Age, with its buildings filled with non-Hittite material culture. Communal cult, which had an important place in the life of the city throughout the second millennium BCE, was the realm in which the empire chose to hold its grip the tightest.

In the region of Yalburt, the power of the Hittite Empire was inscribed onto the landscape with rock monuments, which were locally significant places within the region. For the populations of the area, the Hittite Empire was mainly experienced through events of communal consumption, for which a hybrid material culture oscillating between local, regional and imperial realms was used. Communal consumption was already an important practice for the inhabitants of the Yalburt region during the Middle Bronze Age, with material culture paralleling the vessels of choice of the regional center at Beycesultan.

In Kizzuwatna, the Hittite Empire was internalized. Hittite pottery overtook the roles fulfilled by regional pottery styles in the previous time periods. The Hittite Empire was ‘domesticated’ in Kizzuwatna, rather than being regarded as a foreign influence. Coastal sites continued their overseas relations in the wider Mediterranean, and even intensified them. The Hittite Empire used Kizzuwatna to access the wider networks of trade in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean. As central Anatolia gradually depended more on Kizzuwatna to benefit from the Mediterranean trade, Kizzuwatna increased its influence at the center of the empire.

While the varied borderlands of the Hittite Empire created their own manifestations of Hatti by overlaying its imperial strategies onto their local, long-term networks of power, the center of the empire did not remain static. The different Hittite Empires in the borderlands got transposed onto Hattuša and its environs, invading its urban, rural and mental landscapes with different incarnations of Hatti, making the

narratives of supremacy and control of the imperial center unsustainable. The borderlands transformed, stretched, and eventually dissolved the capital.

7.3 The Contributions of the Hittite Borderlands to the Archaeologies of Empires

Studies of the Hittite borderlands that shift the focus to the edges rather than the center of Hatti to go beyond studies merely *in* the borderlands have significant potential contributions to the growing body of literature on the archaeologies of empires.

The first path of exploration that Hittite borderlands encourage us to take is the diversity that is evident in both empires and their borderlands. In this dissertation, I defined borderlands as regions where geographical, cultural, social, linguistic and political borders of multiple states and communities intersect to create an area of interaction that is unlike any of the others surrounding it. Within this framework, borderlands of the Hittite Empire were not places at the physical margins of the empire, but rather places in the middle, thriving with diversity.

Second, focusing on the diverse Hittite borderlands urges us to become comparative in the study of empires. The Hittite case demands a comparative outlook both by the nature of the evidence and the impact of the empire. In other words, the Hittite Empire was visible in different datasets in different regions, which was not a function of what was archaeologically discovered in each region, but was rather the

index(es) of empire, stemming from the differing imperial strategies and local responses in each region.

Third, the different manifestations of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands demonstrate the need for a perspective that is willing to engage with complete datasets. Rather than focusing on one aspect of material culture or text, I explored the entire array of data available from my study regions and contextualized them within the longer term histories of the borderlands. The different manifestations of the Hittite Empire that emerged from these analyses demonstrate that the diversity inherent in empires resist perspectives that analyze them from only one perspective. If, for instance, I had engaged with only material culture or materiality, I would have almost completely missed the dynamics of the Hittite Empire in Emar. In contrast, if I had placed my main emphasis on textual materials, the role of the Hittite Empire in the consumption practices of the Yalburt Survey Region would have gone completely unnoticed.

Finally, the continuity between the pre-Hittite and Hittite pasts of my case-study regions demonstrates the need for diachronic perspectives in the studies of empires. Hittite borderlands are particularly rewarding examples for studying empire diachronically without solely focusing on the lifespan of the empire.

Borderlands of the Hittite Empire, thus, demonstrate that a comparative, diachronic and multi-scalar approach to empires that engage with all the available

data to identify local indexes has the potential to place imperialism in its local contexts. The strong correlation between the Middle and Late Bronze Age understandings and indexes of power in Anatolia and northern Syria urges us to consider empires as flexible entities that work outside of merely top-down models of imperial domination. On the contrary, the acts and contexts of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands point to a bottom-up constitution of the imperial apparatus, drawing from the local understandings of power and domination in different regions.

7.4 Future Work

As with any other academic work, my arguments above rest on the data available to me at the time of writing. Further investigations in the borderlands of the Hittite Empire will no doubt strengthen or refute many parts of this dissertation. More archaeological surveys and excavations are desperately needed to gain better resolution on the experiences and workings of the Hittite Empire in the borderlands.

Future work on Hittite borderlands should experiment with different geographical and temporal scales. One particularly fruitful line of inquiry would be to step over the boundary between the Bronze and Iron Ages, and explore how the Late Bronze Age borderlands of the Hittite Empire proceed to become centers of powerful regional kingdoms in the Iron Age.

Another exciting future prospect is the potential brought to archaeology by scientific analyses. These analyses will provide a much needed resolution on patterns of consumption and production of Hittite material culture in the borderlands. Furthermore, scientific analyses for sourcing the raw materials of the artifacts found in Hittite sites will be able to locate the role of the Hittite Empire in the wider Mediterranean networks of the Late Bronze Age.

TABLES

King(s)	Approximate Regnal Dates	(Possible) Relationship to Previous King
Labarna	?-1650 BCE	
Hattušili I	1650- 1620 BCE	Grandson?
Muršili I	1620-1590 BCE	Grandson, adopted son
Hantili I	1590-1560 BCE	Brother in-law
Zidanta I Ammuna Huzziya I	1560-1525 BCE	Son-in-law Son brother of Ammuna's daughter-in-law
Telipinu	1525-1500 BCE	Brother-in-law
Alluwamna Tahurwaili Hantili II Zidanta II Huzziya II Muwattalli I	1500-1400 BCE	Son-in-law Interloper Son of Alluwamna? Son? Son? Interloper
Tudhaliya I/II Arnuwanda I Hattušili II? Tudhaliya III	1400-1350 BCE	Grandson of Huzziya II? Son-in-law, adopted son Son? Son?
Šuppiluliuma I	1350-1322 BCE	Son
Arnuwandall	1322-1321 BCE	Son
Muršili II	1321-1295 BCE	Brother
Muwatalli II	1295-1272 BCE	Son
Urhi-Tešub	1272-1267 BCE	Son
Hattušili III	1267-1237 BCE	Uncle
Tudhaliya IV	1237-1209 BCE	Son
Kurunta	1228-1227 BCE	Cousin
Arnuwanda III	1209-1207 BCE	Son
Šuppiluliuma II	1207 BCE-?	Brother

Table 1 Chronology of Hittite Kings (Bryce 2005, xv)

SU	Name	2M Sherds	Diagnostic Sherds	2M %
101	Yalburt	0	156	0
102	Çobankaya	2	20	10
103	Şangır Mağaza	0	244	0
104	Kale Tepesi	24	287	8
105	Köylütolu Yayla	0	3	0
106	Ören Çeşmesi Karasevinç	9	146	6
109	Şarapol Tepe	0	314	0
111	Orta Tepe	188	284	66
113	Navruşuk Höyük	0	9	0
114	Tokar Mevkii	0	81	0
115	Göktepe	41	130	32
116	Çayır Höyük	6	73	8
117	Bozhöyük	900	939	96
118	Mahmuthisar Köyü	24	378	6
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	18	141	13
122	Eldes Kurban Tepesi	0	6	0
126	Bulcuk Höyük	0	145	0
128	Antike Mevkii	0	2	0
129	Saraycık Höyük	0	70	0
131	Osmancık Aşağı Kuyu Mevkii	12	344	3
133	Karatepe	10	223	4
134	Kaleköy Küllük	35	244	14
135	Eski Kaleköy Höyüğü	0	233	0
137	Şeker Höyük	0	104	0
138	Orhaniye Höyük & Bağlık Mevkii	0	41	0
139	Yıldıztepe Mevkii	3	38	8
140	İmircik Höyük	28	131	21
141	Gümüşlü Höyük	9	49	20
142	Çeşmecik Höyük	5	230	2
144	Dereköy Höyük	62	88	70
145	Macar Mevkii	6	46	13
147	Argıthanı Höyük	0	21	0
148	Argıthanı Tekke Mevkii	0	99	0
149	Kargaoğlu (Kavganın) Höyük	1	42	2
150	Karakaya Mevkii	0	298	0
151	Kale Tepesi	0	43	0
152	Kapaklı Höyük	15	118	13
153	Kekeç Pekören	8	237	3
154	Reşadiye Küllük	14	200	7
155	Yoğabaltık	9	154	6
156	Çavuşçugöl Höyük	2	48	4
157	Uzun Pınar	12	222	5
158	Çallı Ağıl	27	87	31
159	Küçük Höyük	0	52	0
160	Ada Tepe	4	147	3
162	Codurun Höyük	44	455	10
163	Aktepe Mağarası	9	84	11
164	Üçpınarlar	0	16	0

Table 2 Second millennium BCE diagnostic ceramic counts from each SU in the Yalburt Survey area, and the percentage of the second millennium BCE material. (The shading indicates sites with more than 10% of their assemblages comprised of second millennium BCE sherds)

Function	Broad Category	Central Anatolian Shapes	Beycesultan Shapes
Food preparation	<i>Pots</i>	T4, T16, T17, T20	
	<i>Baking Plates</i>	Te1, Te2	Baking platter
	<i>Cooking Pots</i>	KT1, KT2, KT3, KT4, KT5	Cooking pots
	<i>Sieves</i>	Sieve	Colander
	<i>Beer brewing vessels</i>	T1, T2, T3, T6, T7, T8, T9, T12, T13, T15	
	<i>Stands and warmers</i>		Drink warmer, pot stand, tripod stand
Consumption	<i>Jars</i>	K4	
	<i>Bowls</i>	S5, S6, S7, S8, S13, S14	Bead-rim bowl, inverted rim bowl, shallow bowl, carinated bowl
	<i>Drinking cups/vessels</i>	T20, S12, N1, N2	Fruitstand, cup, mug, chalice/goblet
	<i>Eggshell</i>	Eggshell	
	<i>Pouring</i>	Jugs (Kk, Rk, K8)	Jugs (beaked, spouted, round mouth, bifoil, trefoil, quatrefoil), teapot
Storage	<i>Pithoi</i>	P1, P2	Pithos
	<i>Pots</i>	T5, T18, T19, T21, T24	
	<i>Bowls</i>	S11	
	<i>Jars</i>	K1, K2, K3, K7	Storage jar, jar, small jar
	<i>Flasks</i>	Lf1, Lf2	Lentoid flask, askos
Ritual	<i>Jars</i>	K12, K13	
	<i>Bowls</i>	S12	Dipper
	<i>Small bowls</i>	N1, N2, N3, N4, N5	
	<i>Libation vessels</i>	Beak-spouted jug, libation arm	Rhyton
	<i>Bottles</i>	Spindle bottle	
	<i>Burial vessels</i>		Urn
Multi-purpose	<i>Pots for food preparation and storage</i>	T10, T11	
	<i>Bowls for food preparation and consumption</i>	S1, S2, S3, S4, S9	

Table 3 Typological classification of MBA and LBA pottery shapes from Boğazköy and Beycesultan

SU#	SU Name	Chronology	Size	Location	Elevation
111	Orta Tepe	MBA-LBA	8.5 ha	Çavuşçu Lake Basin	1043 m
115	Göktepe	LBA	5.2 ha	Çavuşçu Lake Basin	1034 m
117	Bozhöyük	LBA	5.4 ha	Ilgın Plain	1040 m
120	Nodalar (Eldeş)	MBA-LBA	2.3 ha	Ilgın Plain	1045 m
134	Kaleköy Küllük	MBA-LBA	1.1 ha	Bulasan Valley	1009 m
140	İmircik Tepe	MBA-LBA	4.4 ha	Atlantı Plain	982 m
144	Dereköy Höyük	MBA-LBA	2.2 ha	Hills at the edge of the Çavuşçu Lake Basin	1101 m
152	Kapaklı Höyük	MBA	3.7 ha	Plateau	1119 m
158	Çallı Ağıl	LBA	0.3 ha	Edge of the Çavuşçu Lake Basin	1038 m
162	Codurun Höyük	MBA-LBA	1.6 ha	Çavuşçu Lake Basin	1034 m

Table 4 The chronology, size, location and elevation of the ten second millennium BCE sites studied in this chapter

			Food Preparation																								FP		
SU#	SU Name	Locus	Pots					Plates			Cooking Pots	Beyce. Kitch. W.	Bowls	Sieves	Beer brewing (and consumption)												TOTAL		
			T4	T16	T17	T20	Other	Te1	Te2	Other					T1	T2	T3	T6	T7	T8	T9	T12	T13	T15	Other				
111	Orta Tepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
111	Orta Tepe	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	23	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	28
111	Orta Tepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
111	Orta Tepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
115	Göktepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
117	Bozhöyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
117	Bozhöyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
117	Bozhöyük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	52	5	0	1	13	5	1	0	0	28	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	111
117	Bozhöyük	SUR11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
134	Kaleköy Küllük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
134	Kaleköy Küllük	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
134	Kaleköy Küllük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmirçik Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmirçik Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmirçik Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
140	İmirçik Höyük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmirçik Höyük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
144	Dereköy Höyük	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
144	Dereköy Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
152	Kapaklı Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
152	Kapaklı Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
152	Kapaklı Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Çallı Ağıl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Çallı Ağıl	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
158	Çallı Ağıl	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
158	Çallı Ağıl	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
162	Codurun Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
162	Codurun Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
162	Codurun Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
162	Codurun Höyük	SUR12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5 Quantities of food preparation vessels in the ten sites of the Yalburt Survey region analyzed in this chapter

			Consumption																	C	
			Jars	Bowls								Scoops			Drinking cups/vessels			Fine ware			TOTAL
SU#	SU Name	Locus	K4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S13	S14	Bead r	Inv. rim	Other		T20	S12	Other	Jugs	K8	Other		
111	Orta Tepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
111	Orta Tepe	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	47	7	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	65	
111	Orta Tepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	
111	Orta Tepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	20	
115	Göktepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	
115	Göktepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
117	Bozhöyük	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	
117	Bozhöyük	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
117	Bozhöyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
117	Bozhöyük	4	0	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	19	
117	Bozhöyük	5	0	74	13	0	1	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	30	0	4	0	0	142	
117	Bozhöyük	SUR11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmirlik Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmirlik Höyük	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	
140	İmirlik Höyük	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
140	İmirlik Höyük	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
140	İmirlik Höyük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
144	Dereköy Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	10	
144	Dereköy Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	
158	Çallı Ağıl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
158	Çallı Ağıl	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	
162	Codurun Höyük	SUR12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 6 Quantities of consumption vessels in the ten sites of the Yalburt Survey region analyzed in this chapter

			Storage																		S		
			Pithoi									Bowls		Jars					Flasks				
SU#	SU Name	Locus	P1	P2	Other	T5	T18	T19	T21	T24	Other	S11	Other	K1	K2	K3	K7	Other	Lf1	Lf2	Other	TOTAL	
111	Orta Tepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	
111	Orta Tepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
115	Göktepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
115	Göktepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
117	Bozhöyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
117	Bozhöyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
117	Bozhöyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
117	Bozhöyük	4	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	
117	Bozhöyük	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	8	
117	Bozhöyük	SUR11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmircik Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmircik Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmircik Höyük	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
140	İmircik Höyük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmircik Höyük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
144	Dereköy Höyük	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	
144	Dereköy Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	
162	Codurun Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	SUR12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 7 Quantities of storage vessels in the ten sites of the Yalburt Survey region analyzed in this chapter

SU#	SU Name	Locus	Ritual												R
			Jars			Small bowls						Beak-s.	Libation	Spindle	
			K12	K13	Other	N1	N2	N3	N4	N5	Other	jug	arm	bottle	TOTAL
111	Orta Tepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	Orta Tepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
111	Orta Tepe	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
111	Orta Tepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	Orta Tepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
115	Göktepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
117	Bozhöyük	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
117	Bozhöyük	SUR11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
134	Kaleköy Küllük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
134	Kaleköy Küllük	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmircik Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmircik Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmircik Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmircik Höyük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	İmircik Höyük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
144	Dereköy Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
144	Dereköy Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
152	Kapaklı Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
152	Kapaklı Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
152	Kapaklı Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Çallı Ağıl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Çallı Ağıl	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Çallı Ağıl	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Çallı Ağıl	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3
162	Codurun Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
162	Codurun Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
162	Codurun Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
162	Codurun Höyük	SUR12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8 Quantities of ritual vessels in the ten sites of the Yalburt Survey region analyzed in this chapter

			Multi-purpose vessels								MP
			Food prep & storage			Food prep & consumption				TOTAL	
SU#	SU Name	Locus	S9	T10	T11	S1	S2	S3	S4		
111	Orta Tepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	Orta Tepe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
115	Göktepe	3	0	6	0	7	3	0	1	17	
115	Göktepe	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	Göktepe	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	
117	Bozhöyük	1	0	3	0	2	3	0	1	9	
117	Bozhöyük	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	
117	Bozhöyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
117	Bozhöyük	4	0	4	0	2	6	0	5	17	
117	Bozhöyük	5	0	16	0	29	35	0	64	144	
117	Bozhöyük	SUR11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
120	Nodalar (Eldes)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
134	Kaleköy Küllük	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmirlik Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
140	İmirlik Höyük	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	
140	İmirlik Höyük	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
140	İmirlik Höyük	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
140	İmirlik Höyük	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
144	Dereköy Höyük	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	
144	Dereköy Höyük	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
152	Kapaklı Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
158	Çallı Ağıl	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
162	Codurun Höyük	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
162	Codurun Höyük	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
162	Codurun Höyük	SUR12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 9 Quantities of multi-purpose vessels in the ten sites of the Yalburt Survey region analyzed in this chapter.

FIGURES

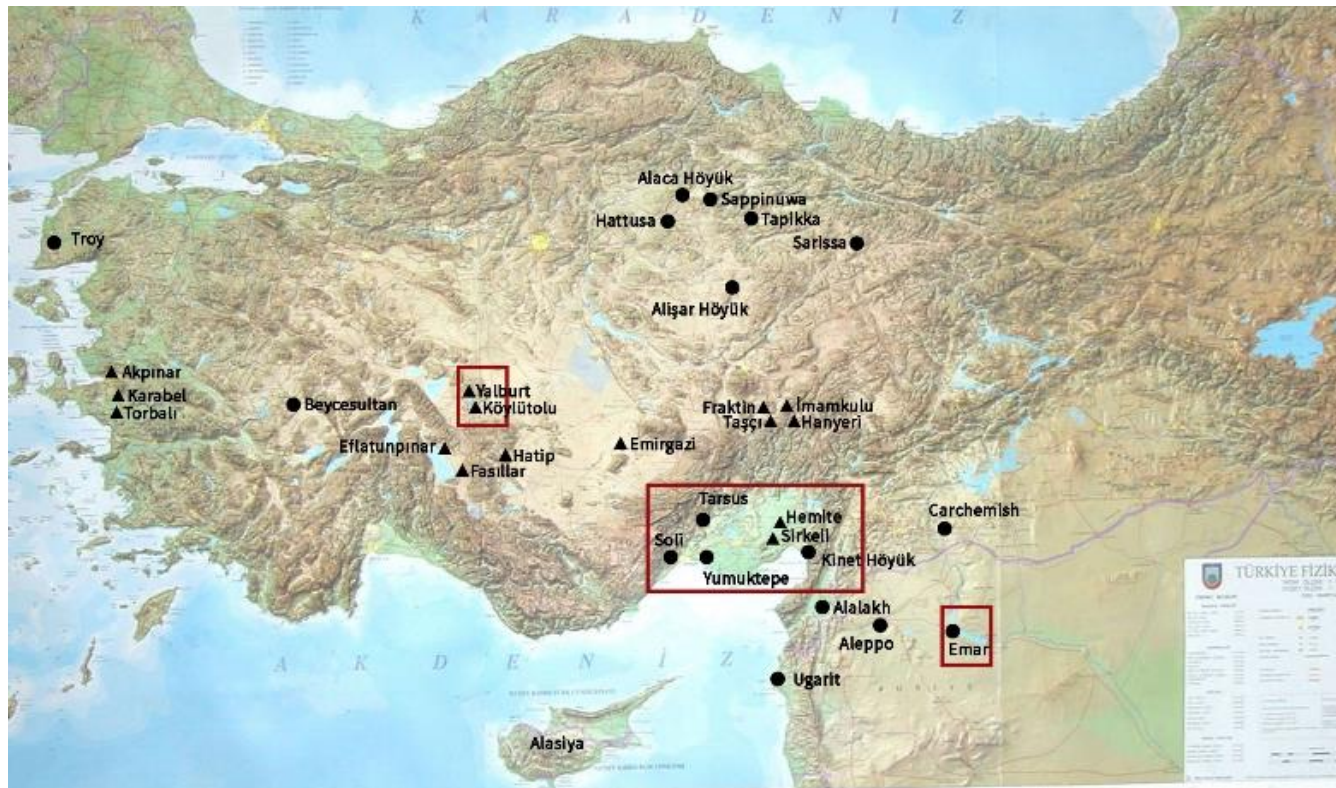


Figure 1 Map showing the regions of the case studies (approximate areas marked), as well as other key sites (circles) and monuments (triangles) of the Hittite empire (map by author)



Figure 2 The extent of the Hititte Empire according to texts (Roaf 1990, 139)



Figure 3 Locations of Late Bronze Age rock monuments (map by author)



Figure 4 Regions and cities mentioned in the text (map by author)



Figure 6 The Yalburt monument as seen from the northeast (Photo by Ömür Harmanşah)



Figure 7 The first block of the Yalburt monument, naming King Tudhaliya in Luwian hieroglyphs (author's photo)



Figure 8 Inscription on the Köylütolu limestone basin (Gelb 1939, Plate LXIII)

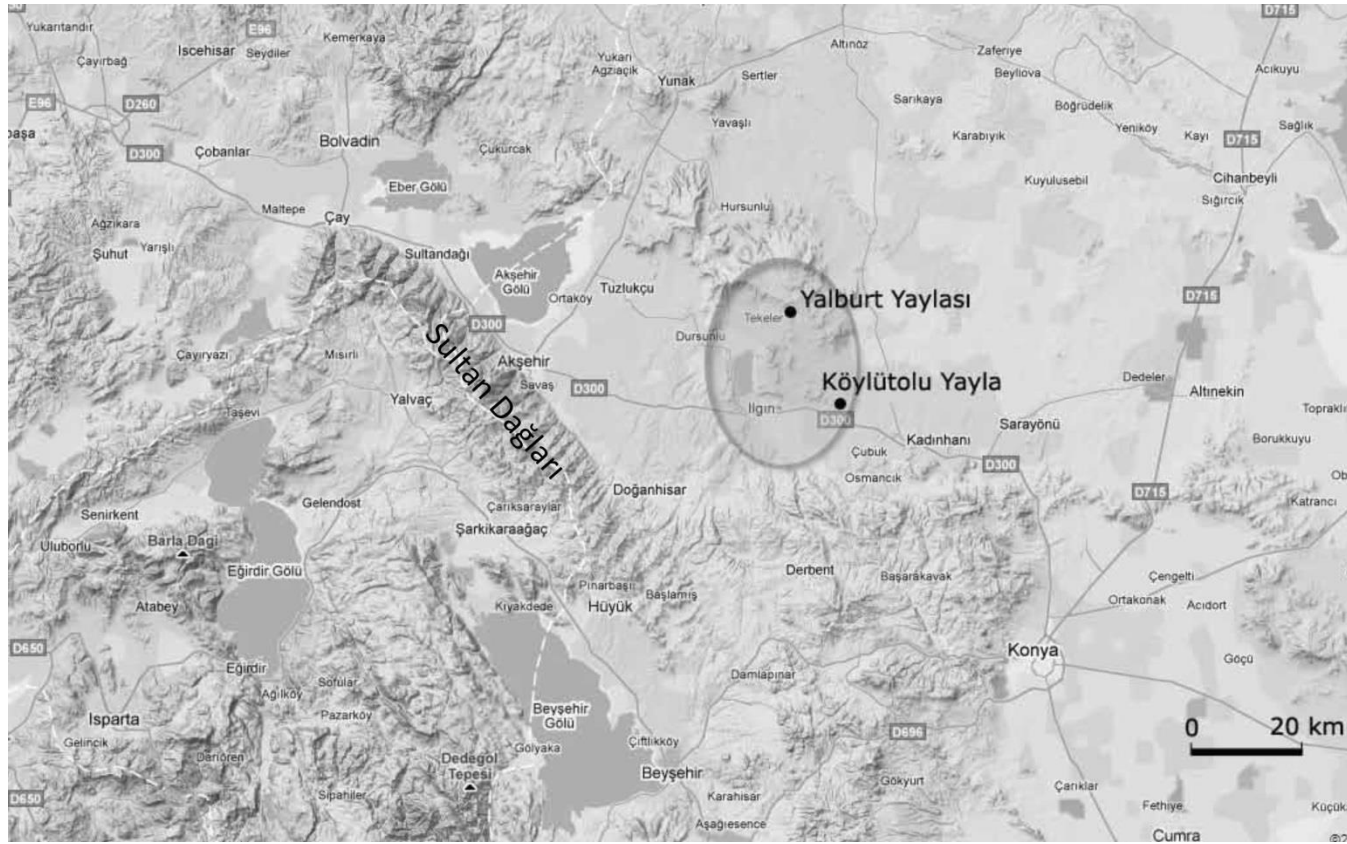


Figure 9 Map showing the environs of the Yalbur Survey region and the two Hittite rock monuments within the survey area (Harmanşah and Johnson 2012, 351)



Figure 10 Kale Tepesi (SU 104) (Photo by Ömür Harmanşah)

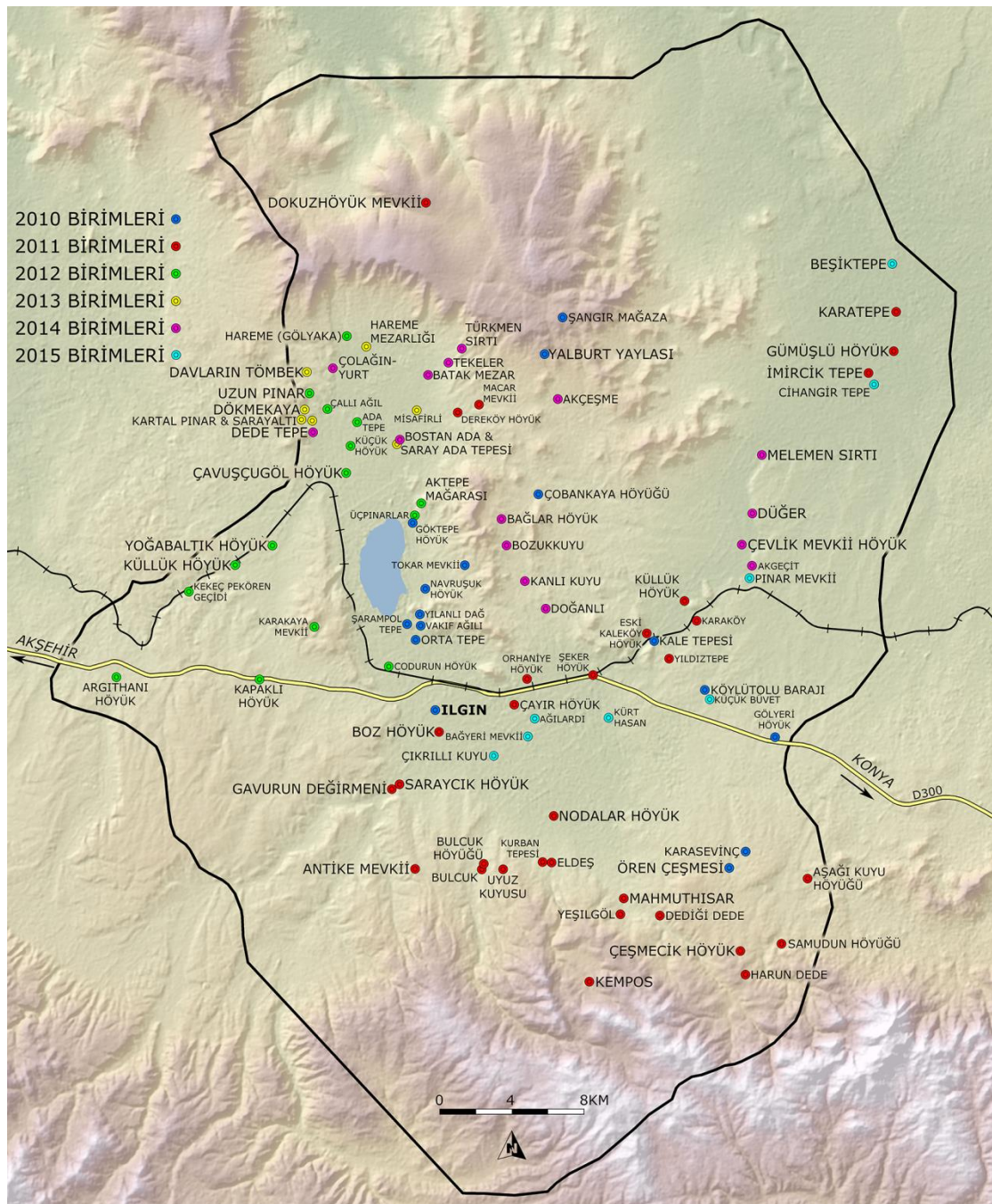


Figure 11 Map showing all of the sites surveyed in the Yalburt Survey area between 2010 and 2015 (Map by Peri Johnson)

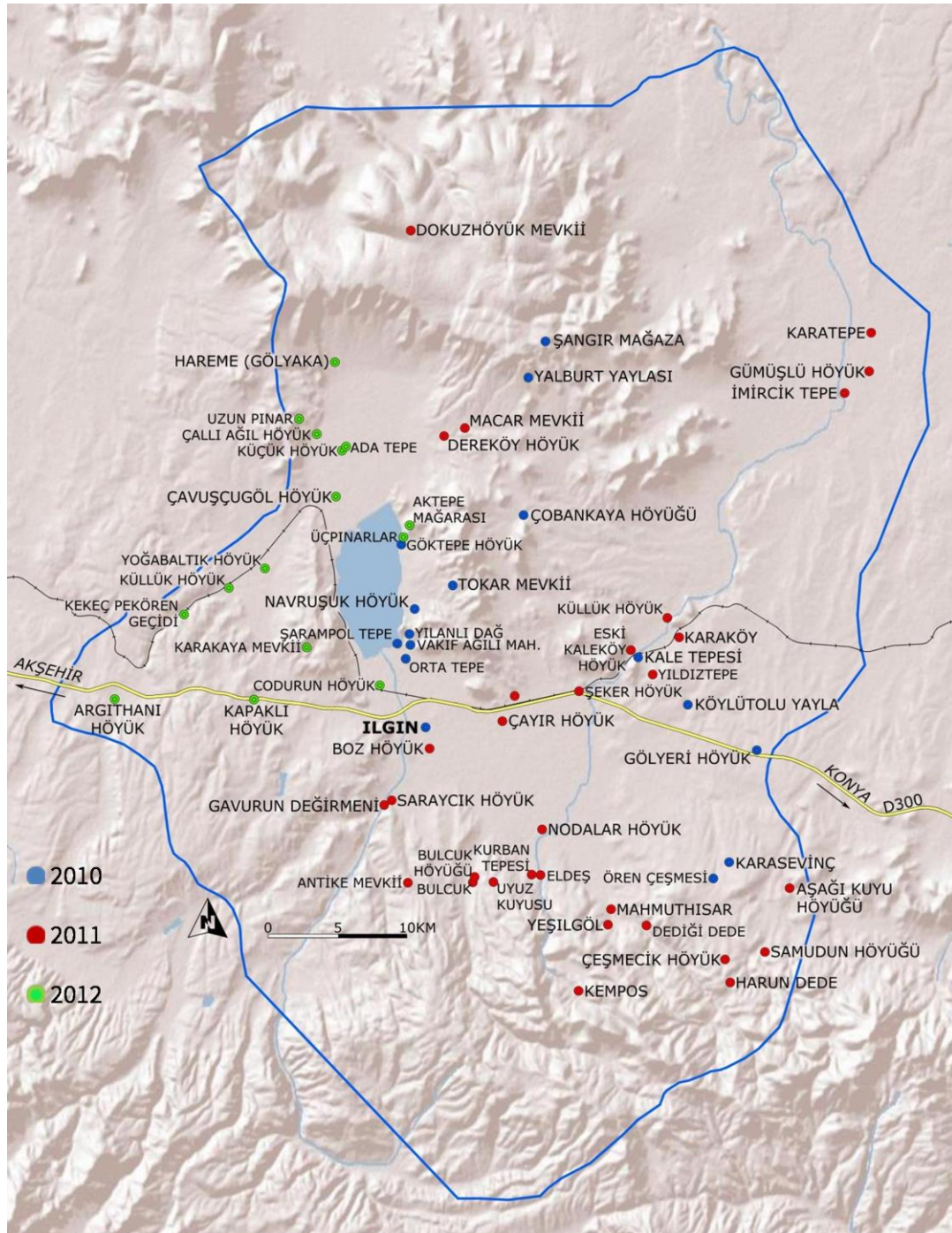


Figure 12 Map showing the 48 sites surveyed in the Yalburn Survey area between 2010 and 2012 (Map by Peri Johnson. Harmanşah and Johnson 2014, 388)



Figure 13 Map showing the ten sites analyzed in Chapter 3

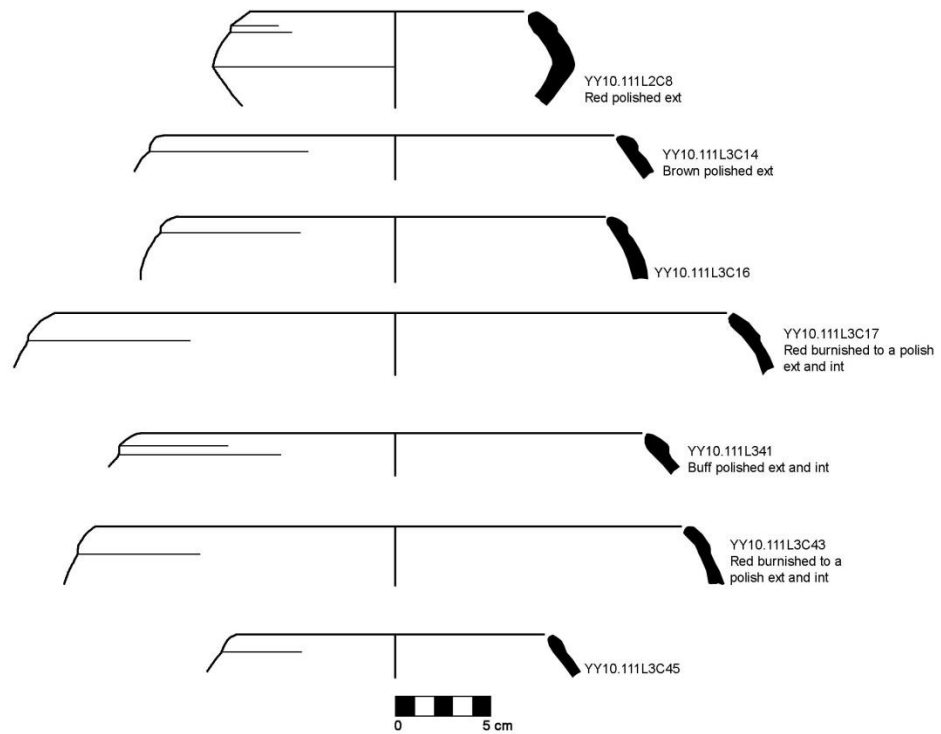


Figure 14 Examples of bead-rim bowls from Orta Tepe

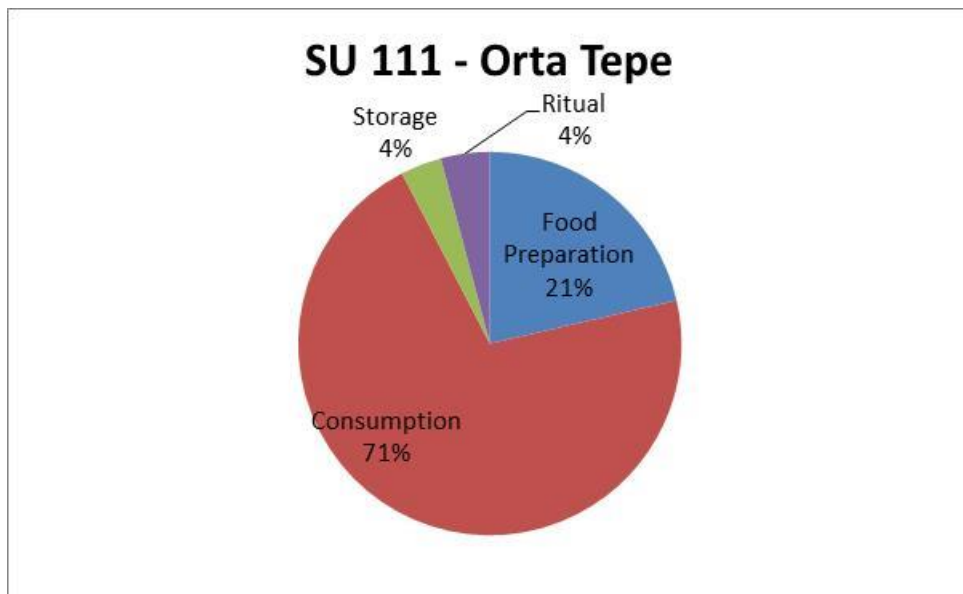


Figure 15 Pottery of Orta Tepe divided into functional categories



Figure 16 YY10.111L2C2 (above) and YY10.111L4C8 (below)

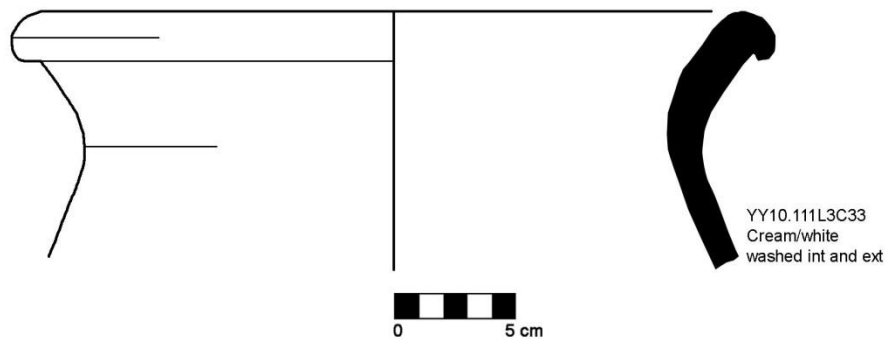


Figure 17 YY.111L3C33, a large storage jar in Beycesultan MBA Shape 25

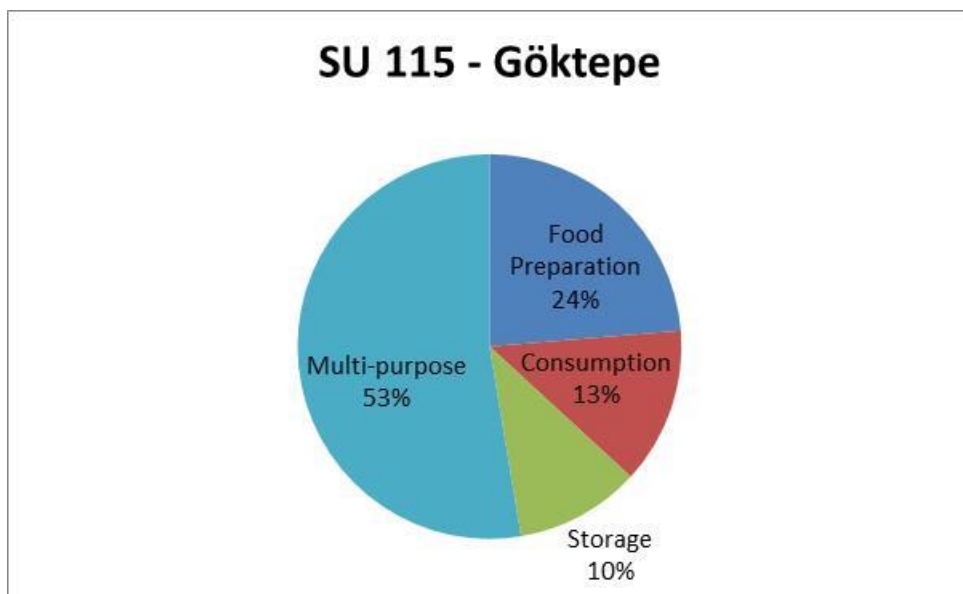


Figure 18 Pottery of Göktepe divided into functional categories

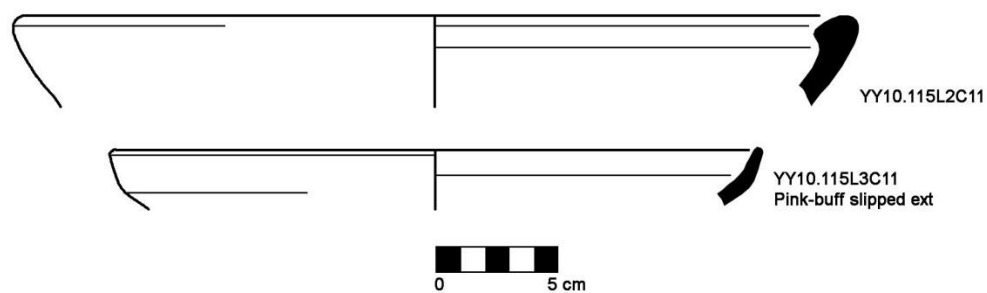


Figure 19 Example of an anti-splash rim bowl (above) and a shallow bowl (below) from Göktepe

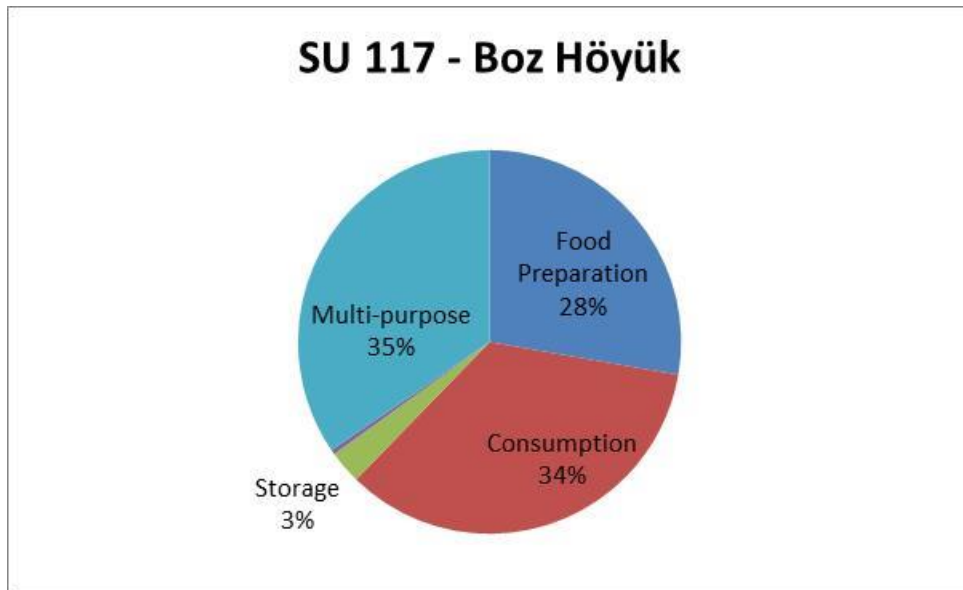


Figure 20 Pottery of Boz Höyük divided into functional categories

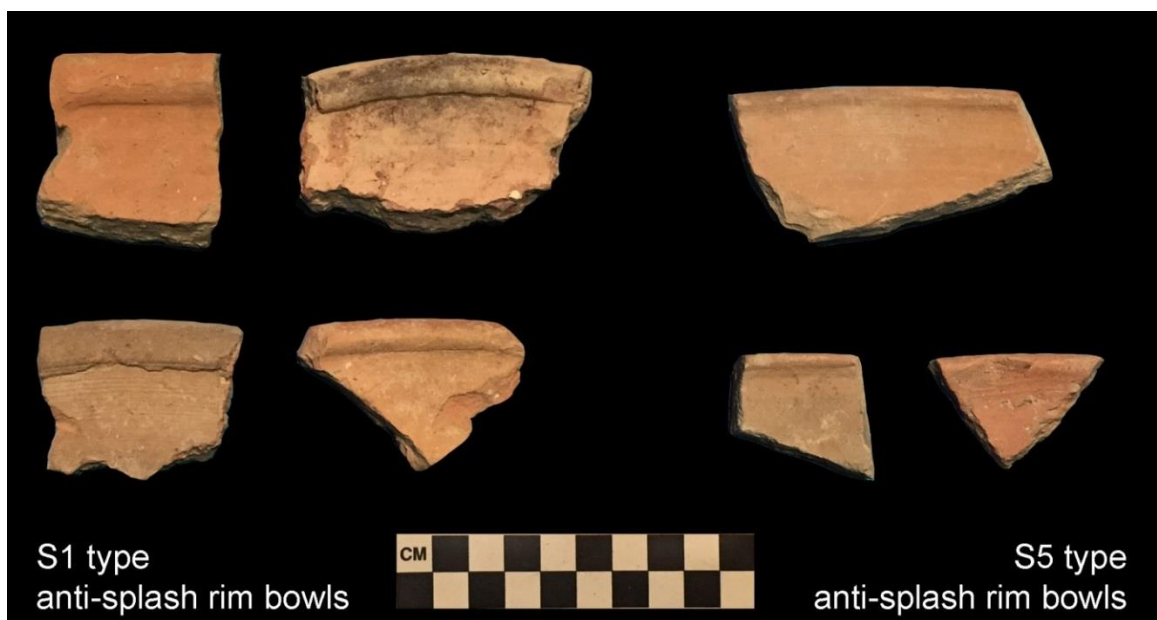


Figure 21 Examples of anti-splash rim bowls from Boz Höyük

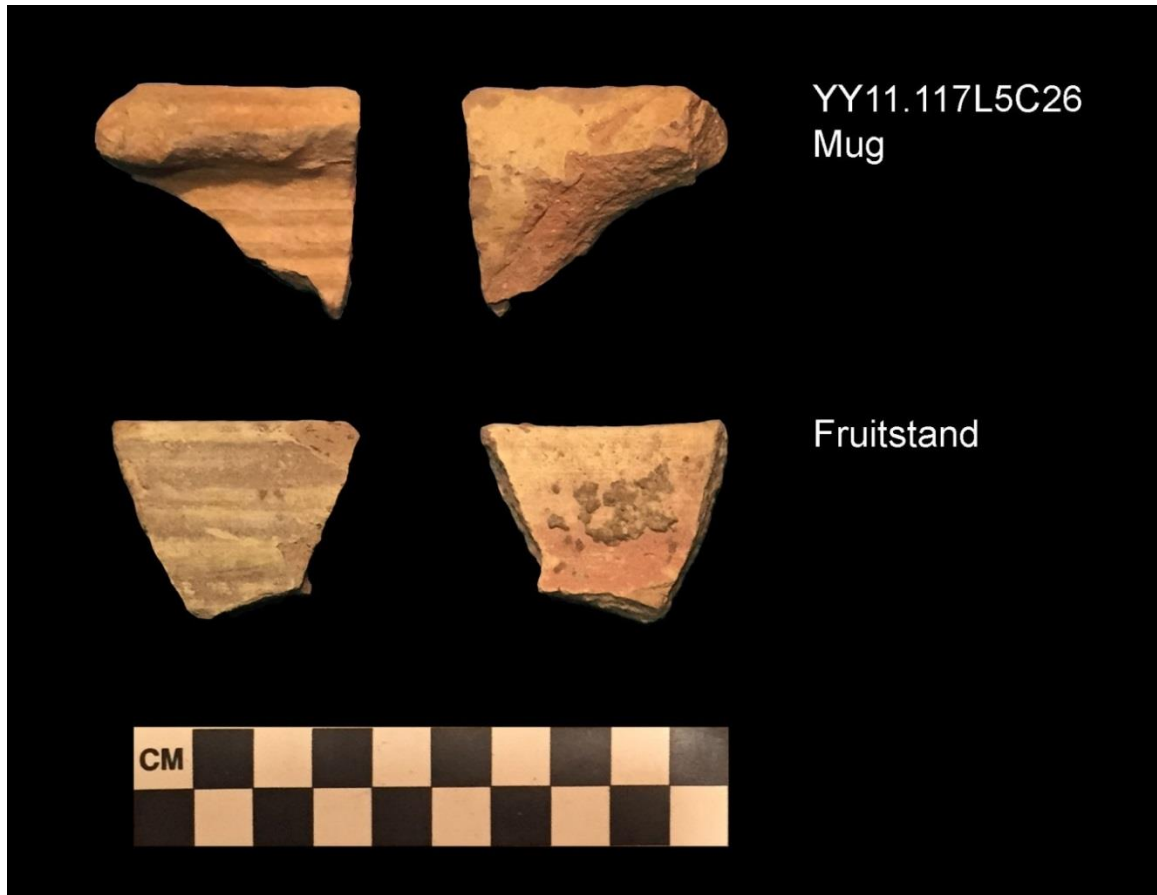


Figure 22 Examples of Beycesultan-style drinking vessels from Boz Höyük

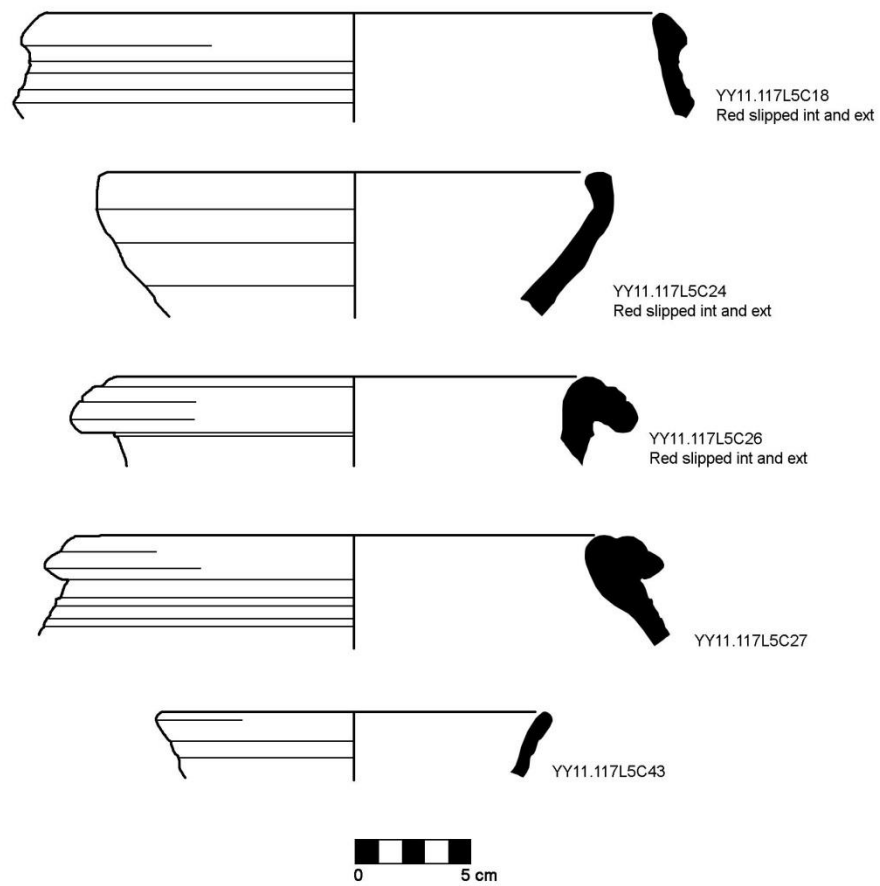


Figure 23 Examples of Beycesultan-style drinking vessels from Boz Höyük: YY11.117L5C18 (fruitstand), YY11.117L5C24 (fruitstand), YY11.117L5C26 (mug), YY11.117L5C27 (mug), and YY11.117L5C43 (chalice/goblet)

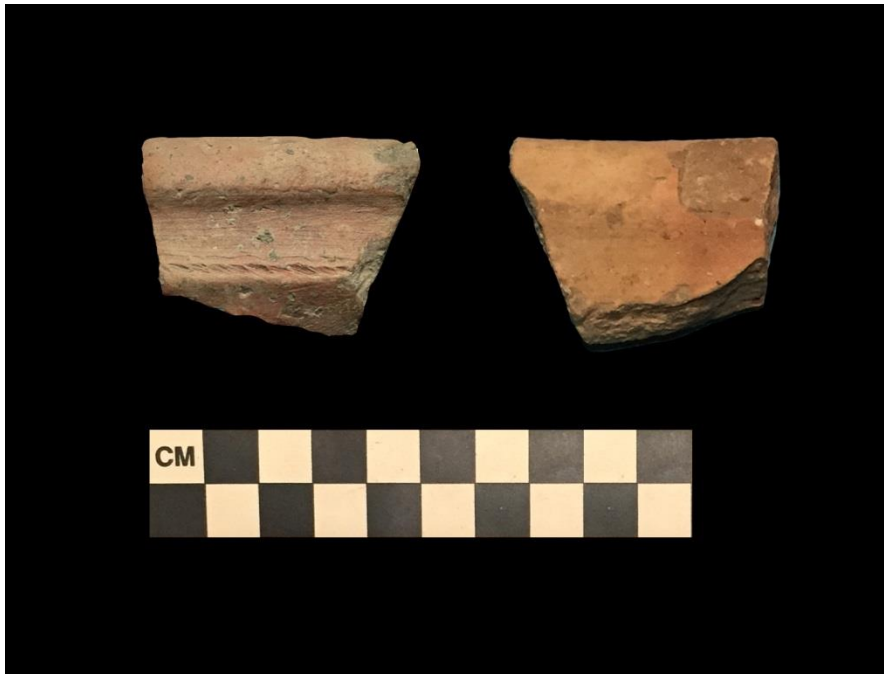


Figure 24 An example of Beycesultan-style kitchenware from Boz Höyük

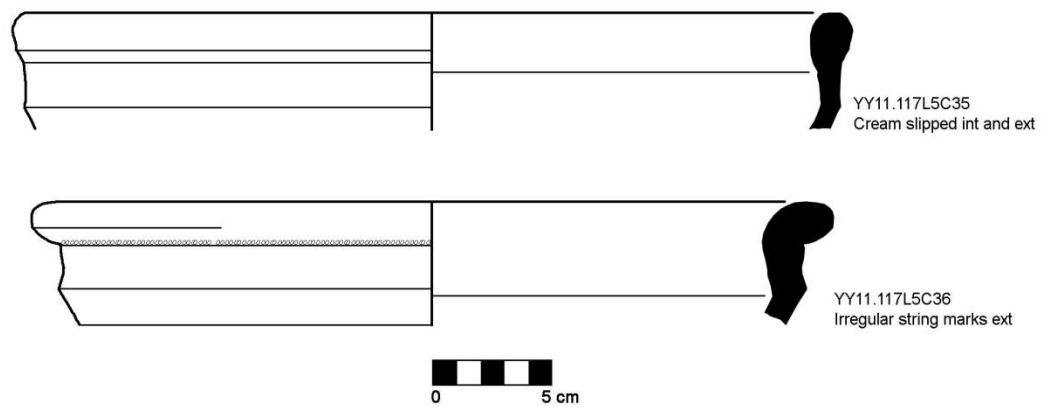


Figure 25 Examples of Beycesultan-style kitchenware from Boz Höyük

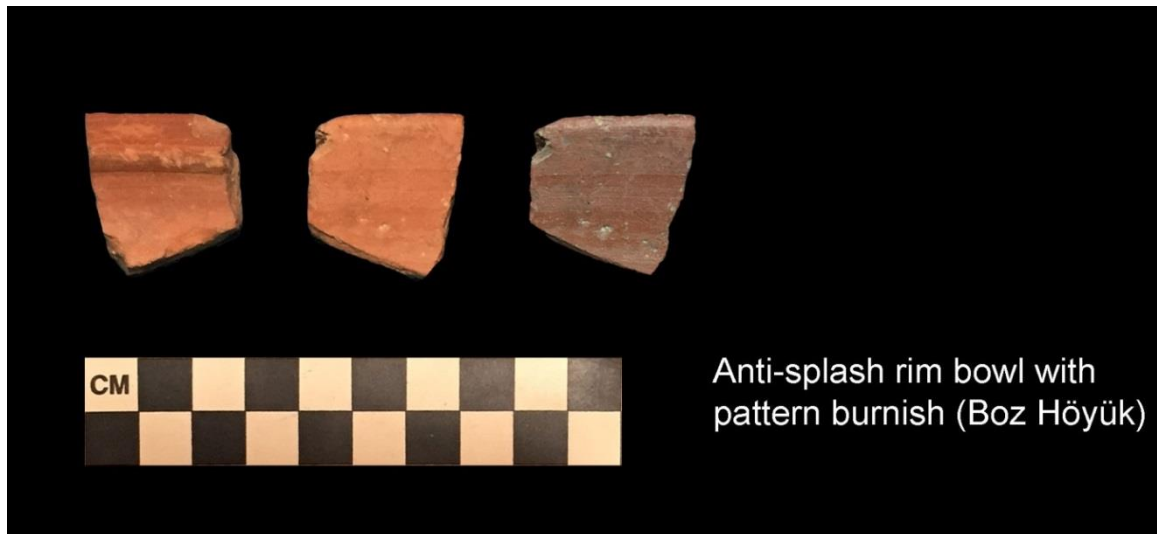


Figure 26 An example of hybrid forms at Boz Höyük: a Hittite anti-splash rim bowl with Beycesultan pattern burnish (the image on the far right is taken under a different light to make the burnish streaks make more visible, while the images on the left and the middle show the real color of the sherd).

SU 120 - Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük

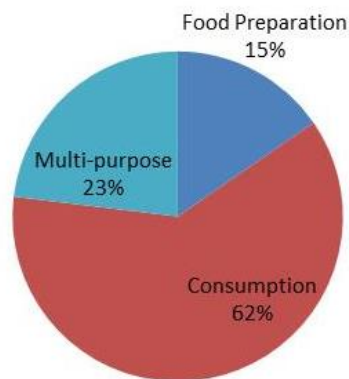


Figure 27 Pottery of Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük divided into functional categories



Figure 28 YY11.120L1C10, a flat baking plate from Nodalar (Eldeş) Höyük. The detail of the string impression is not to scale.

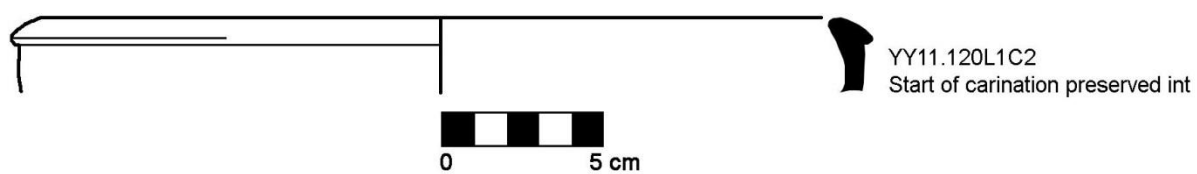


Figure 29 YY11.120L1C2

SU 134 - Kaleköy Küllük Höyük

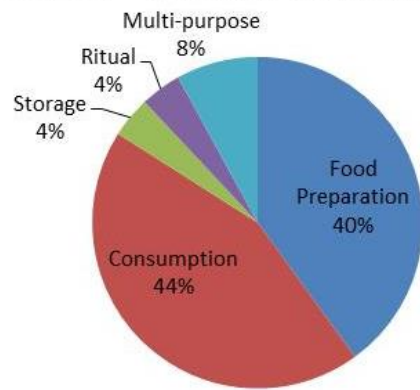


Figure 30 Pottery of Kaleköy Küllük Höyük divided into functional categories

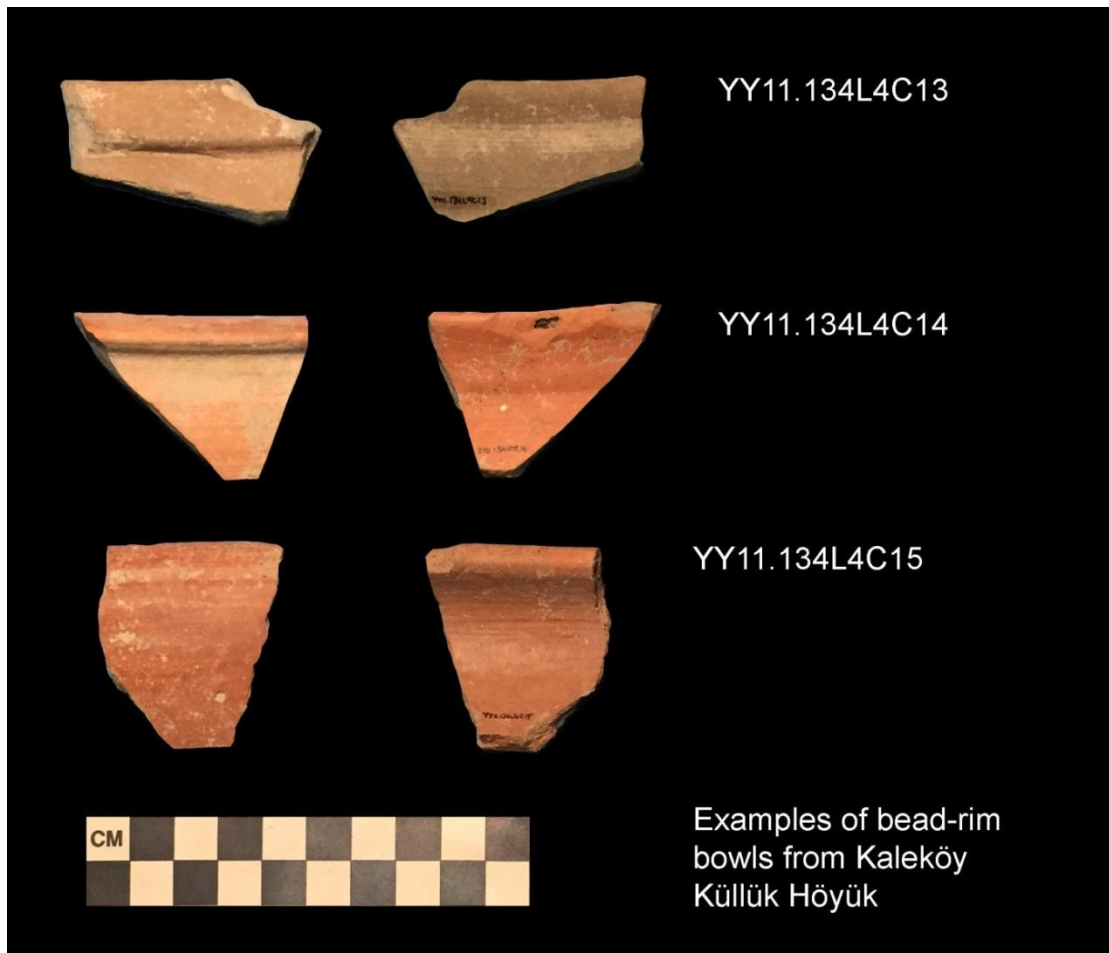


Figure 31 Examples of bead-rim bowls from Kaleköy Küllük Höyük

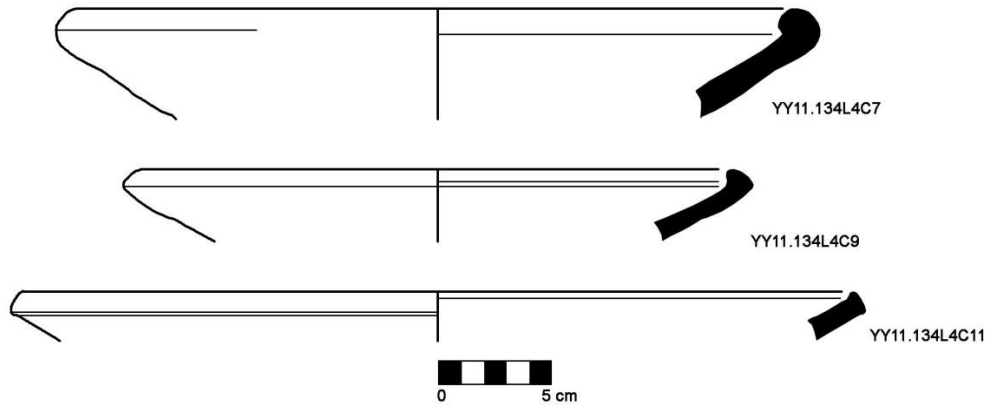


Figure 32 Examples of Hittite forms in Kaleköy Küllük Höyük



Figure 33 Neck piece from a RLWmW spindle bottle: exterior (upper left) and interior (lower left) surfaces, as well as the section of the vessel showing the fine fabric (lower right)

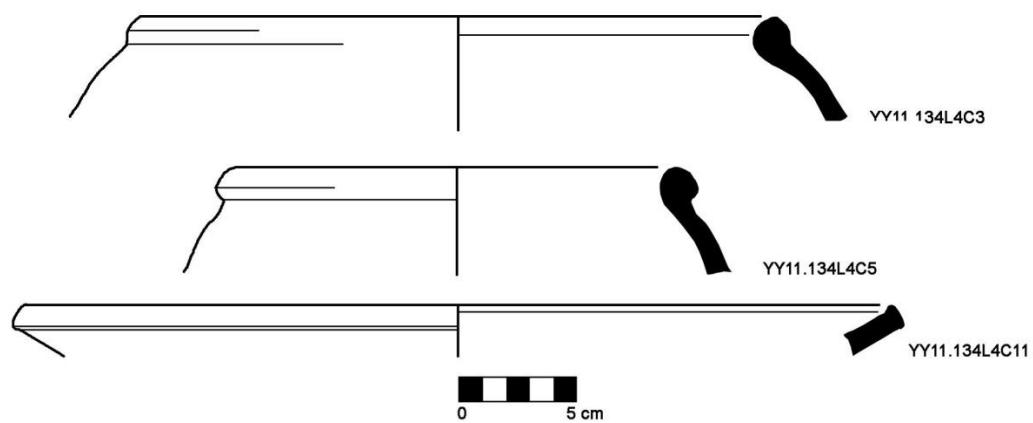


Figure 34 YY11.134L2C3, YY11.134L2C5 and YY11.134L2C11

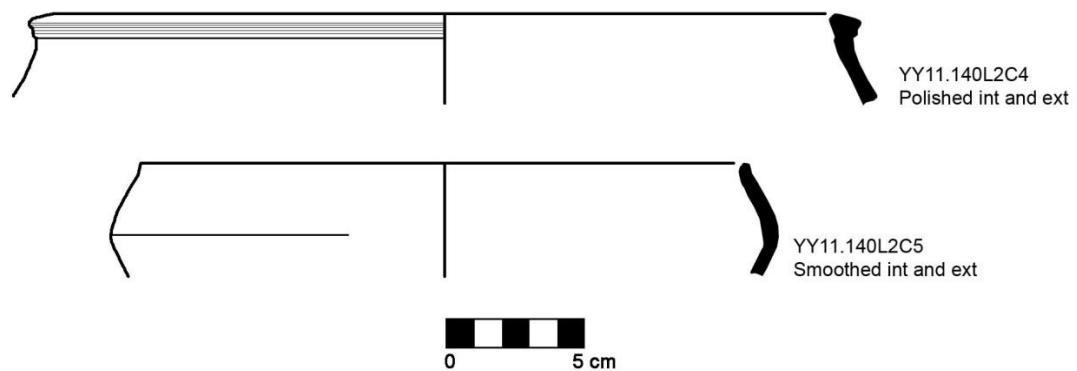


Figure 35 Examples of MBA vessels from İmircik Höyük: two bead-rim bowls

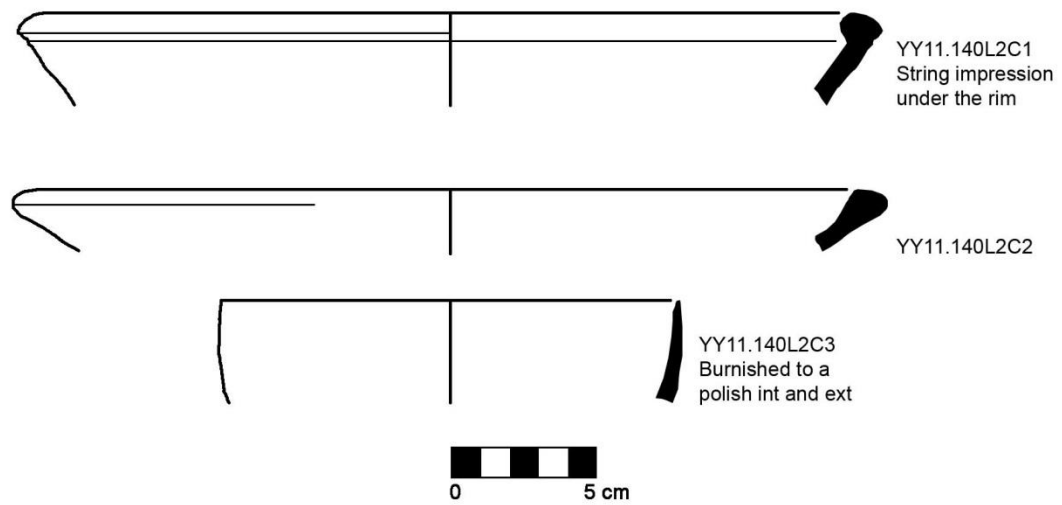


Figure 36 Examples from LBA vessels from İmircik Höyük: two anti-splash rim bowls (YY11.140L2C1 and YY11.140L2C2) and a S-12 type drinking bowl (YY11.140L2C3)



Figure 37 Body sherds with radial pattern burnish

SU 140 - İmircik Höyük

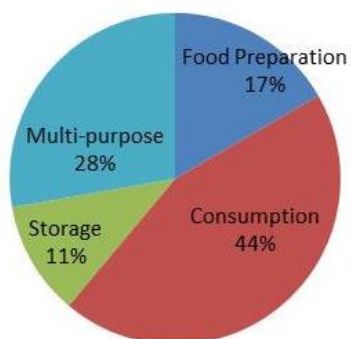


Figure 38 Pottery of İmircik Höyük divided into functional categories

SU 144 - Dereköy Höyük

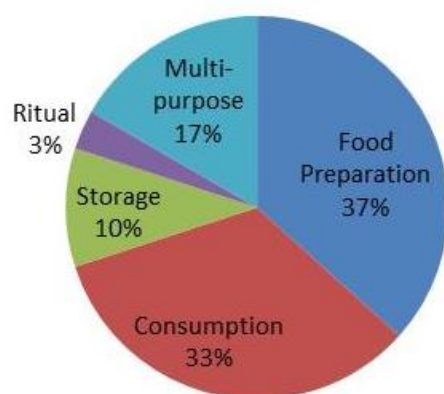


Figure 39 Pottery of Dereköy Höyük divided into functional categories

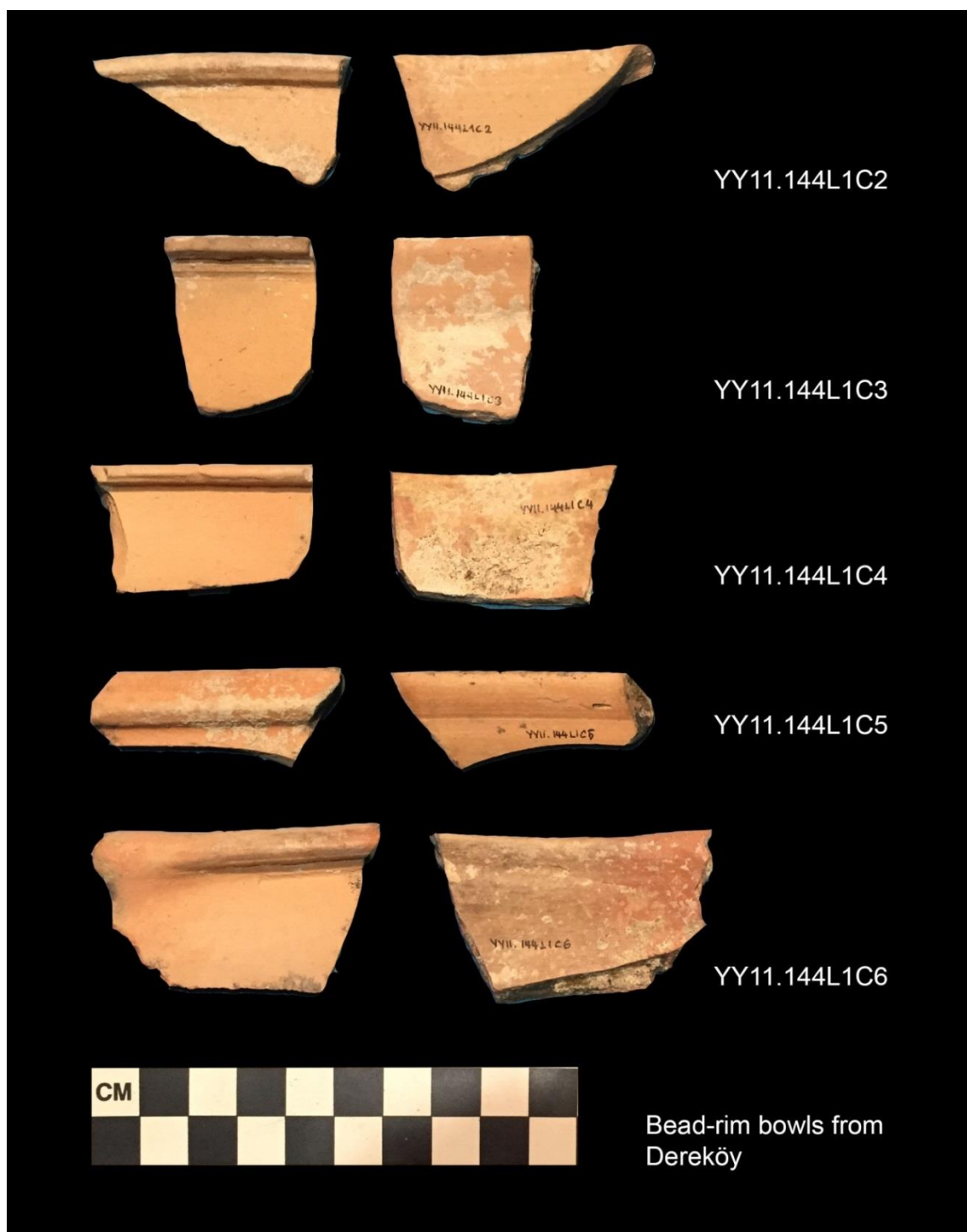


Figure 40 Examples of MBA pottery from Dereköy Höyük



Figure 41 Examples of LBA vessels from Dereköy Höyük

SU 152 - Kapaklı Höyük

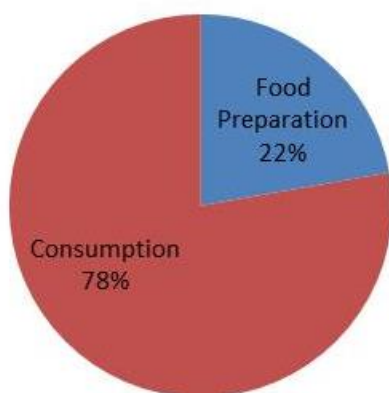


Figure 42 Pottery of Kapaklı Höyük divided into functional categories

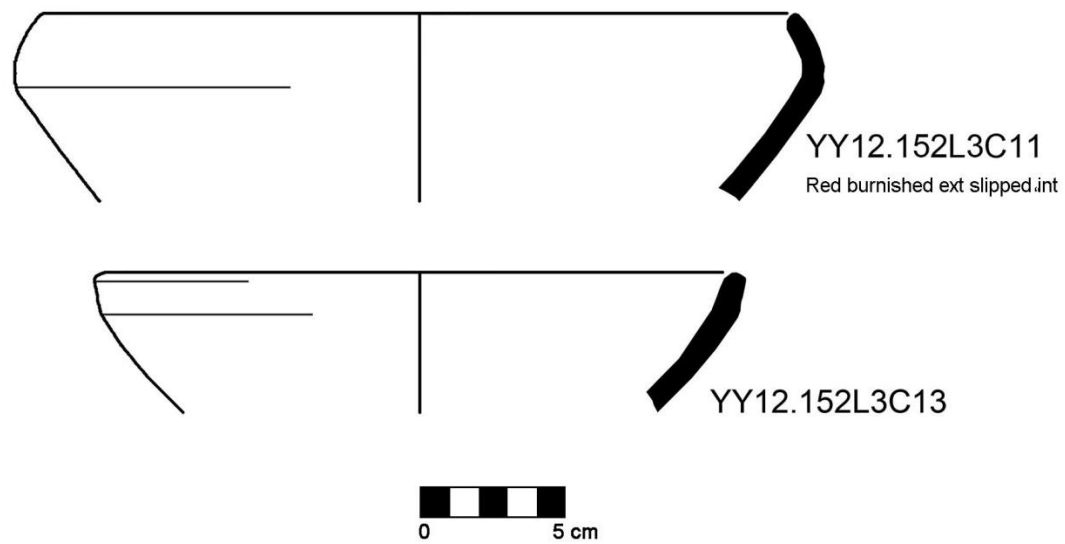


Figure 43 Examples of MBA vessels from Kapaklı Höyük

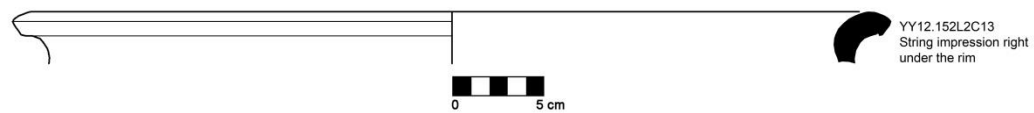


Figure 44 Example of LBA vessels from Kapaklı Höyük



Figure 45 SU 158 Çallı Ağıl Locus 4 – the site of the pithos cemetery (Photo courtesy of Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project)



Figure 46 A limestone capstone *in situ* in Feature 1 (left), and the looted burial Feature 2 (right) (Photo courtesy of Yalburt Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project)

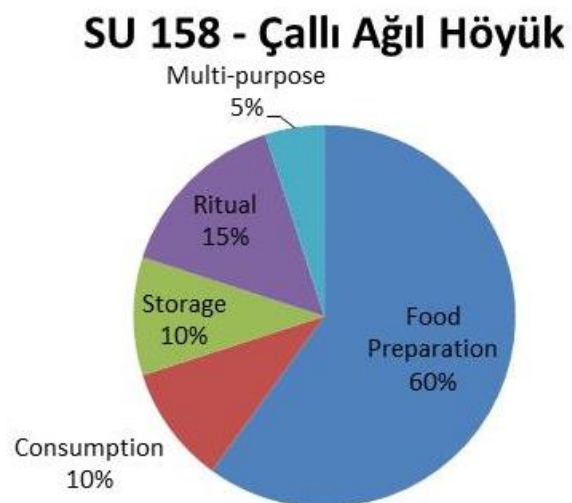


Figure 47 Pottery of Çallı Ağıl Höyük divided into functional categories

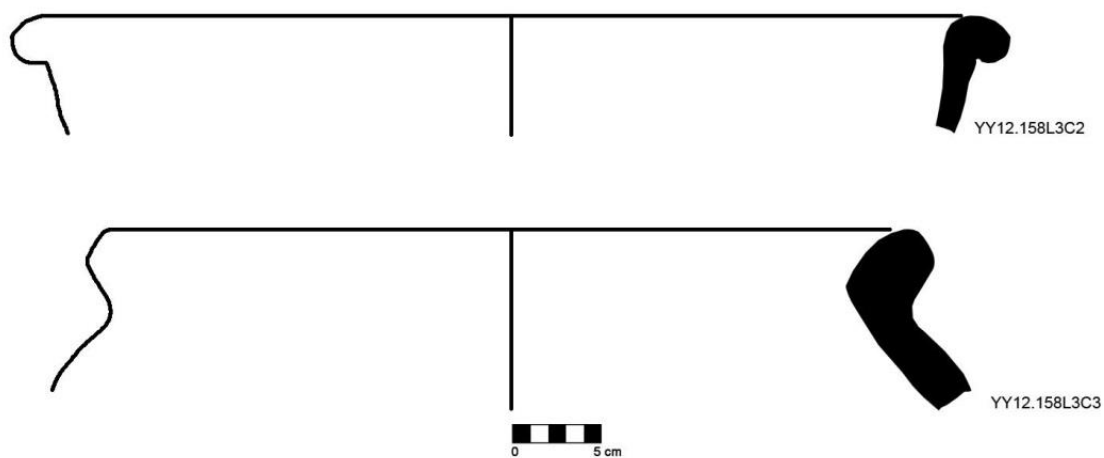


Figure 48 Examples of multi-purpose vessels from Çallı Ağıl Höyük, probably used as burial vessels

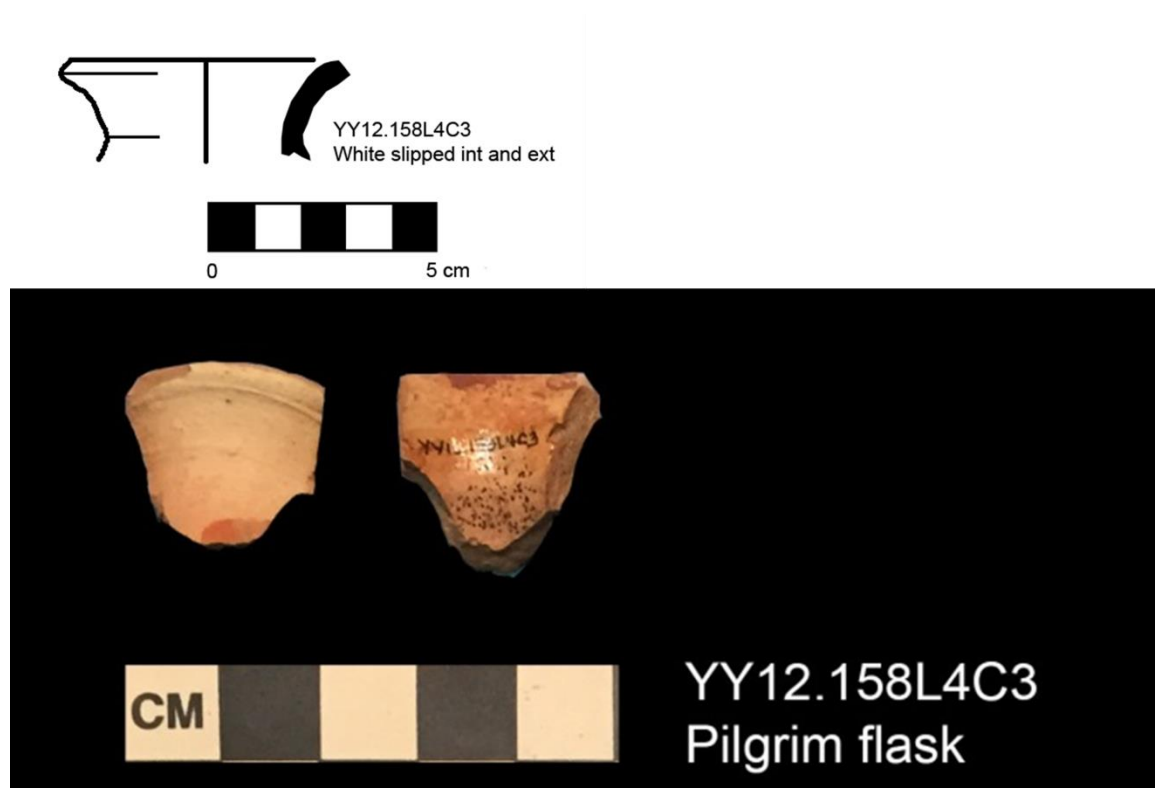


Figure 49 YY12.158L4C3, a pilgrim flask fragment from the site of Çallı Ağıl Höyük

SU 162 - Codurun Höyük

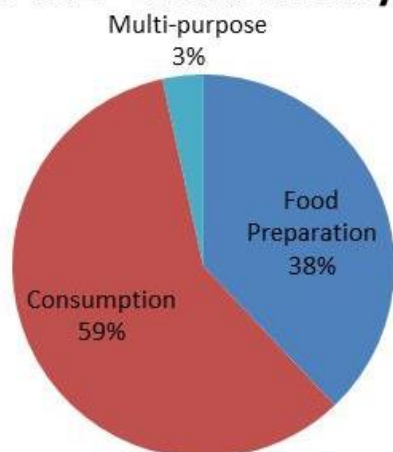


Figure 50 Pottery of Codurun Höyük divided into functional categories

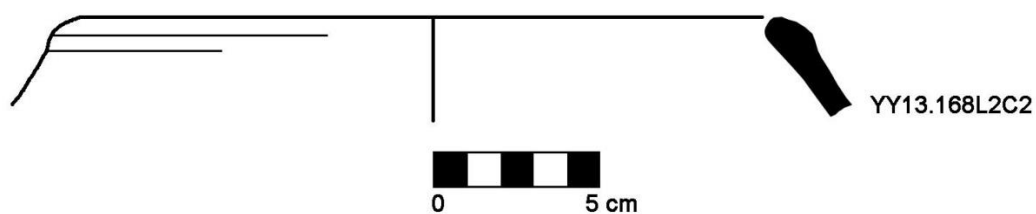


Figure 51 Example of bead-rim bowls from Codurun Höyük

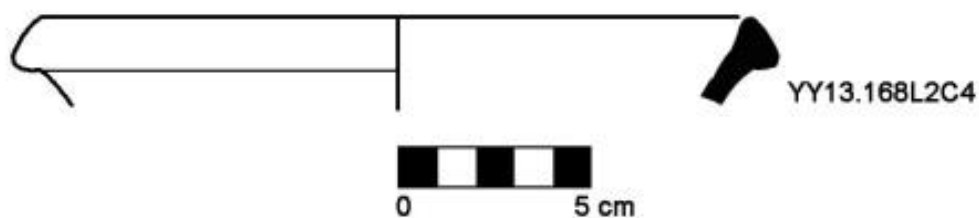


Figure 52 Example of central Anatolian style pots from Codurun Höyük

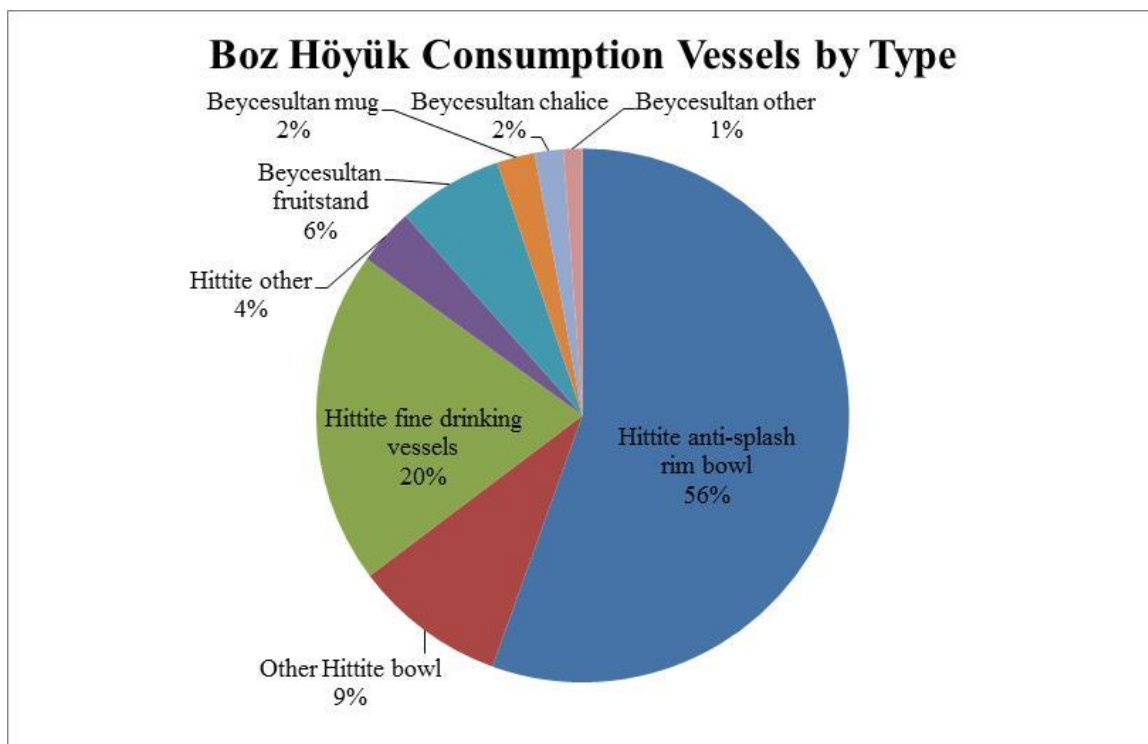


Figure 53 Boz Höyük Consumption Vessels by Type

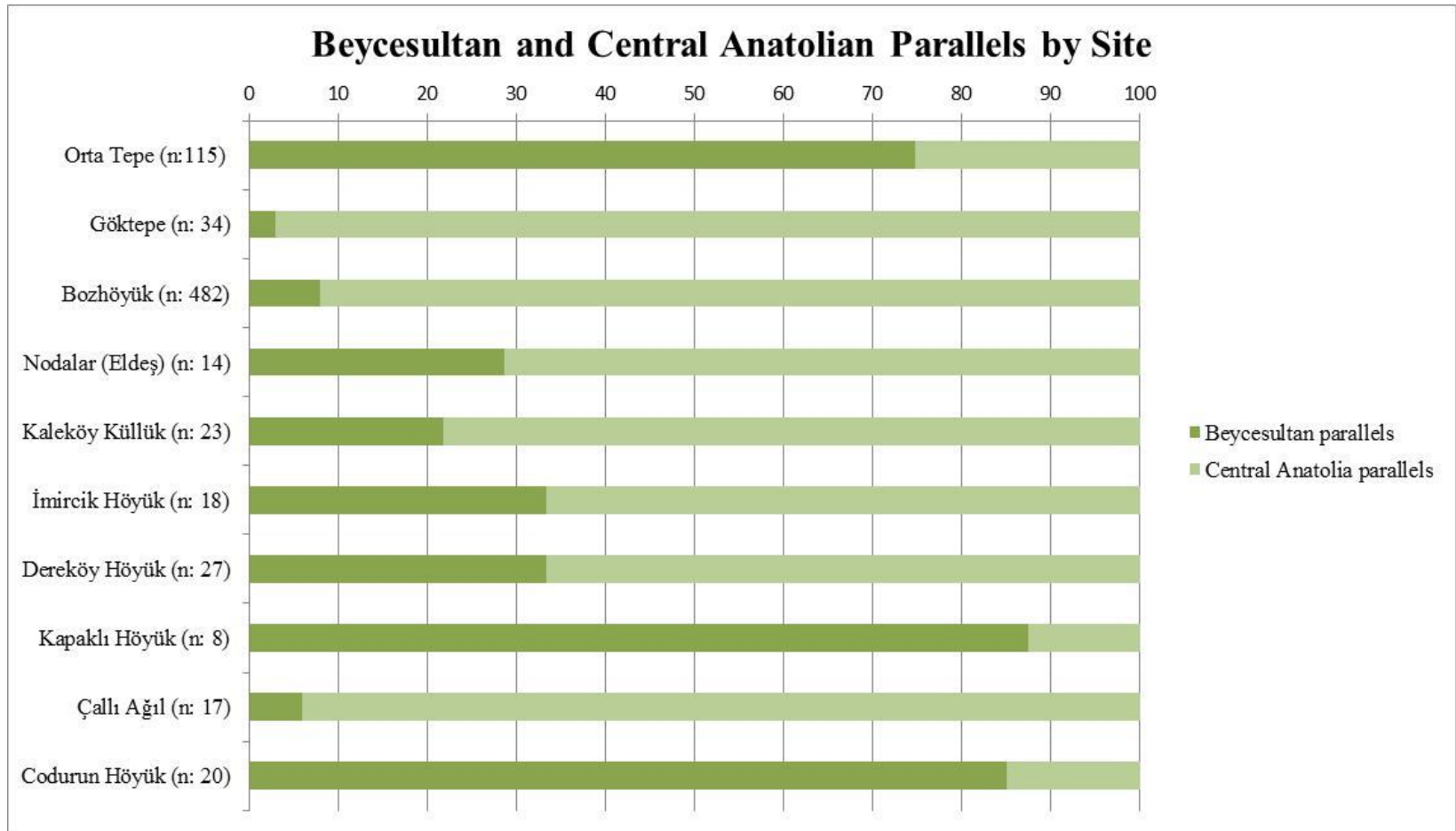


Figure 54 Beycesultan and Central Anatolian forms plotted by site

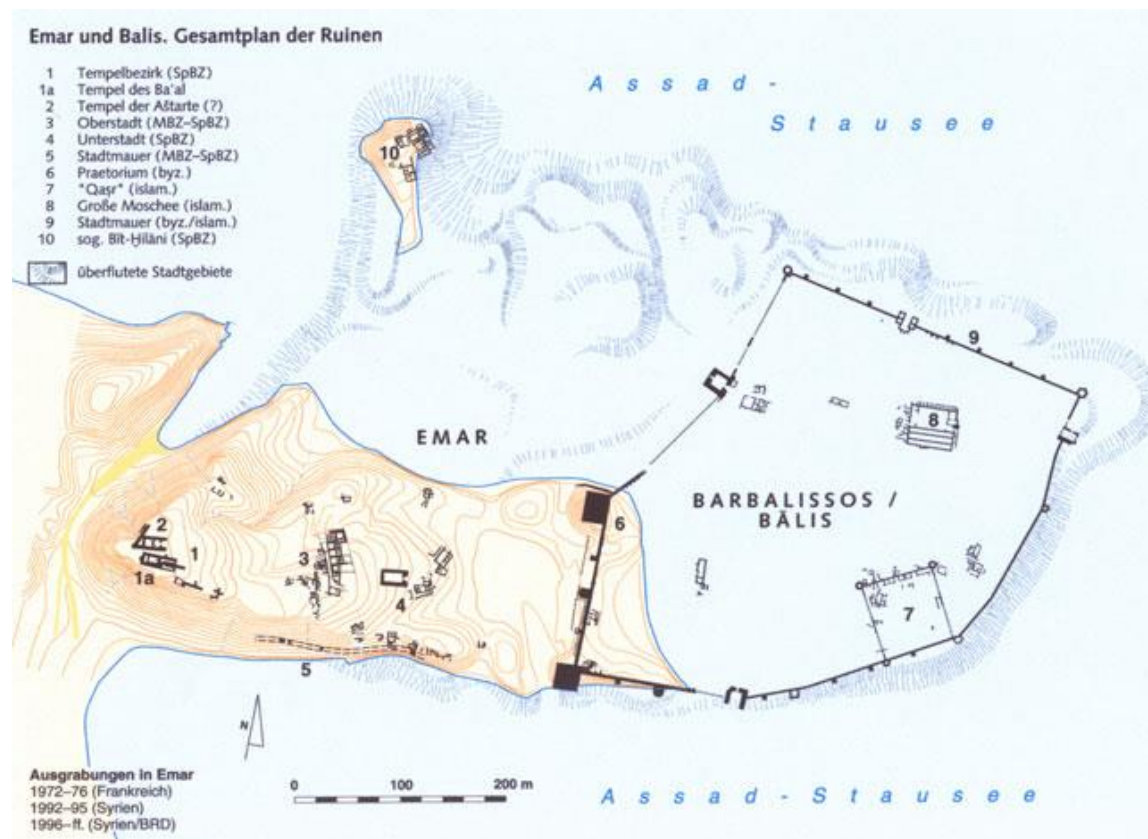


Figure 55 Site plan of Emar, and the Medieval site of Balis to its east (Emar 2010)



Figure 56 Site plan of Bronze Age Emar showing the EBA (red and orange) MBA (pink and purple) and LBA (shades of blue) levels (Emar 2010)

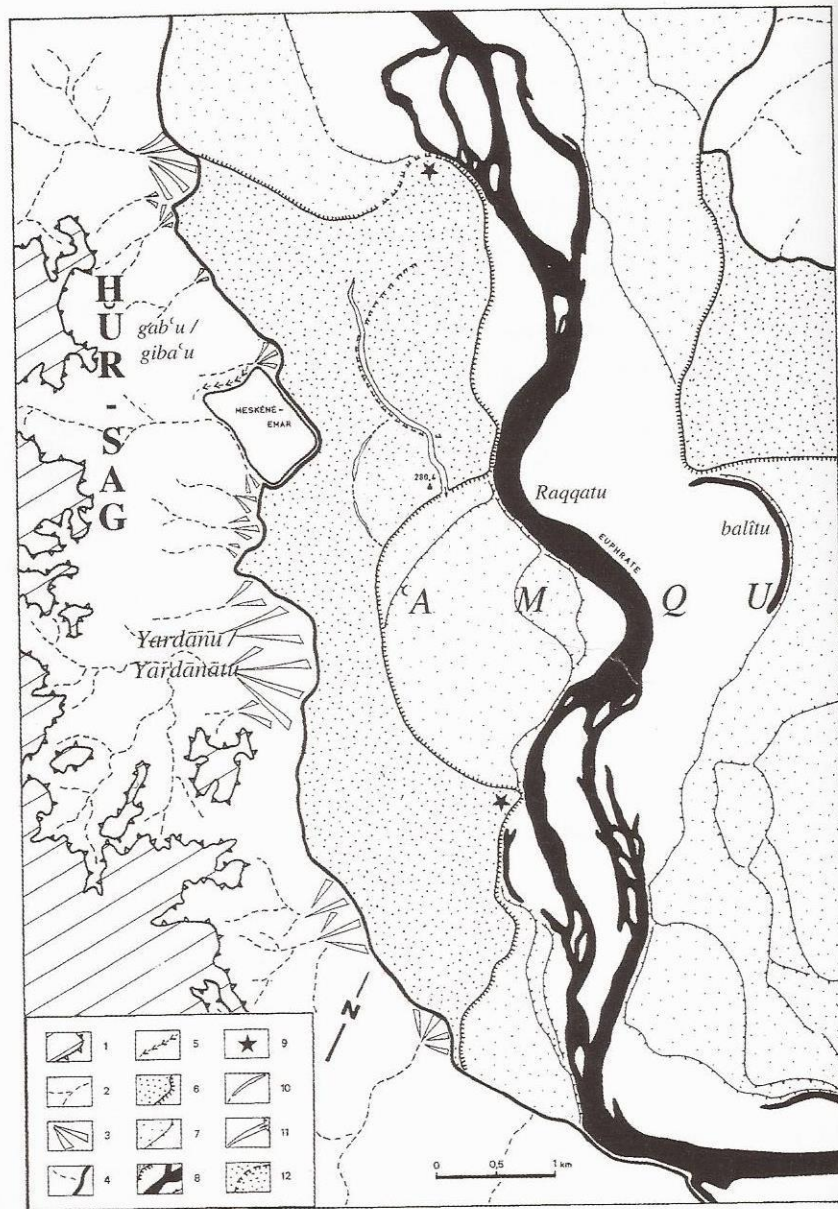


Figure 1. Schéma géomorphologique de la région de Meskené.
 1 : plateau et sa falaise de bordure ; 2 : wadi sur la zone intermédiaire (glacis et *bad-lands*) ; 3 : cône de déjection ; 4 : limite basse des reliefs encaissant le fond de vallée holocène ; 5 : vallon artificiel ; 6 : terrasse holocène ancienne et son talus (Qo) ; 7 : terrasses historiques et leurs talus (Qoo) ; 8 : l'Euphrate et son lit majeur normal ; 9 : môle de résistance probable ; 10 : levée de terre ; 11 : chenal de décrue ; 12 : tracé probable d'anciens méandres.

Figure 57 Geomorphology of the Emar region (Reculeau 2008, Fig. 1)



Figure 58 The steep banks to the west of Emar, the so-called HUR.SAG (mountain) (Propylaeum 2013)

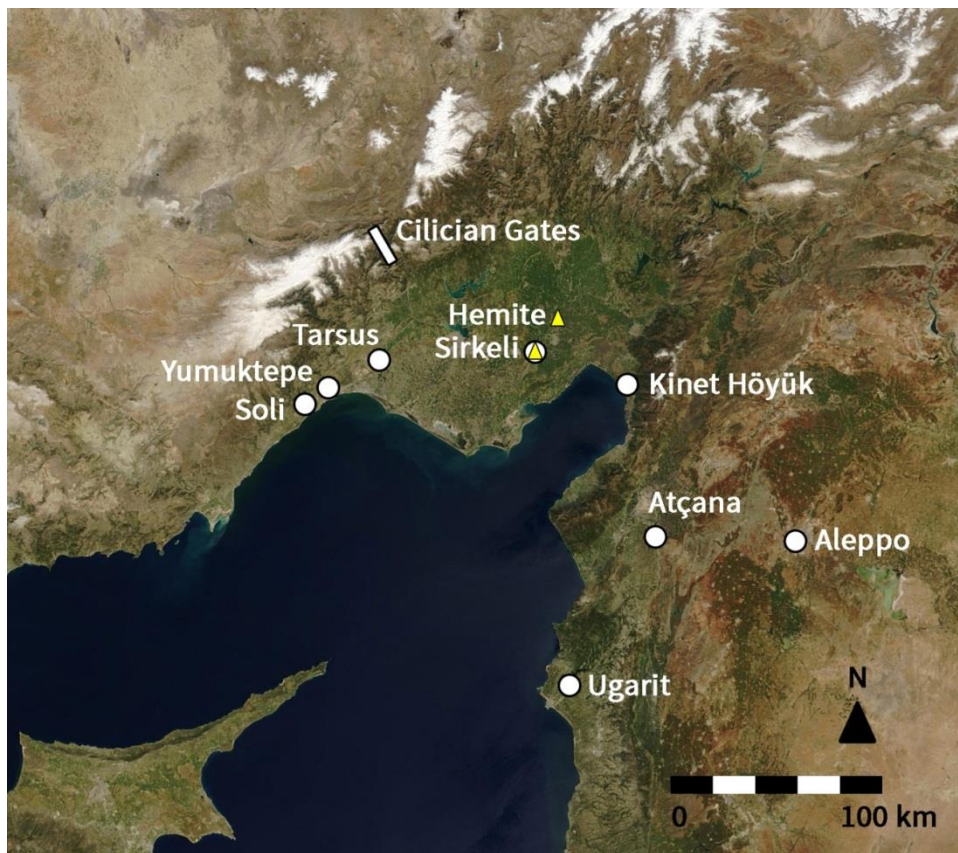


Figure 59 Sites in the Kizuwatna and other sites and monuments mentioned in the text

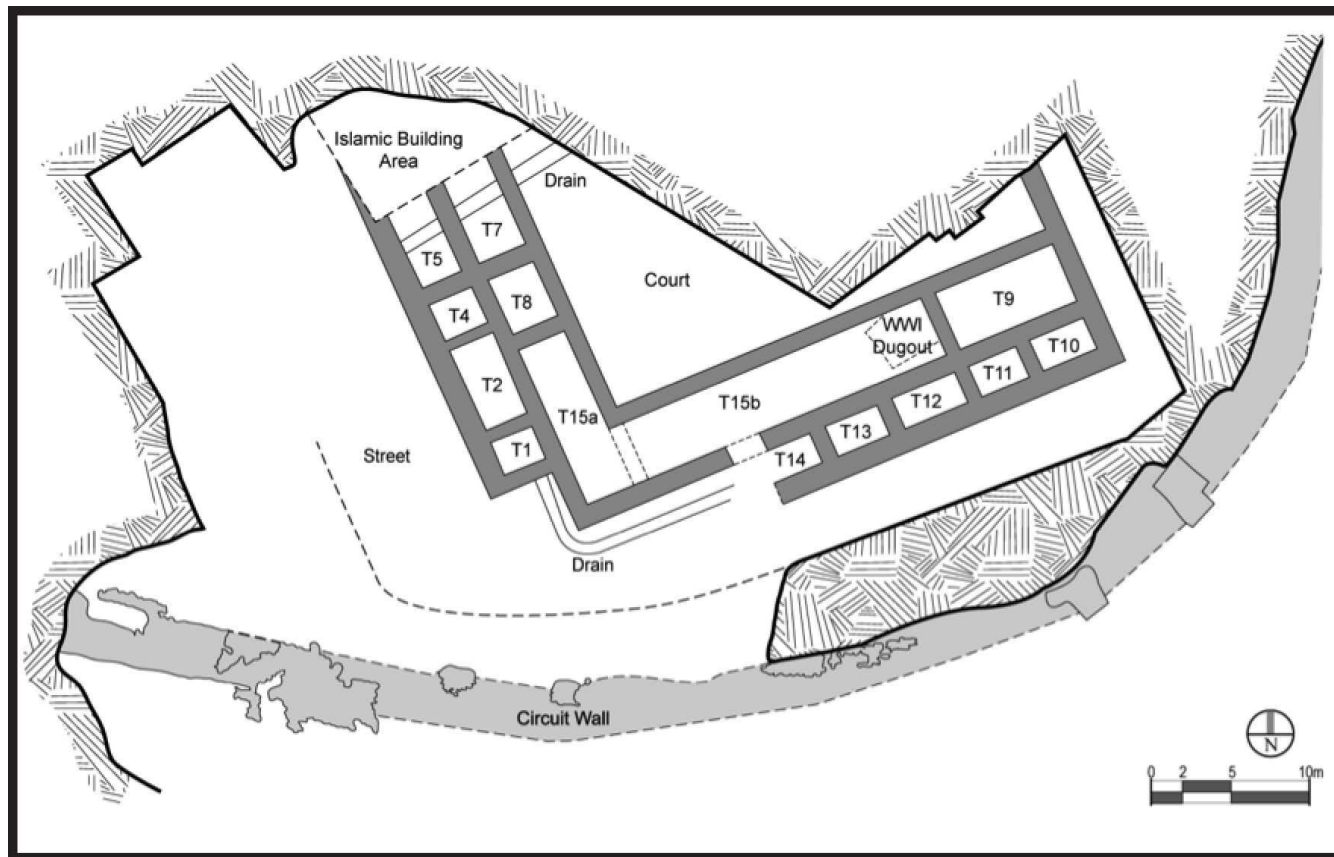


Figure 60 3M Building dating to LB II at Tarsus (Karacic 2014, Figure 26)



Figure 61 The location of the Sirkeli relief in relation to the settlement (Ehringhaus 2005, Figure 172)



48. Sirkeli

Figure 62 Relief depicting Muwatalli II at Sirkeli (Gelb 1939, Plate LXIX)



Figure 63 The erased relief at Sirkeli (Ehringhaus 2005, Figure 180)

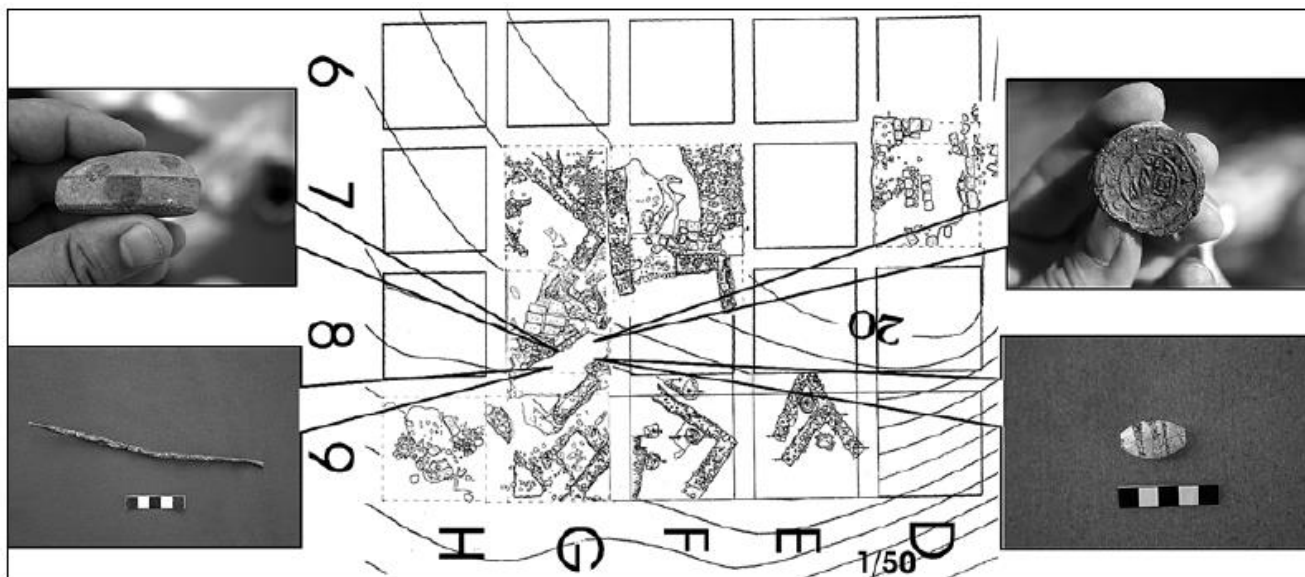


Fig. 1 The location of the G8 plan square and grave offerings

Figure 64 The location of the G8 plan square and grave offerings (Yağcı 2008a, Figure 1)

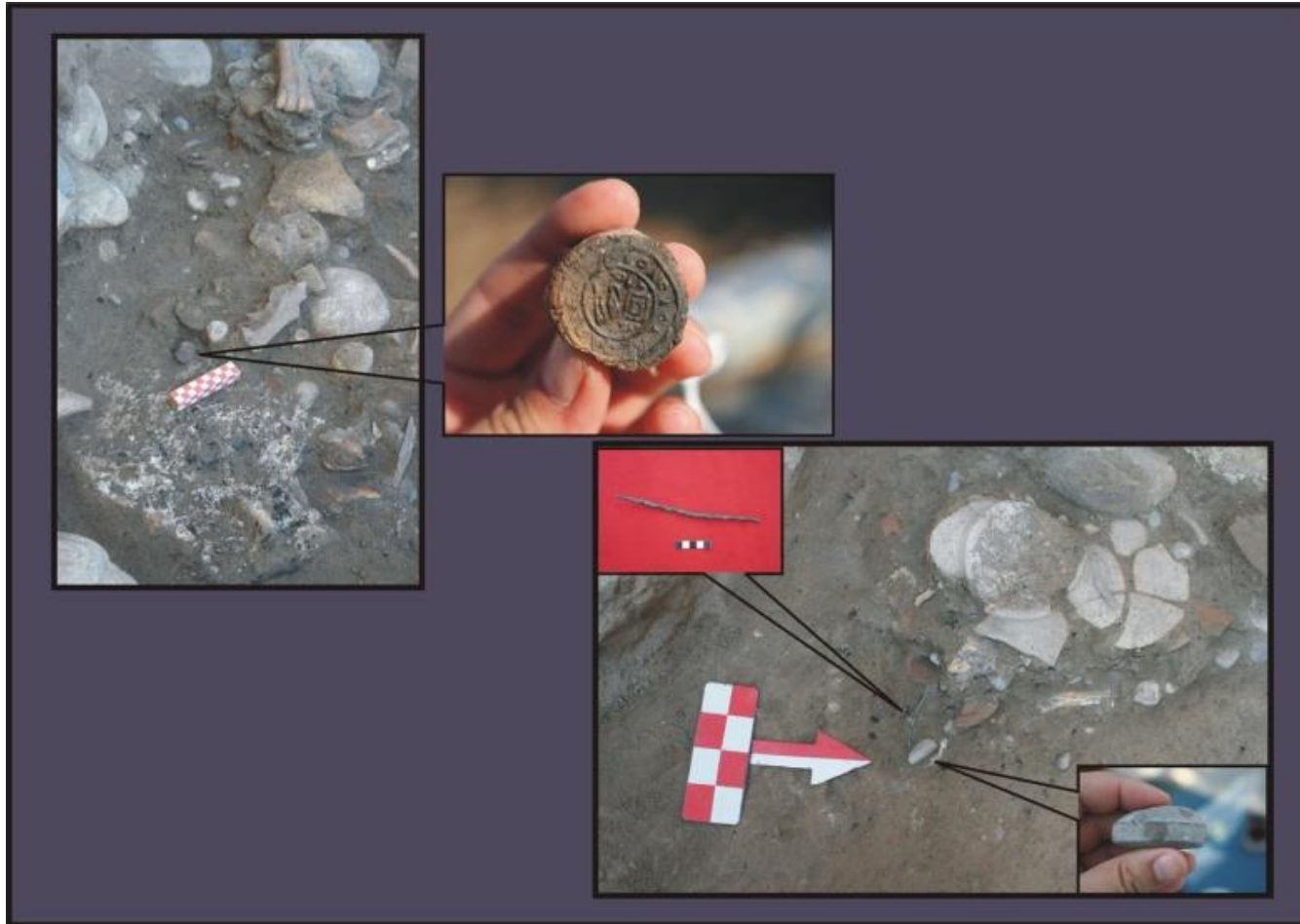
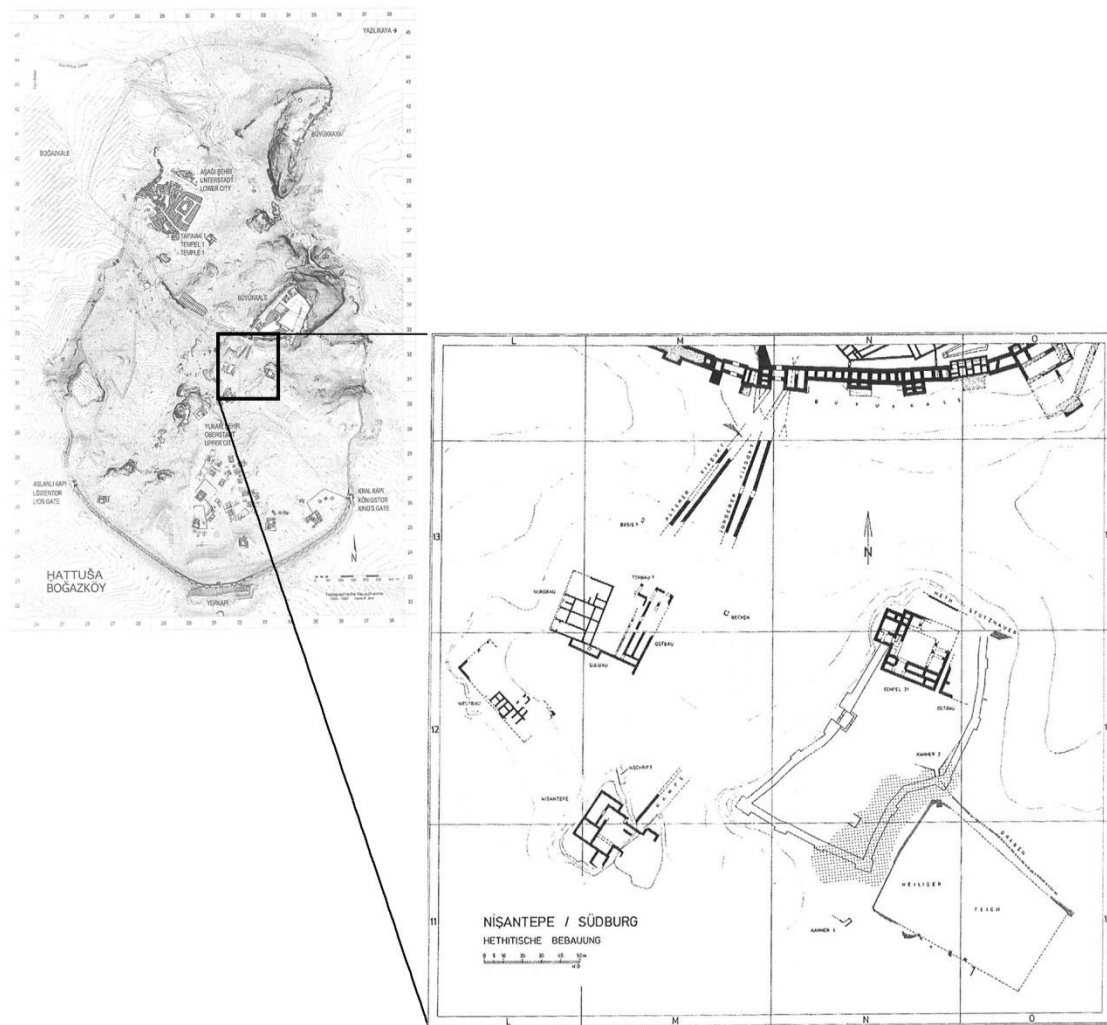


Figure 65 Broken urn and cattle bones (left), bulla (center), the pin and the scarab (right) from the G8 grave at Soli (<http://www.une.edu.au/cat/sites/soli.php>)



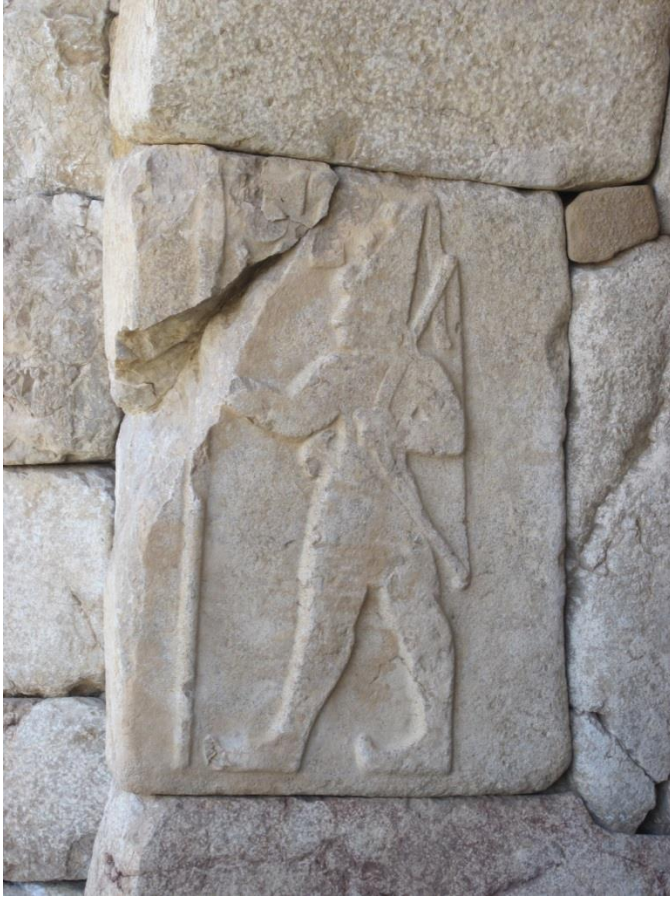


Figure 67 Relief carving of king Šuppiluliuma at the Südburg (Photo by author)

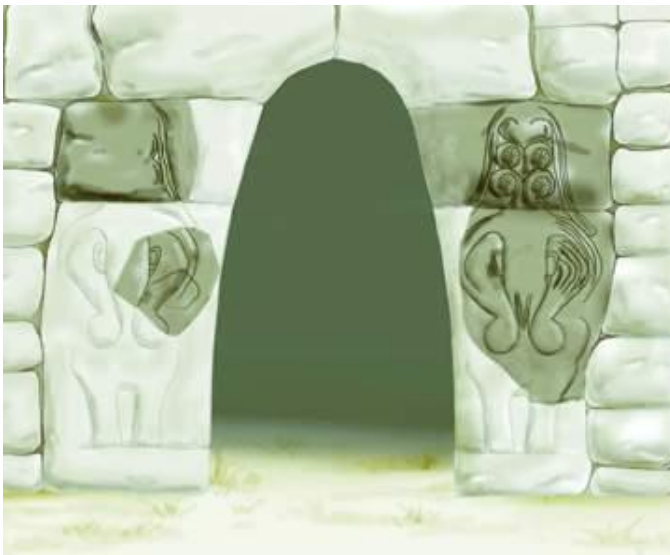


Figure 68 Reconstruction of the gate complex at Nişantaş (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 2011)



Figure 69 Inscription at Nişantaş (Photo by author)



Figure 70 'Royal' tombs of Alaca Höyük (Photo by Author)



Figure 71 Plan of Alaca Höyük with the relevant third and second millennium BCE areas marked

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