Anatolian Studies 66 (2016): 23–42 doi:10.1017/S006615461600003X
© British Institute at Ankara 2016

Stone stelae and religious space at Kültepe-Kaneš

Yağmur Heffron

University College London, UK
y.heffron@ucl.ac.uk

Abstract

Prior to the emergence of the fully officialised temples of the Hittite state, formal religious space in Anatolia is recognisable in a handful of small shrines or sanctuaries. Presumably at the service of local communities, but neither monumental nor formulaic, such shrines attest to a modest if eclectic range of religious activities in the early second millennium. Also to be included in this range are rituals which took place within the domestic sphere, pointing to private family-based concerns, rather than a communal agenda, guiding ritual activity. Such spaces are conspicuous in the Lower Town settlement of the well-known site of Kültepe-Kaneš, where a small number of private houses were furnished with a cultic installation in the form of a stone stele. Associated with a range of other symbolically charged elements (such as ritual vessels, foundation or votive deposits), these stelae are a stark testimony to the practice of delineating permanent, formalised ritual space within quotidian domestic space. This article offers a detailed examination of stone stelae at Kültepe-Kaneš in order to identify meaningful frameworks of contextual analysis, cross-cultural comparanda and correlation of the archaeological data with visual and textual accounts of cult activity in a society in which local Anatolian and northern Mesopotamian elements intermixed over several generations from the beginning of the 20th to that of the 17th century BC.

Özet

Hitit devlet erkinin bütünüyle resmiyet atfettiği tapınakların ortaya çıkışından önce Anadolu'da resmi nitelikli sayabileceğimiz kutsal mekanların, az sayıda küçük mabet ya da dinsel sığınaktan ibaret olduğunu görüyoruz. Hiçbiri anıtsal büyüklükte ya da tek bir ölçüye göre tasarlanmamış ve muhtemelen sadece yöre halkına hizmet eden bu tür mabetler, M.Ö. 2. binin ilk yarısındaki dinsel etkinliklerin mütevazı ve bir o kadar da eklektik olduğuna işaret eder. Bu etkinliklerin kapsamına ev/hane ortamında gerçekleşen ve toplumsal bir gündemden çok aileye ve aile bireylerine özgü gereksinimlerin yön verdiği ritüelleri de dahil edebiliriz. Bu tür hane-içi dinsel mekanlar Kültepe-Kaneš'in Aşağı Şehir yerleşiminde de göze çarpmaktadır. Kaneš mahallelerindeki özel konutların bazılarında, kült işlevi gördüğü anlaşılan taş steller ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Hele ki sembolik anlam taşıyan diğer başka unsurlarla (törensel kaplar, temel ve adak gömüleri vb.) birlikte değerlendirildiğinde bu steller, günlük yaşamın geçtiği ev mekanları içinde rituel amaçlara mahsus alanların da belirlendiğinin açık kanıtıdır. Bu makalede taş stellerden yola çıkarak, M.Ö. 20. yy'ın başından M.Ö. 17. yy'ın başına kadar geçen süre boyunca Anadolu ve kuzey Mezopotamya unsurlarının kaynaştığı kārum dönemi kuşaklarının kült etkinlikleri irdelenmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Kültepe-Kaneš stellerinin mekan (kontekst) odaklı olarak anlamlandırılabildiği, kültürler-arası komparandayla ilişkilendirildiği ve genel olarak arkeolojik verilerin hem görsel hem de yazılı kaynaklar ışığında değerlendirildiği tutarlı bir çerçeve ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır.

Sixty years ago *Anatolian Studies* published an article by Winifred Lamb (1956) on 'Some early Anatolian shrines'. In it, Lamb offered a survey of the regional distribution, idiosyncratic variety and parallels for structures identified as formal religious settings dating to the third and early second millennia BC. As Lamb's choice of the term 'shrine' suggests, these settings tend to be relatively small and unassuming. In stark contrast to the monumental temples of the Hittite state, these small shrines present an understated, even unimpressive picture of the religious-architectural landscape of pre-Hittite Anatolia. This picture seems to have changed little since Lamb's study.

The eventual emergence of highly visible monumental temples in Anatolia, though palpably linked to centralised political control of the Hittite state, surely relied on earlier traditions of defining sacred space. It is crucial, therefore,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

to consider the early second-millennium religious-architectural landscape of Anatolia as part of a continuum of formalised ritual space rather than in isolation from the monumental phase of Hittite temples. It is, however, also important to recognise the distinction between 'great traditions [which] only represent the great traditions of the elite' and the 'little traditions of smaller communities [...] not under direct control of officially recognized powers' (Wasilewska 1993: 473–74). The religious architecture of early second-millennium Anatolia, insofar as it is represented by Lamb's early shrines, certainly belongs to the latter category. Also part of this category are the cult spaces created in the private houses of the Lower Town of Kültepe-Kaneš, marked by stone stelae (see Michel 2014: 70 on the preferred use of the term, 'Lower Town' as opposed to *kārum* to refer to the physical settlement itself). These spaces are clearly not part of the 'great traditions' of officialised, monumental temple architecture, though they do not fully adhere to the model of small communal shrines (incipient temples?) of 'little traditions' either. Rather, they represent a third kind of religious space, one in which ritual activity must have been meaningful in a domestic setting and must therefore have been particularly relevant to private family concerns.

Thus far, only four rooms furnished with stelae have been identified in published reports, which locate them in four separate houses dated to Levels Ib and Ia in the Lower Town (see below for dating of levels). In addition to a single stone stele placed in a corner, these stele-rooms also contained a variety of other installations and/or deposits indicative of ritual significance, thus garnering a heightened sense of sanctity within a single setting. Briefly described by the excavators as cult rooms in preliminary discussions (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953; see also Özgüç 1994), but not revisited since, these highly charged ritual settings remain unexplored in terms of their potential for understanding religious life at ancient Kaneš. Thus, this article is an initial effort to examine the cultic use of the Kültepe-Kaneš stelae, specifically within their original settings, and to define some basic principles to which these stele-rooms point, regarding the use of ritual space within domestic space.

The ancient city of Kaneš, long identified with the site of Kültepe on the Kayseri plain (fig. 1), was the nerve centre of the complex network of Assyrian trade during the *kārum* period (ca 1970–1690 BC according to Barjamovic et al. 2012; see below for further discussion). Continuous work at the site since 1948 has revealed an urban centre consisting of an Upper Mound, where the ruling elite resided, and a surrounding Lower Town, where the incoming Assyrian merchants were based. Assyrians were by no means the only foreign group present at Kaneš, but they were certainly the largest and the most prominent, and within the Lower Town population they probably outnumbered local Anatolians, at least in the areas thus far excavated (Hertel 2014: 27). Kanešean society, described aptly by C. Michel (2008: 209) as 'un véritable brassage', was a highly heterogeneous community, within which Assyro-Anatolian intermarriage was fairly common.

The *kārum*-period settlement of the Lower Town is attributed to three levels of occupation of the second millennium BC. The earliest, corresponding to Level 8 on the Upper Mound, is Level II, dated by G. Barjamovic and colleagues (2012) to ca 1970–1834 on the basis of texts. A violent conflagration marks the end of Level II, which is followed by a brief period of temporary abandonment between 1834–1832 BC (Hertel 2014: 26) prior to rebuilding in Level Ib, which ends in 1690 BC (Barjamovic et al. 2012). Notably, Level Ib is characterised by a marked decrease in the number of cuneiform texts, pointing to a shrinking of Assyrian commercial activity from which 'structural changes [taking] place in this period' may be inferred (Barjamovic et al. 2012: 50, 73–80). After Level Ib, the end of which is also marked by a fire horizon, texts disappear completely. Following another (presumably short) break, occupation resumes at the site for a final and now *ahistorical* phase in Level Ia, which F. Kulakoğlu estimates ended around 1650 BC (2014: 87).

The disappearance of texts after Level Ib is compelling evidence that the trade network had ceased to function; but the absence of texts does not equate to a simultaneous disappearance of the Assyrian community in its entirety. Presumably the majority of resident Assyrians did return to Aššur around this time. Already in the late phase of Level II texts mention the Anatolian city of Wahšušana being abandoned by its Assyrian community and the Assyrian settlement there being destroyed (Barjamovic et al. 2012: 48). This being said, texts from Level Ib refer to a certain group of Assyrians as 'the residents' (*wašbutūm*), who were 'probably Assyrians who were engaged in activities other than the overland trade and who had in effect become permanent residents of their Anatolian towns' (Barjamovic et al. 2012: 80). We can reasonably assume that at least some Assyrians remained in Anatolia even after texts ceased to be generated to document their existence. The premise of continuing Assyrian presence has implications for situating cult stelae within the religious life of the Kanešean community, which almost certainly retained some of its Assyrian components. In fact, given the demonstrably northern Mesopotamian roots of stone stelae, which were almost certainly introduced to the religious life of Kaneš by Assyrian merchants, we may even consider these cult items as proxies for continuing Assyrian presence – or, at the very least, evidence that their religious traditions outlasted their commercial activity.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 1. Map of Anatolia showing the principal sites mentioned in the text (map by Mert Aslan).

Visibility of religious space in Kültepe-Kaneš

Most of our information about ancient Kaneš comes from the Lower Town, which presents a rare combination of excellent archaeological preservation, observable across a wide exposure, and an extremely rich textual record from the private and business archives of individual merchants. With the majority of the texts having been generated by resident Assyrians or received as correspondence from their home city of Aššur, the documentary evidence is skewed in favour of Assyrian visibility. In keeping with the mercantile character of Assyrian presence in Anatolia, economic aspects of Kanešean life considerably overshadow social aspects in the texts, including religious beliefs and practices. The latter aspect of the Kanešean community (Assyrians and Anatolians) can, albeit to a limited extent, be pieced together from indirect references (see Hirsch 1972 for Old Assyrian religion in general; Kryszat 2006 for religious practices among Anatolians; for incantations, see Michel 2004; Barjamovic, Larsen 2008; Barjamovic 2015). Pertinent to the consideration of formalised religious space is the fact that texts allow the identification of over 30 individuals named as 'priest' (*kumrum*, $GUDU_X$) in the service of at least 15 different gods and goddesses including the two chief Assyrian deities, Aššur and Ištar, alongside Anatolian divinities such as Peruwa and Kubabat (Veenhof, Eidem 2008: 230–31). Presumably, these deities were housed in sanctuaries of some kind, to which designated cultic officials, namely priests, must have been attached.

The most likely place for such sanctuaries would be the elite administrative nucleus of the Upper Mound, in the company of monumental palaces (Özgüç 1999a). Indeed, textual references do point to the presence of numerous temples, including the one built by the famous king Anitta after his takeover of the city (Özgüç 1999a: 120). Yet, excavations have failed to produce unequivocal evidence for plausible temples on the Upper Mound. This is in no small part due to architectural preservation here having suffered the effects of severe fire damage and later rebuilding, as well as Bedřich Hrozný's early excavations which removed large portions of architecture indiscriminately (Özgüç 1999a: 75; for a full inventory, see Özgüç 1999: 120–22, pls 101–03, 108). Nonetheless, the presence of precious items, such as 'gold and bronze vases, cauldrons, and a unique rock crystal lion statuette' (Özgüç 1999a: 121), associated with the fragmentary architectural remains on the southern terrace has led the excavator to identify this portion of the Upper Mound as a temple district and subsequently label two structures in this area Temple 1 and Temple 2 (Özgüç 1999a: 117, plans 6–7).

Temples 1 and 2 are small structures located ca 40m to the west of the palace on the Upper Mound; both are dated to Level 7 (= Level I in the Lower Town). The most striking aspect of these structures is that they are almost identical in plan, size, proportions and orientation. Standing 40m apart, both face northeast and and consist of a large central space flanked by narrow rooms along the northern and southern sides, with a substantial tower base in each corner. The dimensions of Temple 1 are 27m by 21.5m; those of Temple 2 are 26.3m by 22m. While the structures' prominent positions on top of the mound, their proximity to the palace and their highly formalised architecture are congruent with an official character, they are not conclusive evidence for an explicit religious function. Both structures are reported as having been constructed directly over earlier architecture of a significantly different

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

nature and orientation (Özgüç 1999a: 117), apparently with no preliminary measures to consecrate the ground either by clearing earlier remains or sealing them with a packing fill. The unusual plan of the structures, which T. Özgüç (1999a: 119) rightly considers unlikely to represent 'palace-reception halls or large private houses or villas', is equally unsuitable for temple architecture. In fact, Özgüç himself has written, 'I do not know temples built on this plan elsewhere in Anatolia or the Near East in this period. We cannot, judging by the shape of the entrance, say that they belong to the Bit-Hilani type. I would compare them to Urartian temples with their even higher tower shape' (1999a: 119).

Even more problematic is the absence of any finds of a potentially cultic nature in relation to the twin structures. No installations such as altars, podia, hearths, receptacles or benches – otherwise found in contemporary shrines or sanctuaries – are recorded. Temple 1 has produced three tablets, two of which have been attributed to this structure as their primary context (Özgüç 1999a: 118). One of the three is said to record the sale of a slave (Özgüç 1999a: 119), but the contents of the other two are unknown, as they remain unpublished (Larsen 2015: 36).

Ultimately, the identification of the twin structures on the mound as temples relies more on Özgüç's insistence than on concrete or compelling evidence: 'Although no statues of deities or altars were found or preserved in the two buildings ... I cannot imagine that each of them is anything but a sacred building, a temple. They must represent temples for individual deities grouped together in the Kaniš Ib period' (1999a: 119).

While the Upper Mound *is* certainly where one would expect to find the 'temples of the local population' (Özgüç 1999a: 120), it is far from certain – if not unlikely – that the structures identified as Temples 1 and 2 are in fact bona fide religious structures.

As for religious buildings catering to the needs of resident Assyrians, texts inform us of the common practice of swearing oaths by the divine emblems of the chief Assyrian deities, namely the dagger (*patrum*) and knife(?) (*šugariā'um*) of the god Aššur and the tambourine(?) (*ḫuppum*) of the goddess Ištar. As K.R. Veenhof suggests, these sacred objects 'must have been present in a sacred place, a cella called *ḫamrum*, which was also designated as "the gate of the god" (*bāb ilim*; or "gate of Aššur" *bāb Aššur*) attested both for [the city of] Aššur and for the *kārum*s' (Veenhof, Eidem 2008: 103). It is not unreasonable to expect communal shrines at the service of Assyrians to be located in the Lower Town without necessarily suggesting that the Lower Town would have been the *only* appropriate location for Assyrian religious precincts (Michel 2014: 70). At any rate, the fact remains that the Lower Town, characterised by a tight distribution of domestic houses, among (or within) which workshops and possible shops have also been identified (for an overview, see Hertel 2014), has yet to produce evidence of public buildings of any kind. What *is* manifest in the archaeology of the Lower Town, however, is a distinct type of formalised ritual setting within domestic houses, marked by stone uprights.

Stone stelae: physical characteristics, archaeological contexts and associated finds

To date, the number of published stelae from Kültepe-Kaneš is confined to five in situ examples found in four separate houses of Level I (table 1). Another three have been identified as spolia 'reused as foundation stones in other buildings' (Özgüç 1994: 224), bringing the total number of stone stelae recorded for the site to eight. As there is no information available on the stelae reported as spolia, the following analysis will focus on the five discovered in situ only. Given the ad hoc nature of the stelae's appearance in publications, there is reason to believe that those examples which have made their way into print do not necessarily constitute the full set of stelae discovered to date. Indeed, at least two possible candidates seem to have been uncovered in excavation trenches visible from the tourist path leading through the Lower Town (personal observation in July 2014). This has obvious implications for assessing how widely stone stelae were used by the Kanešean community. From a methodological perspective, the absence of a reliable catalogue of excavated stelae also hinders a distributive analysis of the stelae, which would allow the correlation of spatial patterns across the site with textual and/or archaeological indicators of the social organisation of neighbourhoods.

A meaningful stratigraphic evaluation of the stelae is likewise not feasible, as it is far from certain to which building level the stelae can securely be attributed (see below). Several issues are nonetheless worth noting, even if only to earmark specific questions for reconsideration if more information becomes available in the future. None of the stelae cited in the available publications are assigned to Level II, which raises the question of whether both the primary and secondary uses of these items were peculiar to Level I, although the possibility remains that those stelae encountered as spolia in Level I foundations could have originated from Level II. Whether the use of stone stelae was a continuous trend throughout the occupational history of the Lower Town in Levels II and I or else a new trend beginning with the Level I occupation has implications for assessing the social change already suggested by the sharp drop in the number of texts between Levels II and Ib. Despite the imprecise record of contextual or stratigraphic associations of the reused stelae, it is significant that these objects were *recognisable* as such. Stelae 1–3

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

	Stele 1 (figs 2, 3)	*Stele 2 (figs 4, 5)*	*Stele 3 (fig. 7)*	*Stelae 4–5 (fig. 9)*
kārum level	Ib	Ib	Ia	Ib(?)
Findspot	House in P–R/19–20 (fig. 3)	House in D–F/6–8 (fig. 5)	House in LXI/130	?
Associated installation(s)	Stone trough/basin in front of stele	Stone-lined cut inside which the stele stands	?	Two stelae appear to be in association with one another
Associated finds	Cache of broken vessel handles		Spouted bowl with zoomorphic protomes (fig. 8)	?
Other symbolically charged finds/features in the same room	None reported	Foundation deposit of double-vessel, located beneath partition wall facing stele (fig. 6), and subfloor pithos grave	Subfloor grave (type unspecified)	?

Table 1. Summary of contextual associations of Stelae 1–5.

and 5 all share a gradually tapering form, a roughly rounded top and worked sides, with an average height of 1m and an average width of 30–35cm at the base and 10–15cm at the top (Özgüç 1994: 224). This points to at least a basic level of standardisation, which in turn suggests that the objects belong to a distinct typological category with a specific purpose. The lack of any apparent architectural utilitarian function suggests their purpose to have been 'self-serving'. A symbolic purpose for the stelae has already been suggested by the excavators (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 4–5) and is further supported by the presence of other ritually significant installations or deposits either in direct association with or in close proximity to the stelae.

Stele 1

Level Ib. Exact measurements not provided with its publication; the scale in the published photograph indicates a height of approximately 1m (Özgüç 1986: pl. 57/2). Flat on the front, unworked on the back (fig. 2).

Stele 1 was discovered in the westernmost room of a partially exposed house in grid-squares P–R/19–20 (fig. 3). It stood in the southwestern corner of the room, behind an andesite trough or basin with a width and depth of 40cm. In the southwestern quarter of the room, a sherd-and-stone-paved surface gradually rose to meet this trough in the corner. Both the stele and the trough were consolidated in place by an irregular arrangement of stones. The northwestern corner of the room was occupied by a horseshoe hearth. Pottery vessels reported for the room include a large, quadruple-handled vessel. Behind the stele was discovered a striking deposit of 25 broken vessel handles with smooth surfaces, 'as though used for burnishing' (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 4).

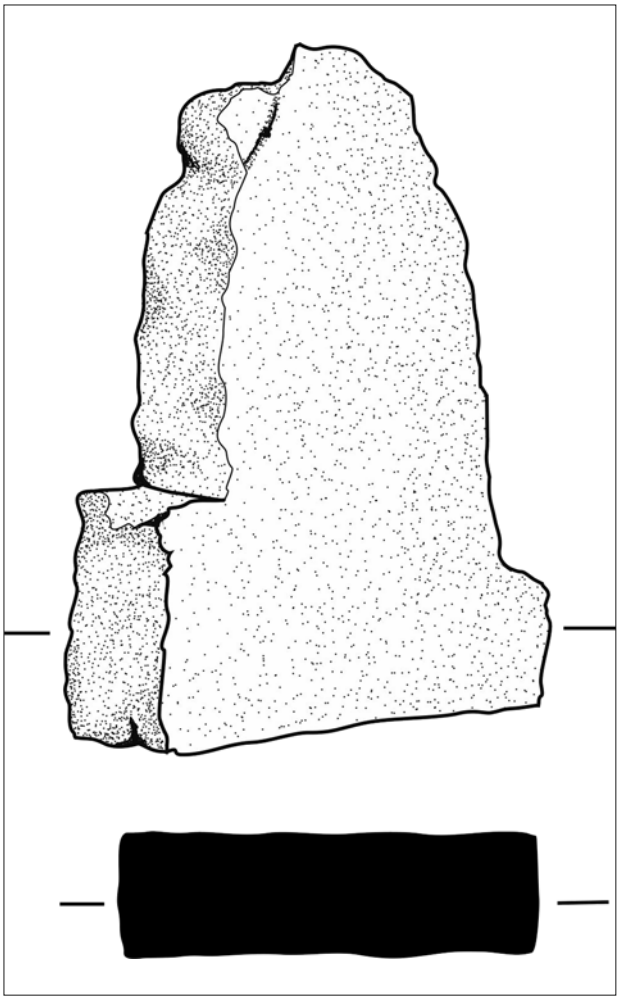


Fig. 2. Stele 1, from the house in grid-squares P–R/19–20, Kültepe-Kaneš Lower Town, Level Ib (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: pl. VII/25).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

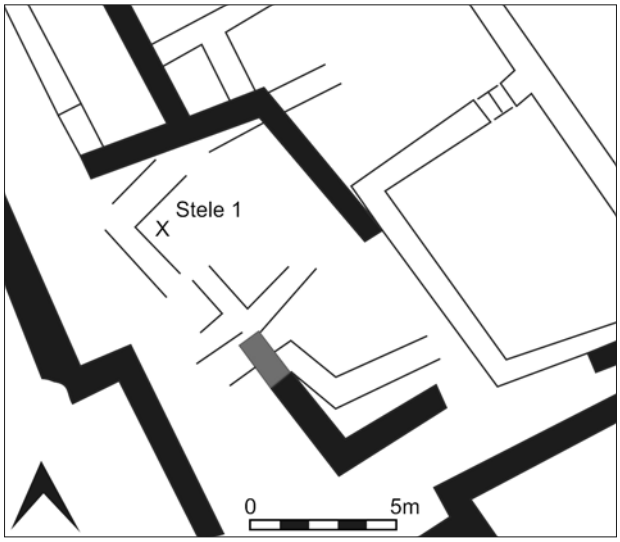


Fig. 3. Plan of Level Ib house in grid-squares P–R/19–20, with shaded areas indicating overlying Level Ia walls. The approximate location of Stele 1 is marked with an 'x' (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir, additions by Mert Aslan, after Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: plan B2).

The entire assemblage – the trough, the stele and the deposit of broken handles – has been identified as part of a coherent ritual installation by the excavators: 'Drinks were poured into the trough in front of the stele which served as an altar, and the handles, deliberately deposited here, were votive objects' (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 4–5, translation from Turkish by author). It is uncertain whether the cache of vessel handles represents a single episode of deposition or an accumulation over time. The polished look of the handles at any rate suggests a significant period of handling before deposition, perhaps indeed as burnishing tools, in which case their selection must have held a specific meaning.

Stele 2

Level Ib. Height 117cm (including 20cm height of the base); width 12cm at the top, 21cm above the base, 33cm at the base; depth 11cm at the top, 13cm above the base, 14.5cm at the base (fig. 4; Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 6).

Stele 2 was encountered in a sizeable house of eight rooms located in grid-squares D–F/6–8 (fig. 5). It stood in the southwestern corner of a spacious back room inside a rectangular stone-lined cut, which seems to have served a similar purpose to the andesite trough associated with Stele 1. According to the excavator, the same room also contained 'the handsomest, finest pottery of the house' (Özgüç 1994: 224); this description presumably corresponds to the two beak-spouted and two trefoil-mouth pitchers recorded for this area in the original excavation report (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 35, 37). Although easily associated with a wide range of quotidian purposes, both pitcher forms are also typical of libation vessels and, judging from the context, they probably were used in the latter capacity.

Directly across from Stele 2, the house plan shows a short partition wall obscuring the doorway in the northwestern corner (fig. 5). Inside the foundations of this partition wall, the excavators came across an in situ vessel of an unusual form made up of two identical compartments, equipped with 'ventilation holes', filled with 'clean earth' and sealed by stones (fig. 6; Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 5). This is no doubt a ritual deposit. Photographs show clearly that the presence of this vessel inside wall foundations was in no way accidental, and must have required extra effort and attention during construction (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: pl. XV). The vessel holds no structural merit to be considered an architectural element, and nor does it contain anything of value to lead us to suspect it served to contain a hoard. The unusual form of the vessel itself suggests a deliberate rather than haphazard selection. It is also significant that the excavators note its contents as being 'clean earth', recalling sterile foundation deposits associated with purificatory construction rites (Ellis 1968: 9). Presumably the double-vessel served as a ritual deposit with protective

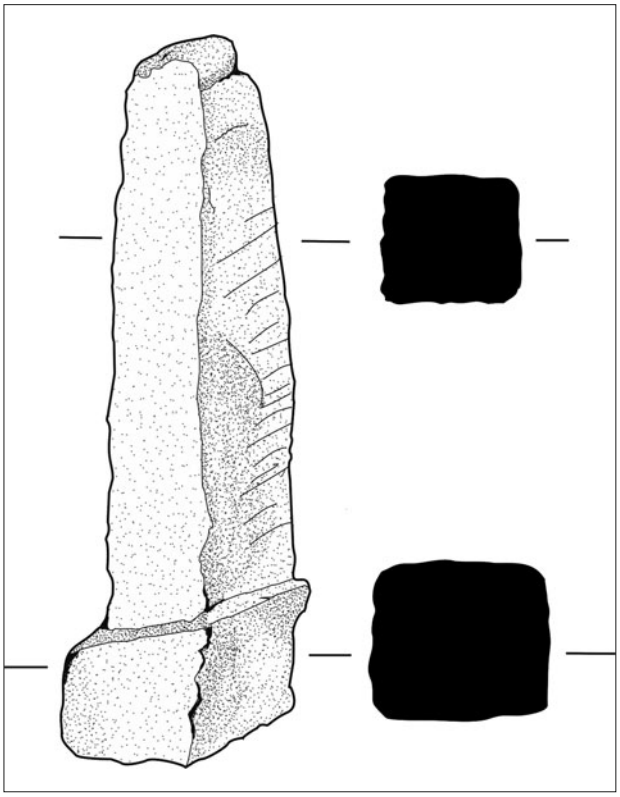


Fig. 4. Stele 2, from the house in grid-squares D–F/6–8, Kültepe-Kaneš Lower Town, Level Ib (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: pl. VII/22).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

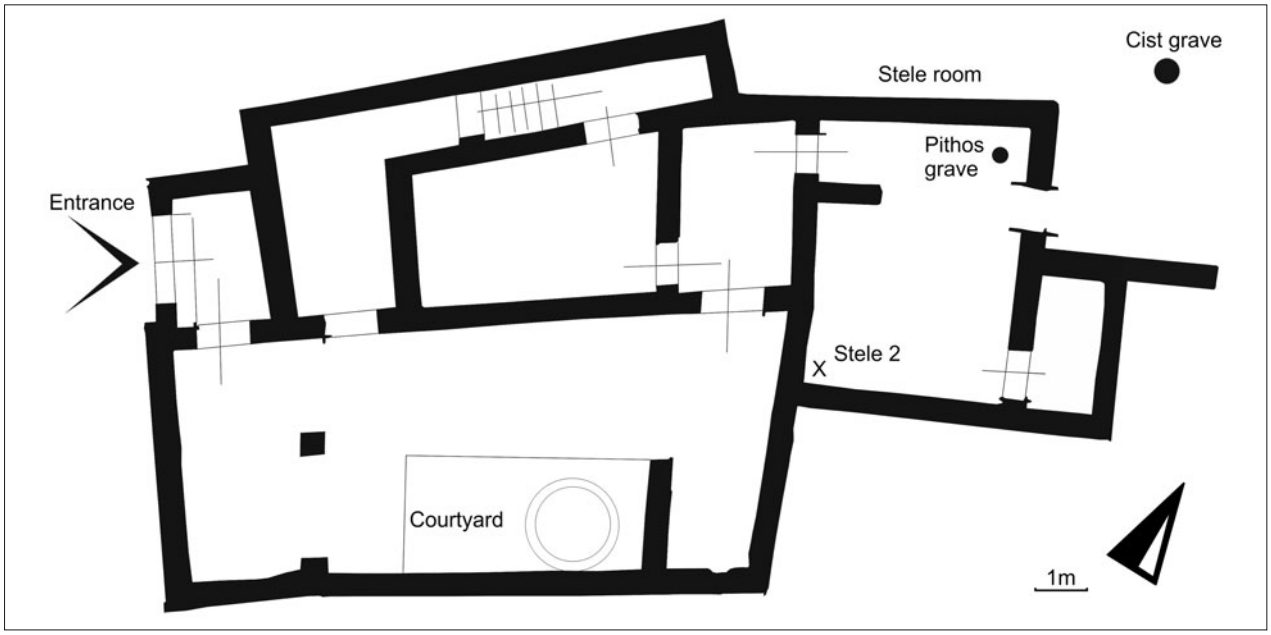


Fig. 5. Plan of house located in grid-squares D–F/6–8. The approximate location of Stele 2 is marked with an 'x' (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir, additions by Mert Aslan, after Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: pl. VII/22).

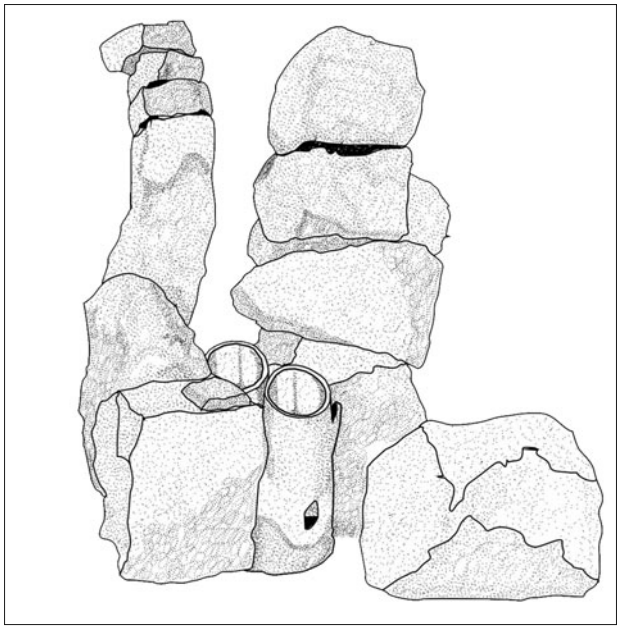


Fig. 6. The double-vessel found inside the wall foundations of the house in grid-squares D–F/6–8, Kültepe-Kaneš Lower Town, Level Ib (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: pl. XV/59).

and/or cleansing efficacy; this doorway area was certainly an appropriate location for one (i.e. a liminal zone of heightened ritual significance). More generally speaking, foundation deposits are categorically indicative of a formalised, designated ritual space, often themselves the agents responsible for transforming otherwise ordinary spaces into zones of heightened sanctity.

The partition wall also changes the layout of the room in a significant way. In the precise location it stands, this short wall creates a bent-axis entrance, thereby establishing a much more controlled point of physical and visual access into the room and, by extension, to the stele. Stratigraphic details relating to the construction phases of the room are not available, but, seeing as access to the stele was controlled directly by the partition wall, it would seem that the wall was an addition made *in relation to*, and therefore *sequentially later than* the stele. This presents two possibilities. The first is that both installations were installed essentially as part of a single episode of consecration, with the stele first and the foundation deposit immediately afterwards. In fact, it is quite possible that the stele itself was a later addition to the room, changing its original function and thereby creating the necessity for controlled access, hence the partition wall. It is also possible, however, that each installation represents a distinct episode of consecration/construction, the partition wall being a later, perhaps ad hoc, addition to enhance or perhaps restore the sanctity of the room.

The stele and the foundation deposit are not, however, the only ritually-significant features in the room. Below the floor of the northeastern corner, a south-facing pithos grave is recorded. The published information related to this grave is limited to mention of an ivory figurine of a nude female (Özgüç 1959: pl. XXXIV/2) discovered near the hip of the skeleton (Özgüç, Özgüç 1954: 367–8, fig. 20a–ç). We have no skeletal or other data, such as information about the presence or absence of any other grave goods, but the extrinsic value of the ivory figurine is indicative of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

some wealth. As for the intrinsic, symbolic value of the figurine, it is notable that, stylistically, the item is very much in keeping with the local Anatolian canon, while at the same time the presence of a figurine in a grave is rather unusual in the wider context of contemporary funerary practices in central Anatolia. The same can also be said of subfloor adult graves, which, again, are more of an exception than the norm for the region in the early second millennium BC, but are conspicuously ubiquitous in Kanešean houses (Patrier 2011). In very general terms, the presence of graves below living floors establishes a continual presence of the dead alongside the living members of a household, thus creating a permanent sense of liminality. In this particular case, the presence of a grave in a formally-designated cult room is compelling evidence for the inclusion of a funerary component in the range of possible ritual activity that took place in the stele-rooms.

A second burial in close proximity is a cist grave located just outside the northeastern corner of the stele-room (Akyurt 1998: fig. 89). Due to a discrepancy in the published plans, however, it is uncertain whether this grave belongs to the same house or to a neighbouring structure.

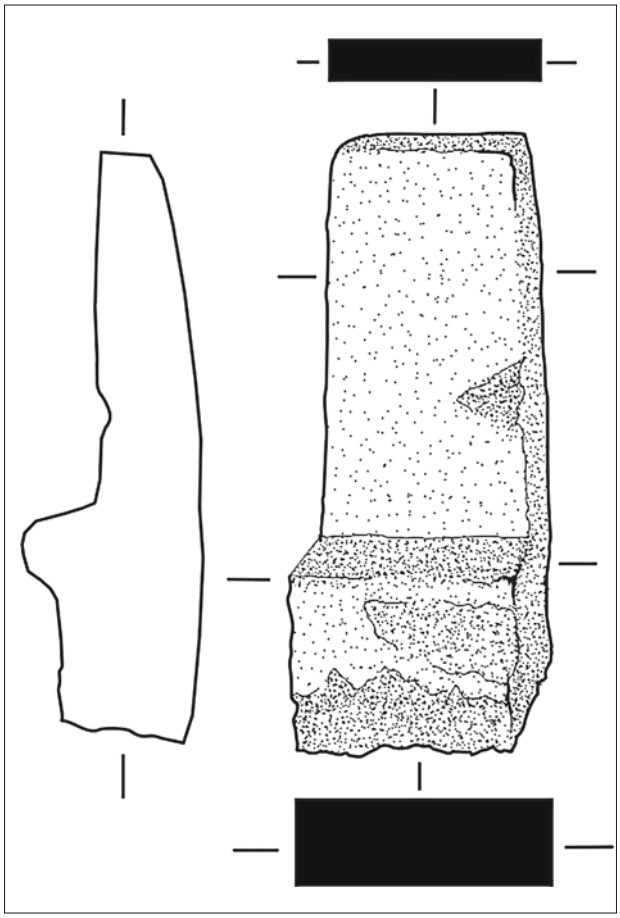


Fig. 7. Stele 3, from the house in grid-square LXI/130, Kültepe-Kaneš Lower Town, Level Ia (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Özgüç 1994: pl. XXIIIa).

The initial publication of the house plan shows a second doorway near the northeastern corner of the stele-room (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: plans A, P1–2). The same doorway is visible also on a later plan (Özgüç 1959: fig. 16), but replaced with a solid wall elsewhere in the same publication (Özgüç 1959: plan 5), while the most recent version again shows a doorway (Özgüç 2004: 446). The presence or absence of a doorway here is significant, not only because it would determine whether or not to include a second grave in the household inventory, but also because it would change the character of the room from one of restricted access with a single controlled internal doorway in the northwest (i.e. at the partition wall) to one with a second doorway leading into the stele-room from another part of the house. As the room containing the cist grave is located at the edge of excavation, its plan is not fully exposed.

A much more secure designation of the use of space is possible for the southeastern corner of the stele-room, which leads into a small rectangular space which excavation reports describe as an archive room, i.e. containing cuneiform tablets (Özgüç 1959: 12–13). In a later publication, however, Özgüç (2004: 445) assigns tablets to the stele room itself. Either way, the presence of tablets in a restricted part of the house is seemingly in keeping with the storage of private archives.

Stele 3 (fig. 7)

Level Ia. Squat proportions resemble those of Stele 1. No published plan available.

Stele 3 was found lying on its side on the floor of a four-room house in grid-square LXI/130, evidently knocked down but still in its original context. Available information for this third stele is limited to its association with an elaborate spouted bowl bearing various zoomorphic protomes along the exterior surface and a human figurine inside (fig. 8). This vessel is an unusual type which recalls a similarly elaborate cup from Eskiyapar within which a cult scene is replicated, complete with a female deity, altar, offerings and a libation vessel (Özgüç 1999b). A ritual also seems to be taking place inside the Kültepe bowl: a flat clay pellet rests on a block of clay against the interior edge between the two lion protomes (strikingly similar to the altar model inside the Eskiyapar cup); a figure near the opposite edge appears to be filling a small bowl by holding it underneath a spout projecting from the bull protome facing inwards. Seeing as the actual bowl itself is equipped with a zoomorphic (bovine) spout, the self-referential symbolism is evident. A detailed analysis of the clearly multilayered meaning of this piece is beyond the scope of the current discussion, but its intended purpose in a libation-related ritual is clear (see, for instance, Otto 2001 for elaborate figural vessels associated with a domestic shrine at Tell Bazi).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press



Fig. 8. Bowl with zoomorphic protomes, from the house in grid-square LXI/130, Kültepe-Kaneš Lower Town, Level Ia. Height 11.8cm, width 17cm (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Kulakoğlu, Kangal 2011: fig. 232).

Stelae 4/5 (fig. 9)
Level Ib(?). No information available on location, context or dimensions.

In the 1986 Kültepe-Kaneš excavation report, pl. 57.2 shows a stone-lined (cist?) grave and what appear to be two stone uprights next to it. The shorter one, numbered here as Stele 4, is rectangular in shape, with a smooth surface and is approximately half the height of the taller stele, numbered Stele 5. The latter is cylindrical in shape like a column, tapering only very slightly towards the top. The plate is labelled 'Level Ib, funeral stelae' (Özgüç 1986: 99) and referred to in the text by a brief remark only: 'Tomb stones and funeral stelae appear in central Anatolia for the first time in this period' (Özgüç 1986: 19). Özgüç's association of the grave with the stelae is problematic, however, as it contradicts the basic principles of stratigraphy. It is clear from the photograph that the stelae stand at a level well below the one from which the grave would have been cut, and must therefore be considerably *earlier*. Judging by the photograph, the negative feature of the grave pit was preserved by leaving an artificial wall of earth around it, while the remainder of the surrounding fill was removed, evidently revealing the two stone uprights in the process. At the time of the grave being dug from an upper level, both stelae would have been sealed inside the underlying deposit of earth and thus invisible to those constructing the grave! An additional difficulty is that the published photograph shows neither stele with its associated surface (both have been 'pedestalled' on lumps of earth); but, given they stand on roughly the same level, they were probably contemporary, in which case they may have functioned as a pair.

Finally, it is also unclear whether the excavators dated the grave to Level Ib on the basis of the stelae or vice versa. If the grave was cut from a Level Ib surface, then the stelae would have to be assigned to the earlier Level II. If, on the other hand, the stelae stood on a Level Ib surface, then the grave must surely belong to Level Ia. As long as these inconsistencies stand, it remains impossible to incorporate Stelae 4 and 5 into the general discussion in a meaningful way, other than to add them to the total number of stone uprights attested for the site.

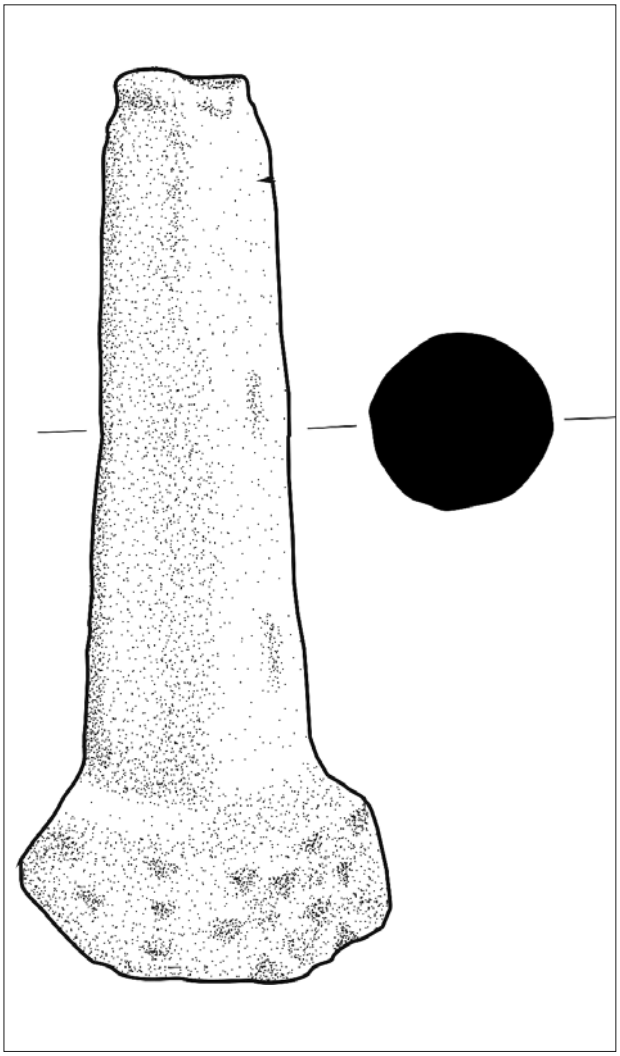


Fig. 9. Stele 5, from Kültepe-Kaneš Lower Town, Level Ib(?) (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Özgüç 1986: pl. 57/2).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Categories of ritual significance

C.F. Graesser identifies four basic functional categories for aniconic and anepigraphic markers:

> *memorial*, to mark the memory of a dead person; *legal*, to mark a legal relationship between two or more individuals; *commemorative*, to commemorate an event; and *cultic*, to mark the sacred area where the deity might be found, or, more narrowly, to mark that exact point where the deity is cultically immanent, where worship and sacrifice will reach the deity. It is important to note that a single stone was not limited to a single function but often carried out several at one and the same time (1972: 34, italics original).

Funerary-memorial

The co-presence of graves with at least two of the Kültepe-Kaneš stelae certainly opens up the possibility of a funerary-memorial function. As for the precise context of ritual tradition into which this function can be placed, two lines of interpretation present themselves, based on Anatolian comparanda and, alternatively, Syrian parallels.

Within Anatolia, the Kültepe-Kaneš stelae find reasonably close parallels in the 17th-century phase of the extramural cemetery site of Ilıca, where stone uprights were used as grave markers. The Ilıca stelae are notably close to the Kültepe stelae in terms of shape and likewise stand in foundation cuts filled with rubble stones for consolidation (Orthmann 1967: 36). These formal similarities, while intriguing, may not be sufficient basis for a direct comparison in terms of ritual significance and function, especially when the differences of setting, contextual relationships and mortuary associations are taken into account. The Ilıca stelae are highly visible individual grave markers in an extramural cemetery, whereas the Kültepe stelae belong to private domestic settings in which they are neither universally nor directly associated with funerary remains.

The differences certainly outweigh but do not necessarily invalidate the similarities. While a direct link of continuity between the two sets of stone uprights is not demonstrable at present, an indirect link – perhaps as a result of gradual shifts of meaning – is not entirely unlikely. It may, for instance, be hypothesised that the loose funerary character of the singular stelae in *kārum*-period households survived into the Hittite sphere, having crystallised into purpose-specific grave markers in the process. J.-M. Durand (2005: 32) postulates a similar transformation – 'la confluence de deux réalités, "la pierre de culte" et "la pierre commémorative"' – for Syrian *sikkanum*, the emergence of which in Emar curse formulae in a domestic-funerary context (see below) is notably different from the earlier contextualisation of these objects in a public-cultic sphere according to the older Amorite tradition. For the diachronic history of aniconic uprights in Anatolia, such a transformation is just one hypothesis among a range of possibilities which requires further evidence in order to be tested fully. At any rate, the possibility of funerary associations for the Kanešean stelae is suggested independently by their own contexts. The Ilıca comparanda, if nothing else, affirm the funerary-memorial associations of stone uprights.

Specifically in relation to the funerary practices of Lower Town residents, M.T. Larsen (2010: 433) draws attention to a reference (kt 94/k 1534) to a building (É = *bitim*, 'house') erected 'in front of' Šalim-Aššur's grave which is a unique piece of evidence for visible structures being connected with burials. While stone uprights do make attractive candidates for such structures, any postulated link between stelae and graves at this stage remains tenuous. Alternative means for designating grave location should also be considered. For the early second-millennium phase of the cemetery at Gordion, Machteld Mellink (1956: 3) notes 'the presence of a small earth pile covered by mud brick [that] could still be observed in the section of earth over the pithos and its cover'. Another means of marking graves, attested once at Gordion but evidently used more often at Çavlum (see Bilgen 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004), was to place a (semi)circle of stones around the burial.

Outside Anatolia, symbolically charged stone uprights are rooted in a long Syrian tradition of *sikkanum* attested already by the third millennium. Considering the international character of Kanešean society for which, R. Amiran (1968: 61) reminds us, 'Upper Mesopotamia … produced the human element', parallels with this milieu are not only pertinent but also highly likely. The potential funerary meaning of Syrian *sikkanum*, however, is greatly overshadowed by their cultic function – i.e. as signifiers of divine presence – which in turn is very much rooted in the official context of the temple and the state cult (Parrot 1968; Butterlin 2011; Castel 2011; Michel 2011). Cult stelae have been uncovered at numerous sites including Mari, Ebla, Emar, Tell Munbaqa/Ekalte and Al-Rawda (see Castel 2011 for an overview, especially the proposed addition to the list of stone uprights at Tell Qarqur).

The oldest of these is the impressive conical stele (M.2800) installed in the large central courtyard of the Ninni-Zaza temple (ca 2550–2445 BC) at Mari (Castel 2011: with references), which points to early Dynastic origins for the official cult centred around textually attested *sikkanum* during the second millennium under Zimri-Lim. In the texts of Mari dating to this period, *sikkanum* emerge as the focus of theistic cult activity associated with sacrifices to various deities such as Ištar, Dagan and Adad; they were also the object of a great deal of administrative attention. Zimri-Lim himself seems to have taken a personal interest; he worried over a *sikkanum*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

which had not yet materialised in time for a festival of Ištar (Durand 2005: A.652), was annoyed that another, for Adad, was not being erected quickly enough (Durand 2005: M.7014) and received reports that a *sikkanum* he specified was found to be much too large (Durand 2005: A.859). The cultic significance of *sikkanum* in Mari was evidently closely tied to the royal sphere.

Textual references from Ebla also place stone stelae in very much the midst of official cult. In addition to letters mentioning *sikkanum* for deities of the pantheon such as Ištar or Dagan, A. Archi (1998: 17) notes that administrative documents almost always mention na-ru, 'erected stone, stele', in connection with the king, viziers and other officials. This is very much in keeping with pictorial representations of stelae identified by F. Pinnock (2015) in Eblaite glyptic, where they are shown in the company of an idealised royal couple and a functionary(?), alongside divine/supernatural figures. Even where *sikkanum* (or aniconic uprights in general) are not associated immediately with the cultic context of a temple, but are instead found as boundary markers (Grasser 1972: 51) or at gates (for example Emar Gno.371: Durand 2005: 29), their function still falls within the public realm.

Inferring a comparably official/public significance for the stelae situated in Kanešean households, however, is difficult. In terms of the cultic actions received, on the other hand, at least one point of comparison between Syrian *sikkanum* and Kanešean stelae is clear. Both types are associated with additional installations designed for libations and/or offerings. The stele in Ebla's Temple D, for instance, stood behind what is best described as an offering table, a flat, rectangular stone with two shallow round receptacles (for the iconic temple plan showing both the stele and the offering table, see the Ebla Archaeological Mission website: http://www.ebla.it/escavi__i_templi_paleosiriani.html). At the early second-millennium temple of Tell Mohammed Diyab, the basalt slab which marks the centrepiece of an annex-room (no. 2) bears numerous shallow depressions on its surface, some equipped with pouring channels (Nicolle 2005: 181). High in number but limited in capacity, these 37 small cup-marks whose average diameter and depth are 5cm and 3cm respectively (Nicolle 2005: 181), would be more suitable for anointing – a type of cultic action also supported by textual references – than to offerings and libations, although they could have been used for all three purposes (Durand 2005: 26).

Outside the sphere of official cult, the funerary significance of Syrian *sikkanum* is indicated by curse formulae from Emar and Munbaqa, according to which anyone violating their oath will face death and a stone (*sikkanum*) will be set up in their house. Here the setting up of the *sikkanum* appears to be a signifier (verifier?) of death: '[This] measure would be effective only if such a stele was normally connected with the cult of the dead, so that the standing stone pronounced the culprit a living corpse' (De Moor 1995: 5; following Dietrich et al. 1989). The function of setting up a *sikkanum* in one's house was clearly to facilitate family-based, funerary-commemorative rites.

This principle seems to apply also to the Kanešean stelae, at least in the case of Stele 2, given its co-presence with a pithos grave.

Legal and commemorative

By their nature legal and commemorative functions belong most firmly in the official and/or public sphere, and may well be the least compatible with a domestic context. Commemorative stelae, in so far as they focus on important personages (for example Ibbi-Zikir of Ebla who received gifts 'on the day of the festival of his stele': Archi 1998: 17), would require both a setting and an audience of an elite-administrative character, for which downtown Kaneš is not entirely appropriate. The ceremonial circumambulation of *sikkanum* postulated by Durand (2005: 29) would likewise be impossible for the Kanešean stelae, which were not situated in particularly large spaces; notably, they occupied corners rather than central locations. Finally, the kind of visibility and monumental effect of commemorative stelae, such as that which would have been created by the *Stelenreihen* in first-millennium Aššur (Canby 1976; Reade 2004: with references), is also incompatible in the humble rooms of Kanešean houses.

That said, A. Otto (2006) presents a compelling case for including legal and/or related economic transactions among the activities carried out in domestic shrines in the presence of stelae in Late Bronze Age Syria, and this may provide a useful if indirect comparison for those discovered in Kanešean houses. Otto (2006: 489) observes the inclusion of seals and weights among the rich inventory of finds associated with domestic shrines at Tell Bazi, which point to activities of an economic nature taking place alongside those associated with cult practices, such as libations, offerings or the manipulation of divine images, within the same setting. This is in keeping with references from Emar and Tell Munbaqa which mention private and family-oriented legal cases and certain economic transactions being accompanied by ritual actions, namely the breaking of *hukku*-bread and the anointing of the table (Otto 2006: 490; citing Beckman 1997: 99). Surely this would have been no ordinary table, but a special piece of cultic furniture which presumably corresponds to the platforms or altars discovered in domestic shrines at Tell Bazi, Tell Munbaqa and Tell Hadidi (Otto 2006: fig. 3).

Admittedly, the legal-economic component of activities undertaken in domestic shrines in Emar and Tell Munbaqa is peculiar to the socio-legal dynamics of their communities, for which kin-based bodies such as the *ahhū*,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

'brothers', held great importance (Otto 2006: 489–90). Given the prominence of family relations in Kanešean commercial activity, particularly for Assyrian businessmen, a similarly business-oriented component should perhaps not be excluded from the potential range of ritual(ised) activities carried out within the stele-rooms and/or centred directly on the stelae themselves.

Cultic

In considering the cultic function of aniconic stones in Anatolia, Hittite *huwaši-* (^{NA4}ZI.KIN) immediately spring to mind, and with good reason. Frequently encountered in ritual texts and cult inventories, *huwaši-* (mainly made of stone but sometimes also made of silver or wood: Taracha 2009: 61) are conspicuous in Hittite cult (Popko 1993: 324). The contexts in which *huwaši-* occur are predominantly extramural (Popko 1993: 324), though they were also set up inside cities and within temples (Taracha 2009: 61; see Darga 1969 on the proposed identification of *huwaši-* not as divine representations but a form of open-air sacred structure).

The pseudo-Sumerogram of ^{NA4}ZA.KIN, which links *huwaši-* to *sikkanum* through folk etymology, also points to the route by which *huwaši-* and any associated concept of divine presence in cult stones may have entered the Hittite cult (Hutter 1990: 91). In fact, the tradition of standing stones, variously designated as *sikkanum*, *huwaši-* or baetyls depending on their immediate cultural zones, has been considered to have been part of a larger religious *koiné* (Hutter 1990: 104; Carstens 2008: 73). In contrast to Syrian *sikkanum*, however, Hittite *huwaši-* appear to be associated with neither the funerary sphere nor a commemorative function (Popko 1993: 103–04). In Hittite cult, as well as being the recipient of ritual actions, *huwaši-* also mediated cultic performance on divine statues, which would be carried out of the city to be set up in front of a *huwaši-* prior to a ritual washing (Taracha 2009: 71). The performative element in such a ritual is far too elaborate to suggest a useful point of comparison with the household stelae at Kaneš. Hittite *huwaši-* and Kanešean stelae did share one significant trait, however: the cultic function of both incorporated libations.

This is already fairly clear from the archaeological evidence from Kültepe. Both Stelae 1 and 2 were equipped with a receptacle at the front, in keeping with the pouring of liquids. In the case of Stele 2, this receptacle is reported to have been closely associated with beak-spouted and trefoil-mouth pitchers, the standard libation ware for the period. While no basin or similar structure is recorded for Stele 3, its association with a highly elaborate spouted bowl – which is not merely a vessel whose form would be appropriate for making libations, but a remarkable cult object rich in libation-related imagery – speaks for itself.

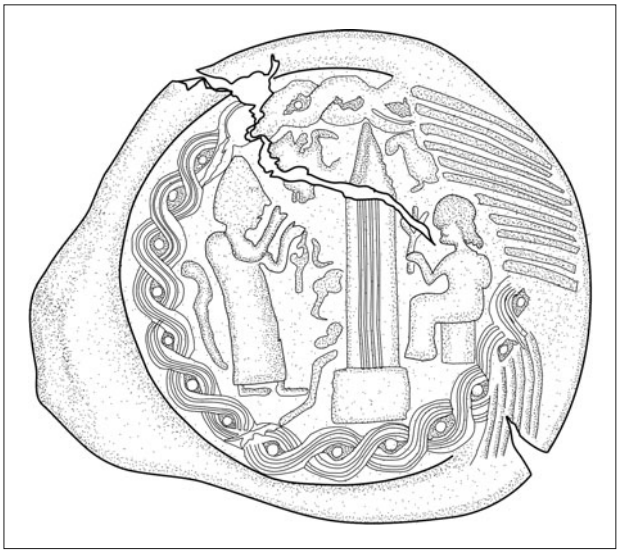


Fig. 10. Impression of a stamp seal from Acemhöyük, ca 1800–1750 BC. Diameter of seal ca 2.5cm (redrawn, with permission, by Serkan Demir after Van Loon 1985: pl. Xb).

A stamp seal impression from contemporary Acemhöyük (fig. 10) provides even more compelling evidence for firmly situating the stelae in the context of libation-related cult activity. The seal impression shows what M.N. Van Loon (1985: 9) describes as an 'obelisk worship' scene (the term obelisk will be retained for the following discussion, specifically in reference to the structure depicted on the seal). In the centre of the field, framed by a chevron ring, stands a tall obelisk on a square base. The similarity to the Kültepe stelae with their rectangular bodies and tapering tops is evident. Two bulls' heads appear to be protruding from the left side of the obelisk while a third hovers above. Similar animal heads are common in worship scenes on Colony-period cylinder seals (Özgüç 1965). Rather than simple filler motifs, these animal heads may represent zoomorphic rhyta, such as those found in particularly large numbers at Kültepe-Kaneš (Özgüç 2005: 154–93). In front of the obelisk stands a male figure holding out what appears to be a kind of vessel; behind the obelisk sits a female holding out a plant. This is a familiar visual formula representing a seated deity facing a standing worshipper (for example Özgüç 1965: pl. XXV 71, 73). On this particular scene, however, the 'worshipper', namely the standing figure making the libation, seems to be a deity himself, judging by his horned(?), conical headdress.

In any case, the scene is clearly a cultic act of libation, in which the obelisk is of chief significance within the composition. The viewer's attention is immediately drawn to the obelisk, which not only occupies the most visually prominent position in the centre but is also the largest element of the scene. In so far as scale is an indicator of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

importance, second in line is the standing figure. The scale of the standing figure is further enhanced by the ritual act he is carrying out. The seated figure, on the other hand, is not only smaller but also hidden from the other's view by the obelisk and cut off from the main action. While seated figures in glyptic iconography are often shown receiving libations behind cultic installations such as altars or stands, it seems unusual for one to be dwarfed and obscured in this way. As noted by Van Loon (1985: 9), the actual recipient of the libation on the Acemhöyük scene seems to be the obelisk itself, rather than the anthropomorphic participants. Whether the visual image is actually one of the obelisk receiving cult, or merely of it serving as a vehicle thereof, remains open to interpretation. What is clear, however, is that the Acemhöyük seal offers an independent visual account for the kind of cult activity in which the Kültepe-Kaneš stelae could have featured.

Admittedly, neither the association of the stelae with libations nor the identification of the stele-rooms as designated ritual spaces are new observations; the excavators at Kültepe-Kaneš long ago inferred that liquids must have been poured into the receptacles in front of the stelae (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 4–5) and concluded that each stele marked 'a sacred room in the relevant house, a small shrine' (Özgüç 1994: 224). The discussion presented here thus far has demonstrated, however, that it is possible to go beyond these preliminary observations and towards a much more detailed and nuanced understanding both of the stelae themselves as well as the rooms in which they were installed. As the contextual examination of the Kültepe-Kaneš stelae in their individual archaeological settings shows, these were multi-purpose spaces in which cultic activity included ritual deposits and extended to funerary rites. Having thus established a clearer picture of the potential range of cultic activity that took place inside the stele-rooms, it is now possible to consider the overall role of the stele-rooms in terms of the spiritual life of ancient Kaneš.

Neighbourhood shrines or household chapels?

The presence of stele-rooms in private homes places the associated religious practice within the framework of household and family rituals, in which both funerary and cultic functions were mutually compatible. Given the conspicuous absence of a public temple or sanctuary in the Lower Town, however, the possibility that the stele-rooms could have served the quotidian religious needs of a wider community than that of a single household ought to be considered. This brings to mind Leonard Woolley's model of the so-called neighbourhood chapels of contemporary Ur. These are said to be:

> dedicated to minor deities, different from domestic chapels in houses in that they were open to the public, different from the great temples not merely by reason of their dedication but because they would seem to have been erected and maintained by private charity instead of out of State revenues (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 30)

As particularly well-defined and well-equipped representatives of a middling order of cult places, the Ur neighbourhood chapels can provide a useful model against which to test whether the Kanešean stele-rooms could also have served a similar public function. While bearing in mind that southern Mesopotamian traditions governing domestic cult practices may not necessarily offer a direct point of comparison, we may also note, as Barjamovic (2015) has recently demonstrated, the significant degree of similarity between Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian magic incantations, suggesting a shared topoi of, for want of a better term, 'popular religion' (Barjamovic 2015: 54–59). Especially significant is that the Old Assyrian incantations from Kültepe-Kaneš reflect private and domestic concerns, such as minor ailments or pregnancy and childbirth, and even feature household objects (Barjamovic 2015: 51). If the written (and oral; see Barjamovic 2015: 52–54) traditions of vernacular magic, introduced to Kaneš by Assyrians, show such similarities with Old Babylonian customs, we may indeed postulate that the similarities extended to the organisation of ritual space within domestic settings.

The Ur neighbourhood shrines are small structures whose religious nature is immediately signalled by the reveals in the doorjambs characteristic of Mesopotamian religious architecture but absent from ordinary houses. Structures identified as neighbourhood chapels extend into the street and occupy prominent positions, such as corners, facing open spaces. Though hardly monumental, chapel entrances incorporate steps leading from the street up to the doorway; the buildings were set on a slightly higher level, presumably in a deliberate attempt to emphasise their special status (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 30). More importantly, the layout of the Ur chapels is perfectly in keeping with the canons of Mesopotamian temple architecture: an open court leading directly to a sanctuary, typically with a niche for the cult statue in the back wall and aligned with the doorway. Brick altars placed outside and roughly in front of the chapels (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 39) are likewise appropriate for a formal cultic setting. As for paraphernalia, cult statues/statuettes, such as those representing the minor goddesses Hendursağ and Ninšubur, have been recovered from their respective chapels, accompanied by various votive objects (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 126).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

The Kültepe-Kaneš stele-rooms, on the other hand, bear neither the elaboration nor rich inventory of the Ur chapels. Furthermore, the buildings containing stele-rooms do not appear to be marked by any external features to distinguish them from habitations. All the structures with stelae adhere to the typical residential plans observable across the Lower Town and do not seem to be formalised in any special way in terms of their overall layout. Although the full plan of the house in LXI/130 (Stele 3) is not available, its simple description as a 'four-room house' (Özgüç 1994: 224) suggests that it bore no special features indicative of a non-residential character. The layout of the house in P–R/18–20 (Stele 1) follows the typical arrangement of a string of rooms roughly along one side of a courtyard. The furnishings and small finds from the surrounding rooms are likewise in keeping with an ordinary domestic setting. The courtyard of the house in D–F/6–8, for instance, is no different from any other general work and food preparation area, being marked by a large *tandır* against the southern wall and a stone-paved strip along the eastern wall which was presumably unroofed and/or designated for activities involving water. The grindstones and the large terracotta basin found in the courtyard are also consistent with the undertaking of ordinary household tasks postulated for this area. A similar domestic-utilitarian character can also be detected in the storage vessels placed in the L-shaped passage room leading out from the courtyard, while the pestles and burnishing stones tucked into the space under the staircase (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 5–6) convey a sense of casual storage. Likewise, the front room leading into the stele-room of the house in P–R/19–20 has produced a familiar assemblage associated with ordinary household chores, including a variety of serving vessels, cooking ware and a large bathtub basin (Özgüç, Özgüç 1953: 2).

Of course, ordinary household objects are not restricted to strictly domestic contexts and can very well be found in officialised religious settings not under private management. The find inventories of the contemporary religious sanctuaries at Beycesultan, for instance, include commonplace utilitarian items such as cooking ware, flint knives and spindle whorls (Lloyd, Mellaart 1965: 39–48). The overall character of the setting, however, is very much that of a religious complex: a self-contained megaron-style western sanctuary attached to a linear arrangement of rooms of the larger sanctuary extending to the east (Lloyd, Mellaart 1965: fig. A.17). While the megaron-style layout of the western sanctuary is admittedly similar to house plans, the formalised architecture of the eastern sanctuary complex, with its limited access points restricting internal communication and isolating the two cult chambers at either end, is ill-suited for domestic use. More importantly, the location of the complex, 'on the periphery of the settlement and orientated towards the open country beyond' (Lloyd, Mellaart 1965: 39, pl. XXIIb), further removes its ritual focus from the immediately quotidian domain, in stark contrast to the stele-houses of Kaneš which are located in the midst of residential clusters. Finally, the sense of long-term continuity at Beycesultan, evidenced by earlier and later incarnations of similar religious buildings on the same site in the Early and Late Bronze Ages, points to a carefully maintained cultic focus extending beyond the concerns of a single family or household.

A final set of potential comparanda to consider includes the small, single-room shrines in contemporary Ebla, which P. Matthiae (2006) categorises as 'minor cult places' and which indeed stand out in contrast to 'major' religious monuments such as temples. Matthiae describes these units as 'secondary cult places [which] probably had a special religious function, be it within a sacred area, inside an architectural complex with a different function, or in connection with a monument that did not have a religious function' (2006: 220–21). The so-called Shrine G3, which is clearly part of a major religious complex, holds the least comparative value for Kültepe-Kaneš. On the other hand, the other two structures identified as minor sacred spaces, namely the so-called Shrine BB2 and Shrine 7113 (Matthiae 2006: 225–32), both designate a self-contained sacred space in an otherwise 'profane' setting, and are, in principle, similar to the Kültepe-Kaneš stele-rooms which likewise occur in architectural contexts whose principal function is not religious. This, however, is where the similarities end, as the minor cult places at Ebla, despite their modest size and overall character as 'lesser edifices' (Matthiae 206: 220), are very much part of the public sphere of religious activity, whereas the Kültepe-Kaneš stele-rooms bear no traits suggesting they were anything other than a location for private-sphere rituals in a domestic setting.

Perhaps the strongest argument in confirming the private character for the Kültepe-Kaneš stele-rooms is the proximity of graves, which would be greatly at odds with a public religious setting but very much in alignment with family-based ritual centred on funerary cults. Family-based rituals, however, are not necessarily limited to the care of the dead. Veneration of minor household deities within the same setting is well documented for domestic shrines (*išertum*) in contemporary Mesopotamia (Van der Toorn 1996: 70), which offers the most suitable comparative model for the stele-rooms at Kaneš.

The focal point of such shrines was a decorated mud-brick pedestal built against a corner at the back of the room (for plain examples from Tell Harmal and Tell al Dhiba'i, see Baqir 1946: 24 and Mustafa 1949: 178, pl. IIIA, respectively; for a general survey of domestic cult instal-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

lations, see Krafeld-Daugherty 1994). In Nippur, domestic shrines have likewise been recognised by 'a *libn* table or altar' or 'bench' (McCown, Haines 1967: 39; 51) in close association with a wall niche. No mud-brick benches, altars or the like are reported for the stele-rooms at Kültepe-Kaneš, but this fact alone does not rule out the possibility that such installations were overlooked during excavation or were not preserved (see below for textual references to cultic furniture). It is also possible that elaborate altars simply did not feature in Kanešean shrines, where stelae constituted the principal type of cult furnishing.

A more secure point of similarity between Mesopotamian shrines and the Kanešean stele-rooms is the presence of libation receptacles, attesting to similar ritual actions taking place in both types of settings. The shrine rooms of the so-called Larsa houses at Tell Asmar, for instance, were equipped in anticipation of water-related activities, such as the bitumen-coated niche in Room G 26:4, immediately below which was an in situ bowl placed inside the enclosure of a low curb on the floor (Delougaz et al. 1967: 24, 27). Bowls embedded in the floor, attested in two domestic chapels at Ur, such as in Room 3, no. 1 Boundary Street (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: pl. 41), recall the shallow stone basin/trough and the stone-lined cut associated with Stelae 1 and 2, respectively.

A conspicuous point of contrast emerges in relation to evidence of fire-related activity, which is well attested for Mesopotamian shrines but highly tenuous for the Kültepe-Kaneš stele-rooms. In Ur, for instance, a typical assemblage for the most elaborate shrines includes a narrow chimney in the wall immediately behind the low bench meeting the pedestal in the corner. Given their ill-suited form and location for cooking or heating, these chimney recesses may have been intended for a different kind of fire- or heat-related activity, such as burning incense (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 29). In contemporary Nippur, fire installations took the form of a central hearth (McCown, Haines 1967: 44–46). The hearths and altars, as the excavators note, echo the furnishings of contemporary temples (McCown, Haines 1967: 339). At Kültepe-Kaneš, only one of the published stele-rooms is reported to contain a fire installation: the horseshoe hearth in the corner opposite Stele 1. The hearth is not directly associated with any paraphernalia or deposits suggestive of ritual activity, nor does it bear any unusual features to distinguish it from other ordinary horseshoe hearths commonly encountered across the site.

The ritual significance of hearths in Anatolia has been discussed by Lamb (1956: 89–90) and T. Takaoğlu (2000). Lamb (1956: 91) does in fact cite the horseshoe hearths of Kültepe-Kaneš in comparison with the altars at Kusura and Beycesultan, but the similarities are limited. Perhaps more comparable to the Kusura and Beycesultan examples are those recovered at Konya-Karahöyük. Though cautious of an exclusively cultic interpretation, S. Alp (1994: 102) recognises that the decorative attention paid to fire installations at Konya-Karahöyük may hold symbolic significance, at least for the so-called hearth-altar types (Alp 1994: pl. 247/754). Little information regarding associated finds or contextual relationships is given for these features, however, making it difficult to assess the use of (ritual?) space around them and limiting their comparative value. Nonetheless, the presence of Kusura/Beycesultan-type hearth-altars at Konya-Karahöyük means fire-related cult activity remains a possibility at the latter site, which is very much part of the same early second-millennium cultural horizon as Kültepe-Kaneš, as shown by comparable pottery assemblages and glyptic practices.

At present, no compelling physical evidence supports postulating that any 'special' activity took place at the domestic hearths of Kültepe-Kaneš; the evidence can all be otherwise explained as a consequence of 'ordinary' quotidian actions of food preparation in work areas. Even so, this does not entirely exclude them from the wider sphere of ritual activity, which often includes various levels of food consumption (for example funerary feasting) on the part of humans and/or the provision of offerings for deities or the dead (for example *kispum* rites). As J. Patrier notes (2011: 60), the occurrence of graves in household spaces identified as 'kitchens' at Kültepe-Kaneš and Acemhöyük (reported by Emre 1991: 1 and Öztan 1998: 167, respectively), and possibly also at Alişar (Patrier 2011: 59–60), may indicate the occurence of rituals related to feeding the dead.

Meanwhile, the single case of a horseshoe hearth in the same room as Stele 1 is inconclusive evidence to attribute an exclusive or even auxiliary cultic function to hearths, but, if unpublished stelae can be shown to reflect a pattern of co-occurrence with horseshoe hearths, fire installations of this particular type could also be included in the assessment of the range of cultic activity undertaken within these stele-rooms. Specifically in an Anatolian context, textual references attesting to an inherent sanctity of hearths in Hittite cult, which in turn has roots in earlier Hattian religious practice (Popko 1978: 44), should encourage the testing of such a hypothesis.

Shrine furniture in Kültepe-Kaneš texts

A particularly compelling piece of evidence for the use of private domestic shrines within the Kanešean community comes from a document found in the archive of Šalim-Aššur. Identified by Barjamovic and Larsen (2008: 153) as 'an inventory of a private chapel', the text lists the following:

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

> [x] tables that were in front of his gods. 1 chair that was in front of Aššur. 1 cup that was in front of Šarru-mātēn. 2 *hawiru* for/of salt, 1 cup of silver and a perfume-flask that was in front of Ukur. 5 weapons, 2 *qablitu*-containers, 1 'heart' of silver, 1 *nikkassu*-emblem (of Šamaš) and 1 wax tablet (kt 94/k 670).

Judging by the list, the chapel facilitated the care of personal/family gods (*ilišu*), those associated with the Assyrian home (Aššur and Šarru-mātēn) and those who reflect a preoccupation with the dead and the netherworld (Ukur and Šamaš). Tables (*paššūrū*) were probably standard items in a private chapel, used to serve offerings (see Van der Toorn 1996: 123; 1999: 142 for the uses of a *paššūr aširti*, 'ceremonial table'). In this particular case, the table and the chair were designated for personal/family gods and Aššur, but the same items of chapel furniture could be used also for the benefit of the family dead in the context of *kispum* rituals.

> To mark the invisible presence of the ghosts, a chair was set up on which they were presumed to seat themselves. Such a 'chair for ghosts' (giš-gu-za gidim, *kussû eṭimmē*), known from a lexical list, occurs once in a first millennium *kispu* ritual. During the course of an occasional *kispu*, the one performing the rite is to set up a chair 'for his family ghosts' (*ana eṭemmē kimtišu*). Such chairs (or rather thrones) were usual in the cult for the royal dead as well. In the family rituals of the common people, these chairs may have stood around the *paššūr sakkê*, the ceremonial table which belonged to the inheritance of the eldest son. This table was used only on solemn occasions (Van der Toorn 1996: 52; see also Scurlock 2002 for references to 'ghost chairs').

Evidence that the funerary rituals of Kanešean society also incorporated a similarly symbolic use of chairs can be found in the documents relating to the death of a certain Ištar-Lamassī, an Assyrian resident of Kaneš who was survived by her Anatolian husband, Lulu (see Veenhof 2008). Both her sons having also died, it fell to Lulu to make arrangements for Ištar-Lamassī's funeral, which is the subject matter of a collection of texts listing various expenses incurred. Among these are references to the 'removal of the chair' (*kussiam ṭabbu'um*). Presumably this was carried out around the time of burial, as a rite of passage marking the departure of the deceased from this world. In several texts from Ištar-Lamassī's dossier, 'removal of the chair' is mentioned alongside 'bewailing' (*bikītum*, i.e. mourning), suggesting these were two episodes of the funerary ritual which followed one another in quick succession, perhaps even as two parts of a single mortuary rite, and certainly in association with some kind of funerary feast (see Veenhof 2008 for the foodstuffs listed amongst the expenses incurred following the death of Ištar-Lamassī; see also kt 94/k 1009: Larsen 2010: 367 regarding the grain 'spent for the mourning-ritual' for Šalim-Aššur). As Veenhof (2008: 117) suggests, '[i]t is of course possible that this chair (either an already existing one or one made for this occasion) after the burial was preserved to be regularly used during the *kispum* ceremony'. The obvious place to store such a chair would be the domestic chapel.

Based on textual references, then, we can certainly infer the existence in Kaneš of domestic chapels and their use as designated spaces where ritual items were kept and used, at least among the Assyrian community (though not in any way in isolation from Anatolians, as the example of Ištar-Lamassī and Lulu shows). The stele-rooms can safely be identified with such spaces. While extant texts do not explicitly name or associate stelae with cult rooms in domestic houses, a close examination of the archaeological evidence, as presented here, can fill such gaps in the documentary evidence.

Conclusions

The Kanešean stelae represent a distinct category of cultic installation, the principal purpose of which was evidently related to ritual activity involving liquid offerings. This is consistent not only with the archaeological evidence of troughs and pouring vessels associated with the stelae, but is also independently confirmed by the Acemhöyük stamp-seal impression featuring a very similar stele as the focus of libations being made in divine presence. In terms of general setting, the Kanešean stelae mark permanent ritual space within domestic houses. Neither distinguishable nor accessible from the outside, the rooms furnished with stelae are in keeping with private, family-based rites rather than public ceremonies. Although an immediate and direct physical relationship between stelae and graves is thus far unattested, their co-presence in the same bounded architectural space is unlikely to be coincidental. At any rate, stelae and subfloor graves do not appear to have been mutually exclusive, and so it follows that the presence of burials in or near the stele-rooms is in keeping with a Mesopotamian model of private domestic chapels in which both minor divinities as well as dead ancestors received cultic attention.

This does not necessarily mean that the private ritual significance of the Kültepe-Kaneš stelae was exclusively tied to the immediate concerns of the resident members of a single household. In the conspicuous absence of a temple or sanctuary in the Lower Town, it is possible that each individual house equipped with a stele and thus in possession of a permanent ritual space could have served the cultic needs of several households, perhaps linked together

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

by kinship. Needless to say, the most likely group for which such an arrangement is most appealing is that of the Assyrian expatriates whose homes, ancestors, family gods, neighbourhood shrines and regional temples were out of reach. The well-attested tradition of stone uprights in northern Mesopotamian cultic contexts further supports viewing the Kültepe stelae as an Assyrian introduction to the settlement.

In other words, the presence of stone stelae in Kaneš and the motivation to install them in domestic houses are most satisfactorily linked to Assyrian – or more generally northern – constellations of ritual behaviour. In this sense, stelae could have served as an index (Hall 1998) of Assyrian identity; although, of course, in a heterogeneous community such as that at Kaneš, such an identity could have taken numerous forms. It is possible, for example, that the stone stelae and associated rituals were promoted by a cultural conservatism to reinforce roots by those who were (or considered themselves to be) Assyrian or by aspirations on the part of those who sought to emulate a (perceived or real) Assyrian way of 'doing ritual'. After all, especially given the intermixing of Assyrian and local populations at Kaneš through marriage, any essentially 'foreign' customs (and associated material culture) transplanted into Anatolia by Assyrians could hardly remain discrete. It is certainly possible that at least some of the houses equipped with stelae comprised mixed families, and in this way facilitated cultural exposure, which easily paves the way to cultural transmission, appropriation or hybridity of ritual principles (see Larsen, Lassen 2014 for a recent discussion of cultural hybridity at Kaneš).

Ultimately, issues of ethnicity or identity – particularly in a religious context – do not lend themselves too easily to conclusive answers. We may nonetheless hope to stand on relatively less speculative ground if new (or old) data become available in the future to reveal if indeed the stone stelae were as rare within the Kanešean community as the published examples suggest or were in fact much more common. Until then, some questions remain open. Do the stone stelae at Kültepe reflect a late rather than a continuous trend across both Levels II and I? Can they be aligned with changes that took place across the second-millennium occupational span of the Lower Town?

Acknowledgements

As always, my first round of thanks goes to the three readers who endured the earliest incarnation of the ideas presented here: Nicholas Postgate, Augusta McMahon and Ulf-Dietrich Schoop. The article took its present form during my time as Anniversary Fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge, where Maira Kaye's interest in Syrian stelae generated many interesting discussions from which I have benefitted greatly. I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewers, whose comments were extremely useful. My thanks also go to Roger Matthews for his mediation in securing permission to reproduce the images, and, of course, the copyright holders for giving it. All illustrations were made by Serkan Demir, with remarkable speed. Last but not least, I would like to thank Gina Coulthard for her enormous help and patience during all stages of preparing this article for publication.

References

Akyurt, İ.M. 1998: *M.Ö. 2. Binde Anadolu'da Ölü Gömme Adetleri.* Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

Alp, S. 1994: *Konya Civarında Karahöyük Kazılarında Bulunan Silindir ve Damga Mühürleri.* Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

Amiran, R. 1968: 'Similarities between the pottery of the MB IIA period and the pottery of the Assyrian colonies, and their implications' *Anatolia* 12: 59–62

Archi, A. 1998: 'The stele (NA-RÚ) in the Ebla documents' in J. Braun, K. Łyezkowska, M. Popko, P. Steinkeller (eds), *Written on Clay and Stone: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzyńska on the Occasion of Her 80th Birthday.* Warsaw, AGADE: 15–24

Baqir, T. 1946: 'Tell Harmal: a preliminary report' *Sumer* 2: 22–30

Barjamovic, G. 2015: 'Contextualizing tradition: magic, literacy and domestic life in Old Assyrian Kanesh' in P. Delnero, J. Lauinger (eds), *Texts and Contexts: The Circulation and Transmission of Cuneiform Texts in Social Space.* Berlin, De Gruyter: 46–81. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9781614515371-003

Barjamovic, G., Hertel, T., Larsen, M.T. 2012: *Ups and Downs at Kanesh: Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period.* Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten

Barjamovic, G., Larsen, M.T. 2008: 'An Old Assyrian incantation against the evil eye' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 35: 144–55

Beckman, G. 1997: 'Real property sales at Emar' in G.D. Young, M.W. Chavalas, R.E. Averbeck (eds), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*. Bethesda, CDL Press: 95–120

Bilgen, A.N. 2001: '1999 yılı Çavlum Köyü mezarlık kazısı' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 22.1: 399–408

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

— 2002: '2000 yılı Çavlum Köyü mezarlık kazısı' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 23.1: 351–60
— 2003: '2001 yılı Çavlum Köyü mezarlık kazısı' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24.1: 389–96
— 2004: '2002 yılı Çavlum Köyü mezarlık kazısı' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 25.1: 139–46
Butterlin, P. 2011: 'Pierres dresses, bétyls, urbanisme et espace religieux à Mari: nouvelles recherches au "Massif Rouge" (Syrie 2006–2007)' in T. Steimer-Herbet (ed.), *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens/Standing Stones, Anthropomorphic Stelae and Dolmens*. Oxford, Archaeopress: 89–102
Canby, J.V. 1976: 'The "Stelenreihen" at Aššur, Tell Halaf, and Maṣṣēbôt' *Iraq* 38.2: 113–28
Castel C. 2011: 'Al-Rawda et le culte des pierres dressées en Syrie à l'âge du bronze' in T. Steimer-Herbet (ed.), *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens/Standing Stones, Anthropomorphic Stelae and Dolmens*. Oxford, Archaeopress: 69–88
Carstens, A.M. 2008: 'Huwasi rocks, baityloi, and open air sanctuaries in Karia, Kilikia, and Cyprus' *Olba* 16: 73–94
Darga, M. 1969: 'Über das Wesen des *huwaši*-Steines nach hethitischen Kultinventaren' *Revue Hittite et asianique* 27: 5–24
De Moor, J.C. 1995: 'Standing stones and ancestor worship' *Ugarit-Forschungen* 27: 1–20
Delougaz, P., Hill, H.D., Lloyd, S. 1967: *Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press
Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Mayer, W. 1989: 'Sikkanum "Betyle"' *Ugarit Forschungen* 21: 133–39
Durand, J.-M. 2005: *Le culte des pierres et monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*. Paris, Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient Ancien
Ellis, R.S. 1968: *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia.* New Haven, Yale University Press
Emre, K. 1991: 'Cemeteries of second millennium BC in central Anatolia' in H.I.H.P.T. Mikasa (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC* (Bulletin of the Middle East Culture Center in Japan 4). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz: 1–15
Graesser, C.F. 1972: 'Standing stones in ancient Palestine' *Biblical Archaeologist* 35.2: 33–63. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3211046
Hall, J. 1998: 'Discourse and praxis: ethnicity and culture in ancient Greece' *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 8.2: 266–69
Hertel, T.K. 2014: 'The Lower Town of Kültepe: urban layout and population' in L. Atıcı, F. Kulakoğlu, G. Barjamovic, A. Fairbairn (eds), *Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity* (Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 4). Atlanta, Lockwood Press: 25–54
Hirsch, H. 1972: *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion*. Osnabrück, Biblio-Verlag
Hutter, M. 1990: 'Kultstelen und Baityloi: Die Ausstrahlung eines syrischen religiösen Phänomens nach Kleinasien und Israel' in B. Janowski, K. Koch, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: internationales Symposion Hamburg, 17.–21. März 1990*. Freiburg, Schweiz: 87–108
Krafeld-Daugherty, M. 1994: *Wohnen im Alten Orient: Eine Unterschung zur Verwendung von Räumen in altorientalischen Wohnhäusern.* Münster, Ugarit-Verlag
Kryszat, G. 2006: 'Herrscher, Herrschaft und Kulttradition in Anatolian nach den Quellen aus den assyrischen Hendelskolonien – Teil 2: Götter, Priester und Feste Altanatoliens' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 33.1: 102–24
Kulakoğlu, F. 2011: 'Kültepe-Kaneš: a second millennium BCE trading center on the central plateau' in S.R. Steadman, G. McMahon (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 1012–30
— 2014: 'Kanesh after the Assyrian Colony period: current research at Kültepe and the question of the end of the Bronze Age settlement' in L. Atıcı, F. Kulakoğlu, G. Barjamovic, A. Fairbairn (eds), *Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity* (Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 4). Atlanta, Lockwood Press: 85–94
Kulakoğlu, F., Kangal, S. (eds) 2011: *Anatolia's Prologue: Kultepe Kanesh Karum*. Kayseri, Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality
Lamb, W. 1956: 'Some early Anatolian shrines' *Anatolian Studies* 6: 87–94. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3642403
Larsen, M.T. 2010: *The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family* 1. *The First Two Generations* (Kültepe Tabletleri VI-a). Ankara, Tu̇rk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi
— 2015 *Ancient Kanesh: A Merchant Colony in Bronze Age Anatolia.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
Larsen, M.T., Lassen, A.W. 2014: 'Cultural exchange at Kültepe' in M. Kozuh, W. Henkelman, C.E. Jones, C. Woods (eds), *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper.* Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: 171–88

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Lloyd, S., Mellaart, J. 1965: *Beycesultan* 2. *Middle Bronze Age Architecture and Pottery*. London, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara

Matthiae, P. 2006: 'Middle Bronze Age II minor cult places at Ebla?' in A.M. Maeir, P. de Miroschedji (eds), *I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns: 217–34

McCown, D.E., Haines, R.C. 1967: *Nippur* I. *Temple of Enlil, Scribal Quarter, and Soundings*. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Mellink, M. 1956: *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*. Philadelphia, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Michel, C. 2004: 'Deux incantations paléo-assyriennes' in J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen.* Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten: 395–420

— 2008: 'Les assyriens et leurs femmes anatoliennes' in J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten: 209–29

— 2011: 'The *kārum* period on the plateau' in S.R. Steadman, G. McMahon (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 313–36

— 2014: 'Considerations on the Assyrian settlement at Kanesh' in L. Atıcı, F. Kulakoğlu, G. Barjamovic, A. Fairbairn (eds), *Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity* (Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 4). Atlanta, Lockwood Press: 69–84

Michel, P.M.Z. 2011: 'De dieux pierres levees a Mari au IIIe millénaire: attestations archéologiques et pratiques religieuses (Syrie)' in T. Steimer-Herbet (ed.), *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens/Standing Stones, Anthropomorphic Stelae and Dolmens*. Oxford, Archaeopress: 103–12

Mustafa, M.A. 1949: 'Soundings at Tell al Dhiba'i' *Sumer* 5.2: 173–86

Nicolle, C. 2005: 'L'Identification des vestiges archéologiques de l'aniconisme à l'époque amorrite' in J.-M. Durand, *Le culte des pierres et monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*. Paris, Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient Ancien: 177–89

Orthmann, W. 1967: *Das Gräberfeld bei Ilıca*. Wiesbaden, Steiner

Otto, A. 2001: 'Ein Wettergott auf dem Stier: Rekonstruktion eines spätbronzezeitlichen Kultgefäßes' *Damaszaner Mitteilungen* 13: 53–64

— 2006: 'Wohnhäuser als Spiegel sakraler Bauten?' in P. Butterlin, M. Lebeau, J.-Y. Monchambert, J.L. Montero Fenollós, B. Muller (eds), *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens: dimensions de l'expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien. Volume d'hommage offert à Jean-Claude Margueron.* Turnhout, Brepols: 487–96

Özgüç, N. 1965: *Kültepe Mühür Baskılarında Anadolu Grubu*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

Özgüç, T. 1959: *Kültepe-Kaniş: Asur Ticaret Kolonilerinin Merkezinde Yapılan Yeni Araştırmalar.* Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

— 1986: *Kültepe-Kaniş* II. *Eski Yakındoğu'nun Ticaret Merkezinde Yeni Araştırmalar*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

— 1994: 'A cult vessel discovered at Kanish' in P. Calmeyer, B. Hrouda (eds), *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde: Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*. Weisbaden, Harrasowitz: 221–27

— 1999a: *Kültepe-Kaniš/Neša Sarayları ve Mabetleri*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

— 1999b: 'Vases used for ritual purposes from Eskiyapar' in H.I.H.P.T. Mikasa (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC* (Bulletin of the Middle East Culture Center in Japan 4). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz: 1–22

— 2004: 'Archives of the Karum at Kaniš, Level Ib' in J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten: 445–50

— 2005: *Kültepe Kaniš/Neša*. Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları

Özgüç, T., Özgüç, N. 1953: *Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Kültepe Kazısı Raporu 1949*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

— 1954: 'Kültepe'de 1953 yılında yapılan kazılar' *Belleten* 18: 357–90

Öztan, A. 1998: 'A preliminary report on the Arıbaş cemetery at Acemhöyük' in H.I.H.P.T. Mikasa (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC* (Bulletin of the Middle East Culture Center in Japan 4). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz: 167–81

Parrot, A. 1968: *Mission archéologique de Mari* III. *Les temples d'Ishtarat et de Ninni-zaza*. Paris, Geuthner

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Patrier, J. 2011: 'Quelques reflexions sur les tombes *intra-muros* en Anatolie central au IIe millénaire AC' in O. Henry (ed), *Le mort dans la ville: Pratiques, contexts et impacts des inhumations intra-muros en Anatolie, du début de l'Âge du Bronze à l'époque romaine.* Istanbul, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes: 53–66

Pinnock, F. 2015 'Representations of stelae in the palace glyptic of early Syrian Ebla'. Paper presented at the 61st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Geneva

Popko, M. 1978: *Kultobjekte in der Hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen).* Warsaw, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

— 1993 'Anikonische Götterdastellungen in der anatolischen Religion' in J. Quagebeur (ed), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*. Leuven, Peeters: 318–27

Reade, J. 2004: 'The historical status of the Assur stelas' in J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten: 455–73

Scurlock, J. 2002: 'Soul emplacements in ancient Mesopotamian funerary rituals' in L. Ciraolo, J. Seidel (eds), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*. Leiden, Brill: 1–6

Takaoğlu, T. 2000: 'Hearth structures in the religious pattern of Early Bronze Age northeast Anatolia' *Anatolian Studies* 50: 11–16. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3643011

Taracha, P. 2009: *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz

Van der Toorn, K. 1996: 'Domestic religion in ancient Mesopotamia' in K.R. Veenhof (ed), *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Istanbul, Nederlands historisch-archeologisch instituut te Istanbul: 69–78

— 1999: 'Magic at the cradle: a reassessment' in T. Abusch, K. Van der Toorn (eds), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretative Perspectives*. Groningen, Styx: 139–48

Van Loon, M.N. 1985: *Anatolia in the Second Millennium BC.* Leiden, Brill

Veenhof, K.R. 2008: 'The death and burial of Ishtar-Lamassi in *karum* Kanish' in R.J. Van der Spek (ed.), *Studies in the Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society Presented to Marten Stol*. Bethesda, CDL Press: 97–119

Veenhof, K.R., Eidem, J. 2008: *Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian Period.* Fribourg, Academic Press

Wasilewska, E. 1993: 'Organization and meaning of sacred space in prehistoric Anatolia' in J. Quagebeur (ed), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*. Leuven, Peeters: 471–500

Woolley, L., Mallowan, M. 1976: *Ur Excavations* VII. *The Old Babylonian Period.* London, The British Museum

https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461600003X Published online by Cambridge University Press