

# SOME HITTITE FIGURINES IN THE AEGEAN

(PLATES 38–41)

THE following attempt to dispel a persistent problem of Aegean archaeology by reference to the art of the Hittites is offered to Professor Carpenter who first introduced the author to archaeology through the world of Greek sculpture. It is offered by a defector to the ancient Near East in hopes that it may please Professor Carpenter to know that his interest in the Aegean, his respect for a thing of beauty, his marvelous demonstrations of the potential historical value of a stylistic argument were not lost on even a wayward student.<sup>1</sup>

The problem concerns a small group of metal figurines found in the Aegean. They represent a male figure, clad only in a short kilt and high conical hat, who stands, feet apart, right arm raised ready to hurl a weapon. He has been called Rešep, Hadad, Baal, Tešup, or a sort of proto-Zeus, alternatively or in various combinations.<sup>2</sup> The type of figurine is well known in the ancient Near East where the same male figure in a smiting stance occurs repeatedly on seals and reliefs as well. The figure looks quite foreign in the Aegean of the Late Bronze Age, and from the beginning it has been clear that he must somehow be connected with a Near Eastern tradition. The difficulty has been that several of the figurines found in the Aegean are much better modeled, more lively, than their Near Eastern counterparts. This has meant that, although many scholars have accepted these pieces as imports from the Near East,<sup>3</sup> others, from Evans on,<sup>4</sup> have proposed that the figurines can only be

<sup>1</sup> The outline of this paper was presented at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in Boston, December, 1967 (*A.J.A.*, LXXII, 1968, p. 162). It is in part a summary of sections of my doctoral dissertation (J. E. Vorys, *Tešup Figurines and Anatolian Art of the Second Millennium B.C.*, Bryn Mawr College, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> For the most recent, extensive bibliography on the subject of this figure cf. Günther Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung*, VI, Berlin, 1956, pp. 35 ff. to which must be added the new bibliography cited below in notes 3, 4, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning with M. Wolfgang Helbig, "Sur la question mycénienne," *Extrait de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XXXV, 2e partie, 1896, pp. 15 ff.; most notably thereafter, Valentin Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien, Ihre Typenbildung von der Neolithischen bis in die Griechisch-Archaische Zeit*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 113 ff.; A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae, An Archaeological History and Guide*, Princeton, 1949, p. 108, pl. 110, d.; recently Emily T. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 302, pl. XLVII, d.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 125; *idem*, *The Palace of Minos*, III, 1930, pp. 466 ff.; René Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée*,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1914, pp. 323–326; P. Demargne, *La Crète dédalique, études sur les origines d'une renaissance*, Paris, 1947, p. 84; H. Gallet de Santerre et J. Tréheux, "Rapport sur le dépôt égéen et géométrique de l'Artemision à Délos," *B.C.H.*, LXXI–LXXII, 1947–48, pp. 22 ff.; G. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton, 1966, p. 198; cf. *idem*, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 243. Cf. also note 5.

Aegean copies of a Near Eastern type.<sup>5</sup> The latter point of view ultimately raises some difficult questions for Aegean archaeologists: Why did the Greeks copy this particular figure? Who was it? What did they do with the figurines? The answers to those questions have important implications for the history of Greek religion, as they will bear on such matters as the oriental background of the Zeus figure, the use of cult images in Mycenaean times, the degree of religious survival through the Dark Ages, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The question as to where these figurines were made has been argued back and forth since the early days of Aegean archaeology. In the meantime, large numbers of similar figurines have turned up in excavations in the Near East,<sup>7</sup> almost none in the Aegean. This only adds fuel to the controversy, for while the ever growing corpus of Near Eastern figurines emphasizes how exotic the few pieces are in Greece, the fact remains that not one of the new Syrian bronzes matches the liveliness and plasticity of the best Aegean examples of the type.

It is here we can call on the Hittites to break the impasse by claiming the two best Aegean examples of this smiting god as imports from Hittite Anatolia. If we can remove them permanently from the controversy, the controversy itself and all its uncomfortable overtones should disappear. That is the project here.

The first of these figurines is the well known piece found by Schliemann in Tiryns in 1876 (Pl. 38).<sup>8</sup> This little bronze has actually been the crux of the argument for an Aegean school of such figurines, for the figure from Mycenae always

<sup>5</sup> The implications for the Aegean if one adopts the idea that the figurines were made in Greece are examined by R. H. Smith, "Near Eastern Forerunners of the Striding Zeus," *Archaeology*, XV, 1962, pp. 176-183; Evans, *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 125, also faced the difficulties of this point of view, concluding the figures were portable cult images. It would be interesting to know how other scholars who adopted Evans' point of view on the local production of the figurines would answer these questions. Are they willing to accept what seem, to me, at least, very logical conclusions reached by Smith?

<sup>6</sup> Cf. references in notes 3-5 above.

<sup>7</sup> Most notably in the excavations at Ugarit (Ras Shamra): *Syria*, X, 1929, pl. LIII (Cl. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, I, *BAH*, XXXI, Paris, 1939, pl. XXV, p. 113); *Syria*, XVI, 1935, pl. XXXIII, 1-3; *Syria*, XVII, 1936, pls. XV, 4-4 bis, XXI, 25; *Syria*, XVIII, 1937, pl. XXIII; *Syria*, XLIII, 1966, pl. III, 1-2, fig. 8; Cl. Schaeffer etc. *Ugaritica*, V, *BAH*, LXXIV, Paris, 1962, p. 98, fig. 82. Also at Byblos: M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 1926-1932, Paris, 1939, pls. XLV, 1273; XLVI, 6450; XLVII, 1819; LVIII, 2030, 2031; LXXII, 2555; *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, 1933-1938, Paris, 1950, pl. CLXII, 7107, 7826. From Megiddo: G. Loud, *Megiddo*, II, *Seasons of 1935-39*, OIP, LXII, Chicago, 1948, pl. 235, 22 (Stratum IX-VII), pl. 239, 31 (Stratum V B).

<sup>8</sup> H. Schliemann, *Tiryns, The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns*, New York, 1885, p. 166, no. 97; *idem*, *Mycenae, A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*, New York, 1878, p. 14, fig. 12. Schliemann describes the figure as naked, and the drawing is so vague it could be as well the figure from Mycenae. The drawing in Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, p. 22, pl. II, 1 is more like the piece in Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, Boston and New York, 1897, p. 160, fig. 55; Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 11; Evans, *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 125; *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 477, fig. 331, c; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, no. 2; Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 112, no. 1; Gallet de Santerre et Tréheux, *op. cit.*, p. 223, no. II; Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 51.

quoted with it<sup>9</sup> is but an ordinary piece, no better modeled than its Syrian counterparts. It is important to note from the outset that the 7 cm. high (without tenons) figurine from Tiryns now in the Athens museum should have been a much better piece. It was poorly cast. The mould must have leaked, leaving flaps of bronze over the ankles and wrists, along the legs, upper arms and under the skirt. While these excrescences mar the total impression, enough fortunately escaped damage to give an idea of the original intent of the artist. The delicate modeling of the feet, for instance, reveals his careful attention to small detail.

The short-waisted stocky figure has big hands and feet and a large head with well modeled features, immense ears and a short chin. The eyebrow line joins the bridge of the nose and a heavy eyelid encloses a smaller almond-shaped eye. The parted lips are indicated plastically. The little figure wears a high conical hat decorated with vertical ridges and a knob at the peak. He is bare-chested and wears a short skirt wrapped around so tightly that it splits at an angle as he walks. Over the left hip he carries a short dagger with a wide pommel.

It is a substantial figure, modeled in the round with a good sense of natural proportions and more representation of anatomical detail than is usual in these pieces. The hurling pose is well thought out and convincing. The throwing arm is held close to the head while the opposite shoulder is lowered. The left foot is placed almost directly in front of the right, thereby twisting and distending the right hip.

The second figurine, although often listed as an Aegean specimen of the type, has not attracted so much attention, perhaps because it comes from Thessaly, from Nezero on the slopes of Mt. Olympos south of the Xynas Sea (Pl. 39).<sup>10</sup> It deserves to be better known for it is probably the finest example of a smiting god figurine which we possess. It is a silver piece, now in the Ashmolean, which, as preserved, is 8 cm. high. The top of the hat, the upper left quadrant of the face, the forearms, lower legs and feet are missing. The smooth surface along the missing parts suggests that these were melted off, and the care taken to preserve the elbow (and thus the position of the lower arms) suggests that the dismemberment was reluctant, that the owner had, perhaps, some hope of restoring the figure. The melting of the face must have occurred accidentally when the hat was removed.

The figure is heavy set and muscular, yet he would have been exceptionally tall to judge from his long neck and legs. He has a squarish face with a short pronounced chin, pursed lips, indented in the middle, and fat cheeks which crease along the edge of the long, narrow nose. His thick mass of hair, worn loose, is tucked behind the large protruding ears to hang in a point at the middle of his back. A very brief kilt,

<sup>9</sup> Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 50; Wace, *op. cit.*, pl. 110, c.

<sup>10</sup> Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, A. E. 410; Evans, *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, fig. 16, p. 125; *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 477, fig. 331a; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, no. 4; Gallet de Santerre et Tréheux, *op. cit.*, no. IV; Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 52; J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford, The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete*, Oxford, 1961, p. 76, pl. XXV.

curved at the ends, is wrapped around and tucked in over his left hip. His high, backward sloping hat fits tight at the base of the crown. It is decorated with two small horns which curve up and forward over the ears.

The figure assumes a very broad stance, right arm held straight out from the shoulder, forearm bent up beside the head at a slightly oblique angle. The left shoulder is tipped down, forearm bent up at a 45 degree angle. The position of the figure is very carefully worked out. The imminent thrusting movement—the push and twist forward which will take place when the weapon is hurled—is suggested by the careful modeling of the participating members of the body, the differentiation of the muscular action, shape and position of each shoulder, hip and leg. All these detailed observations are worked into a harmonious composition which is quite remarkable.

Next to these two pieces from Greece, the best of the Syrian figures will seem a little sickly. Evans and his followers have a good point. The pose of the Syrian bronzes tends to be mechanical: the throwing arm held at a not-very-threatening angle, the shoulder and hips stationary, the implied forward movement a dainty step not a lunge. These Syrian pieces look thin not so much because the ideal prototype is slender rather than burly as because they are not actually conceived in the round. Many are really only thickened versions of the flat idol-like figures of an earlier period. The drooping hips of a figurine from Megiddo, one of the best made in Syria, well illustrate how little interest is taken in the actual, natural volume of the body (Pl. 40, a).<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, the two Aegean figures would be at home in the world of Hittite art. This is best illustrated by a look at the best preserved and the classic example of monumental Hittite sculpture. The so-called King's Gate figure from the capital, Hattuššas (Bogazköy)<sup>12</sup> has just those stylistic features of the Aegean bronzes which are missing in Syria. Immediately striking are the physical features—the stocky physique, large square head, deep creases along the inside of the cheek. The tight-fitting, split skirt is also familiar and a dagger is tucked over the left hip as in the Tiryns piece. The loose hair hanging over the shoulder recalls the Nezero piece. If the hats of the Aegean pieces are different, they are more at home in the

<sup>11</sup> G. Loud, *op. cit.*, no. 7, pl. 235, 22. Certainly the most expensive of such figurines was Syria, XVII, pl. XXI from Ugarit. Three unusual bronzes from Ugarit appear to me to be under strong Hittite influence. Louvre, A. O. 18517 (Syria, XVII, pl. XV, 4-4 bis) is very well modeled. The slightness of the figure and the rather stiff position of the arms separate it from the Hittite figurines discussed here. Two new figurines from Ugarit, Syria, XLIII, 1966, pl. III, 1-2, fig. 8, have a sort of Hittite solidity and reflect Hittite interest in the action of shoulders and hips. The up-turned faces, weapon held horizontally, and the long skirt hanging under a plump belly are different.

<sup>12</sup> Ekrem Akurgal and Max Hirmer, *The Art of the Hittites*, New York, figs. 64, 65. Seen *in situ*, O. Puchstein, "Boghazkoi, Die Bauwerke," *Wiss. Veröff. der deutsch. Orient-Gesell.*, XIX, 1912, pl. 17.

variety of headdresses popular in the Hittite world than is the helmet of the Gate figure.<sup>13</sup>

The gate figure stands quiet, poised for action, yet he is as lively as the Aegean figures and this energy is conveyed by the same thoughtful portrayal of the muscular structure and pose: the broad stance, back leg stiffened, hip distended, forward foot with heel down ready to go. The raised fist clenched tight recalls the Tiryns piece. The relief epitomizes the Hittite artist's plastic sense, his desire to convey a three dimensional figure, for it is so high that much of the figure could actually be worked in the round.<sup>14</sup>

The same physical features, the love of modeling and of energetic figures is characteristic of Imperial Hittite art of all sizes, techniques and media. The special details of the heavy face are as familiar in the monumental stone sphinxes of the gate guardians at Yer Kapi<sup>15</sup> in the capital as in a tiny rock crystal figure from Tarsus.<sup>16</sup> The care to imply intended motion is familiar in the famous running gods at Yazilikaya,<sup>17</sup> the vigorous archer at Alaca Hüyük<sup>18</sup> and in a tiny rocking lady of a gold pendant.<sup>19</sup> Every male figure in Hittite art assumes a stance with back-leg hyper-extended. Even the hieroglyph for the god Šarruma is drawn this way.<sup>20</sup> The same artistic canons give weight, fullness and life to the three imperial Hittite bronzes which, like their Aegean counterparts, make any bronze from Syria seem under-nourished.<sup>21</sup>

The smiting pose helps to date the Aegean figures more closely. In imperial Hittite art from the capital city there is no smiting god nor indeed any figure in a violent pose. By the time from which we have most of our Hittite art, it was evidently deemed proper to imply action rather than state it. But gods were not always so self-contained in Hittite art. One of the rare remnants of old Hittite art, and in my opinion one of the earliest (*ca.* 1800 B.C.), is the fine Tyszkiewicz seal in Boston

<sup>13</sup> E.g. at Yazilikaya, K. Bittel, R. Nauman, H. Otto, "Yazilikaya, Architektur, Felsbilder, Inschriften, und Kleinfunde," *Wiss. Veröff. der deutsch. Orient-Gesell.*, LXI, 1941, pp. 105 ff.; or on the seals of the Kings of Carchemish at Ugarit, C. Schaeffer, E. Laroche, *Ugaritica*, III, *BAH*, LXIV, Paris, 1956, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Puchstein, *op. cit.*, p. 70, fig. 48.

<sup>15</sup> Akurgal and Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 68, 69.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 53, lower right; cf. *Art Treasures of Turkey*, Smithsonian Publication no. 4663, Washington, 1966, fig. 78.

<sup>17</sup> Akurgal and Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 86, 87 above.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 94, 97.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 53, center.

<sup>20</sup> I. e. the winged lower part of a male figure of the cartouch over the god's hand at Yazilikaya, *ibid.*, pls. 84, 85; E. Laroche, *Les Hieroglyphes Hittites, Première Partie, L'écriture*, Paris, 1960, No. 80: Šarruma.

<sup>21</sup> From Latakiyeh and Boğazköy and Sedat Alp, "Eine Hethitische Bronze-statuetten und andere Funde aus Zara bei Amasya," *Anatolia*, VI, 1961-62, pp. 217 ff. Professor Alp has a good discussion and excellent photographs of the other two Hittite bronzes as well.

(Pl. 40, c).<sup>22</sup> Here, modeled with the plasticity characteristic of Hittite art of all periods, the gods step up to a seated figure, staffs swinging, pigtails flying, with a verve which would have been an anathema to the Babylonians whose processions they imitate. In a secondary scene, a warrior god lunges on the victim pinned under foot so violently that his brief skirt pulls taut and splits open over one thigh. A fragmentary, unfinished relief of the time shows a similar lunging figure.<sup>23</sup> A bronze figurine from Dövk, <sup>24</sup> 75 km. southwest of Sivas, is so close in style to the figures on the seal that it must be roughly contemporary (Pl. 41, a). This old Hittite figure is so threatening that we feel the need to duck. The forward arm which balances the thrusting arm, the arched back, the twisted hip, the implied movement forward from the stiff back leg to the ball of the foot may be exaggerated, but combined with the sinewy, lithe figure produce one of the most memorable of all smiting gods. That the silver figurine from Nezero (Pl. 39) is a direct descendant of this Dövk piece is clear from the hat, hairdo and tight-fitting split skirt. The Nezero piece must be an old Hittite work of a slightly later phase. The modeling is as thoroughly three dimensional, but the articulation of the energetic pose is expressed with greater sophistication and less exuberance than in the Dövk bronze. It is important to note that the ideal prototype of the Nezero figure has obviously changed from the tall slender figure of earlier times to the heavy-set figure familiar from imperial Hittite art. Still the long neck and legs and the slender waist of the Nezero figure preserve something of the ideals of the earlier period typified by the Dövk bronze and prevent him from taking on the true stockiness of later Hittite times. Fortunately, these transitional pieces can be roughly dated. They are characteristic of a seal in the Louvre (Pl. 40, b) whose iconographical elements prove that it is just pre-imperial (15th c. B.C.).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Museum of Fine Arts 98.706. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, pp. 284 ff., pl. XLIII; O. E. Terrace, *The Art of the Ancient Near East in Boston*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1962, no. 12.

Professor Sedat Alp in *Zylinder und Stempelsiegel aus Karahoyük bei Konya, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, V Seri, SA, XXVI, Ankara, 1968, pp. 271-274, concludes that the seal is contemporary with the last phase of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia. I am delighted that he, too, thinks it is so early. I would, however, place it just after the colonies (i. e. just after the relief vases). The Aydın seal is still a little later and Louvre AO 20138 (Pl. 40, b) considerably so; see below. The argument for this, which needs a separate discussion, is presented in my thesis (note 1).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. V. Canby, "Relieffragmente aus älterhethitischer Zeit," *Mitt. deutsch. Orient-Gesell.*, XCIII, 1962, pp. 69 ff., fig. 57.

<sup>24</sup> Akurgal and Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 44, Bedestan Museum, Ankara 8825; Nimet Özgüç, "Dövk Koyunden (Sarkisla ilçesi) Gitirilen Eti Heykelciği," *Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, V, 1943, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>25</sup> A. O. 20138; A. Parrot, "Cylindre Hittite nouvellement aquis A. O. 20138," *Syria*, XXVIII, 1951, pp. 180 ff., pl. XIII-XIV; cf. E. Porada, "Syrian Seal Impressions on Tablets Dated in the Time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna," *Jour. Near East. St.*, XVI, 1957, p. 194, no. 12, pl. XXX, 4.

The truly stocky Tiryns figure would be somewhat later but the violent position it assumes would still place it before the bulk of imperial art.

It would be of great interest from the point of view of both Hittite and Mycenaean history and the question of the nature of the contact between the two, if we could date these two Hittite imports to Greece more closely.<sup>26</sup> For the present, however, this is impossible. We cannot yet provide close historical dates for the different stages of Hittite art; and we have no proper archaeological context for either of the Aegean figures. It will surely not be too long before we have help from both sides.

On the other hand we have at least an inkling about the route of import. It seems probable that the pieces were not imported through North Syria, for Hittite figurines are noticeably absent there with the one exception of the figurine in the Louvre, purchased from a private collection in 1864, and said to be from Latakiyeh.<sup>27</sup> The evidence for this comes from the great North Syrian trading port of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) which lay on the borders of Hittite territory and was indeed a vassal of the Hittites during the 14th-13th centuries B.C.<sup>28</sup> Ugarit was in intimate contact with both the Hittite and the Aegean world, but although she has produced many bronzes representing the smiting god, not one of them is of true Hittite manufacture.<sup>29</sup>

With the question of the area of Hittite-Aegean contacts in mind, I would like to look at the one other figurine from outside Anatolia which appears to be a good Hittite piece. It is a bronze figure 21 cm. high, found in the excavations of Lindos on Rhodes (Pl. 41, b).<sup>30</sup> It is not a smiting figure. The arms are broken off, but enough is preserved to show that the upper arms must have been held down and slightly in front of the torso, perhaps in the manner of the King's Gate figure. The figure stands erect, even swayback, one foot in front of the other, weight on the right leg, right hip thrown up. The blow which knocked the right leg out of position

<sup>26</sup> Even the date of the contact is undecided. At the moment it would seem that an early contact, suggested by the Nezero figurine, is at least possible. O. Gurney believes that it was Tuthalia I who made the most westerly expedition of any Hittite King (cf. "Anatolia c. 1600-1380 B.C.," *C.A.H.*, Fasc. 44, 1966, p. 20) not Tuthalia IV (cf. A. Goetze, "The Struggle for the domination of Syria (1400-1300 B.C.); Anatolia from Shuppiluliumash to the Egyptian war of Muwatallish; The Hittites and Syria (1300-1200 B.C.)," *C.A.H.*, Fasc. 37, 1965, p. 51). On the archaeological situation in western Anatolia cf. K. Bittel, "Karabel," *Mitt. deutsch. Orient-Gesell.*, XCVIII, 1967, pp. 14 ff.

Historically, the pre-imperial Hittite figurines found in Greece must be associated with Hittite seals found in the Aegean (cf. J. Boardman, "Hittite and Related Hieroglyphic Seals from Greece," *Kadmos*, V, 1966, pp. 47 ff.; P. Meriggi, "Vermutliche hieroglyphisch-Hethitische Siegel aus der Ägäis," *ibid.*, pp. 58 ff.). Are the seals unreadable because they are early (like the figurines)? Many old Hittite seals cannot be read.

<sup>27</sup> Above note 21.

<sup>28</sup> Goetze, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 49 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Some show unquestionable influences from Hittite art; cf. note 11 above.

<sup>30</sup> National Museum Copenhagen, No. 10421; Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'acropole, 1902-1914*, I, *Les petits objets*, Berlin, 1931, cols. 395-399, no. 1572, pl. 64.

exaggerates the hyperextended position, but the profile of the hips proves that much of the hyperextension was intended originally.

The figure has a stocky, short-waisted physique, with heavy shoulders and muscular hips and legs, but a rather narrow chest on which prominent pectoral muscles are modeled. A ridge on the neck marks the collar bone. He has a heavy, squarish face, with wide eyes once inlaid and a long wide nose to judge from the lump that remains. He has a small pointed chin and exceptionally large ears which protrude at the top.

He is dressed in a high, backward-sloping, conical hat which ends in a knob. It is decorated by four vertical projections spaced evenly around the base of the cap. These are broader at the top than at the bottom. An incision around the base of the crown may indicate the line of the hair. The coarsely grooved surface here may, however, be some preparation for attaching long hair of different material.<sup>31</sup> The figure wears a straight kilt, decorated with crossed squares and bound by a wide belt. Protruding under the skirt is a peculiar square projection (hidden dagger?).

The stolid body, the three dimensional modeling, the powerful pose surely betray the hand of a Hittite craftsman. The "non-violent" position of the arms, short waist, pronounced collar bones and pectorals would place the figure in the imperial period in spite of the exaggerated hips more characteristic of earlier pieces.

The figure from Lindos is of some interest, since Rhodes of the Late Bronze period belonged to the Aegean world although the island lies close off the Anatolian coast. As the piece was found out of context in archaic levels at the site, it can hardly be proof that the Hittite contact with Greece took place through western Anatolian ports, but it is very suggestive.

With these three figurines given to the Hittites, the controversy over their bearing on Mycenaean art and religion can finally be laid to rest, and a new, more fruitful, historical controversy begun.

There is a Near Eastern Epilogue. It is only the simplicity of the proposition made here—the narrow limits intentionally imposed on the argument—that is new, not the recognition of Hittite features in these figurines.<sup>32</sup> The proposition here makes, of course, only a small dent on the monumental smiting-god problem, but if it is a permanent dent it is desperately needed. This smiting god figure, whose wide popularity is remarkable, has surely been the subject of more extensive study from the point of view of more different disciplines than almost any other in the Near East. Over and over again, examples of the figure have been listed, comparative archaeological material and relevant information from texts in different languages assembled. But the valiant efforts to weave all this information into a single coherent picture have resulted in chaos: Roeder working on the archaeological material speaks of

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Alp, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII for the back view of the figure from Bogazköy.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. especially Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 114; and Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, col. 398.

a Syrian god, dressed in Egyptian costume, named Rešep, Tešup, Mikal or Baal.<sup>33</sup> Simpson from the Egyptian sources points out that the Syrian warrior god Rešef is always a foreigner in Egypt, a fact attested among other things by his dress!<sup>34</sup> Pope and Rollig, from Syrian linguistic sources, would identify the smiting god in art not with Rešep but Baal-Hadad, who is a different god.<sup>35</sup> Stadelmann working on both Egyptian and Syrian sources identifies the figurines with Rešef.<sup>36</sup> He thinks, however, that Rešef is not a particular god but *the* great Syrian god, made up of a combination of other gods.

It seems to this writer that too early synthesis leads further and further from understanding the figure. What is long overdue is an analysis of the individual threads in the complex, tightly woven story. Philologists have the different languages to help them sort out different traditions. Near Eastern archaeologists have almost as sure a guide in style, if we would but disassociate style from iconography. It seems to this writer that Hittite art, which is an organic entity with clearly recognizable stylistic principles, will be of great help in organizing the figurines into stylistic groups, that many of the variants of the smiting god will fall into categories merely by understanding their relationship to Hittite art.

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<sup>33</sup> Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

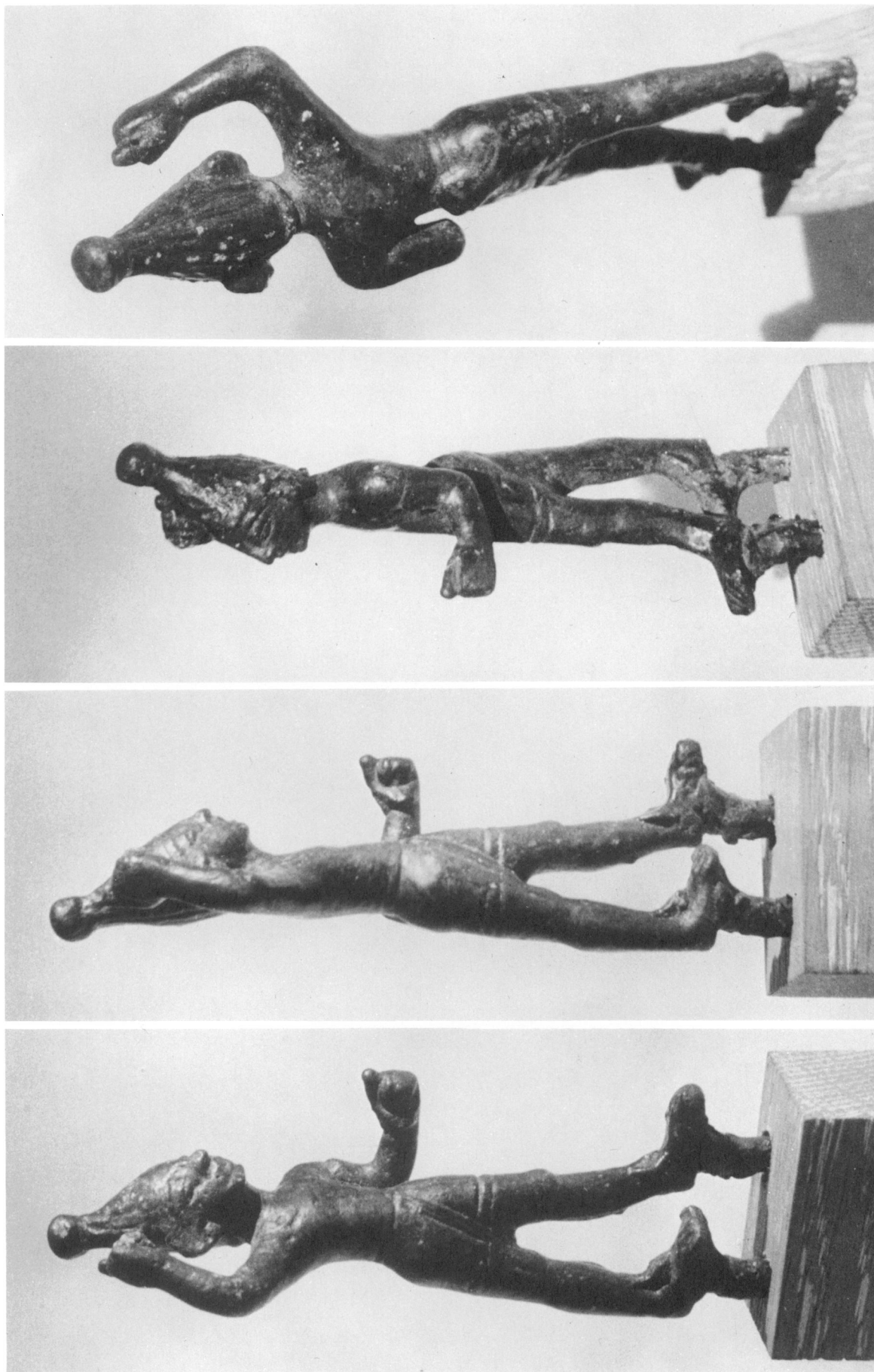
<sup>34</sup> W. K. Simpson, "Reshep in Egypt," *Orientalia*, N. S. XXIX, 1960, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>35</sup> O. E. Edzard, W. Helck, M. Hofner, M. H. Pope, W. Rolling, E. von Schuler, *Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient*, ed. H. W. Haussing, I, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 9, 305 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Ranier Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten, Probleme der Ägyptologie*, V, Leiden, 1967, pp. 47 ff.

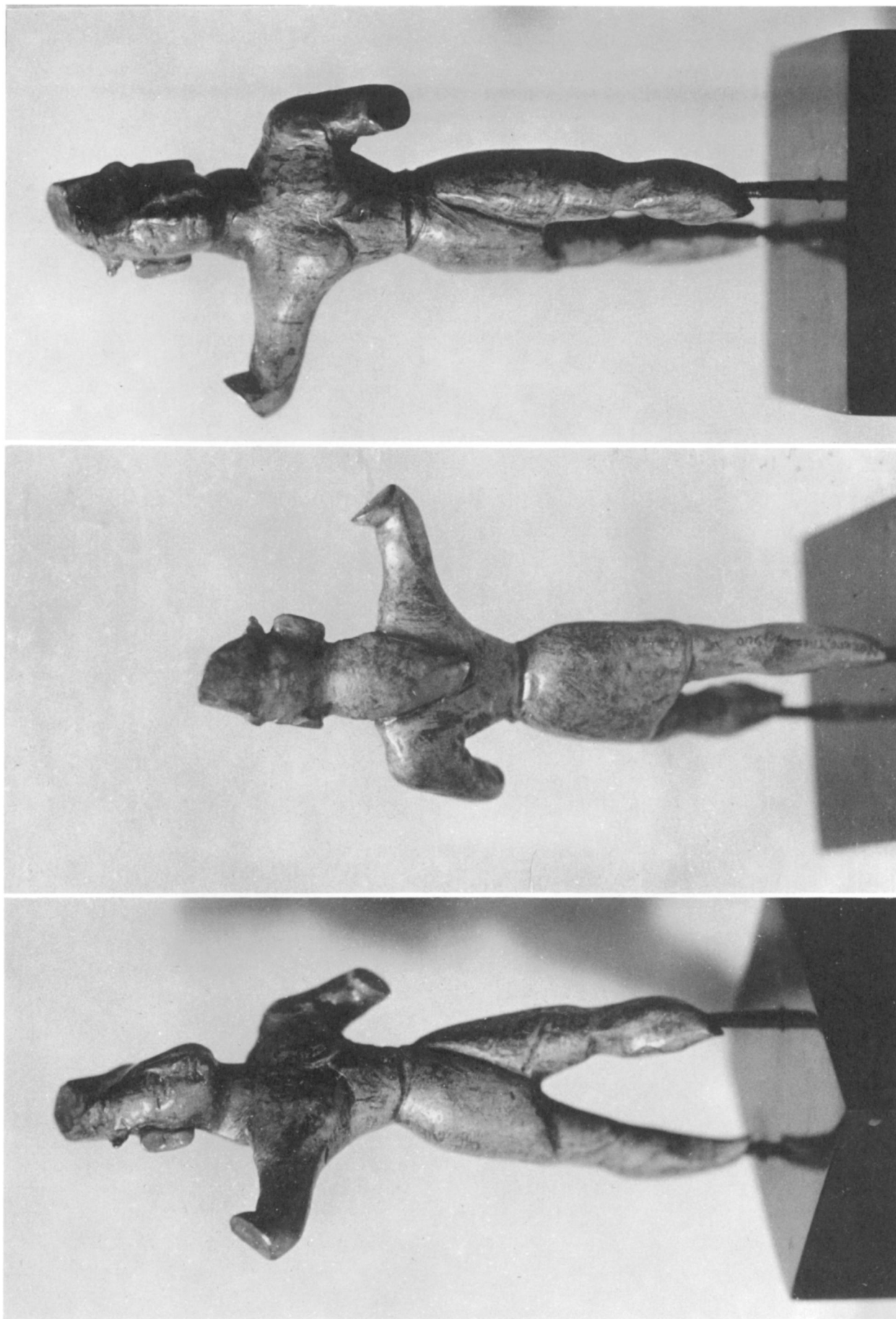
\* Note on the Figures.

Plate 40, a is reproduced through the kindness of the Oriental Institute, Chicago; Plate 41, a was supplied by Director Raci Temizer of the Bedestan in Ankara; Plate 40, b is reproduced with permission of the Louvre from a photograph by Miss Edith Porada of Columbia; Plate 41, b was supplied by the Department of Oriental and Classical art at the National Museum in Copenhagen. My warm thanks are due to all these people. I would also like to thank the authorities of the Athens Museum, Mr. Boardman of the Ashmolean, and the late W. S. Smith of the Boston Museum for permission to examine and photograph respectively the Tiryns bronze (Pl. 38), the Nezero piece (Pl. 39) and the Tyskiewicz seal (Pl. 40, c). My excuse for using my own amateurish photographs is the hope that some detail may be visible which is not available on the official ones.



Bronze Figurine from Tiryns. Athens National Museum 1582

JEANNY VORYS CANBY: SOME HITTITE FIGURINES IN THE AEGEAN

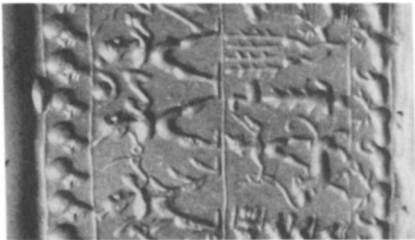


Silver Figurine from Nezero, Thessaly. Ashmolean Museum A. E. 410

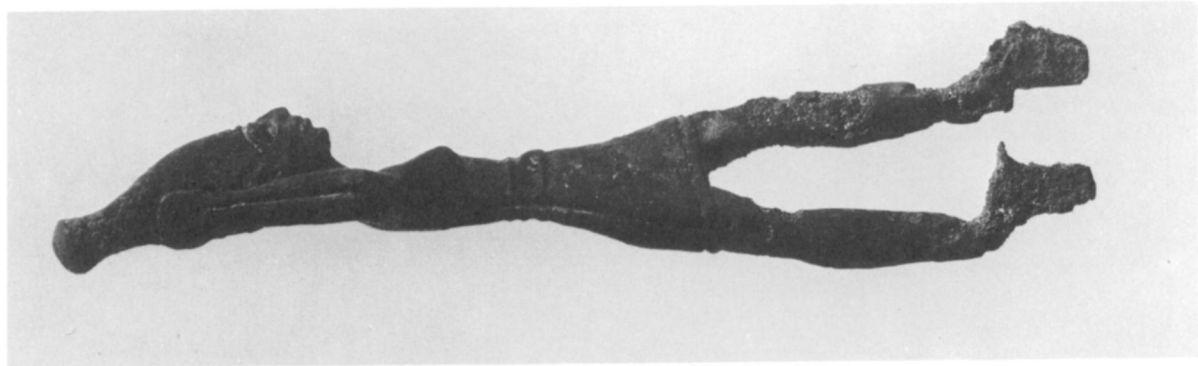
JEANNY VORYS CANBY: SOME HITTITE FIGURINES IN THE AEGEAN



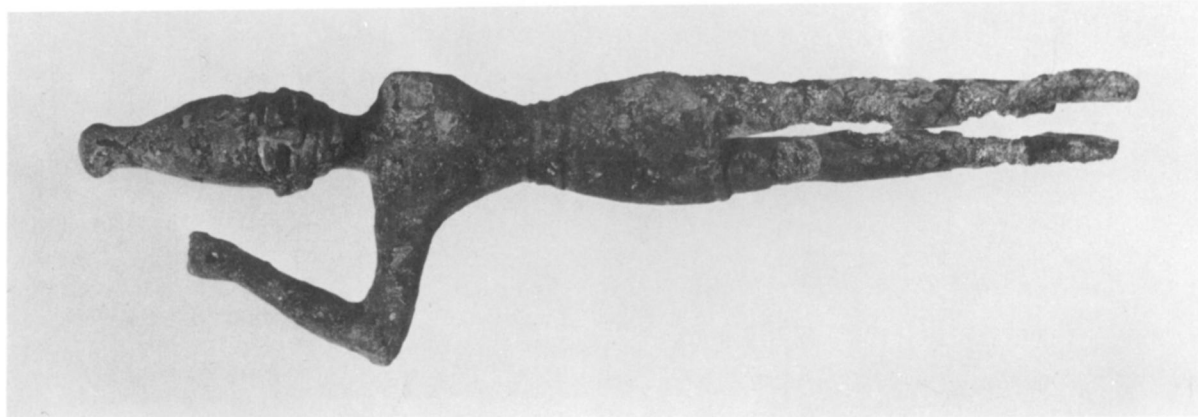
c. Tyszkiewicz Seal. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 98.706



b. Seal. Louvre A.O. 20138



a. Bronze Figurine from Megiddo, Stratum IX-VII



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a. Bronze Figurine from Dövklek. Ankara Bedestan Museum 8825



b. Bronze Figurine from Lindos, Rhodes. Copenhagen National Museum 10421

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