# TEXT AND IMAGE IN DIALOGUE:

# REVISITING IRON AGE NEO-HITTITE STELAE

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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# TEXT AND IMAGE IN DIALOGUE:

# REVISITING IRON AGE NEO-HITTTIE STELAE

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Text and Image in Dialogue:

Revisiting Iron Age Neo-Hittite Stelae

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# DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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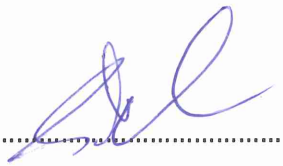

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ABSTRACT

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Revisiting Iron Age Neo-Hittite Stelae

Monumental Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions proliferated in the southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria in the Iron Age, after their emergence at the end of the Bronze Age in Hittite Anatolia. These inscriptions were carved in a pictographic writing system called the Anatolian hieroglyphs. This thesis investigates the connections between textual and visual aspects of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing by scrutinizing three stelae, all produced around the 9th century B.C., presenting an inscription together with an image of the Storm-god Tarhunzas. Recently, when the writing system was deciphered and the language was identified, the focus of the scientific endeavors was on the linguistic and morphological aspects of the inscriptions. Because writing is primarily a visual mode of expression, however, the imageness of the inscription is as significant as its textual content in understanding a monument as comprehensively as possible. Therefore, this study discusses the textual content of the inscriptions, the visual and semantic organization of the inscriptions on monuments; execution, appearance and placement of individual pictograms; and the connections between texts, signs and the Storm-god figures by applying a wholistic and comparative approach. These are not individual and isolated aspects of Anatolian hieroglyphic monumental inscriptions. They rather affect each other, take form with reference to each other and intersect to form a single monument that exist in a semantic integrity. Thus, as this thesis argues, while textual and visual signification take place codependently at the same time through the Anatolian hieroglyphs, the monument becomes the setting of a text-image cross-over.

# ÖZET

## Metin ve İmgenin Diyaloğu:
## Demir Çağı Neo-Hitit Stellerinin Yeni Bir Açıdan İncelenmesi

Anıtsal hiyeroglif Luvice yazıtlar, Geç Tunç Çağı'nın sonunda Hitit Anadolu'sunda ortaya çıkmalarının ardından, Demir Çağı'nda Güneydoğu Anadolu ve Kuzey Suriye'de varlık gösteren Neo-Hitit devletlerinde sayıca çoğalıp çeşitlenmişlerdir. Bu yazıtlar, piktografik bir yazı sistemi olan Anadolu hiyeroglifleri ile oyulmuşlardır. Bu tez, yazıtı bir Fırtına tanrısı betimi ile beraber sergileyen, her biri M.Ö. 10. yüzyıl civarında üretilmiş üç stelin detaylı incelenmesi vasıtasıyla Anadolu hiyeroglif yazısının metinsel ve görsel bağıntılarını ele almaktadır. Yazı sisteminin deşifre edilip dilin çözümlendiği 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ve 2000lerin ilk yıllarında, bilimsel çalışmaların odak noktası yazının sisteminin ve dilin dilbilimsel ve morfolojik açıdan anlaşılması olmuştur. Fakat, yazı başlı başına görsel bir ifade biçimi olduğundan, yazıtın görselliğinin anıtın anlamlandırılmasındaki rolü de en az yazıtın metinsel içeriği kadar önemlidir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmanın amacı, bütüncül ve karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşım içinde yazının metinsel içeriğini, yazıtın anıt üzerindeki görsel ve semantik istif ve düzenini, piktogramların uygulanma metotlarını, görünümlerini ve konumlandırılmalarını, ve metin, yazı ve Fırtına tanrısı betimleri arasındaki ilişkileri irdelemektedir. Bu ilişki biçimleri, yazıtların birbirinden bağımsız ve ayrık özellikleri değil; tam aksine birbirleri ile etkileşip birbirlerine göre şekil alan, anlamsal bir bütünlüğü olan bir anıtın iç içe geçişmiş parçalarıdır. Böylece, metinsel ve görsel anlatım aynı anda ve birbiri ile bağımlı biçimde Anadolu hiyeroglifleri ile gerçekleşebilirken, oluşan anıt da hem metinsel hem de görsel bir esere dönüşmektedir.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

> Such [deconstructive] reading does not consist of finding a hidden original meaning, but of revealing the polyvalence of the text. To read a text is like peeling an onion, Barthes writes, 'a superimposed construction of skins (of layers, of levels, of systems) whose volume contains, finally, no heart, no core, no secret, no irreducible principle, nothing but the very infinity of its envelopes — which envelop nothing other than the totality of its surfaces (*ROL*: 99).[1]

This thesis explores the double function of writing, namely its verbal and visual functions as equal partners in making an inscription a monumental display. The text that is put into writing is also in visual display, by the very means of its presence, writing. In other words, writing not only records the language, but presents its content, and its message(s) in the form of a monumental inscription. The perception and recognition of monuments inscribed in Anatolian hieroglyphs as such artifacts of verbal and visual representation is the first and foremost aim of this thesis.

In this thesis, I analyze three Neo-Hittite stelae inscribed with Anatolian hieroglyphs to unpack the individual constituents of these monumental inscriptions. I focus on shapes, forms and location of individual signs, the flow of an inscription on the stone and the relationships built between text, writing and the images on the stelae. Studying text and image together, I will show that we can, and need to read texts as visual constructs, and read the visuals with respect to their own set of grammar. This study will demonstrate that on Anatolian hieroglyphic monuments

[1] Olsen, Roland Barthes: From Sign to Text, 187.

text and image are in dialogue with each other in two primary forms at the same time. Writing and images on a monument are designed and implemented with reference to each other. Writing is not only a device of documentation of its content, but in such a pictographic script, it is the very means of its own representation. Therefore, writing itself becomes an image, and can be also read as an image.

When text and image amalgamate in the monument, they become one inseparable artifact, an alloy of text, image, material, display etc.; aspects that largely remain undetected by the analytical tools of modern disciplinary isolation and specialization. In the case of the three selected monuments, text and image are inseparably bound together in the medium of these inscribed monuments and disregarding either text or image, impedes an in depth and comprehensive understanding of the monuments. Hence, in this thesis I propose a holistic and interdisciplinary methodology to better understand these complex artifacts.

In order to explore writing as the locus of the interplay between the verbal and the visual, I define three relationships between text and image which I will analyze individually for each stele that I discuss: first, the relationship between the signs, their meaning and their application; second, the relationships built within the inscriptions, between its content and its visual arrangement on the monuments; finally, the relationship between the images and the writing on/around them that is associated with the images. These modes of relations are superimposed and they together these create a monument composed of multiple layers of representation, denoting and connoting meaning. As my understanding of a monument considers the totality of visual and textual layers of signification, the monument inevitably appears as a polysemous artifact. The presence of inscriptions in this context implies that these are not used exclusively for a single purpose, like recording language, but is

part of a complex network of visual signification. The result is a cross-referential dynamic between text, image and the monument.

In order to establish the background to my research, in the first chapter I introduce and discuss the two main strands in studies of writing: namely the linguistic approach to writing and the relatively more recent studies focusing on the materiality and visuality of writing. Then, I illustrate the insights that can be gained through a multi-disciplinary study of writing using ancient and modern examples. Comparisons to visually enhanced alphabetic scripts, reveal the potential for display of a pictographic script such as the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

In the third chapter, I introduce Anatolian hieroglyphic writing, starting with a brief account of the history of research on the script and the history of the development of monumental inscriptions in Anatolia, especially of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. I continue with an introduction to the fundamental principles of orthography, syntagm and visual arrangement in Anatolian hieroglyphic writing. In line with the first and second types of relationships that I define in this chapter, I discuss the aspects and principles of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing, which are my main tools of analysis in the following chapters.

The fourth and fifth chapters each present a detailed analysis of a total of three Storm-god stelae from the Iron Age. In these two chapters I analyze all visual, material and textual aspects of these monuments and propose a new interpretation of these stelae. In chapter four I concentrate on one monument from the Kingdom of Karkamiš, the Cekke Stele, dated to the 8$^{th}$ century B.C. The stele presents an extensive Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription and an image of the Storm-god Tarhunza. This stele is unique for being one of only two monuments with two separate hieroglyphic inscriptions on the same monument in the extant corpus of Hieroglyphic

Luwian monuments compiled by J. D. Hawkins. I discuss the organization of these inscriptions and the image of the god in relation to each other and explain how their interdependency determines the arrangement of the text and image on the monument.

I continue with the analysis of two other Storm-god stelae in the fifth chapter. The Körkün Stele, the second bearing two inscriptions, was discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Gaziantep. Maraş B/4 Stele was discovered in a secondary context in the city-center of Maraş. On both stelae the arrangement of the inscriptions is unconventional, and this particular organization of writing is preferred to highlight the physical and visual properties of certain hieroglyphic signs. These two examples illustrate how nonverbal traits of an inscription are integral to composing meaning and how the flexibility of principles of writing can be stretched to achieve conformity between meaning and form.

In the sixth and final chapter I recapitulate my main arguments and conclusions regarding the monuments I introduced and analyzed. Referring to the polysemy of writing, I discuss how the multi-layered nature of writing necessitates an interdisciplinary and holistic approach. I hope that the methodology and approach I present in the analysis of these three monuments paves the way to a more nuanced understanding and appreciation of this genre, revealing various ways of creating and displaying meaning in and through writing.

# CHAPTER 2

# THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO WRITING

> Whatever the pictorial turn is, then, it should be clear that it is not a return to naive mimesis, copy or correspondence theories of representation, or a renewed metaphysics of pictorial "presence": it is rather a postlinguistic, postsemantic, rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality. It is the. realization that *spectatorship* (the look, the. gaze, the. glance, the practices of observation, surveillance, and visual pleasure) may be as deep as a problem as various forms of *reading* (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.) and that visual experience or "visual literacy" might not be fully explicable on the model of textuality. Most important, it is the realization that while the problem of pictorial representation has always been with us, it presses inescapably now, and with unprecedented force, on every level of culture ... Traditional strategies of containment no longer seem adequate, and the need for a global critique of visual culture seems inescapable.[2]

Writing is traditionally understood as the graphic rendering of speech. Even though this definition of writing is now outdated, it still holds sway in the disciplines of linguistics and philology, and thus in the study of scripts as well. This chapter, organized under three main subdivisions, challenges this mainstream approach to suggest that writing is a multi-dimensional practice that not only records language, but goes well beyond it. It also is a creative tool for displaying the textual content in a visual and material form. Hence, its study necessitates a methodological shift to inter-disciplinarity and a dilution of the preconceived priority of the textual over the visual.

In this chapter I will give an account of the main tenets of the traditional approach to writing which presents the phonetic alphabetical systems as the zenith of written notation and phonetization of the writing systems as the most significant

[2] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 16.

point in the evolution of writing systems. These two foundational postulations designate the alphabet as the ultimate and most efficient writing system. While making a sketch of this traditional understanding, I will follow the arguments of Ignace Gelb, who was one of the pivotal names in the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian as well as in establishing a systemic study of the development of writing.

In the second part of the chapter I discuss a critique of this perspective which was developed in the final decades of the 20th century, and especially in the 2000s. This critique which caused the focus to shift from the textual to the visual and the material was also prominent in the studies of material culture and writing in archaeology. The recognition of the ancient non-alphabetic and partially phonetized writing systems of the Eastern Mediterranean as fully developed and sophisticated systems of written notation has been invigorating. This development has been concurrent with a renewed interest in understanding ancient Near Eastern art and imagery through its own inner logic as opposed to perceiving it as a cul-de-sac, eventually supplanted by the Graeco-Roman and modern Western norms of visual forms and aesthetics. Therefore, the critique of the centrality of phoneticism in writing systems has found its counterpart in the disillusionment with mimetic imagery in visual arts, both with roots in the permeation of a visual turn in humanities.

In the third and final section of this chapter I present three examples of display inscriptions all coming from alphabetical cultures which employ writing not just as a device of recording language but as a means of visual transmission of meaning that either complements or expands the textual content. These examples will demonstrate that writing in all its forms has always been a visual medium which merges text and image, sound and sight, and language and picture. Conscious of the

material and visual aspects of writing, in the subsequent chapters, I will investigate the structure of such connections and the resulting layers of meaning in the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

## 2.1 The traditional approach

> Well, once, I suppose, some god, or some man very like a god, noticed *the indeterminacy of vocal sound* [emphasis added]. The Egyptians have a story that it was someone called Theuth [Thoth] who first noticed that in this indeterminate variety there were several vocables [sic] (vowels), not just one, and then that there were others that could be sounded but were not vowels and that there was a definite number of these, and finally he distinguished a third class of letters that we now call mutes. He then distinguished the soundless ones or mutes down to single letters, and did the same with the vowels and semi-vowels. When he had the full count he gave them, individually and collectively, the name 'element'. As he realized that none of us would ever learn about one of them in isolation from the rest, he concluded that this constituted a single bond that somehow made them a single unit, and pronounced the single skill that covered them 'the art of letters'.[3]

Plato has fashioned one of the most curious stories of the invention of the alphabet related through the intermediacy of Socrates. As opposed to well-known Egyptian and Mesopotamian accounts of the invention of writing, this is the story of the invention of the alphabet. In the quote above from *Philebus,* Plato lays out some of the most fundamental tenets of the modern understanding of writing, which was the main stream till the end of the 20th century. In an unspecified time in the past, he identifies an 'indeterminacy' (ἄπειρος) of sound. In H. N. Fowler's translation[4] the phrase appears as 'the infinity of sound,' both referring to a pre-alphabetic writing system in which there is a large number of possibilities for representing sound, and a confusing variety of elements like vowels, semi-vowels and mutes. Thoth, once

[3] Plato, *Philebus*, 18b-d. The quoted version of the text is the translation as it appears in J. C. B. Gosling, trans. 1975. *Plato, Philebus*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
[4] H. N. Fowler, trans. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, vol. 9.

aware of that, systematized this system, ordering and omitting signs to arrive at an organized group of elements, the letters of the alphabet, thus bringing order to chaos.

The stark connection between Plato's understanding of writing to those of the following two thousand three hundred years of scholarly approach is remarkable and striking. It reveals the continuing influence of the Greek legacy on the formation of the Western thought; which is stated by Robert Logan, as if reformulating Plato's arguments in the following words:

> It [the alphabet] has played an instrumental role in the development of the logical style of analysis that is characteristic of the Western way of thinking... It has provided us with a conceptual framework for analysis and *has restructured our perceptions of reality* [emphasis added] ... Other writing systems exist, but none have provided such fertile ground for abstract ideas nor such an efficient tool for organizing information.[5]

### 2.1.1 Ignace Gelb and a theory of writing

In the traditional Western scholarship, phonetic expression is accepted as the function of writing, systematized after the linguistic turn of the early 20th century. The status of writing as derivative of language has existed long before the emergence of theoretical and systematic treatments of writing in the 20th century. From Aristotle to Rousseau,[6] whose well-known words "Writing is nothing but the representation of speech" cited by Derrida and other authors,[7] philosophers and historians have problematized and defined writing with respect to language, never acknowledging that writing could be used for more than its practical function of recording and preserving language.

[5] Logan, *The Alphabet Effect*, 18-19.
[6] Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Language.*
[7] Cited by Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 27; which is cited by Olson, *The World on Paper*, 8.

Writing systems were brought under the scholarly spotlight with the pioneering work of Ignace Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, originally published in 1952. Gelb was one of the scholars who cracked the code of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, eventually identifying the language as Luwian known from cuneiform Luwian excerpts on tablets from Hattuša. Furthermore, he managed to decode Amorite language by a computerized system[8] and was the editor in chief of the Assyrian Dictionary Project in the Oriental Institute in the University of Chicago. In his seminal 1952 book, he proposed a categorical and evolutionary theory of writing systems 'to establish general principles governing the use and evolution of writing'[9]. He has conceived writing systems evolving in three stages from simple pictures to an intermediary phase he calls *semasiography* and finally into full writing, marked by phoneticism.[10] With the association of a particular meaning or idea with a sign, pictures transform into a logographic system in which writing 'can express meaning directly without an intervening linguistic form.'[11] Hence, the term semasiography, compounded from Greek *sēmasía,* 'meaning, signification,' and *graphē,* 'writing.'[12]

Real writing, however, emerges when the vocals of the language is represented through writing. Once a grapheme is equated with a sound in language, thereafter, the phoneticized writing appears as the visual articulation of speech. Because this development allows for the transmission of human thought into writing with greater precision, Gelb has presented phonetization of script as 'the most important single step in the history of writing.'[13] This had significant consequences for the study of writing and texts.

[8] Gelb, *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite*, 1980.
[9] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, Preface to 1952 Edition, v.
[10] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 190-94.
[11] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 191.
[12] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 190.
[13] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 194.

The linguistic and semantic study of the script was prioritized over the syntagmatic and contextual, visual and material. Epigraphy became paramount in restoring the past, overshadowing art and archaeology. The text is considered as the single reliable source to recover the past. The reliability of the text, however, is laden in its script which is meant to carry its content into the future. A script is assumed to have greater and more precise expressive capacity as long as the correlation between grapheme and the phoneme was strong and precise, which is exactly the goal of god Thoth in modifying the Egyptian script as recounted by Plato. The written sign is assumed to have one single burden: its phonetic value. Furthermore, all non-phonemic aspects of the graphemes are impediments against clarity in understanding the essence of a text, the language. While the functional aspect of writing as a recorder and transmitter of language, for certain writing systems, is undeniable; this has been the major scholarly concern of the previous research. In the following pages I will discuss why such a methodological position could become restrictive and narrow if we were to consider writing the center of our study, not a tool of it.

### 2.1.2 Writing, speech and pictography

David Diringer, who was a leading scholar in Semitic languages and scripts, as well as in establishing the comprehensive and theoretical study of writing, has defined writing in its most comprehensive sense as "...the conveyance of *ideas or sounds* [emphasis added] by marks on a suitable medium..." while he has also qualified this statement by noting that "writing is the graphic counterpart of speech."[14] Similarly, Gelb has also adopted a wider understanding of writing but has found the minimalistic approach based on phonetization more suitable to pursue.[15] Leonard

[14] Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 4-5.
[15] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 12, 192.

Bloomfield understands writing as 'merely an external device ... which happens to preserve for our observation some features of the speech of past times.'[16] Bloomfield, who was a pivotal scholar in structural linguistics, and one of the founders of the Linguistic Society of America in 1924, is only one among many notable scholars who has trivialized writing as little more than a device of transmitting language.

Roy Harris, an outstanding professor of linguistics in the University of Oxford and a founding member of the International Association for the Integrational Study of Languages and Communication, has identified the essence of the problem in studying scripts as the confusion of the means by which language and writing are produced and received:

> The neglect of syntagmatics of writing in both traditional and modern linguistics is due mainly to the assumption that the way written signs are combined on a surface is simply a direct copy in visual terms of the way oral signs are combined in speech.[17]

In its essence, writing is dissimilar to speech, even if both are inextricably enmeshed as the two primary expressions of language. Speech is primarily oral and aural. To the contrary, writing is inherently visual and tactile. Their anatomical means of production and reception are completely distinct, which makes both forms of expression essential in communicating thought and meaning.

Speech is temporally bounded. It has to be produced in a linear sequence through a linear progression of time. As human beings, it is impossible for us to produce two oral messages at the same time. Here lies one of the most important yet neglected aspects of writing, which makes these two mediums impossible to equate.

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[16] Bloomfield, *Language*, 299.
[17] Harris, *Signs of Writing*, 115.

Writing is inevitably visual and material, and its perception is not necessarily sequential as is speech. J. J. Glassner, a pioneer Assyriologist in the history of Mesopotamia and a pioneer in cuneiform studies, in his excellent study on the origins of writing in Mesopotamia has claimed that 'from the moment of its invention, writing belonged not to one but to two worlds, those of the image and of language.'[18]

Writing, when phonetized is capable of superimposing the oral and aural qualities of speech over a system of signs; however, the reverse is not true for speech. This observation puts a phonetized writing system on a spectrum. This spectrum is bracketed at one end with a greater correspondence between the signs of the script and the sounds of the speech, between grapheme and phoneme. Any other possible association of the grapheme, except for the phonetic aspect is shedded. The relationship between the grapheme—the signifying element—and the sound—the signified element—is arbitrary. At the other end, the grapheme is not exclusively associated with a sound, vowel, consonant, notion etc. The grapheme is a multivalent sign which gains meaning within the network of relationships in which it is used. While the alphabetic system is the penultimate manifestation of the former position, the logo-syllabic and logo-consonantal writing systems of the Ancient Mediterranean comprise a totally different system. These appear arcane, convoluted and inefficient when we have the alphabetic system as the template, when we look from where Socrates is speaking in *Philebus.*

Phonetization and alphabet are conceived as a single package, co-evolving from one stage of writing to the next. All phonetized scripts, however, are not alphabetical; as phonetization indicates the capacity of signs to represent sounds, not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between the two. Alphabet is only the

[18] Glassner, *Invention of Writing*, 176.

epitome of this strong correlation between sign and sound, leading to the perception that writing is a visual copy of speech. Ancient Egyptian and Anatolian hieroglyphs and cuneiform are all phonetized systems, capable of transmitting utterance; however, their logic of function is not based on the representation of the sound. These systems never abandoned pictography and ideography, elements of writing which make it capable of functioning beyond language.

Hidden behind the preoccupation with the ascendancy of alphabet is the downplaying of pictography and ideography. Gelb discerns a 'tremendous difference'[19] opening up through the transition from semasiography to phonography. This difference leads to the eclipse and gradual decline of pictography and ideography being outpaced by phonetic writing, an argument which I disagree with in this thesis. I will demonstrate that the non-phonetic use of graphemes is ingrained in all forms and stages of writing throughout history.

Gelb has considered the close association between art and especially early stages of writing, referred to as 'shackles of pictorial representation' by Haas,[20] to be an impediment against the expressive capacity of writing.[21] Mark Weeden, one of the prolific scholars of the ancient Near Eastern languages and civilizations, as well as one of the few experts of Luwian and Hittite, positions himself with regard to linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing as follows:

[19] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 11.
[20] Haas, "Writing: The Basic Options," 161.
[21] Gelb, *A Study of Writing,* 192.

> It is my view that the process of reading these texts automatically subordinates those characteristics of a monument that are not lexically realised to those which are. This means subordinating the ideographic and pictographic to the logographic and phonetic. I would contend that the process of reading hieroglyphic monuments as texts involves excluding as far as possible all elements that are extraneous to writing per se, where I understand writing as the notation of spoken word and nothing or very little further.[22]

In the passage above Weeden clarifies his methodological position which he deems necessary for an unadulterated understanding of the inscriptions as strictly as 'texts.' He recognizes, but also singles out "other facets of the communicative act that is constituted by their [texts'] creation 3,000 years ago and their rediscovery by us over the last 150 years"[23] so that we may gain access to the content. Such an isolated reading of the hieroglyph, however, is only one way of approaching writing, one which prioritizes language over all other aspects of writing, complying with the demands of the discipline of linguistics. Such comprehensive reduction of writing to language to the detriment of any other non-phonetic elements is not a feasible position. I believe that rather than the non-linguistic aspects of writing as Weeden claims, it is the one-sided approach to multi-dimensional objects like monumental inscriptions that impedes our understanding of ancient inscriptions. William Haas, another distinguished pioneer in the study of writing systems and linguistics, who was also a founding member of the Linguistics Society of Great Britain, has described pictography as an archaic feature of primitive scripts, an obstacle for writing to function in its full capacity:

> In order to gain the immense advantages of *arbitrary* signs, writing could not simply *abandon* pictography. It had to *replace* the mimicry of external objects by that other and purely structural mimicry of a fully developed language.[24]

[22] Weeden, "Anatolian Hieroglyphs: Logogram vs. Ideogram," 83.
[23] Weeden, "Anatolian Hieroglyphs: Logogram vs. Ideogram," 83.
[24] Haas, "Writing: The Basic Options," 161.

Haas' understanding of the relationship between the visual sign and its meaning as a restrictive feature, instead of a productive one has been further emphasized by E. Pulgram. A notable linguist who has specialized in Romance languages, he has substantiated Haas' binary understanding of visual and linguistic expression by reframing it within the discourse of the superiority of the phonetized writing systems:

> ...the loss of interlinguistic versality is more than made up by a gain in precision, for the strictly glottic systems of writing eliminate or greatly reduce the uncertainty of the acoustic interpretation of the visual sign: the reader is closely guided by the writing, and cannot but decode the message exactly as intended by the encoder.[25]

In my opinion, however, Pulgram has overlooked the fact that the purpose of writing is not always to attain exact correspondence between spoken and written language; just as much as Haas reduces the function of pictography to 'the mimicry of external objects.'

In contrast, W. C. Brice has reversed this parallel progression between evolution towards the alphabet and the ascendance of phoneticism which together increase the capacity of writing to express meaning in a more accurate and complete manner, regardless of the nature of the specific information built into the writing. He emphasized the visual connection of the written sign to the material world which functions without the intermediacy of sound, suggesting that:

> ...the only truly independent writing is that which is non-phonetic, and can express a meaning without reference to sound. Phonetic script is writing deprived of its self-sufficient function, and used not to express an idea but to freeze a spoken sound.[26]

In that perspective, a state of writing that is not essentially or entirely phonetized, is not a time-related phenomenon. He draws his examples from the Bambara script of

[25] Pulgram, "The Typologies of Writing Systems," 11.
[26] Brice, "The Principles of Non-phonetic Writing," 40.

the Sudan, medieval heraldry, mathematical notation and road-signs.[27] Here, Brice recognizes an opportunity to enrich and deepen the meaning of the written sign without a fixation between sign and sound. When the 'frozen sound' becomes the only meaning attached to the sign, it erodes the expressive capacity in writing; as opposed to the argument that phoneticism is a solution to a chaotic and inefficient system of writing as is defended by Plato, Logan, Haas or Pulgram alike.

The second half of the 20th century witnessed such debates between different disciplines being played out over the issues about origin, function and nature of writing. In the late 1970s and 1980s with the advent of post-processual archaeology, the archaeological inquiry opened up to the perspectives provided by social sciences and post-modern philosophy. Thus, anthropological and philosophical issues were applied into the study of material culture. This interdisciplinary exchange resulted in a fundamental shift in the perception and study of writing which has relocated writing as an integral part of material culture, recognizing its artifactuality and aesthetics.

## 2.2 Transition to a new understanding of writing

Ignace Gelb's pioneer work *A Study of Writing* is often criticized for compressing the story of all writing systems into one supposedly coherent account of continuous evolution from images and pictography into phonetized writing, which is 'true' writing.[28] Gelb's perspective, however, needs to be clarified further for he was apparently more sympathetic towards alternative approaches to writing than generally understood. His approach was not as reductive as it was later interpreted by

[27] Brice, "The Principles of Non-phonetic Writing," 41-42.

[28] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*. For critical approaches to Gelb's postulations, please see Glassner, *The Invention of Cuneiform Writing in Sumer*, 51-2; Hill-Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*, 29.

both his critiques and followers. He even heralds the new integrated and holistic approaches to writing when he distinguishes the study of writing from 'linguistic science which deals first and last with the word, its only reality'[29] and refers to the multi-dimensional structure of writing as manifested in the diversity of possible scholarly approaches to it:

> ...as a linguist can operate only with speech symbols, so a historian of writing can use fruitfully only speech symbols and should relegate visual images or ideas without words to the wastebasket. But writing in the widest sense cannot be in all stages identified with speech, and a student of writing does not necessarily have to be a linguist. The symbolism of visual images in the earliest stages of writing, like that of gesture signs, can express meaning without the necessity of a linguistic garment and both can profitably be investigated by a non-linguist.[30]

If we are to study a monumental inscription, as I do in this thesis, as composed of different strategies of representation, then neither the monopoly of one scholarly field, such as epigraphy or linguistics, nor the isolated focus on a single methodological approach are no longer sufficient.[31] This shift in method has its roots in a paradigm shift in the larger field of humanities and philosophy, that manifests as a turn from text to image, from verbal representation to a visual one.[32]

In his *Picture Theory*, W. J. T. Mitchell, one of the most influential and highly-reputed scholars of our time in the fields of humanities, visual studies and literature, acknowledges a 'pictorial turn,' replacing the preceding era of the linguistic turn of the 20th century. This shift to the visual takes place in all fields of humanities, manifesting itself in semiotics, philosophy, phenomenology, media

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[29] Gelb, *A Study of Writing,* 10.
[30] Gelb, *A Study of Writing* , 10-11.
[31] Hartmann, "*Cui vetustas fidem faciat:* Inscriptions and Other Material Relics of the Past in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," 35.
[32] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 9, 88.

studies etc.[33] Along with these it opens new venues for an understanding of writing as well, initiated by the work of Jacques Derrida[34] which destabilizes the presupposed binaries between writing and image, the visual and the vocal.[35] It has helped us to think beyond the impervious boundaries of the established categories and the mutually-exclusive operation of different ways in which writing transmits meaning, encompassing those that are bound to the sound of signs as well as those that generate from the visuality and presentation of writing.

The inclusion of inscriptions into the study of material culture as a constituent part of objects and architecture was a development of the 2000s, spearheaded in the Ancient Near Eastern studies by Irene Winter,[36] and established in the study of Anatolian archaeology by Aslı Özyar.[37] In Assyriology as is noted by R. Matthews, two scholars have been pivotal in expanding beyond the supremacy of the written word towards a contextual and multi-disciplinary analysis: Mario Liverani and Marc Van De Mieroop.[38]

Liverani's methodological juxtaposition of 'reading the document in its entirety' and 'reading it from all possible points of view'[39] translates into studying one monument fully and from all possible directions in this thesis. That requires seeing them as composite monuments consisting of text, image and material. Furthermore, Liverani, in his seminal article 'Memorandum on the Approach to

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[33] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 12, 16.
[34] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 11-12.
[35] Yates, "Jacques Derrida: 'There is Nothing Outside of the Text'," 207-8.
[36] Winter, "Texts on/in Monuments," 197-218; Winter, "Agency Marked, Agency Inscribed: The Affective Object in Ancient Mesopotamia," 42-69, Winter, "After the Battle is Over: The Stele of the Vultures and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East, 11-32.
[37] Özyar, "Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş)," 115-137; Özyar, "The Use and Abuse of Re-use at Karkamish," 633-640.
[38] Matthews, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches*, 57-60.
[39] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 180.

Historiographic Texts,' argues that historical texts need to be studied with "a higher interest in the connotational level than in the denotational."[40] This postulation urges a shift of analytical focus from the direct and linguistically-determined meaning towards the layered and evoked aspects of meaning. Hieroglyphic monuments realize this layered construction of meaning through a series of strategic decisions when composing a text, arranging it on the stone and combining it with an image; aspects of meaning construction which exist on an equal plane of significance with the content of the text. Therefore, the ideographic and pictographic aspects of writing which hinders a thorough understanding of the linguistic content of a text; would present opportunities for us to realize "that every historical society has certain characteristic way [sic] of conceiving, of living, of presenting reality"[41] from Liverani's perspective.

Marc van de Mieroop has demonstrated that the Babylonian scribal tradition and epistemology was not based on the observation of the outside world and its mimetic transference into writing. To the contrary, writing was a creative practice through which phonetic, semantic and graphic aspects of cuneiform system were employed to explore an endless realm of possibilities of written expression which could theoretically and practically describe the outside world in a scale of possible eventualities.[42]

This new interest in the integration of visual and written representation in the study of material culture was not an isolated current in the field of the ancient Near Eastern archaeology. From Far East to the Mesoamerican civilizations (Boone 2009, 2000; Boone and Mignolo, 1994) from the Graeco-Roman Era to the Byzantium

[40] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts, 179.
[41] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 180.
[42] Mieroop, *Philosophy before the Greeks*, 185-193.

(James 2007) in the Mediterranean basin to the Late-Antique. and Medieval studies (Eastmond 2015), the study of text-image dialectics had a wide-ranging influence. Moreover, any recent publications have brought together these different geographies and eras under the umbrella of text-image relationships in inscriptions and works of art (Balke 2016, Bedos-Rezak and Hamburger 2016; Woods 2010, Sanders 2006).

E. H. Boone is a distinguished scholar who specializes in the pre-Colombian and Colonial Latin American history and art, specializing in iconography and codices in the Mesoamerican region. Aztec and Mixtec glyphs have been repeatedly relegated to the position of proto-writing, as the crudest stage of written expression. Boone has adapted this new approach to writing to her study of Aztec and Mixtec codices, arguing for an approach to this writing system which can unpack the logic of expression and representation from within, not as a reflection of our own predilections:

> ...we must move beyond the debate over whether the hieroglyphic, pictographic, and symbolic are or are not writing. Instead, we need to acknowledge and treat the cultural category of *Mesoamerican art/writing as a single system of knowledge production and circulation*. ...unpack the usual conception of writing and to enlarge its domain sufficiently to include supralinguistic, or nonverbal, notation systems ... in which marks carry meaning directly within the structure of their own discourse but without a detour through speech.[43]

A. Hartmann has studied the reception and historiographic use of the non-textual aspects. of ancient artifacts in the Classical Age. One example he is interested in is a late 4th century B.C. Egyptian stele inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs that was displayed in front of the early imperial temple of Isis in the Iseum of Pompeii. Considering the inscription of the stele, which is totally unrelated to the temple

[43] Boone, "When Art Is Writing and Writing, Art: Graphic Communication in Preconquest Mexico," 59.

setting it is displayed in; and the non-existence of the knowledge of hieroglyphs among the Roman scholars, Hartmann is able to demonstrate that the stele functions as a monument, instead of a text, in its secondary context.[44]

M. Evangelatou, a notable professor of the visual cultures of the Mediterranean basin across different time periods from the Classical Age to the Middle Ages, has focused on the word-image connections in her research on Byzantine illustrated books. She recounts a unique instance when in the manuscripts of the Book of Job, where Job gets inflicted by a disease caused by the Devil, the Greek word 'Ελκος' meaning ulcer refers to the disease. In scenes visualizing the description of Job's ailing, the initial E of the word ulcer becomes the template for representing the disease, visualized as a three headed chimera attacking Job (Figures 1 and 2).[45]

The perceptual and methodological shift in the studies of writing and material culture from disciplinary isolation or a relationship of hierarchy to the equally weighted anaysis of both with respect to each other has enabled us to combine linguistic, archaeological, art historical and historical approaches. Writing is no longer a zone of conflict or contested territory between language and images, between phoneticism and semasiography. Now, we are able to rethink and rebuke such binary approaches and see that these are arbitrary constructs, artificially imposed by the modern Western analytical approaches on a culture perceived as alien.[46]

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[44] Hartmann, "*Cui vetustas fidem faciat:* Inscriptions and Other Material Relics of the Past in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," 33-34.
[45] Evangelatou, "From Word into Image: The Visualization of Ulcer in Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts of the Book of Job," 19-37.
[46] Bahrani, *The Graven Image*, 50-72.



Figure 1. The initial E stylized into the form of the three-headed monster
(*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 654, fol. 45*. From Evangelatou, 2009, fig. 7, p.26)



Figure 2. The ailing of Job represented as the attack of a three-headed monster (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 749, fol.25.* From Evangelatou, 2009, fig. 1, p.20)

## 2.3 Three case studies on the materiality and visuality of writing

In this present section I will present three cases of alphabetic scripts, all of which demonstrate different approaches to writing, from Byzantine Constantinople to Islamic book illustrations and modern-day Washington D.C. In alphabetical systems, the sign forms are fully stylized. The graphemes—in which case it would be more accurate to call the signs either phonograms or letters—can only denote a sound whose connection to the sign form is artificial, unlike pictographic systems. Still, in the selected cases of alphabetical writing, the written words can fully signify their meaning through their association with other aspects of the composition, that we do not traditionally account as an element of writing. When interpreting texts presence or absence, position, material, color, size etc. of signs transform the inscribed words into a composite artifact with many facets of meaning.

These cases will all demonstrate that inscriptions not only record a linguistic content, but they are sophisticated devices of materializing and displaying these texts. They morph a text into a visually enhanced statement, which is only possible as a function of the text-image dialectics. This short excursus illustrates the possible ways of using graphemes to enhance the inherent visuality of writing as it is practiced in all writing systems and its use as a visual medium alongside recording language.

### 2.3.1 The Temptation scene in the Chora church in Constantinople[47]

Approximately one-hundred meters inside the city walls of Constantinople, in the district known as Blachernae, is located the church of the Chora Monastery. The

[47] One of the most recent publications on the Chora is Klein, Ousterhout and Pitarakis (Eds.), *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*.

church went through a major renovation project in the early 14th century, funded by Theodore Metochites, a high-ranking statesman of the Byzantine Empire; and the inner and outer narthexes and the parekklesion were added to the edifice. The narthexes were adorned inside with exquisite mosaics and the parekklesion with frescoes. The depicted narrative is an aesthetic marvel to delight in, achieved by the artistic revival of the Late Byzantine age. The mosaics covering the inner side of the walls and domes of the narthexes depict Biblical narratives, specifically the lives of Mary and Jesus Christ. The mosaic decoration of the first dome on the northern side of the outer narthex shows the Temptation of Jesus Christ in the desert in a mosaic composition circumventing the base of the dome.

Imposed upon a shimmering gold background, in four successive scenes, Jesus and Satan proceed through a mountainous and arid landscape, interspersed with sporadic vegetation and ruins (Figure 3). Three rock outcrops dominate. The scene stretching vertically towards the center of the dome creating four segments within which the two figures are shown conversing, emphasizing the drama in the conversation. Satan thrice speaks to Jesus, challenging him to prove that he is the son of God; and Jesus responds three times, each time triumphing over the tricks of the devil and passing his ordeal. The words exchanged between them, were applied in black tesserae to the mosaic and appear at first sight as if they were scattered on the available empty spaces in the composition.[48] When inspected closely, however the placement of the particular parts of the dialogue where they appear reveals an elaborate reasoning behind it.

[48] I would like to thank Professor Anestis Vasilakeris for his exciting visits to Byzantine sites in Istanbul, and also helping with the meanings of the inscriptions on the images depicting the mosaic scene of the Temptation.



Figure 3. The mosaic scene of the Temptation of Jesus Christ in the desert in the Chora Church. (Author's own photo)

In all Medieval art, from the Italian gold-ground altarpieces to the Byzantine mosaics, the golden background was a metaphor for the divine essence and light, for heaven. Holy figures and biblical scenes were shown set against golden backgrounds, halos were made out of gold paint or mosaics. It was common practice that the initials, names or epithets of the figures were written on a golden background, usually beside the heads. Even though almost all such Medieval visuals displays an inscription, the texts are never written on the figures, who are always either divine and holy figures or benefactors and commissioners. The texts are always placed in a place which feels conceptually and spatially 'appropriate.' They do not infringe upon the bodies, but they are always in close proximity to the images and figures they are associated with, not to be confused with other depictions.

In these works of Medieval Christian art, the homogeneity and static appearance of the background is specious, because it defines a space in which figures who have their feet on the ground are immersed within the divine. The figures are soaked in the beatific golden light, transforming their earthly bodies into divine beings. This is the result of the perfect infusion of color with the use of surface. The surface, in these compositions, become the foremost element of signification that permeates the whole scene.

Therefore, when we consider the arrangement of writing and image in the dome of the Chora, we realize that the insertion of the dialogue into the scenes was intentional and very systematic. The words of Jesus Christ, which are the scripture itself, as they are the word of the living god and the constituents of the true faith, are appropriately placed within the golden background, within the divine sphere. The words of the Satan, however, the exact negation of the word of God, are set within the gray-white colored soil of the Earth, the land of exile for mankind. The

blasphemous words composed in black tesserae stand out against the light-colored mosaics of the ground. The speech of the devil must be there, in the world, because the heaven, the Kingdom of God is free from its slander and deceit. It can only have place and power here, in the mortal world; and so, it is placed on the soil of the Earth. The central doctrine of divine and temporal spheres which pervades all creation is depicted in this biblical scene, through a combined representation of text and image. The tesserae, color and the organization of the pictorial space become integral elements which constitute the written composition.

### 2.3.2 Pictorial calligraphy[49]

The 'Islamic' visual arts are traditionally assumed to be disinclined to depiction of human figures, a situation which shows extreme versatility depending on time, geography, and context.[50] It was through the arts of calligraphy, however, that the visuality and pictorial aspects of the written word was explored and excelled. Ingenuous artists employed the Arabic script in splendid techniques to create a universe of visual arts that would more than compensate for any possible want in other genres. The possible number of examples that can be mentioned is innumerable, but I will contend with discussing a few works of calligraphic art briefly.

The Shah Mahmud Nishapuri Album, dated to the early 16th century contains a poem/prayer to Ali, son-in-law of the prophet, which was commonly known as Nad 'Ali. The text was organized in the form of a lion, in which the tails and strokes of the Arabic letters delineate the outline of the animal, and the text is placed within the

[49] All examples I discuss below are taken from Sheila S. Blair's seminal book *Islamic Calligraphy*.
[50] Flood, "Lost Histories of a Licit Figural Art," 566-69; Baer, "The Human Figure in Early Islamic Art: Some Preliminary Remarks," 32-41.

bounds of the body (Figure 4). The presentation of the text as a lion is not simply a quibble or an artistic ingenuity. S. Blair, in her seminal book on Islamic calligraphy, notes that, 'the lion shape is a rebus, for 'Ali was of then known as the Lion of God (*haydar allah*),'[51] which explains the choice of a lion. It may even have been an apotropaic image in accordance with the content of the text. In the Islamic tradition Ali is ubiquitously associated with a set of regalia, like the lion and a double-pointed scimitar, with a bifurcated blade known as Zulfiqar, the sword of Ali. Both the animal and the weapon became the canonical insignia of the Fourth Caliph of Islam and the first Imam of the Shiites. Even today, the image of the Zulfiqar is worn as an amulet by devoted Shiites.



Figure 4. The calligraphic writing of a prayer to Ali in a lion rebus (From Blair, *Islamic calligraphy*, 450)

[51] Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 450.

Zoomorphic calligraphy was one of the most popular genres such as the lion-shaped prayer to Ali, whole compositions were arranged in the outline of a stylized animal. Other animal or figural depictions, like a stork, were also used, depending on the occasion and appropriateness of the image to the message of the text.

Other visually enhanced techniques were *gulzar*, meaning 'rose garden' and micrography. In gulzar technique, the letters were decorated inside with floral motifs. There are examples in which the floral motifs were replaced by micro-scale words arranged in a composition to render a larger design or phrase. A scroll by an anonymous artist in the Gulistan Library with a micrographic Koranic inscription is actually one of the most exquisite examples of pictographic calligraphy. On one part of the scroll, the Koranic text is written in smaller *naskh* technique, and then this text is organized to form the name of the god, 'Allah' in the middle in *thuluth* letters and the design of a prayer rug with a stepped and pointed niche at one end (Figure 5). It was rumored that the reading of the larger text was equivalent to reciting the Koranic text contained within the larger one[52] It is the presence of the small-scale inscription and the visual perception of it at the moment of reading, even though the text itself is not pronounced, which renders such an interpretation possible.

[52] Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic calligraphy*, 465.



Figure 5. A scroll in the Gulistan Library with a micrographic Koranic inscription (From Blair, *Islamic calligraphy*, 465)

Every single one of these inscriptions represents the art of calligraphy, in different ways. What they have in common is that even if it is possible, none of these inscriptions are meant to be read, simply to access the literal meaning. No one would deny that these are inscriptions par excellence, but their value derives from the ingenuous ways in which they present texts as images. The marks of writing composing these artifacts, through their color, shape, proximity and application technique, become part of a larger composition. They visualize the pith of the message in the text, presented as an image. These images are composed of writing but exist also independently, free from linguistic associations of the signs. Thus, writing is presented as an image and yet also preserves its textual content.

### 2.3.3 Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C[53]

The Vietnam War, fought from November 1955 to April 1975, was among the most devastating and controversial of the proxy wars that characterized the Cold War Era. After the end of the War, its memory and trauma were transformed into a proliferation of memorials mostly erected in the United States, Australia and Vietnam. Among them the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial in the National Mall in Washington D.C. is probably among the most famous war memorials of all time. The 75 meters-long Memorial Wall was constructed with a total of 144 black granite panels from Bangalore, retaining the soil on one side. The other side is highly polished so that the stone has a mirror-effect, reflecting the image of the visitor on the surface, 'drawing ... the viewer 'in' to the Wall.'[54] The panels are inscribed with the names of the US citizens who lost their lives in the war. The names are arranged

[53] A thorough analysis and the interpretation of the societal dynamics of the monument has been offered by Charles L. Griswold, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," 79-111.
[54] Tritle, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," 162.

by year, and within each year alphabetically. All inscriptions are executed in the same typeface. Every name within a line and every line from one another is equidistant.[55]

What I would like to emphasize here is restricted to some of these key aspects of the monument which demonstrate how the surface treatment of the material affects the powerful, emotional exchange between the observer and the monument. The dark color of the stone adds to its integrity and solemnity, marking the void left by the lost lives. The extremely polished surface reflecting back the image of the visitor, makes anyone standing in front of the monument see the names of the war dead inscribed on their own reflection, a powerful image thus connecting the dead to the living, the past to the present (Figure 6). The surface is the very means by which the memorial achieves its purpose, the emotional response it was designed to evoke. In fact, E. H. Boone, in her investigation of non-lexical meanings writing can produce, reflects on the power of the surface of this monument, and its organization through the monotonality of writing in the following words:

> ...the horizontal spaces that both separate and link the names are highly charged with temporal and social meaning; these spaces unite the dead in the simultaneity of their fate. Each name is surrounded – embraced, really – by the names of comrades who fell at the same time. It is the highly charged space, as well as the intimacy of each name, that contributes so much to the monument's emotional power.[56]

The mosaics in the Chora church, Islamic calligraphy and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial are selected to demonstrate how throughout history innovative ways of conceiving and presenting a text with an image as a single medium of representation.

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[55] Boone, "When Art Is Writing and Writing, Art: Graphic Communication in Preconquest Mexico," 61-2.
[56] Boone, "When Art Is Writing and Writing, Art: Graphic Communication in Preconquest Mexico," 61-2.

In the mosaics of Chora, we still glimpse the golden and yellow-gray background in the spaces between the letters. Writing is not allocated to its own designated space but is superimposed on the image of heaven. Vietnam Veterans Memorial, whose whole surface is designated for writing, garners emotional response through the regular arrangement of letters and words, in their impeccable monotony. All these examples illustrate how the visual and aesthetic impact of writing can transform into meaning and emotion, which can operate irrespective of the content of the text. Therefore, we need to move on to understand how the connections between text and image materialize in writing as a function of each distinct culture that produces them.



Figure 6. Vietnam Veterans Memorial
(From Powell, *Hunger of the Heart: Communion at the Wall*, fig.63)

## 2.4 Conclusion

In the examples I presented in the preceding section, I foregrounded the material and visual aspects of the inscriptions which were not dependent on the forms or semantic associations of individual letters. The inscriptions on the monuments and artifacts discussed above are alphabetical, where the forms of the letters are arbitrary, no longer preserving the connection between the form and meaning of the sign. Each grapheme exists only to correspond to a phoneme. That is not the case with hieroglyphic/pictographic scripts, which consist of signs that are also visually meaningful. The Anatolian hieroglyphic script is such a system which can thus employ the phonological and pictographic aspects of the signs separately or at the same time. In order to explain how these qualities are put to use, in the following chapter I discuss the principles of writing in Anatolian hieroglyphs, their imagery and spatial organization, as well as an account of the history of the script and their discovery and decipherment.

# CHAPTER 3

# THE VISUAL GRAMMAR OF ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

The Hittites, during the Empire Period (approx. 1350-1200 B.C.) used two different scripts: cuneiform to write various languages like Hittite, Akkadian, Hurrian, Luwian etc. and the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, exclusively for the Luwian language. While cuneiform was used primarily for archival purposes, and on clay tablets; hieroglyphs were only used on seals and in monumental inscriptions for display. After the collapse of the Hittite Empire at the end of the Late Bronze Age, around 1200 B.C. the use of cuneiform disappeared in Anatolia, while writing in Anatolian hieroglyphs proliferated.

In the first section of this chapter, I briefly introduce the lifespan of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script from its first appearance in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. to its obsolescence in the 8th century B.C. as well as an account of the history of monumental inscriptions in Anatolia. In this brief introduction to the history of the script I will foreground the developments in the use of the script on diverse stone monuments for different purposes.

In the second section, I present the rigorous scholarly work conducted on Anatolian hieroglyphs and the Luwian language, focusing on the significant developments which gradually advanced our understanding of the script and the language. It is thanks to the pioneering and foundational work of these generations of scholars who identified, deciphered transcribed and translated these inscriptions as texts, that any further study on Anatolian hieroglyphs like this thesis has been possible.

The third section of this chapter focuses on specific features of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing. Here I discuss the execution techniques, the morphology of the logo-syllabic word structure, the formation of 'clusters' as the smallest meaningful units of signs and their arrangements in lines and columns, the orientation of the signs, boustrophedon writing and reading direction. These fundamental features of the script are essential for my discussion of specific monuments in the following chapters in which I will analyze the spatial organization and visual aspects of the inscriptions with respect to the images they are displayed with on monuments.

## 3.1 Brief history of Anatolian hieroglyphs and their display on monuments

Writing was introduced into Anatolia twice, for the first time in the Middle Bronze Age, during the Period of Assyrian Trade Colonies in Central Anatolia. With the collapse of the trade networks, writing disappeared from Anatolia. In the mid. 17$^{th}$ century B.C. it was reintroduced from the Syrian urban centers of the 2$^{nd}$millennium, after the Syrian campaigns of Hattušili I.[57]

The extensive archives excavated in Kültepe and Hattuša, in kārum Kaneš and kārum Hattuš, respectively, clearly indicate that cuneiform was being used for recording economic transactions and correspondence between cities in the Middle Bronze Age. So far there is no evidence for an inscription being publicly displayed during the Middle Bronze Age. There is one reference, however, to a monumental victory tablet displayed at the gates of Kanesh, the leading trading colony founded in the most prominent city-state of Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age. In a center like Kanesh, where many elements of Assyrian and Syrian lifestyle, material culture, commodities and art were exchanged and adopted by the local elite, public

[57] For further information concerning the Syrian origins of the Old Hittite cuneiform script, please check: Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša," 100.

inscriptions are not surprising.[58] Still, this brief note on the victory tablet of Anitta needs closer attention so that we can better understand the nature of this curious victory monument.

In a text written in Akkadian and preserved on three clay tablets, Anitta, the King of the city of Kussara (not-identified) narrates his victories resulting in the territorial unification of Central Anatolian city-states in the 18th century B.C. He states that an account of these accomplishments was inscribed on a tablet and displayed at the gates of Neša: "§9 *(A* 33-5) [I impressed(?)] these words on a tablet in my city gate. In the future, no one shall damage this tablet. Whoever damages it shall become the enemy of [Nesa]."[59]

Unfortunately, the verb that Beckman reconstructs as 'to impress' for the creation of the 'tablet' is lost on the original tablet, which precludes a lucid understanding of how the text is actually implemented on the object. What I want to point out at, however, is the fact that on the tablet Anitta seems to report what the displayed tablet records. At the beginning, he (probably) implicates himself as the creator of the monument. 'These words' refer to his achievements in war and politics which he mentions earlier on the tablet. Finally, he assures the reader—as well as the spectator of the monument, probably—of the durability and longevity of the display as Anitta threatens any possible aggressor with the enmity of Neša, and by extension,

[58] Once introduced, this tradition of monumental display of texts seems to persist in Anatolia. The tradition reappears in Anatolia with Augustus who unified the Roman state after the Civil War in the late 1st century B.C. and early 1st century A.D., recorded in his autobiographical text 'Res Gestae Divi Augusti' – The Achievements of Divine Augustus – the Princeps of Rome states that the original of this text narrating his accomplishments and the unification of the realm was inscribed on bronze tablets and displayed at the gates of his mausoleum in Rome. Even though these original tablets are lost, most of the text is know from its copies on. Temple walls in Anatolia, most notably the. Temple of Augustus in modern day Ankara. The existence of such monumental inscriptions testifies the millennia-long existence of visual and public context of writing in Anatolia from pre-classical to classical antiquity.

[59] Beckman, Goedegebuure, Hazenbos &. Cohen, "Hittite Historical Texts I," 104. The Anitta Text, G. Beckman (Trans.), 217, §9.

of the gods of Neša as well, who would side with the king of Neša, and his descendants. In these few sentences, Anitta describes and summarizes his public inscription, in its most significant aspects: who is the author (Anitta),where is it recorded (on a tablet), where is it placed (at the city gate), what it records (victory and history), and how it shall be protected. If we take one step back, the text has three main components: introduction/identification, commemoration of achievements and the curse statement. This compositional structure links Anitta's inscription on the one hand to the ancient Mesopotamian tradition of inscribed monuments and dedicatory inscriptions, on the other hand connects it to the dedicatory Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Following the Anitta text, for approximately half a millennium, there is no trace of or reference to any display of inscriptions. Monumental inscriptions reemerge in the 13th century B.C. in the latter half of the Hittite Empire Period.[60] Hittite monumental inscriptions first appear on rock reliefs, as legends identifying figures of kings and gods. The earliest of these is King Muwatalli II's rock relief and inscription on a cliff today above the ancient Pyramos River modern Ceyhan by Sirkeli Höyük.[61] Muwatalli II, the first Hittite ruler who commissioned a relief image of himself with an inscription, also introduced figural compositions in the center of

[60] Seals and seal impressions with Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions are left out of these discussions, as well as short name-legends and epigraphs on metal objects like the Stag-shaped rhyton from the Schimmel Collection in the MET in New York or the Ankara silver bowl in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations is Ankara whose dating is disputed. It is worth noting, however, that hieroglyphic signs appear on seal impressions long before they do on the monumental inscriptions.
The earliest excavated seal impression is that of Išputahšu, King of Kizzuwatna (Cilicia in the Classical Age), contemporary of Hittite King Telipinu in the late 16th century B.C. The seal impression was discovered during the Goldman (1956, pp. 246-47, figs. 401, 405) period excavations at the mound of Gözlükule in Tarsus.

[61] Today, Ceyhan flows by the east side of Sirkeli Höyük, by the relief of Muwatalli II. Recent topographical analysis conducted by the new excavation project has demonstrated that the Late Bronze Age course of the river was by the north side of the city. Therefore, the relief originally did not overlook the river, but a plain leading to the Eastern Gate of the city. For further information please refer to Kozan and Novak, "Facing Muwatalli: Some Thoughts on the Visibility and Function of the Rock Reliefs at Sirkeli Höyük, Cilicia," 384-5.

seals combining a hieroglyphic inscription and a figure, as in the seal type depicting the so-called *Umarmungsszene.*[62]

The first narrative texts written in Anatolian hieroglyphs on a variety of material appeared during the reign of King Tudhaliya IV, the son of Hattušili III, the brother of Muwatalli II. He had inscriptions written on freestanding monuments like the altars from Emirgazi,[63] and the stelae from Hattuša erected in his name,[64] on architectural structures like the inner walls of the sacred pool complex in Yalburt[65] and his royal aedicula from the Karakuyu dam complex. His son, Suppiluliuma II, the last ruler of the Hittite Empire continued this tradition by commissioning his own monumental inscriptions in Hattuša.[66]

After the demise of the empire at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. writing in cuneiform script disappeared from Anatolia for the second and last time, and with it the recording of the Nešili language. Luwian recorded in Anatolian hieroglyphic script, however, not only survived the fall of the Hittite Empire ca. 1180 B.C. but flourished under the patronage of the rulers of the rising Syro-Anatolian principalities.

Recently, S. Aro's research has shed light on the continuation of Hieroglyphic Luwian[67] and monumental statuary and its visual syntax from the

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[62] Hawkins, "Scripts and Texts," 145.
[63] Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)*, Appendix 2, 86-102.
[64] This small corpus of stelae is comprised of three stelae and a fragment: BOĞAZKÖY 3, BOĞAZKÖY 18, DELIHASANLI and BOĞAZKÖY 24 as they are noted in Hawkins in "Scripts and Texts," 139.
[65] Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)*, Appendix 1, 66-85.
[66] Major inscriptions from the reign of Suppiluliuma II are BOĞAZKÖY 5 (NIŞANTAŞ), BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG).
[67] In this thesis, the slightly similar terms Anatolian hieroglyphs (or Anatolian hieroglyphic writing) and Hieroglyphic Luwian are consistently used to denote two different concepts. Whenever used, Anatolian hieroglyphs refer to the pictographic writing system itself, without indicating its association with the Luwian language. Hieroglyphic Luwian, however, only refers to the language that was written in Anatolian hieroglyphs, as opposed to the cuneiform Luwian that was used in the Late Bronze Age alongside its hieroglyphic variant and did not survive into the Iron Age. While the former

Hittite heartland in the Late Bronze Age to the 10th century Karkamiš under the rule of the Suhi-Katuwa Dynasty.[68] Kingdoms of Karkamiš, Melid, Tabal, Gurgum, Sam'al, Wadasatini etc. produced most of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that have been preserved till now. The visual repertoire of the Empire Period reliefs and the content of the inscriptions were rather limited compared to what followed in the Iron Age. The Neo-Hittite Period was marked by a surge of experimentation with both the imagery and the script. One aspect of these experiments was the inventive ways of combining and composing together Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions and visuals, which continued to be implemented on stelae, statues, statue bases and rock inscriptions, resulting in the most impressive relief orthostat programs encountered in Iron Age urban citadels such as Karkamiš, Melid, Sam'al and the gates of frontier strongholds such as Azatiwataya.

### 3.2 Discoveries, decipherments and publications

The decipherment of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script has been the result of the collaboration of independent and joined efforts by a number of renowned scholars, unlike those of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and cuneiform by Jean-François Champollion and Henry Rawlinson, respectively. The signs were first identified as Hittite by A. H. Sayce in the late 19th century, who was one of the leading Assyriologists and linguists of that age, and worked on the famous TARKONDEMOS seal and identified the LUGAL.KUR logograms in the cuneiform legend with their hieroglyphic equivalents.[69] The first corpus of inscriptions, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, was published by Messerschmidt in 1900, 1902 and

term puts the emphasis on the writing system itself, the latter (*luwili-)* is the name of the language inscribed in hieroglyphs.

[68] Aro, "Carchemish before and after 1200 BC," 233-38.

[69] Sayce, "Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions," 168-88.

1906. The British Museum excavations conducted in Karkamiš in 1911-1914 and 1920 produced an extensive number of inscriptions which were published and edited in the corpuses produced in the 1930s by five scholars, assisting the most important period of decipherment in the history of the script. These corpuses were published by I. Gelb in three volumes (1931, 1935, 1942), E. Forrer (1932), H. T. Bossert (1932) P. Meriggi in three volumes (1933, 1934a, 1934b), and B. Hrozny in three volumes (1933, 1934, 1937).

The discovery of digraphic[70] royal sealings from Boğazköy by the German excavation team in 1930 and the Karatepe bilinguals by Bossert and his team including Halet Çambel in 1946 provided a breakthrough for understanding Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. The revised and refined understanding of the script and the language after the discovery of Karatepe was reflected in the publication of E. Laroche's seminal *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites* in 1960 which comprised a detailed sign list of Anatolian hieroglyphic signs, and P. Meriggi's publications of a glossary in 1962 and editions of hieroglyphic texts in 1966, 1967 and 1975. The discovery and publication of the seal impressions found in Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), hieroglyphic signs for measures on the Urartian pithoi from Altıntepe and the Meskene seal impressions have been further steps which further finetuned transliterations. Most recently, the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the Iron Age have been collated by J. D. Hawkins in his *Corpus of Hieroglphic Luwian Inscriptions* published in 2000.

In recent decades, building on the results of these fundamental research endeavors, and due to the clearer understanding of both the script and the language,

[70] A digraphic seal would have a center inscribed in hieroglyphs and on rings written in cuneiform surrounding it whose number would change between one and four. Only the royal seals are both in cuneiform and hieroglyphs as the seals of officers are written only in hieroglyphs.

scholars studying the Luwian language and the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing began to ask more in-depth questions. M. Marazzi has been a leading scholar in studying the pictorial properties of hieroglyphic signs and the spatial arrangement of inscriptions, analyzing the semantic associations built into the inscriptions through the organization and imagery of the signs.[71] Sanna Aro's research on the continuity of the sculptural traditions from Late Bronze to Iron Ages in Karkamiš has been a substantial contribution in understanding the integration of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing with plastic arts.[72]

It is these meticulous studies during the last one hundred years that have established our current knowledge. I have derived the fundamental rules of writing that I will introduce and discuss in the following section from the publications that have been listed above, especially from the corpus of J. D. Hawkins and my studies with Professor Hasan Peker on Luwian and Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

### 3.3 Principles and organization in Anatolian hieroglyphic writing

In *A Study of Writing* Gelb briefly discusses the relationship between writing and art, addressing issues that are not evident in the bulk of his writing:

> The aesthetic impression of an inscribed monument depends on a great number of factors: the execution of the individual signs (form, size, etc.), the relation of the signs to the inscription (position, distance between signs, spacing of lines, direction, etc.), and the relation of the inscription to the monument (relief, painting, structure, etc.)[73]

For Gelb, such issues remain peripheral and significant only for 'the aesthetic impression' they can summon up in the perception of the audience. Building on

[71] Marazzi, "Scrittura, Percezione e Cultura: Qualche Riflessione Sull'Anatolia in età Hittita," 219-255.
[72] Aro, "Carchemish before and after 1200 BC," 233-76.
[73] Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 230.

Gelb's designation of each of these factors he names in the quoted excerpt above, I will show how these elements of writing are integral not only for constructing the grammar of the inscription, but also in forming other visual dimensions of meaning that connote with the content of the text.

### 3.3.1 Execution techniques

Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions are applied on stone in three main techniques: relief, incision and sunk-relief. Signs carved in relief technique has the background chiseled away and signs themselves remaining elevated. As the signs carved in relief are mostly in monumental forms, their details can be applied in low relief or incision over the sign. While relief technique was dominant during the Hittite Empire Period, in the Iron Age incised signs gained prominence.

The Anatolian repertoire of signs is divided into two, monumental and cursive signs. Monumental forms are more pictorial and non-stylized, while cursive forms are simplified and more arbitrary versions of the monumental forms but the visual connection between the two forms is usually intact. Because of their plainer shapes, cursive signs were rather incised, which is much easier and quicker to execute.

Because relief technique creates three dimensional signs, the visual effect is quite different from the incised signs, further augmented by the monumental form of the signs. Cursive signs shown in relief is a rare phenomenon, on the other hand sometimes quite elaborate, visually detailed and pictographic signs are also incised. When a monumental sign form is incised in double lines, detailing its visual properties, it is probable to assume that the monumental relief forms are emulated in

a two-dimensional technique. This situation is open to interpret as an archaism, depending on the monument, of course.

### 3.3.2 Orthography

Anatolian hieroglyphic script has multiple options for writing a single concept or word like all ancient logo-syllabic writing systems of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin such as the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and cuneiform. This multiplicity of options of word formation is a result of combination of different categories of signs, namely syllabograms, logograms, and determinatives.[74] This feature is one of the probable references in Plato's story of the invention of the alphabet when he designates previous systems with an 'indeterminacy' or 'infinity' of sound.[75]

Almost all Anatolian hieroglyphic texts make use of logographic and syllabic signs. Syllabic scripts employ *syllabograms*, signs that denote syllables, not individual sounds used in that language. These smallest sound values, called *phonemes*, are the main building blocks of alphabets, not of syllabic systems; and they are represented by signs called *phonograms*.

While a syllabogram denotes a sound value, a logogram stands for the linguistic equivalent of a single concept or thing. The same logogram usually represents the same notion in all languages it is used but always has a language-specific match. For instance, the cuneiform LUGAL sign has the sound value '*lugal*' in Sumerian, '*šarru(m)*' in Akkadian, '*haššu-*' in Hittite and '*hantawati-*' in Luwian. Therefore, if we were to write Latin in cuneiform, the same sign would have been read as '*rex.*' After a colloquium organized by M. Marazzi in 1995, the leading

[74] For a detailed discussion of differences between pictograms, logograms, syllabograms and determinatives see: Mark Weeden, "Anatolian Hieroglyphs: Logogram vs Ideogram," 81-83; Ilya Yakubovich, "Anatolian Hieroglyphic Writing," 203-204.
[75] Please see Chapter 2.1.

scholars working on Hieroglyphic Luwian have agreed to transliterate logograms in Anatolian hieroglyphs into Latin in capital letters, instead of every scholar using their own language of writing and publication. On the other hand, the syllabic signs are transliterated in italic small-case letters; and I will observe this agreement on transliteration when I use Luwian texts in this thesis.

Determinatives are signs that do not have a vocal value, but they generally precede or follow a word or concept to categorize and semantically define it; and they are used rather occasionally. The widespread use of determinatives is a thought-provoking component of many ancient writing systems, like cuneiform, Egyptian and Anatolian hieroglyphic scripts. The absence of determinatives in alphabetical writing does not help to explain their presence in ancient syllabic writing. Their closest analogy in modern scripts would be the use of identificatory or honorific abbreviations like Mr., Ms. as personal indicators; dr., prof. as abbreviated titles for professions or abbreviations like CC or SAV which follow and exalt the names of the God and the Prophet in Islamic texts. Despite certain similarities, these should be differentiated from proper determinatives as the former are pronounced in spoken language when the text is read. Determinatives, on the other hand, are silent semantic categorizers and are always purely graphic, free of vocalization. In cuneiform, and Egyptian and Anatolian hieroglyphic scripts determinatives fulfil the same function and are subject to similar regulatory principles. For instance, in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing determinatives conventionally follow the word they are associated with, while in Anatolian hieroglyphs, the determinative comes before the word.[76] Even though the particular meaning and use of every single determinative

[76] There is only one exception to this rule. The geographic determinative for cities, urban centers, URBS (URU) and for countries and foreign lands REGIO (KUR) follow the names of towns which it denotes.

must be culture and context specific; there seems to be a ubiquitous logic, or systemic need for the use of determinatives in all syllabic scripts, mainly cuneiform and Egyptian and Anatolian pictography, as far as the scope of this thesis is concerned.

Each word is made up of various combinations of these three categories of signs. As in cuneiform, words and concepts can appear basically in three different formats: only as logograms without any vocal indication, just in syllabic form, denoting vocal approximations of words as close as possible to their pronunciations, and in logogram and syllabogram combinations in which a logogram would be accompanied by phonetic signs to spell out the word fully or partially. Moreover, any one of these three combinations can be accompanied by a determinative. Therefore, both in cuneiform and in hieroglyphic scripts, at times we observe a concept written with a determinative, a logogram and phonetic complements even if it is clearly not meant to vocalize the same word repeatedly. Determinatives are not pronounced, and the coexistence of a logogram and syllabograms does not seem to indicate a repetition of the written word in speech.

In logo-syllabic systems, the signs can stand for a single sound, one syllable, multiple syllables or a whole concept. Furthermore, a sign could be denoting extra sounds that are not reflected into the vocal production of the written signs. That is the main reason why spoken and written language does not correspond to each other in logo-syllabic systems. This complexity is averted in alphabetic scripts which employ phonograms, representing individual sounds— phonemes—which can be combined to represent the spoken word in closer proximity.

The studies of decipherment and translation are attempts to translate a written sequence that was not intended only for reading into a visual code that is entirely

calibrated to reproduce speech as intelligible as possible, in other words, the alphabet. While resemblance to the original is highest at the stage of a line drawing and transliteration, which is available only for the specialists, at the point of a full translation, this layered and 'seemingly' repetitive structure of the script is irrevocably lost, as it is eliminated in the process of normalization[77] for the sake of an assumed clarity and for making the source available to a general audience. Because the logic of the syllabic systems and the alphabet are incommensurable we are obliged to process the source to penetrate its meaning. In the case of a monumental inscription, accompanying a philologist's methodology as crudely outlined above, we also need a methodological approach to understand the visual code of writing.

Then how are we supposed to understand, and if possible, account for the need for this aspect of written notation in the syllabic scripts of the ancient Near East? In the ancient texts recovered in more than two hundred years of research, we have never encountered a reference to or an explanation for such repetition of elements in written language. Therefore, I consider scrutinizing the notion of 'repetition' one possible course of analysis to extrapolate; preferably with recourse to archaeology, art and visual culture for we do not encounter this multi-dimensionality of written expression neither in speech nor in alphabetical writing, but in art.

What we can say with assurance as a starting point is that these scripts have a very well-defined formulaic orthography. The three types of signs always have their respective positions. In Anatolian hieroglyphic writing a determinative always comes before—or after—the other signs, semantically subsuming all others, as it is more

[77] Normalization is the process of creating line-drawings, and making transliterations, transcriptions and translations of ancient scripts into a modern language of scientific research; so that the writing and language are accessible to a wider audience.

inclusive in its semantic scope. The placement of the sign accords with its function within the phrase. Usually a logogram is not preceded by a syllabogram delineating it. It is already apparent that, even if these signs conceptually, all refer to the same referee, they are not mere repetitions, but parts of an organized expression which is organizing a process of visual and aural perception. Each sign category encases the one that follows. This organizing/categorizing construct tends to move from general to specific, from determinatives to logograms and syllabograms, each more precise and narrower in semantic scope than the preceding one, therefore linguistically clearer. A syllabogram, however, would always remain semantically and visually null, gaining meaning only within the context of the accompanying logogram or syllabograms.

A reasonably comparable practice exists in Old and Middle Egyptian writing, as "... in any series of comparable items, the sequence is from larger to smaller" as greater quantity, age or social status precedes the lesser; a phenomenon called 'diminishing progression' by H. G. Fischer.[78] In Egyptian hieroglyphic writing the usage of repetitive written formulas not only semantically delineates a concept or object from its general characteristics to specific ones; it shatters any perception of text-image dichotomy. In the Old Kingdom period, inscriptions on statuary omit the personal determinative, as the statue itself was "...regarded as an enlarged determinative, supplementing the phonetic writing of the name that precedes it. And a statue may similarly be regarded as a three-dimensional enlargement of the determinative belonging to the name inscribed on its base.'[79] The cooperation between the determinative, logogram and sound-signs do now include the statue itself and the written signs. Furthermore, in Old Kingdom, while the personal

[78] Fischer, "Further Evidence for the Logic of Ancient Egyptian: Diminishing Progression," 5.
[79] Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom," 7.

determinative was omitted in masculine names, it was added when a female was named "even though the name is directly connected with a representation that performs the same function."[80] Therefore, the exception to the rule distinguishes between genders, specifying the subject it is associated with.

This feature is not alien to the Anatolian hieroglyphic system at all. For instance, the large statue of Halparuntiyas II, ruler of Gurgum, modern Maraş, is inscribed in Hieroglyphic Luwian (MARAŞ 4 inscription), circumventing the sides and the back of the statue on the skirt of the ruler.[81] The image of the ruler is reproduced at the beginning of the inscription as a standing figure, pointing at himself. This representation of '*amu*' logogram, which is the usual starting clause of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions meaning 'I,' is called 'the portrait form' by J. D. Hawkins.[82] The image-sign is followed by an enclitic chain and the name of the ruler. As a miniscule copy of the image on which it is inscribed, the initial phrase of the text, and the a formulaic clause to present the name of the ruler, the sign becomes the junction between the object, the text, and the name through all of which the ruler is manifested.[83] Such 'portrait forms' used as a logogram is attested on many Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments like other ruler statues from Maraş — Maraş 13 &14 in Hawkins' Corpus—on the Long Wall of Sculpture in the famous orthostats of Katuwas and on the inscription of Yariris on the Royal Buttress in Karkamiš, just to name a few.

Irene Winter has commented on the allusions between "the structural organization of visual narrative and the structural organization of the Semitic Neo-

[80] Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom," 7.
[81] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* 255-258.
[82] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* 448.

[83] Aro, "Carchemish before and after 1200 BC," 233-76.

Assyrian Akkadian language"[84] as one of the functions of the relationship between text and image, within the context of her pioneering work on the Palace sculptures of Assurnasirpal II in the Northwest Palace in Nimrud. She points out at the parallelism between the basic Akkadian syntax of Subject-Object-Verb and the construct of the narrative scenes in the palace reliefs, as "the king is seen at the left, facing toward and/or engaged in warfare against the citadel against which he campaigns, and only at the end, as prisoners are led off, does one "read" the conclusion that the king has indeed conquered the citadel."[85]; therefore reflecting the syntactic form in the language. It was Zainab Bahrani who carried these pioneering observations on text-image dialectics to another level when she showed that in ancient Assyria and Babylon, an image was not understood merely as a visual simulacra of the subject through representation, but the image is a composite of what the Assyrians called *ṣalmu* (image/representation)[86]*, šumu* (name) as the written word, *šumu* (name) as the ritual utterance and the organic body; imbued with its own life as an extension of the self.[87] She argues that this interdependency and reflexivity of text and image is inherent to the visual representation in the ancient Near East:

> In Assyro-Babylonian thought, images and words were never completely separated. The script functioned through a combination of both, but even this concept of *both*, of a *word* without *image*, is alien. Each of these notions, as we think of them, was always already affected by the other, and what we think of as the real was also affected in this way.[88]

Now, in light of these inspiring studies, when we rethink text-image relationships in Near Eastern antiquity, maybe we can take one more step probing the organizing principles of both writing and art. The relationship between the Assyrian syntax and

[84] Irene Winter, "Art in Empire," 76.
[85] Irene Winter, "Art in Empire," 76.
[86] Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image*, 123.
[87] Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image*, 133-138.
[88] Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image,* 118.

narrative compositions as shown by Winter and Bahrani can also be observed if we consider the categorical organization of word syntagm in syllabic scripts and some of the main tenets of representation in ancient Near Eastern art.

The categorical organization of concepts in writing is analogous to the idealized and composite representation of gods and kings in Near Eastern art. In ancient Near Eastern art, images were not created according to the principle of mimesis. Ancient artisans combined the appearances of objects and beings in their most essential perspectives into a single composite image of the subject, because all the represented aspects would be essential for the creation of a full-fledged image, for it to manifest in our material world.[89] Therefore, images may appear as a superimposition of different views of an object/thing from multiple dimensions. In Winter's words, "the way the body is represented is subject to a high degree of idealization, according to norms of value rather than of visual verifiability."[90] The image was not based on the naturalistic appearance and visual perception, just as writing is not based on the vocal production of the language. Writing combines all the necessary and essential information regarding its referee through a system which looks like monotonous repetition to us, however what it actually does is presenting its content in a well-organized manner from general to specific and from multiple dimensions achieved by combining different categories of signs.

The more significant the image is, the more layered the image becomes. We can argue that, in a similar way, the more crucial the issue is, writing tends to represent it in further detail, approaching it from all possible angles, the linguistic, semantic, material and sensory aspects of the concept. These different aspects are communicated by the sequencing of determinatives, logograms and syllabograms.

[89] Zainab Bahrani, "The Babylonian Visual Image," 157.
[90] Irene Winter, Art in Empire, 85.

Therefore, each sign unit is related to one another at a different level, and they complement each other by containing a different package of information that the other two do not. Alan Gardiner, who has written extensively on the Egyptian language and script expresses this quality in the following words: "The phonograms determine the sound of the ideogram, than that the ideogram determines the sense of the phonograms."[91] The same qualification between the sign types has been explained by Sigrist in following words:

> But we must immediately add that if each identity is in need of a phonological mark, and that phonology justifies semiology by providing it with a denotative mark, in return semiology justifies the existence of phonology by providing it with a function which attests it pertinence.[92]

The ideogram contains essential information relating to the nature of the specific object or action. While the phonogram complements the total unit from a linguistic angle, the determinative semantically and visually, especially in hieroglyphic scripts, communicates the concept. Therefore, phonograms are not simply sound-signs making up the name of objects but part of a layered statement/representation that also communicates the sense/nature of the object through the ideogram, that is either a determinative and/or a logogram.

The chain of signification in written expression, all the way from the pictures to writing, and from determinatives to syllabograms, represents a narrowing down of interpretative scope from a more general, but also semantically expansive, to a more precise but limited expression. It is nothing but normal that this system might look like superfluous piling up of words compared to the functioning of an alphabet in which the presence of every phoneme ensure compatibility between the written and spoken language. This is a perception of writing that does not exist in the syllabic-

[91] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 31, §23.
[92] Please see Appendix C.1 for the original version of the quoted passage in French in Sigrist, "Parole et Ecriture," 7.

pictographic systems. Therefore, the most common mistake in interpreting them is assuming that this is mere repetition and a redundant effort. To the contrary, this feature of hieroglyphic scripts demonstrates the coexistence of all these elements of the spectrum at the same time on a single artifact. Therefore, pictographic-syllabic scripts have the potential to demur the orthodoxy of the chronological/evolutionary perspectives in the field which present pictography and phonetization as the successive stages of all scripts as they strive to morph into the alphabet; and reveal that the imageness of writing is ubiquitous in every period and writing system regardless of their morphological categorization.

### 3.3.3 Spatial arrangement

Spoken language is strictly linear and follows a direct sequence when vocalized. Unlike speech, writing occupies a graphic space that is material. The fact that writing must be physically marked on a surface allows for possibilities of graphic organization of signs, clusters of signs and lines; which may or may not correspond to speech. Therefore, in this section, I focus on such rules of spatial organization based on the latest conventions of Hieroglyphic Luwian orthography, developed by the specialists. I depend on the contemporary rules of organization, transliteration and translation in Hieroglyphic Luwian as outlined in J. D. Hawkins' Corpus, the classes of my Professor of ancient Near Eastern languages and scripts, Hasan Peker, and other recent publications by the specialists of Hieroglyphic Luwian.[93] I will only

[93] Please refer to Hawkins, Scripts and Texts, 128-169; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* for the history of research and the most updated and complete conventions of Anatolian hieroglyphic script. A. Payne, 2010, *Hieroglyphic Luwian*, for a concise reference grammar in Hieroglyphic Luwian; Yakubovich, "Luwian and the Luwians," especially pages 541-543; Yakubovich, "Anatolian Hieroglyphic Writing," 203-7 for a brief summary of the general orthographic features of the script.

consider such rules of graphic arrangement of the script on stone, avoiding the grammatic and linguistic aspect of the signs, which would be a superfluous attempt within the confines of this thesis. I have grouped these rules of spatial arrangement in two interrelated subcategories: sign clusters and directional agreement, each of which will be considered separately below.

#### 3.3.3.1 Sign clusters

The Anatolian hieroglyphic signs 'were not written in linear sequence, one after another but were grouped into imaginary squares or rectangles so as to ensure the most harmonious arrangement and to minimize the possibility of unsightly gaps,'[94] unlike phonograms and other accompanying signs in an alphabet. Speech is absolutely linear, every sound produced has to either come before or after another sound. In any alphabet, reflecting the linear sequencing of sounds in speech, the phonograms either precede or follow one another; therefore their arrangement is linear. This correspondence between spoken and written word makes reading faster and easier while bridging the gap between written and spoken languages and enforcing the historical misconception that writing and speech are carbon copies of each other.

In Anatolian hieroglyphic writing meaningful groups of signs that make up a word or phrase are packed in hypothetical 'two-dimensional clusters'[95] within lines. These clusters generally consist of multiple signs which are arranged vertically and horizontally. Within the cluster, the vertical has precedence over the horizontal in reading, evidenced by the structure of word syntagm. The reading direction within each column is always top to bottom, and either sinistroverse (towards left) or

[94] Harris, *Signs of Writing*, 125.
[95] Yakubovich, "Anatolian Hieroglyphic Writing," 203.

dextroverse (towards right). Then, these clusters are combined into lines, which can be arranged as rows or columns, though writing in rows is much more widespread compared to columnar arrangement, represented by only several inscriptions. This basic arrangement is shown in Figure 7, where the first three clusters are shown within Line 1, starting on the right-hand side with Cluster 1. The arrows represent the reading direction, within the clusters as well as across the line. It can be seen that the reading direction changes from Line 1 to Line 2, which will be discussed in the following sub-heading.

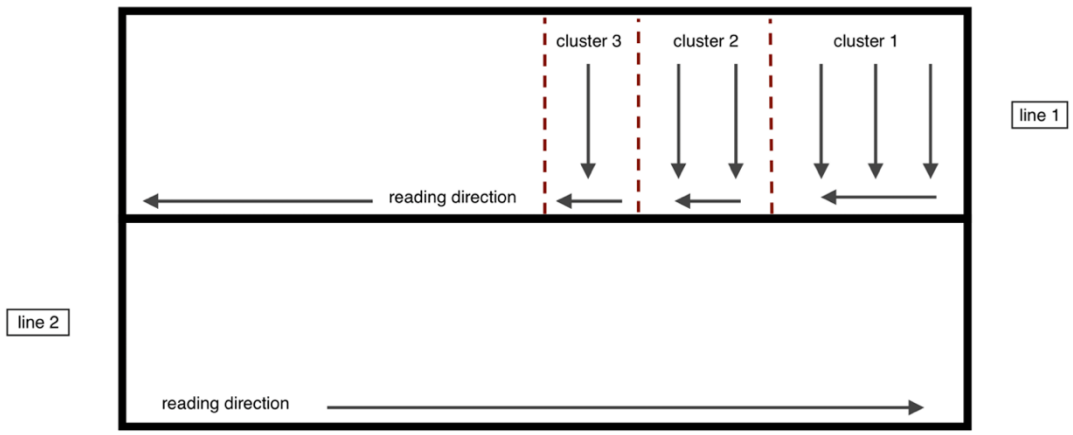



Figure 7. Diagram of the conventional reading sequence of signs and lines in a Hieroglyphic Luwian text

### 3.3.3.2 Directionality

Hieroglyphic signs can be categorized as symmetrical and unsymmetrical and in both Egyptian and Anatolian systems, the unsymmetrical signs indicate reading direction. For instance, signs in human and animal form[96] always face the reader, i.e. towards

[96] Such signs can be multiplied to include limbs and organs like tongue, arms and hands, legs and feet, other common abstract syllabograms like *na*, *ni*, *za/i*, *wa/i*, *li*, *pi*, *pu* etc. the incline of the appendant *ra/i* sign or the orientation of word-dividers.

the direction from which the inscription is intended to be read. The faces, figures and extremities of limbs are turned towards the beginning of the line; if a mountain goat is looking right, then the reading direction is sinistroverse, meaning from right to left. Therefore, the orientation of signs and the direction of reading are opposite to each other.

This logic of sign orientation is similar to the Akkadian cuneiform in which the heads of the cunei are always on the left-hand side while the tails point towards the right-hand side; and the lines are always meant to be read from left to right. The Anatolian hieroglyphic system lacks such a uniform direction,[97] unlike the alphabetic or the Egyptian system, where the orientation of signs is uniform across the whole inscription. When spread over more than one line, Anatolian hieroglyphic writing continues boustrophedon, meaning literally 'as an ox ploughs a field' in Latin that is changing direction at the end of each line. In other words, when a line ends, the next line starts exactly where the previous one has ended, right below it and continues in the opposite direction. This has three visually and semantically crucial outcomes. First, a lower register is supposed to be read starting from the point where the preceding line ends. The words and sign-groups, are therefore physically always in succession, never broken up arbitrarily. Secondly, there is *uninterrupted* eye contact with the writing surface as the eye follows the inscription without a visual break, continuously winding down. When words are divided between lines, there is a change of direction within the same cluster, which is a disadvantage for reading comprehension; however, the text continues with the next line, where it ends. Therefore, if a cluster is too big and does not fit into the end of the line, the two parts of a single word are still kept visually and physically together. In a sense, there is no

[97] Yakubovich, "Anatolian hieroglyphic writing," 203.

real line break. Thirdly, due to the boustrophedon technique, the reading direction changes in each line, and along with it the orientation of the hieroglyphs, so that the signs in each register are rendered in the opposite orientation to the lines above and below it. The horizontal reading direction never changes from one cluster to another, within the same line. This means that, every single nonsymmetrical sign in a line has the same orientation, visually establishing a uniform reading direction; which I refer to as 'directional agreement.'

The Anatolian hieroglyphic system manipulates each one of the features of the system, in the way that works best for the purposes of the language and the monument. To illustrate how these rules work, Figure 7 shows the first three lines of the inscription of the reverse of Cekke Stele, which will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter. The inscription starts on the upper right edge and moves towards left as indicated by non-symmetrical signs like the heads of rams or mountain goats, that are oriented towards right edge where the line starts. The first four signs form a cluster, and also a single word, the name of the ruler of Karkamiš, 'Kamani.' Within the cluster, the reading sequence is top to bottom moving from right to left. The second cluster is composed of two signs, IUDEX logogram (ruler, governor, judge), a variation of SIGILLUM sign (stamp seal), and a phonetic complement below it. The cluster is read in a regular way, i.e. from top to bottom. The third cluster is the name of the city of Karkamiš, the first sign (#7) being the special syllabogram for Karkamiš and Karhuha, patron deity of the city,[98] and the last one (#11) the post-determinative for city names, URBS. Clearly, the determinative is not a repetition but a semantic categorizer, and also a visual marker to indicate the end of one word. At

[98] Even though that sign is considered to be a syllabogram with the value '*kar*-,' its exclusive use to write the names of Karkamiš and Karhuha invests it with a logographic function, as it immediately invokes the city or its patron deity.

the end of the line, the inscription continues boustrophedon in the second line, causing a change of reading direction and sign orientation. At the end of the line the name of the city of Kanapuwa is divided in the middle. However, due to the visual continuity between lines, the unity of the cluster is preserved and signs 39 to 45 are grouped together to form cluster 12 and the name of the city, stretched over two lines, ended by the city determinative. The second line runs dextroverse and then turns boustrophedon again at the end of the line.




Figure 8. Detail of the Cekke Stele showing the first three lines with divisions of clusters and the direction of the inscription indicated (Hawkins, *CHLI*, plate 43)

### 3.3.4 Diversions

The orthographic and syntagmatic rules seem to have been bent in certain cases. When the script was applied on the stone, the positioning of the script is adjusted according to the shape of the monument, the available writing surface and the appearance of images on the same monument, or even in the vicinity of that monument. These exceptions and deviations from the conventions of writing are not only indicators of how writing can be flexible enough to accommodate situations that are not of a grammatical or linguistic origin but even serve as a means to emphasize and/or create dimensions of meaning that may or may not be communicated in the content of the inscription.

For instance, to avoid 'unsightly gaps' in Harris' words, the conventional sequence of signs or clusters might sometimes be altered. An intriguing example in Anatolian hieroglyphic writing for this is the practice called 'initial-*a*-final' when the tall and slender *a* syllabogram, even though its correct place is the beginning of the word—hence also usually the front of the cluster—it is transposed to the end of the word, hence of the cluster.[99] For instance, on ALEPPO 1 inscription the personal name *Aki-Tešub* was inscribed as *ki-TEŠUB-pa-a*, with the final *a* sign which should have been at the beginning.[100] This example, noticed first by Laroche in 1956,[101] today remains unexplained, except for the possibility for rearrangement to avoid gaps within the line.

A similar phenomenon called graphic transposition[102] is also very common especially in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. The visuality and material presence of

[99] Hawkins, "Scripts and Texts," 159-161.
[100] This peculiarity of Anatolian hieroglyphic script is called 'initial-a-final' and is explained in further detail in Hawkins, *The Luwians*, 159.
[101] Laroche, "L'inscription Hittite d'Alep," 136.
[102] Davies, *Egyptian hieroglyphs*, 13.

signs were especially foregrounded in Egyptian hieroglyphs, therefore we frequently encounter a special reversal called honorific transposition, as the names of gods and divine entities were given precedence over other signs.[103] The standard example is the writing of the name of Pharaoh Tutankamun, meaning 'the living image of Amon,' in which the name of god Amon was written first, even though vocally it is the third element of the name. A rarer and much more special occurrence is the allocation of a special space to a logogram, sign-group or generally a divine name. This special space could be indicated by an aedicula, as in the Egyptian serekh names or the royal cartouche in Egyptian and Anatolian hieroglyphs.[104] Another option is that the signs can be shown in a space delineated by the figurative representations on the object, therefore the images may act as contours for individual clusters instead of the ususal line. I will discuss this intriguing trait further in the next chapter.

Not only the signs and clusters, but the flow of lines and the directional agreement can also be affected by other factors, at first sight extrinsic to the script. Even though Anatolian hieroglyphic writing does not have a stable writing/reading direction, it seems that most inscriptions start on the right-hand side of the surface. Furthermore, when the inscription is combined with a figure, the image of a deity or an 'amu' sign in portrait form, which needs to be perceived as a larger, sculptured hieroglyph, the first line aligns with the orientation of the larger figure, which is also usually oriented rightwards. In such situations, when the main figure faces left, the

[103] Davies, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, 14.
[104] A royal cartouche is a special complex hieroglyph which surrounds the name of a monarch as an indication of his/her elevated status. A serekh is a special category of a royal cartouche that is attested as early as the Early Dynastic Period in ancient Egypt and is the view of a palace. Façade in which the name of the king was written. The Hittite royal cartouche was always a winged. Sun-disc flanked on two sides by the signs indicating the title 'great king' with the name and other titles of the king written in between.

signs or lines may align themselves with the main figure, reversing their conventional rightward direction in the first line.

The abundant examples from Egypt show that, even though Egyptian hieroglyphs were primarily written and read from right to left, it could be combined with leftward or columnar orientation, which was a more archaic style than horizontal arrangement.[105] On a Twenty-second Dynasty block statue of the second priest of Amun (Figure 9),[106] the first line (a) on right-hand side contains the name and titles of the owner, signs oriented likewise with the statue, leftward, against the conventional direction. Lines 2-9 (b) is a hymn to Khonsu, and the kneeling owner is shown addressing the prayer to the god on standing on the righthand side of the plane; and the orientation of hieroglyphs reverses, in compliance with the orientation of the image of the owner. Lines 10-15 (c) revert back to leftward orientation dictated by the statue.[107] When a doorframe was inscribed, for instance, the inscription on the two sides would generally be symmetrical, to ensure balance.[108]

Therefore, the visual context and the architectural setting of the script is highly influential in determining the flow and direction of the script. As demonstrated above by honorific transposition in Egyptian inscriptions and the alignment of signs with images they are associated with in Anatolian and Egyptian examples; non-linguistic aspects of a writing are never inconsequential. These not only intervene with certain rules of arrangement, but they present diverse opportunities to create other levels of meaning in writing than language.

[105] Davies, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, 12.
[106] CG. 42211. Georges Legrain, 1914, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, in *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Le Caire, III.
[107] Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 27-29.
[108] Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 39-45.

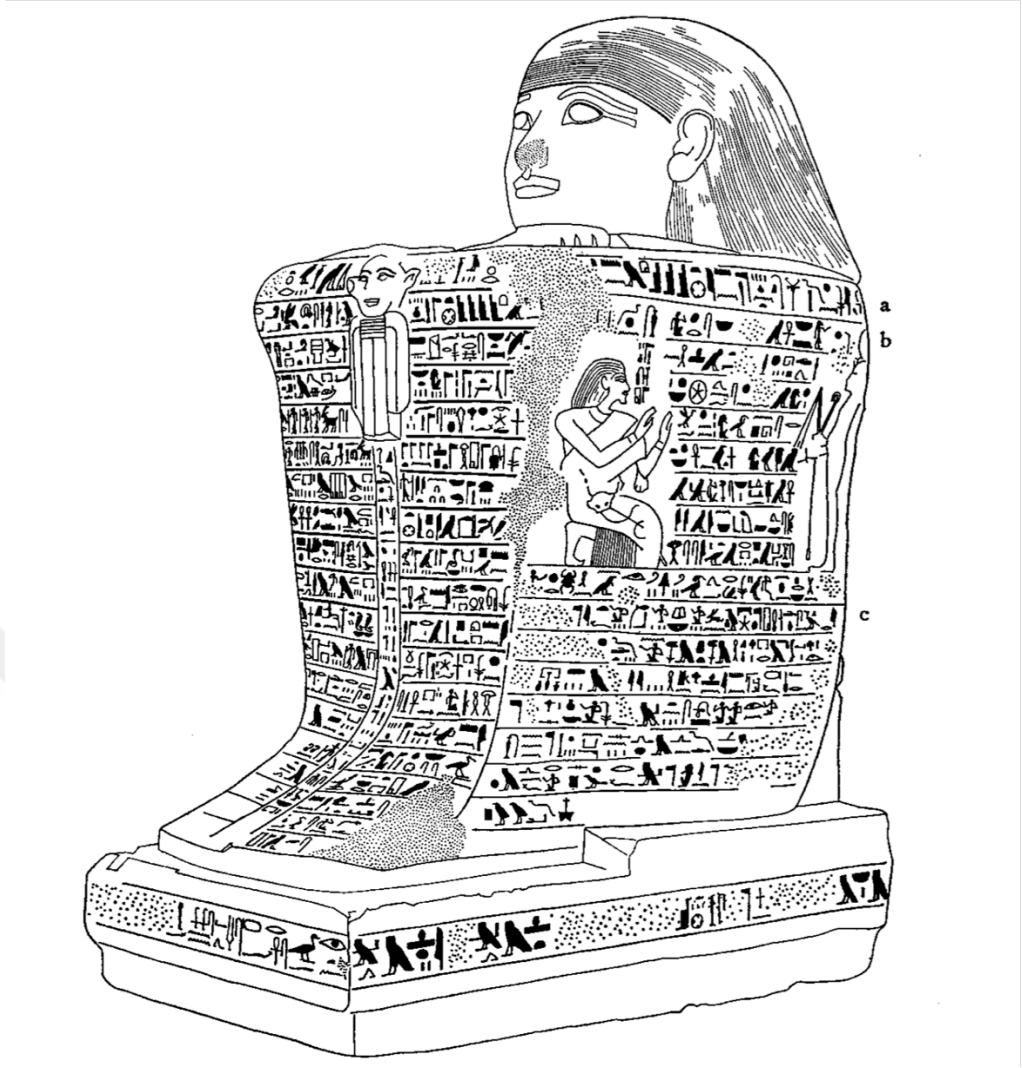



Figure 9. Twenty-second Dynasty block statue of the second priest of Amun (Cairo CG 42211. Fischer 1977, fig. 29)

## 3.4 Conclusion

At first sight, an inscription is simply a text. What transforms language into writing, traditionally in the ancient world or anywhere, is its physical presence on a durable surface, which has a double function of transforming text into artifact. Therefore, writing is by definition open to the possibilities of graphic expression in a given space. An inscription is an assemblage of the elements of writing together with its visuality and materiality, all joined in the medium of writing, which contain and present a message.

This chapter first presented an overview of monumental inscriptions in ancient Anatolia, to locate the Anatolian hieroglyphic script in its temporal and geographical context. In the second section of the chapter I have briefly introduced the scholars and their publications that created the field of Luwian philological studies.

Then, I have moved on to discuss particular aspects of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, in reference to other ancient syllabic systems of the Mediterranean basin, namely cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphs: the use of three categories of signs—syllabograms, logograms and determinatives—the graphic organization of Anatolian hieroglyphic script, such as the grouping of signs in spatially economic and lexically meaningful clusters, the combining of these clusters to form lines, and the implications of boustrophedon writing for the directional agreement and alignment between signs, clusters and lines. I have also touched upon the issue of diversion from these rules, substantiating it with examples from ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic monuments.

It is the combination of all these elements that renders the Anatolian hieroglyphic script a multi-dimensional writing system capable of relating inscriptions to images thus presenting itself as image, traditionally referred to as image-text dialectic.[109] In Anatolian Hieroglyphs, iconography of signs and rules of orthography are not just ways of arranging grammatical units; but are methods of weaving together a diverse set of images, symbols and utterances into one visual fabric. Writing becomes an artifact, a text-image composite achieved through the above-mentioned principles of organization and pictoriality of signs; and is displayed on a monument, as part of a monument.

[109] Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image,* 202-210.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE CEKKE STELE:
## THE SPATIO-VISUAL ORGANIZATION OF
## A HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN INSCRIPTION ON A STELE

> Even something as mundane and familiar as the relative proportion of image and text on the front page of the daily newspaper is a direct indicator of the social class of its readership. The real question to ask when confronted with these kinds of image-text relations is not 'what is the difference (or similarity) between the words and the images?' but 'what difference do the differences (and similarities) make?' That is, *why does it matter how words and images are juxtaposed, blended or separated?* [emphasis added].[110]

The creation of monumental display inscriptions, like the Cekke Stele, always requires planning ahead of execution, in all foreseeable details. For such a composite monument of text and image, the planning and relative disposition of the content of the text, the inscription and the image of the god was conceived all together. These three aspects of the stele were planned together to make sure that each one was executed optimally in terms of surface use, communicating meaning and relating to each other. In this chapter, I discuss the image of the Storm-god, the linguistic content of the inscription and its visual arrangement of the inscription together. This analysis will unravel how inextricably interwoven these three aspects are and demonstrate how it contributes to the creation and presentation of meaning in a multi-dimensional set-up of text-image relations.

In the present and the following chapter, I present three inscribed Storm-god stelae: Cekke, Körkün and Maraş B/4, named after the closest major settlement to

[110] Mitchell, *Pictorial Theory*, 91.

their location of their discovery. These stelae share the conventional rules of organization of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing. At the same time, however, each one of them employs specific strategies of conjoining texts and images displayed on them. I analyze these inscriptions in reference to the visuals on the monuments. My purpose is to show that the unique disposition of texts and images on these stelae made the scribe divert from rules of writing in different ways. These diversions demand an explanation, for none can be found in the grammar, orthography or syntagm of the texts. These two chapters present the explanations I propose upon considering the pictorial and spatial aspects of a script written with images.

As I have discussed in the second chapter, writing is traditionally understood as a function of language and its visual and material presence is often overlooked. The result is an assumed boundary, separating the imagery from the content of the script. In fact, the relationship between text and image, has a broad spectrum rather than being a matter of priority of one form of expression and representation over the other. Therefore, as Mitchell exhorts in the quote above, I will not be primarily concerned with whether images and writing are analogous or discrete. Questioning the application of rules of writing and the overall visual effect of the inscription, I will show that this assumed border is very permeable.

The Cekke Stele is a bilateral, block of basalt inscribed and carved on both sides. It has a half-cylindrical shape with a flat obverse, curved reverse and rounded top. It was discovered by Maurice Dunand in an agricultural field near the Syrian town of Cekke.[111] Except for a stone socle, possibly the stele base,[112] Dunand and Orthmann have noted that there were no other structural remains around the

[111] Dunand, “Stele hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub,” 85-92.
[112] Dunand, “Stele hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub,” 85-92.

monument.[113] After being transported to the National Museum of Aleppo the stele received the inventory number 2459,[114] and has been displayed there for decades, until the evacuation and shelling of the museum during the recent war in the region. Since then, the fate of the monument is unknown to the public like many other treasures of that splendid museum.

This chapter investigates using the example of the Cekke Stele how and why inscriptions and images are devised in cohesion, as parts of a single monument, all aspects of which contribute to the creation of a complex and layered message, which, together make up the monument. After describing the image of the Storm-god and the placement of the inscription, I continue to analyze the shape of the stele and explain how the inscription is organized on this shape and how the direction of reading moves on the surface with respect to the content as the progression of the two are co-depended.

## 4.1 The visual program

The front side depicts and names the god as 'Celestial Tarhunzas.' The figure of the god rises in relief above a partially plain, and partially inscribed background. He stands on a bull facing rightwards, with his feet apart (Figure 10).[115]

Designing the placement and size of the images on the obverse, the artisan was optimizing the maximum possible use of the surface, while also preserving a

[113] For the conditions of the in situ position of the stele, please check Dunand, "Stele hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub," 85-92; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst*, 482, taf. 5,d. Orthmann has noted that 'An dem Fundort der Stele gibt es anscheinend keine Überreste späthethitischer Zeit.'
[114] Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst*, 482.
[115] Please see Appendix B.1 for the drawing of the stele and the inscription in Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*.

naturally realistic body proportion of the Storm-god and the bull. This concern is discernible in the way the extremities of both figures exactly meet the edges of the



Figure 10. The Cekke Stele, front (Barnett 1948, plate XIX)

surface, such as the horns and the tail of the bull extending to the two sides and the tip of the crown of Tarhunza reaching all the way up to the top of the stele. Planning this arrangement, the maximum length of the bull was pre-determined by the width of the front surface, which in-turn determines the height of a normally proportionate bull. Once the size of the animal is determined, the remaining vertical space above it allows for an image of the god that is executed as high as possible; therefore, his maximum possible size is already determined by the available space and the size if the bull.

As the god stands on the bull, his arms extend towards the two edges and his crown to the top of the stele. This is the maximum size that the available surface and the size of the bull allows for a realistic image of the deity. As he is shown stepping forward his feet must be placed exactly where they are on the bull, as his size does not allow otherwise. As a consequence of such a disposition of the bull and the god, the left foot of the god who is shown as stepping forward, the shoulder girdle of the bull and the foot overlap. This leads to a visual disruption in the modern understanding of perspective. The craftsmen have decided to place the left foot of the god on the right side of the bull, to avoid a non-complete image of the god, compromising an accurate perspectival view which would have demanded to place the left foot on the left side of the bull, concealed from view by the shoulder girdle of the animal, a creature whose divine status is inferior to that of the god's. This understanding of representation based on the realistic reproduction of the nature, however, simply did not exist in the 9th century B.C. In ancient Near Eastern imagery, however, the adherence of the norms of depiction had priority over representing nature in correct perspective, as can be observed in this detail on the Cekke Stele.

Tarhunza has an earring and a cone-shaped horned crown. He has a long beard indicated by deeply incised vertical lines. His braided hair running down from below the crown along his back is in fact shown following the contour of the right arm, defying the rules of perspective again. He is dressed in a long ankle-length garment which ends with a fringed hem and is fastened around the waist with a wide belt whose loose ends hang down in front of the garment. He wears traditional Hittite shoes with upturned toes. The edges of the short-sleeved garment ending at his left elbow are shown with a double-incised line.

He does not carry a sword, the expected attribute of the Storm-god in the Iron Age. He holds a trident-thunderbolt in his left hand and the reins of the animal join the rod below the trident, emphasizing that both the animal and the weapon are his attributes. In his right hand, in front of his chest, he holds a conical object which Hawkins has interpreted as a pine cone,[116] while Barnett has written that it is definitely a sacred plant,[117] if not a pine cone. Dunand has noted that the Storm-god on the Stele from Shamak (KARKAMIŠ A17a in *CHLI*) carries a similar object in his right hand, which is also difficult to identify.[118] Even though the form of the object is reminiscent of the cone-like-objects which the genie on Assyrian palace reliefs carry, it seems unlikely that the Storm-god holds a pine cone. Both the stem of the object shown below the hand and the way it is held suggest that this might be a different object or plant.

While his long beard and the ankle-length garment which restrains his step Assyrianize this deity in tandem with the Assyrianizing features of the bull; the shirt, the trident, the earring, the shoes and especially the long, braided hair stylistically

[116] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 143.
[117] Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts at Aleppo," 122.
[118] Bunens, *A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-god at Til Barsib-Masuwari*, 119.

link this Tarhunza to his Late Bronze Age Anatolian roots. This was probably the main reason why in 1940, in the primary publication of the stele, M. Dunand named it as 'Stèle hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub.'[119] The Tarhunza of the Cekke Stele thus betrays a blending of the Anatolian and Assyrian visualizations of the Storm-god. Besides the Shamak Stele mentioned above, there are a few more stelae which depict Tarhunza in a more Assyrian attire. One of those is the Storm-god Stele in the Adıyaman Museum.[120] Only the hindquarters of the bull and the right leg of the god dressed in a long robe is preserved (Figure 11) Another Storm-god in similar attire is the so-called Stele of Atika in the Adana Museum. While he is dressed and coiffed in an Assyrianizing manner, his iconography identifies him as the Storm-god of Vineyards, grasping plants in both of his hands (Figure 12).

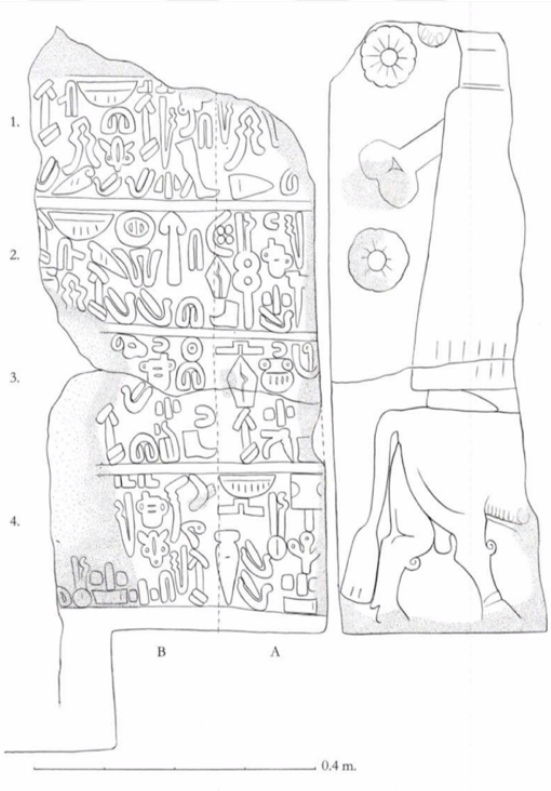



Figure 11. Drawing of ADIYAMAN 1 stele and inscription (Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, plate 170)

[119] Dunand, "Stèle hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub," 85-92.
[120] Bunens, *A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-god at Til Barsib-Masuwari*, 119.



Figure 12. Atika Stele in the Adana Museum (Author's own photograph)

The Cekke Stele is inscribed both on the obverse and the reverse. While the inscription covers the whole surface on the reverse; on the obverse it is arranged in three spatially separate parts at the top, center and the bottom of the stele. Here, the writing is relegated to the background, foregrounding the relief image of the god. The upper part is fitted between upper edge of the stele and the shoulder-line of the god. In the center, the inscription runs for four lines and is divided into three sections by the garment of the god and the reins of the bull. The bottom part of the inscription is in front of the bull and on the lower edge of the stele. These three sections, however, do not belong to a single continuing text, as one might think.

The Cekke Stele is peculiar because of the presence of two separate inscriptions on the same stele, which is rare. Inscription 1[121] is composed of the lower and upper parts of the inscription on the obverse. Inscription 2 is spread all over the reverse and spills over to the obverse from lines four to seven, therefore the inscribed central part of the obverse is part of inscription 2 on the reverse.

It is rather common in inscribed stelae of this period that a text skips over from obverse to reverse or vice versa. The inscription on the obverse in three separate parts is as unusual as it is intentional. The space where inscription 2 moves on to the obverse, limited within the belt and the fringe level of the skirt is carefully calculated. The Storm-god serves as a template around which the inscription is organized. This of course is not coincidental and demands closer inspection.

## 4.2 The shape of the stele

The bilateral stele is flat on the obverse and curved on the reverse and at top.

[121] I will use the transliterations and translations of the inscriptions by J. D. Hawkins in his Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Iron Age in this thesis. In translations, I will put the parts of the text that I will be focusing on in bold and will provide the transliterations of necessary parts of the inscription within in-text square brackets.

Hawkins has recorded it as 1.62 meters high, 0.7 meters wide. Barnett has described the shape of the monument as a 'half-column, rounded at the top, a form favoured by the Hittites of North Syria for depicting a god or goddess, usually accompanied by a dedicatory inscription.'[122] As Barnett points out at, this half-column shape with a flat obverse and curved back was a common shape for Storm-god stelae in the Iron Age (Figure 13). There are several other extant Storm-god stelae with the same form such as the Great Stele of Kubaba (KARKAMIŠ A31), Aleppo 2, Maraş 11 etc.[123]

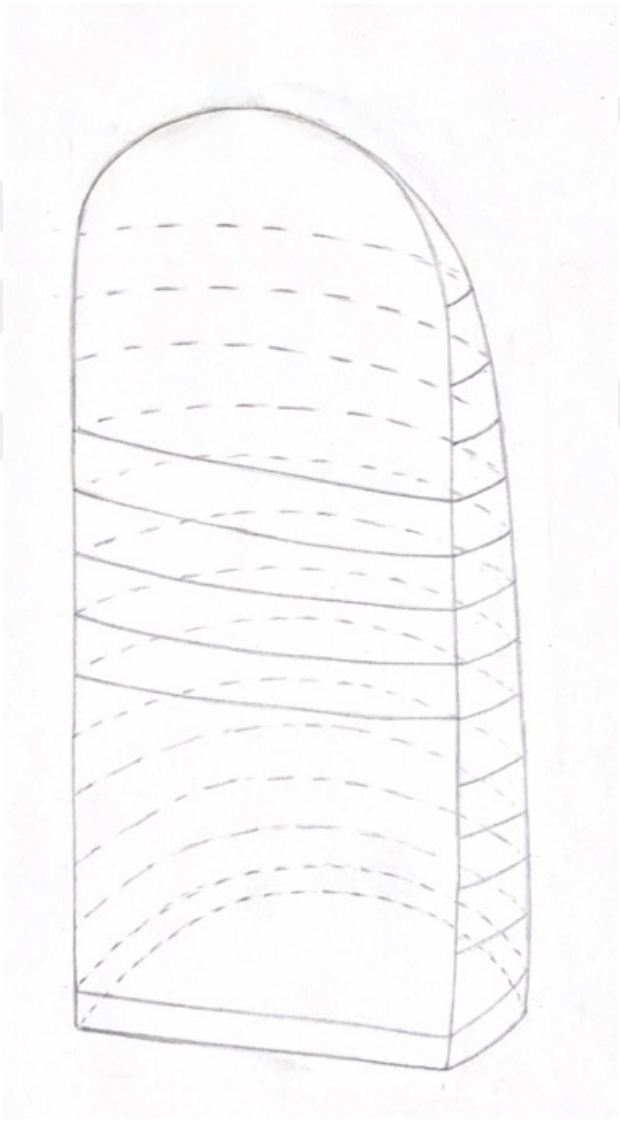


Figure 13. Three-dimensional diagram of the Cekke Stele

[122] Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts at Aleppo," 122.
[123] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 140-43 for the Stele of Kubaba, 235-38 for Aleppo 2, 270-71 for Maraş 11.

The most obvious explanation for the half-column shape is that it provides a larger writing surface on the back. The curved reverse provides approximately 38% more writing surface compared to the flat obverse (calculated based on the sign-counts of lines 4-7). It is clear that this form is better suited to contain long inscriptions compared to stelae that are flat both on the back and the front. Extra writing space is crucial for such a long inscription, so much so that the inscription skips over to the front to fit into the available space. Even though Barnett notes that "the origin of the shape is not obvious, but the type goes back at least to Babylonian monuments, such as the stele of Hammurabi,"[124] the organization of the inscription on the Stele of Hammurabi is very different. The inscription there is arranged in cases, forming columns, which are then turned ninety degrees and executed in rows, archaizing style in the 18th century B.C. in southern Mesopotamia.[125] These rows move from top to bottom and do not move back and forth between the obverse and the reverse.[126] The shape of Cekke Stele is rather common in the Syro-Anatolian realms, and the way in which the inscription moves on it is not attested in Mesopotamia, while it is more at home in the Upper Euphrates and Tigris region in the Iron Age. Therefore, the two monuments have different strategies of displaying inscriptions.

Besides providing more writing surface, this form of stelae also has implications for the engagement of the viewer with the inscription. As I have been discussing in the second chapter, in the philological and historical inquiry scholars so far were interested mainly in the decipherment of the meaning of the text. One other aspect of such monuments that has not been addressed is the visibility of the

[124] Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts at Aleppo," 122.
[125] Van De Mieroop, *King Hammurabi of Babylon*, 99.
[126] Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon*, xi; Van De Mieroop, *King Hammurabi of Babylon*, 99-111.

inscription to an audience in its original context—which is directly the result of the shape of the stone and the placement of the inscription on it. Often, we do not know the original set-up. Furthermore, we *read* these monuments in successive steps of line-drawings, transliterations and translations; which removes us from the untended layered structure of meaning and disconnects modern scholars from engaging with the monument in spatial terms.

A stationary spectator looking at the flat obverse of the stele would be able to see all parts of the surface at once. In contrast to that, the view of an observer of the back of the stele would be compromised, no matter where the standpoint, due to the curved surface. In other words, standing directly in the center of the back side would diminish the visibility of the signs on the edges. As the spectator moves towards one edge, the inscription on the opposing edge would completely move out of vision. This is a consequence of the semi-column shape which is paid little attention to as we tend to study these objects from their drawings or close-up photographs, which does not reflect the position of signs as on the original three-dimensional shape of the monument.

At this point, we need to factor in two further aspects of the inscription, that the inscription winds down to the bottom of the slab in boustrophedon, i.e. changing its direction in every line; and that from line four to seven it continues from the reverse to the obverse moving back and forth in every line (Figure 14). For a coherent reading of the whole text, the spectator has to follow the script. This cannot be done just with the movement of the eye tracking the lines, but it necessitates the viewer to physically move along with a line to its end, and then on the reverse direction following the next line, as the other end of a line would not be visible from where its beginning can be observed. Between lines four to seven, the reader has to

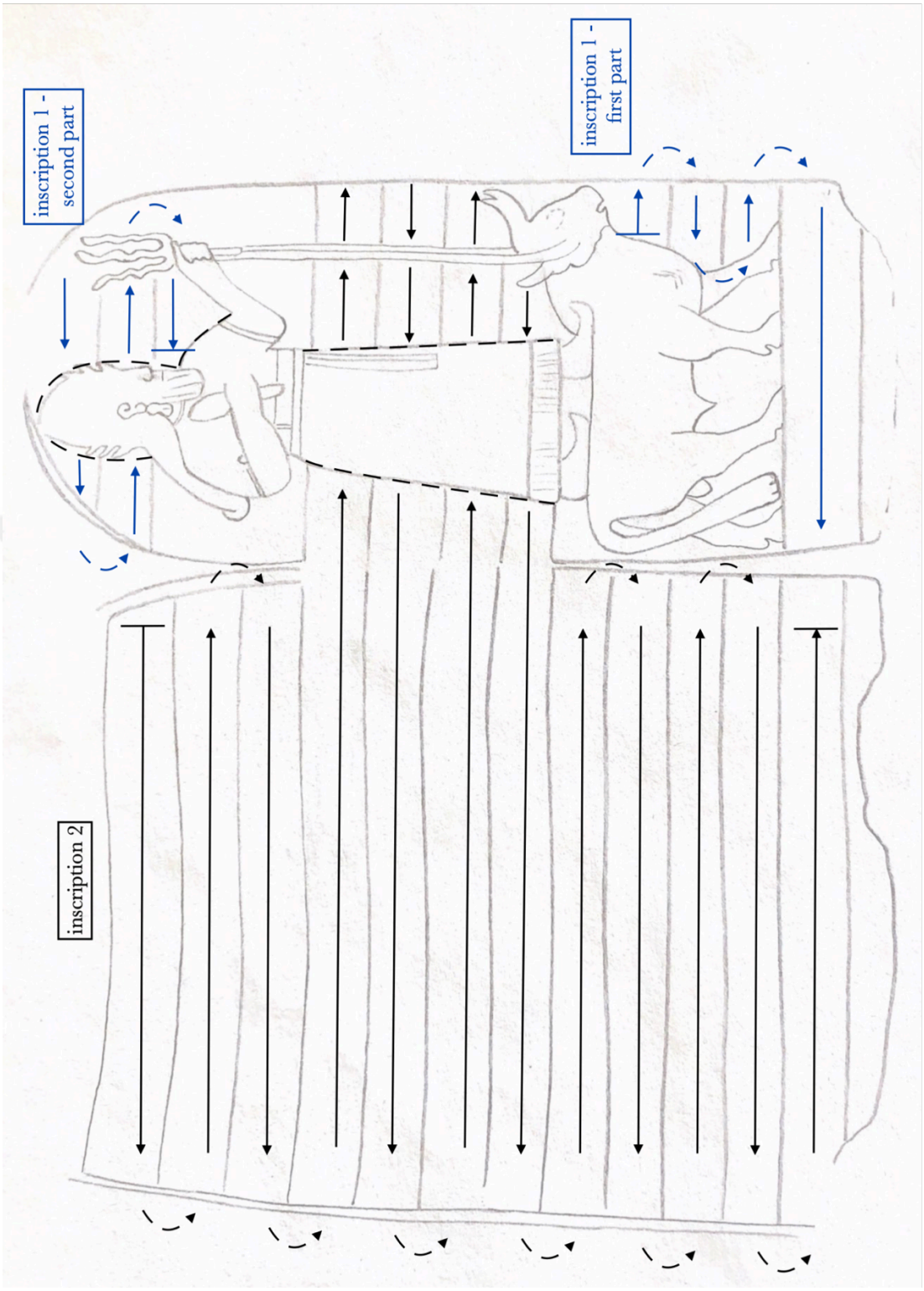



Figure 14. The boustrophedon movement of the two inscriptions on the Cekke Stele
Solid-line arrows indicate *reading direction*. Therefore, the orientation of the hieroglyphs would be in the exact opposite direction. Dashed-line arrows show the movement from one line to the next. Vertical solid lines by the bottom and the tip of the arrows indicate the beginning and ending of each inscription, respectively. The black arrows demonstrate the flow of inscription 2 and the dark blue ones of inscription 1. (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 43)

move to the front and then back again, to be able to follow the inscription. The curvature of the stone combined with boustrophedon writing and the crossing-over to the front obliges any potential reader to move his/her body in the reading direction of the text; a real challenge.

This arrangement suggests that perhaps the feasibility of reading was not the primary concern for the application of the text. If readability does not account for this special arrangement of the script on the stele, what does? What could be the reason for the relative positioning of the visual program and the written characters on the surface? To answer this question let us turn to the content of the inscriptions.

## 4.3 The inscriptions

The shorter inscription 1 relates the erection of the stele and gives instructions for appropriate offerings to the Storm-god.[127] The longer inscription 2 is historical and commemorative. We learn that the monument was dedicated in the name of Kamani, the Country-lord of Karkamiš, probably by Sastura, his vizier. Kamani and Sastura have purchased the city of Kamana and established its borders as part of an agreement with the residents of Kamana, and they detail the articles of that contract on the stele. The text ends with a curse-statement to protect the city and the agreement which has established it.[128]

### 4.3.1 An enigmatic beginning

Hawkins proposes the Cekke Stele as one of two stelae left from the reign of Kamani in the mid 8th century B.C., the other being the great Stele of Kubaba.[129] On the other

[127] See Appendix A.1 for the full translation of the text by J. D. Hawkins.
[128] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 144.
[129] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 78.

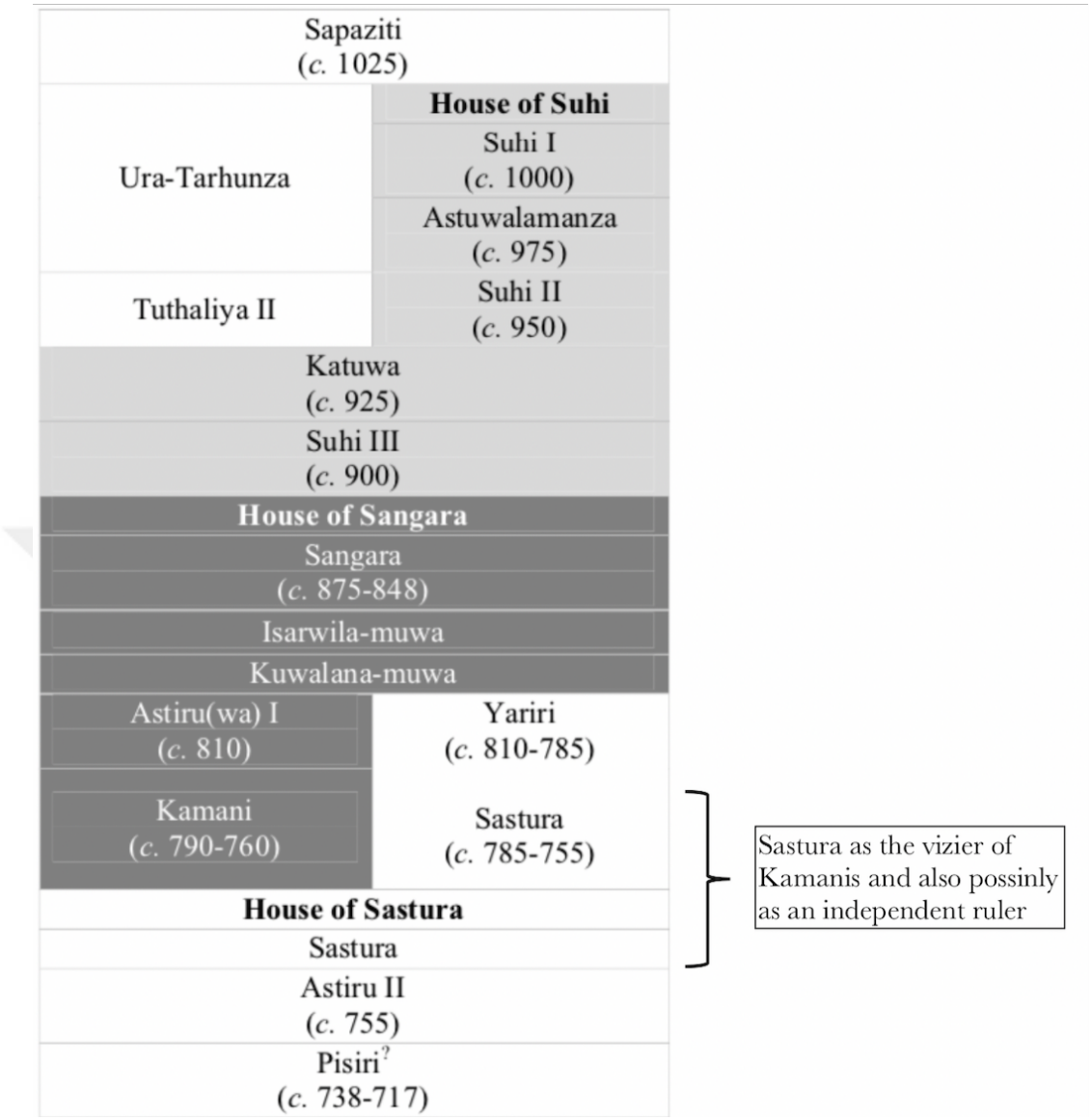
hand, there is no indication in the text on this stele to indicate that the monument was dedicated by Kamani, or during his reign. Inscription 2 starts on the back side directly with the name of Kamani, without the introductory EGO phrase. This traditional start in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions used to introduce the dedicator of the monument, functions as a bridge between the monument and the person of the dedicator, enabling the person to talk in direct speech through the inscription.[130] The lack of that phrase before the name of Kamani on such a public monument cannot be accidental; I propose that it must be intentional.

Apparently, at the end of the reign of Kamani, his vizier Sastura strengthened his grasp on state affairs, so much so that in the end either him, or his son Astiru—with a name reminiscent of the name of the father of Kamani, Astiruwa, whose lineage he was replacing—ascended to the throne in Karkamiš.

Hawkins calls the dynasty that has ruled Karkamiš in the 9th century, after the House of Suhi (10th century), 'the House of Astiru(wa)', in his *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. In 2015 season, the Karkamiš team discovered the top of the great Stele of Kubaba. Based on this new inscription (KH.15.O690), H. Peker has revised the list of rulers of Karkamiš, renaming the house of Astiru(wa) as the House of Sangara, with a revised line succession of this 9th century dynasty (Table 1).[131]

[130] Aro, "Carcemish before and after 1200 BC," 236-244.
[131] Please refer to Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 75-79 for Hawkins' version of dynastic succession in 10th and 9th century Carchemish. For Peker's revised list, please refer to Peker, *Texts from Karkemish I: Luwian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from the 2011-2015 Excavations*, especially pages 47-49.

Table 1. The revised king list of the rulers of Karkamiš in the Iron Age (Peker 2016, 49).




The odd start of the inscription, therefore, could readily be a reflection of this change of ruling houses. The omission of the EGO sign indicates that the stele was not erected by Kamani, even though the event that is commemorated is attributed to Kamani. Sastura, who is also credited on inscription 2 for erecting the stele was probably the true commissioner of the monument. If that is the case, the two inscriptions could have been created simultaneously. The inclusion of Kamani's name was probably a gesture of respect intended to credit him for his achievement,

as well as an attempt to construct a dynastic continuity with the House of Sangara, which had died out. This, instead of a damnatio, would have served to sustain the new house of Sastura, and its claim to the throne.[132]

Inscription 1 starts on the obverse right below the head of the bull, with the EGO sign and its particle chain EGO=*mi* (Figure 15). This EGO sign, alone or together with its particle chain was the conventional introductory phrase of Luwian inscriptions in the Iron Age. Read as *amu* in Luwian, it was usually followed by the name of the person who dedicated the monument. The characteristic form of the sign was a head and a bent-arm pointing at the face, a gesture acting out the meaning.[133]

In all published photographs of the stele the *amu* sign seems to stand out a lot more than the signs surrounding it, all being under the same lighting conditions (Figures 10 and 16). The *amu* sign was outlined clearly deeper with sharp outer contours, for visual emphasis on the sign. The usual place to start an inscription would be the upper-right-hand-side on Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments, therefore I propose that the emphasis on the iconic initial sign of the inscription was meant to attract the eye, in spite of the unconventional location of the beginning.

[132] I would like to thank my professor Hasan Peker for our discussion on the dynastic successions in 9th and 8th century B.C in Karkamiš, and on the nature of Sastura's relationship with Kamani and his role in the erection of Cekke Stele.
[133] Please check Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites*, 1-2 for different versions and other attestations of EGO sign.

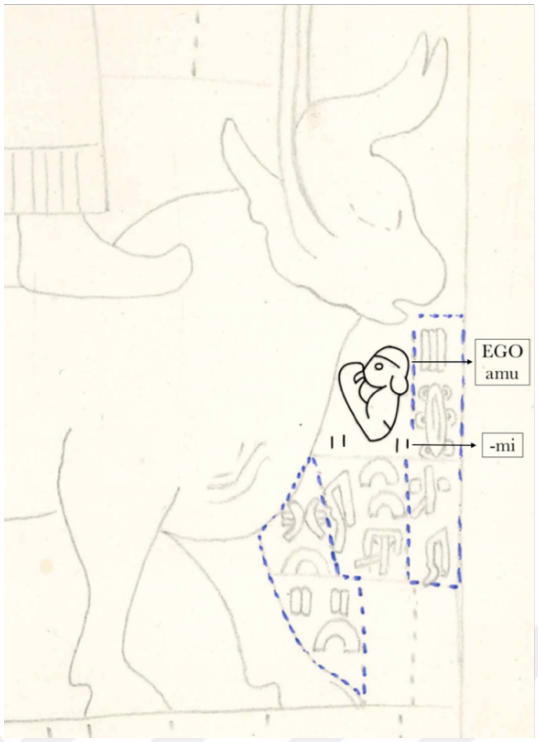



Figure 15. EGO logogram and *-mi* syllabogram on the Cekke Stele, detail from obverse, inscription 1 (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, plate 43)

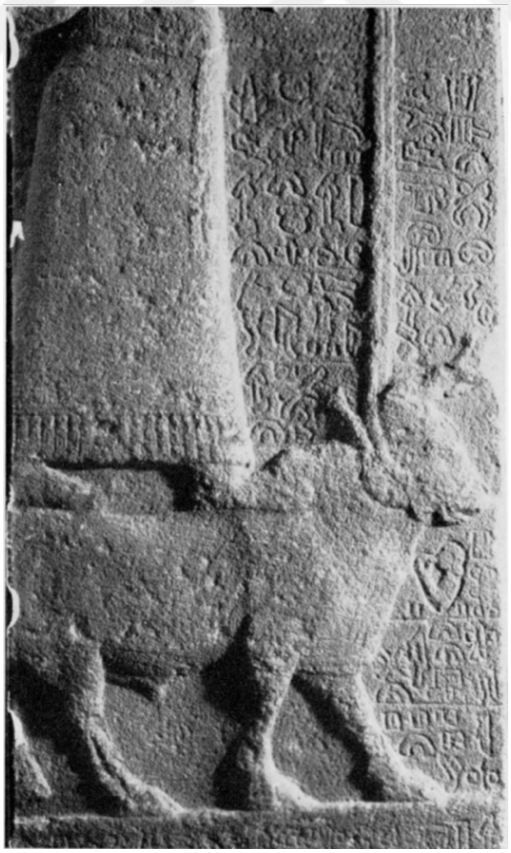


Figure 16. Detail of the lower right-hand-side of the obverse of Cekke Stele. Please note the deeply incised outer contours of EGO sign (Photograph reproduced from Barnett 1948, plate XXI)

### 4.3.2 Spatio-visual organization of the inscriptions

The first line of inscription 1 contains only four signs and the inscription continues boustrophedon for the following three lines, then jumps up to the top of the stele. It fills the background above the shoulders of the Storm-god and continues for three short lines in boustrophedon. inscription 2 starts on the top right-hand-side of the reverse, runs sinistroverse and moves boustrophedon throughout for twelve lines (Figure 15). Between lines four to seven it crosses over to the obverse, creating the impression of a continuing scroll and covering the background of the figure of the god. This part is contained within the limits, established by the belt and the tassels of the skirt the god is wearing.

In chapter 3, section 3.3.3.1, I have discussed how and why the physical unity of individual clusters was preserved. Cekke Stele illustrates this principle in the way in which the inscription is organized. Figure 17 shows each individual cluster forming the inscriptions on Cekke Stele, visualizing that all clusters are kept unified.

There is only six instances throughout the inscription when a cluster extends to the following line (Please check Figure 17 for the clusters in inscription 1: cluster 2 from line 1 to 2, cluster 3 from line 2 to 3, cluster 21 from line 5 to 6; in inscription 2: cluster 12 from line 1 to 2, cluster 26 from line 2 to 3 and cluster 82 from line 5 to 6). Even though there is a change of direction within the cluster in these cases—because in the next line the signs change direction as boustrophedon writing dictates—the clusters are kept together. Among the four lines that cross over between the obverse and the reverse of inscription 2, only cluster 97 in line 6 starts on the reverse and extends to the front (Figure 17). The clusters on the other three lines end and begin at the edge of the slab. As none of these instances separate the signs of a

cluster from each other, a change of lines or writing surface is not a physical/visual break in Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

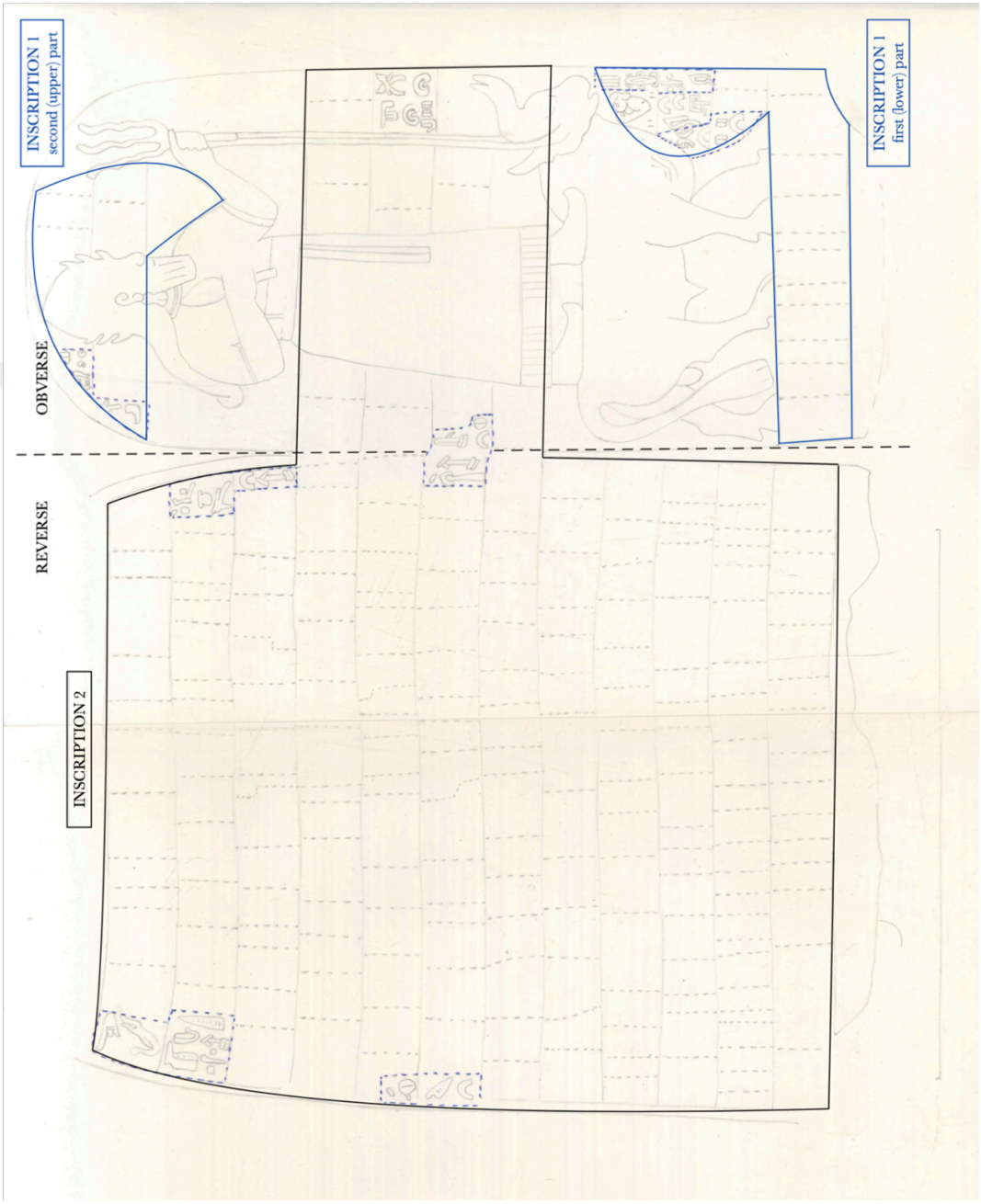



Figure 17. The Cekke Stele with sign clusters and contours of the two inscriptions highlighted
Small dashed lines within the lines indicate cluster boundaries. The clusters indicated with blue dashed lines at the line changes are the ones introduced in the text; clusters two, three and twenty-one in inscription one and clusters 12, 26 and 82 in inscription two, as they appear in the text.
The area enclosed by the solid black line indicates inscription 2 and the two parts contoured with solid blue lines are. The first and second parts of inscription 2.
(Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 43)

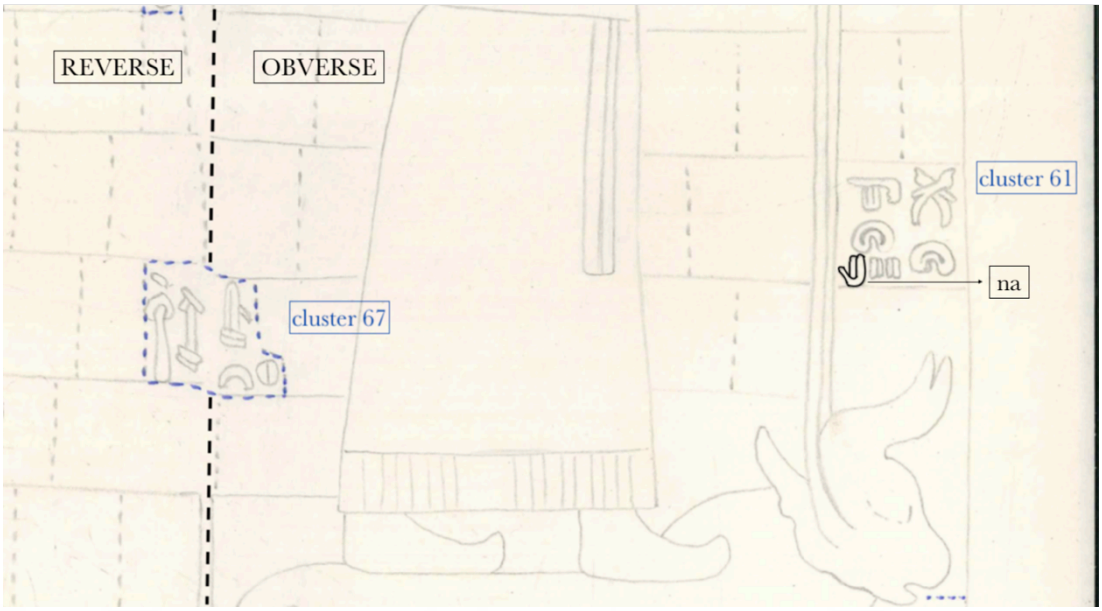



Figure 18. Close-up of the obverse of Cekke Stele focusing on clusters 61 and 97
Even though cluster 67 is divided between the obverse and the reverse, the signs are not physically separated from each other. Please note the placement of the last sign of clusters 61, *-na*.
(Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 43)

Similarly, when inscription 2 crosses to the front, it is arranged on a surface that is divided into three parts by the skirt of the god, and the reins of the bull (Figure 18). Here, each cluster begins and ends on the same part of the surface. None of the clusters is divided by the relief image, because in that case the cluster would be visually and physically separated into two parts. For instance, Figure 18 illustrates the position of cluster 61 on the obverse, placed between the edge of the slab and the reins. The artist/artisan made sure that the long phrase (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*hi-sà-hi-mi-na* (we bind) is crammed in that space, for continuing the cluster across the reigns was not considered to be an option. The final *na* syllabogram is made tiny and squeezed into the remaining available space.

As a final point, I would like to mention that the carving of the letters is unusual, perhaps among the finest examples in the preserved corpus. Barnett has noted his observation in the following words: "...they [letters] are a sort of

compromise, being incised but with double line. Other examples of this form of script exist, from Carchemish."[134] Similarly, Hawkins has described the carving technique "cut as for relief but without background being cut away."[135] This technique is a mix of incision and relief, reminiscent of the well-known Egyptian technique known as 'sunk relief,' introduced during the reign of the New Kingdom Period Pharaoh Ramesses II. In this technique, the outer edges of the signs are cut very deep, creating a very sharp and dramatic shadow effect and the sign is shaped and detailed within these outer contours, without scraping off the background beyond the incised lines. This technique accomplishes a relief image not rising out of the background but buried/sunken in it; hence the 'compromise' between the two techniques.

### 4.3.3 Spatial organization of the content

#### 4.3.3.1 Inscription 1

As mentioned above, inscription 1 starts at the bottom of the obverse and ends at the top. It reads as follows in J. D. Hawkins' translation, broken into its lower and upper sections:

> [obverse, lines 1-4] I (am) [EGO-*mi*] LORD-tiwaras, beloved servant of Sasturas. This ...[LIGNUM[x]-[*pa*]-*ma-za*] LORD-tiwaras set up [PONERE-*tá*] for Sasturas his lord, and this *stele* [STELE-*zi*[?!]] the latter *composed* [*pu-pa-li-ta*].[136]
>
> [obverse, lines 5-7] For this celestial Tarhunzas [*za-ti-pa* CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS] they shall *burn* up a *calf*, and in future they shall offer an ox and a sheep.[137]

[134] Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts at Aleppo," 124.
[135] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 144.
[136] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 145.
[137] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 145.

The question I am interested here is the unusual placement of the inscription, separated into two parts, starting at the bottom, continuing with the top; instead of starting at the top of the stele as one would expect. Barnett has addressed this issue and reasoned that the inscription moves to the top because the scribe must have run out of space at the bottom without having finished the text and continued the rest of the inscription on the top of the obverse. He describes his hypothesis of the flow of the inscription in the following words:

> Here the text begins with the normal opening word AMU-*me-a*, 'I'. Clearly the author, after beginning here, carried out his original plan of going over to the back when he reached the bottom of the front; then, realizing he had much to say, decided to carry his middle lines from the back round to the front as well, running them straight across the carving in a manner unusual in Hittite art, though common in Assyrian sculptures. Then, continuing his text on the back alone to the bottom of the stone, he found he had no more room, though he had not yet finished; so he put the rest in the small place at the top of the front.[138]

I think this proposition is rather unlikely, because it is only possible to create such monuments after planning them down to every single detail beforehand. Such large monolithic stones were rare and valuable, and mistakes in the process of carving may result in irreversible mistakes, which are quite unlikely to happen on such monuments of top-quality workmanship. Therefore, the scribe certainly knew what he had to inscribe, how much space would it take, and where he was supposed to write it. Furthermore, in Barnett's version the text would be starting with the name of the servant, instead of either Kamani or Sastura, the ruler and the vizier. Moreover, his arrangement would place the instructions for sacrifice on the upper part of the obverse after the curse statement at the bottom of the reverse, which is extremely

[138] Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts at Aleppo," 124.

unlikely. It is an unwritten rule of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that a monumental text would finish with the curse statement.

I would suggest that the division of inscription 1 was carefully pre-planned. The visual division of the inscription into two parts furthermore corresponds to a change in content. It was possible to divide the inscription into its lower (Lines 1-4) and upper (Lines 5-7) parts linguistically, because the top and bottom parts of the inscription form textually meaningful units, almost independent from each other. The part of the inscription between lines 1-4 (53 signs) is twice as long as the upper part (26 signs), perfectly corresponding to the available space in front of the bull and on the raised base below. Had inscription 1 started at the top of the stele, then the content of the inscription about the erection of the monument would have continued below the elbows of the deity visually merging with the second text. The preferred strategy of application, however, preserves the unity of the content through a well-planned graphic segmentation. Clusters that comprise meaningful compositions are arranged within compartments of the background that are visually separated from the other parts of the inscription by the images in relief and the shape of the stele. The visual compartmentalization of the inscription parallels the division of the content into meaningful segments within the text. This suggests that the principle of physical/visual unity of sign clusters can be expanded further to unifying clusters that constitute a meaningful and coherent part of text.

The division of inscription 1 in its upper and lower parts was not only a result of using the surface optimally. This text begins with an *amu* sign which introduces the name of a servant/ state official (LORD-tiwaras). Traditionally, this statement initiates a normal inscription by presenting the name of the ruler and is placed at the upper left- or right-hand-side of the surface. The lower hierarchical status of LORD-

tiwaras was transferred onto the inscription by relegating his name to a more appropriate space on the surface, distinguishing him from a visual formula that immediately determines the name-holder as the king or the ruler.

It is quite unusual that, a text starts in the lower part of the obverse of a stele. The norm would be to start on top. Therefore, it is conceivable that the scribe wanted to emphasize the beginning of the text by carving the first sign, *amu* deeply incised, drawing the eye towards it. As the *amu* sign almost always indicated the beginning of a text, once the sign is perceived, it became clear for anyone who was slightly familiar with the script to locate the starting point.

#### 4.3.3.2 Inscription 2

The text of inscription 2 is composed of six main parts.[139] These are [1] the names and titles of Kamani and Sastura as responsible for the deeds that follow, [2] the acquisition of the city of Kamana and the terms of the contract, [3] the binding of the city by the contract and the establishment of frontier stelae, [4] names of fifteen pairs of fathers and sons from eight cities, [5] establishment of frontiers and finally, [6] the curse statement (§20-23). In terms of the spatial arrangement, it is worth noting that the transition to the obverse is at the end of part two, the subject changes from listing the terms of the contract to state that the city is bounded by the terms of the contract, in other words, the main message of the text. This central message is coded in the main verb of in this section, (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*hi-sà-hi-mi-na* (we bind), which initiates line 5, and concludes part [2] of this inscription as the last cluster of this part; thus marking the location of this significant part of the text by a repetition of the same phrase. The transition to the obverse is accompanied by a significant change of

[139] This division of the text into parts follows Hawkins' summary of the content in his *CHLI*, 114.

topic from the precise details of the agreement to a statement which summarizes that the people of Kamana are bound by terms, if not complied with would have serious ramifications.

The analysis of the spatial composition of this text in tandem with the content and the linguistic aspect reveals clearly that this unusual arrangement of the inscriptions is preferred for specific compositional reasons. It further becomes clear that the script is a device which negotiates the literary notation of the language with the visual and physical possibilities presented by writing on a physical surface. Image and reading, visual and contextual unity are balanced in writing, so that the inscription can take a visual form that is a perfect fit for the surface on which it is displayed and for the text which it displays.

## 4.4 Two texts, one inscription, one monument

In inscription 1, Sastura is explicitly praised for erecting/composing [*pu-pa-li-ta*] the stele. The text, however, names a certain LORD-tiwaras, a servant of Sastura, who sets up [PONERE-*tá*] another undetermined monument [LIGNUM[x]-[*pa*]-*ma- za*] for Sastura. The nature of this second monument is elusive. The relevant part of the text reads as follows in Hawkins' translation:

> [obverse, lines 1-4] I (am) [EGO-*mi*] LORD-tiwaras, beloved servant of Sasturas. This ...[LIGNUM[x]-[*pa*]-*ma-za*] LORD-tiwaras set up [PONERE-*tá*] for Sasturas his lord, and this *stele* [STELE-*zi*[?!]] the latter *composed* [*pu-pa-li-ta*]. [140]

The wording of the text suggests that the LORD-tiwaras and Sastura are either responsible for the creation of two different monuments or are involved with different aspects of the same, referring to the stele itself. While Hawkins proposes

[140] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 145.

[LIGNUM[x]-[*pa*]-*ma-za*] which LORD-tiwaras sets up should refer to the stele, the text or its content;[141] Annick Payne suggests that the second monument [LIGNUM] refers to the inscription on Cekke Stele.[142]

LIGNUM is a logogram that either indicates objects made of wood, or is a determinative for 'words connoting authority,' therefore, Hawkins restores the word in his commentary to the inscription as 'decree.'[143] Furthermore, Hawkins entitles inscription 2 as 'the foundation charter of the city of Kamana.'[144] If that is the case, then it makes one think could 'the decree' refer to a text like a proclamation or contract which was originally on another medium whose text is reproduced on this stele? Inscription 2 is unusual for a normal text of dedication as it lists the terms of the agreement by which Kamani and his vizier Sastura purchase the city of Kamana from their inhabitants. An unusually long portion of the text [part 4] is reserved to list the names of the fathers and sons—could have been witnesses to the contract—who were definitely crucial for the conditions of the agreement. Furthermore, the text refers to the erection of frontier stelae. It is conceivable that the Cekke Stele was one such frontier monument given the absence of any habitation or architectural structures near the in situ location of discovery.

I propose that the inscription on the stele (STELE-*zi*) is the full or partial reproduction of an authoritative text (therefore LIGNUM) that was originally composed in another medium. The details of the agreement in inscription 2 also indicate the presence of a text of a treaty that was transcribed over a monument, through the use of two different logograms (STELE and LIGNUM) mentioned in inscription 1, as well as the separation of the two inscriptions spatially on the surface

[141] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 147.
[142] Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 80.
[143] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 147.
[144] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 114.

of the stele. Because the words of inscription 2 were copied or summarized from a master text, such as a treaty, on another medium, they are thought to connote words of authority, hence the use of the logogram LIGNUM. Inscription 1 is not related to this hypothetical original text but is directly related to the monument itself, for it recounts its erection of the stele and the demands sacrifices for the Storm-god. This interpretation justifies the positioning of inscription 1 on the front of the stele. It appears that the text of the agreement and the text that was produced for the stele were not only kept separate in content and in appearance, but also not meant to merge because one was originally on a different medium.

This distinction was achieved by the visual separation of the inscribed and uninscribed space on the front of the stele. Generally, a surface is not considered to be more than a vehicle for the text it is meant to receive. Once the text is implemented on it, the surface is thought to finalize its purpose, yielding all its potential to be meaningful to its predestination of carrying the marks of speech. J. J. Glassner articulates his understanding of the appearance and semantic role of the surface on cuneiform tablets as follows:

> Once the markings are on the surface, the surface continues to show itself in the spaces between the signs, and this open space can have a semantic value. It can also lead an independent material existence, as the space of an array of possible knowledges, because it is not an emptiness that remains beyond signification, but that is already clear from the blank page. It is a sign that manifests itself as such.[145]

In the planning phase, the appliance of inscription 2 must have been prioritized over that of the shorter inscription 1. A couple of reasons for that can be suggested here. First, inscription 2 is a summary or copy of another text which is being redesigned for a monument. The placement of the text had to be calculated beforehand so that

[145] Glassner, *Invention of Writing*, 111.

the long inscription perfectly fits into all the available space and turns over to the obverse when an important change in the content occurs. Once the arrangement of this part is decided, it becomes much easier to place inscription 1 on the available space on the obverse. This part of the inscription is a formulaic expression that was already well-established, therefore it was easier to fit that part of the text in a more limited place.

Even though the two inscriptions were conceived and applied as separate inscriptions, we can still understand that they were composed together, and were meant to complement each other. Sanna Aro has analyzed the 10th – 9th century B.C. Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Karkamiš and laid out a structure and a thematic sequence of a Luwian dedicatory inscription, which always begins and ends with an identificatory phrase and a curse statement, respectively.[146] Inscription 1 does not end with a curse, for the curse is already included in inscription 2. Furthermore, inscription 2 does not describe the erection of the stele, its dedication and the offerings to the Storm-god, as these are covered in inscription 1, on the front. Through the organizational strategy outlined above, these parts of the text that pertain to the monument itself and the Storm-god are thus moved to the front of the stele. Therefore, although we perceive two separate inscriptions, visually and content-wise; these are two parts of one single composition. In this composition the two texts were arranged in such a way as to complement each other and yet to remain separate visually, while even making space for the most significant part of the text on the back of the monument on the front side.

The curse statement on this stele is peculiar for naming the city, the established frontiers, the stele and the words on the stele separately, to ensure their

[146] Aro, "Carchemish before and after 1200 BC," 236.

protection. The presence of the curse statement is vital for the stele to fulfil its purpose, as it contains, represents and materializes a contract between political entities. Astrid Nunn notes that "text and imagery were coordinated in order to achieve the monument's primary function, aided by its durable material and temple setting; to guarantee the entitlement's permanence and inviolability"[147] which is especially significant for *kudurru*s whose function was to record and preserve a contract[148] just like the Cekke Stele was meant to be.

## 4.5 Conclusion

This parallel analysis of the image of the deity, and the organization and content of the inscription enables us to reconstruct the process of production of the stele. The inscription drapes around the stone in a very well-organized and clearly pre-planned manner. There is no trace of last-minute decisions or alterations or signs getting smaller or larger in scale to accommodate the available space, which suggests that all writing is where it was planned to be when it was first conceived. All these observations together suggest that the chiseling of the stele and the carving of the image of the Storm-god on it were the first two steps, after which the available writing surface was considered to fit the text into the available space. Then, the arrangement of the two texts must have been planned in tandem, so that both fit into the available empty surfaces.

As a final remark, I would like to note that in this case we have the reverse example to the Anitta text, which mentions a displayed inscription that is now lost and whose content was summarized on a tablet that is preserved. In the Cekke Stele the opposite is the case: a monument displays the copy of a text the original for

[147] Nunn, *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Art,* 49-74.
[148] Nunn, *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Art,* 49-74.

which is now lost. Despite a one millennium-long gap between the two texts, both taken together illustrate how texts were produced for monumental display throughout Anatolian antiquity.

# CHAPTER 5

# MERGING PICTORIAL AND VERBAL REPRESENTATION: RECONSIDERING THE VISUAL CONNOTATIONS OF ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC SIGNS

The previous chapter has explored how writing, text and image are simultaneously and interdependently arranged on the surface of a monument, which makes the perception of the monument dependent on the apprehension of all its component aspects.

The present chapter continues this thread of analysis by exploring how the image of the god and the textual and visual aspects of writing are spatially connected on the surface of the Körkün Stele. Furthermore, I expand the scope of this chapter also to factor in the contribution of individual signs and/or sign clusters to these constructions of meaning as if joining nods of a network system. Anatolian hieroglyphs are pictographic signs whose origins can be traced back to the visual traditions of Anatolian antiquity. It is this intrinsic connection between the pictorial sign and the visual/conceptual milieu that is connoted. Through the signs that I will bring under analysis in this chapter.

## 5.1 The Körkün Stele

The Körkün Stele was discovered by Abdullah Gökboncuk, a resident of the Körkün village, while ploughing his vineyard two kilometers away from the village.[149] Körkün village is situated approximately twenty kilometers southeast of the modern

[149] Kalaç, "Körküń de bulunan hiyeroglifli havatanrısı steli," 160.

city center of Gaziantep, Turkey.[150] The stele is currently in display in the recently renovated Gaziantep Archaeological Museum, registered under the museum inventory number 4136, in June 22, 1967 when it was brought to the museum by Sabahat Göğüş, then the director of Gaziantep Museum.[151]

The Körkün Stele is a lesser-than-life-size bilateral stele of basaltic stone (Figure 19).[152] The stele is 1.33 meters high, including the tenon at the bottom and 0.72 meters wide, as Hawkins reports.[153] The thickness is 0.35 meters.[154] The top of the stele is flat. The front side is flat and shows the Storm-god in high-relief, 0.05 meters thick, whose background is inscribed. The back of the stele is slightly curved. The reverse turns with a sharp angle at the edges, thus forming to narrow lateral sides. The reverse is also inscribed with a four-line long text. The Körkün Stele is the only stele besides Cekke Stele that contains two inscriptions.

The Storm-god, named as the Halabean Tarhunza is depicted conforming to the Hittite tradition of Late Bronze Age. A winged sun-disk hovers above the image of the deity. He stands facing right with one leg put forward. He wears a conical crown adorned with four large horns and his long hair extends down towards his waist in a braid with a curved tip. His beard is long, and despite weathering shows Assyrian influence. He is donned in a short and fringed kilt, plain shirt and a wide belt. He wears boots with upturned toes rising to the middle of his calves. The heels of the boots are emphasized by diagonal incisions.

[150] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 172; Kalaç, "Körkün´de bulunan hiyeroglifli havatanrısı steli," 160.
[151] Kalaç, "Körkün´de bulunan hiyeroglifli havatanrısı steli," 160.
[152] Please see Appendix B.2 for the drawing of the stele and the inscription in Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*.
[153] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 172.
[154] Kalaç, "Körkün´de bulunan hiyeroglifli havatanrısı steli," 160.




Figure 19. The Körkün Stele in Gaziantep Museum
(image source: https://www.hittitemonuments.com/korkun/)

He carries all three prominent attributes of the Storm-god. His sword is fastened to his belt on the far side of his body. He holds a trident and an axe in his raised left and right hands, respectively. Axe was an attribute of the Storm-god for approximately one and half a millennium, attested as early as the period of the state archives of Ebla from Tell Mardikh Level IIB1 dated between 2400-2250 B.C. In the Eblaite tablets, Hadda, the Storm-god of Aleppo received two pairs of bull horns and a mace as regular offerings and occasionally 'a belt with frog and sheath'[155] which were all attributes of the Storm-god in the Iron Age as well. Unlike the axes, thunderbolt became prevalent in the iconography of the Storm-god in the Iron Age even though the association with thunderbolts had already been established for a long time as we know from Hieroglyphic Luwian sources.[156]

### 5.1.1 Arranging inscriptions on the stele, using organization to create meaning

Inscription 1 starts by introducing Kazupi, stating that he was favored by the gods, and that he erected the present Halabean Tarhunza, referring to the stele. After mentioning his posterity involved in a set of undetermined but honorable deeds, and a reminder for maintaining sacrifices to the god, it ends with a protective curse. On the obverse, the inscription praises Nanasi for bearing a child and ends with the protasis of a curse in which Kazupi wills a vine/vineyard to his wife, child and descendants.[157] As Hawkins points out at, the last line of the reverse, where the curse

[155] Archi, "Hadda of Halab and his Temple in the Ebla Period," 576.
[156] The logogram for the Storm-god in Anatolian hieroglyphs, transcribed as 'TONITRUS' is a trident- shaped sign which probably visually emulates the association of the god with thunderbolts. The sign is one of the earliest-attested in the corpus of Anatolian hieroglyphic signs, and also the source of the thunderbolt or trident which appears as an insignia of the god in the Iron Age.
[157] See Appendix A.2 for the full translation of the text by J. D. Hawkins.

formula is written, completes the missing apodosis on the obverse, for the protasis on both obverse and reverse has the same wording.[158]

Inscription 1 starts on the back, top right-hand side and continues boustrophedon for four lines (Figure 20). At the end of the second line the inscription crosses over to the front, occupying the upper left-hand-side of the obverse. Then it continues on the reverse with the third line, terminating in the fourth line.

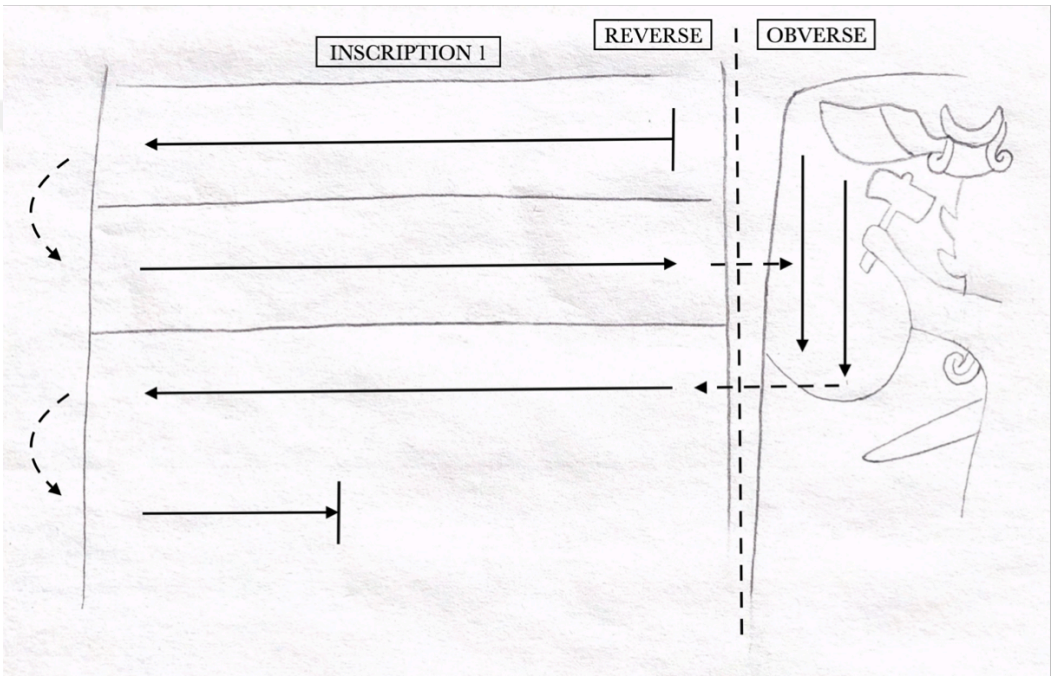



Figure 20. Detail of the Körkün Stele showing the boustrophedon movement of Inscription 1 (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 59)

The first three lines are separated from each other by an incised line-divider. Third and fourth lines are not separated by such a line, though the inscription is arranged as if a line-divider exists. The fourth line which contains only a couple of clusters does not continue till the end of that register, which is possibly the reason why a line-divider was not seen necessary. On the front, line divider is used again to

[158] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 175.

separate the part of Inscription 1 that crosses over to the front from Inscription 2. The curvilinear line-divider continues from the elbow of the god to the edge of the surface, visually completing the curvature of the forearm. A line-divider of such a shape, separating two inscriptions is a unique feature of this stele.

Inscription 2, a separate but related text to the Inscription 1, covers the rest of the background on the front side. It starts at the edge of the incised line separating inscription 1 on the middle of the left-hand-side (Figure 21). It is composed of fifteen clusters and has an unusual arrangement and overall directionality. In Hawkins' description, on the left-hand-side the inscription moves from top to bottom,[159] however, as shown in figure 22, the last three clusters on this side, clusters 6, 7 and 8 start to move from bottom to top. The inscription encircles the figure of the god, a feature I will come back to later on. After a single sign inscribed between the legs of the god, the inscription continues on the right-hand-side, from bottom to top, till the scabbard of the sword. The final two clusters are placed between the face of the god and the trident.

In this section, first I will analyze the content and the movement of these separate parts of the inscription with respect to each other to understand the reasoning behind this unconventional order. Then, I will focus on the sign between the legs, VITIS, as a visual link bridging the image and text on the stele.

The organization of inscription 1 is quite regular, except for the uncommon transition to the front side to inscribe only four clusters there (Figure 23). When inscription 1 moves to the obverse at the end of the second line of the reverse, Hawkins translates the part of the text that skips over the edge as "I seated there this Halabean

[159] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 172.

Tarhunzas."[160] Then it moves on to narrate other deeds of Kazupi, which are strictly this-worldly, when it moves back to the reverse. We cannot explain this with an intention to economize the writing space while there is uninscribed empty space at the lower part of the reverse of the stele. It is apparent that a lot more than the section on the obverse could have been included in the available surface below. When we assume that the inscription is not haphazardly applied but is designed beforehand, we have to acknowledge that the transition to the obverse is intentional. The part of the inscription on the obverse comprises clusters 30 to 33 which names the deity and expresses the erection of his cult-image by referring to itself as *this (ápati)* Tarhunza. It was intended to be displayed on the obverse by the side of the image of the Storm-god whom the text names and venerates. To exactly understand the logic behind this decision, we may question why the inscription does not skip to the obverse at the end of the first or third lines? Neither the ending of the first line, nor the beginning of the third line, and nor any other part of the whole text has as direct a relationship as clusters 30-33 to the image of Tarhunza on the front. Transferring the name of the god and the statement of the establishment of his cult besides his image achieves a textual and visual unity in the representation of the god, which can be perceived as more than a scribal choice, but rather of essence.

[160] The original Luwian text appears as follows in transliteration: "|... (rev.) *HALPA-PA* (obv.) |-*wa/i-ni-sá* |(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za á-pa-ti* |(SOLIUM+*MI*)*i-sà-nu-ha* (rev.) ..." in Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, p.172.

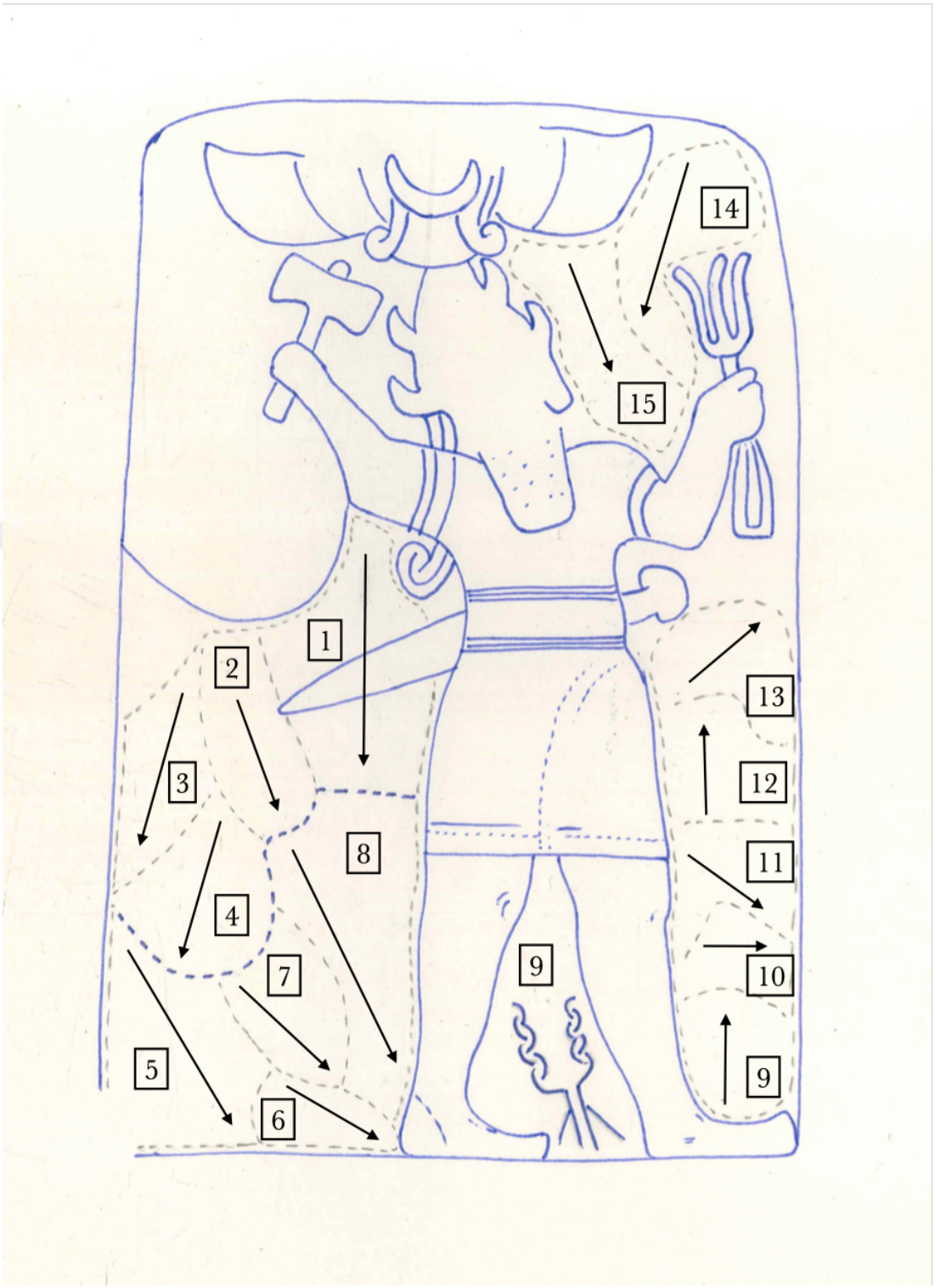



Figure 21. Drawing of the obverse of the Körkün Stele showing the directions of the sign clusters of Inscription 2 (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 59)

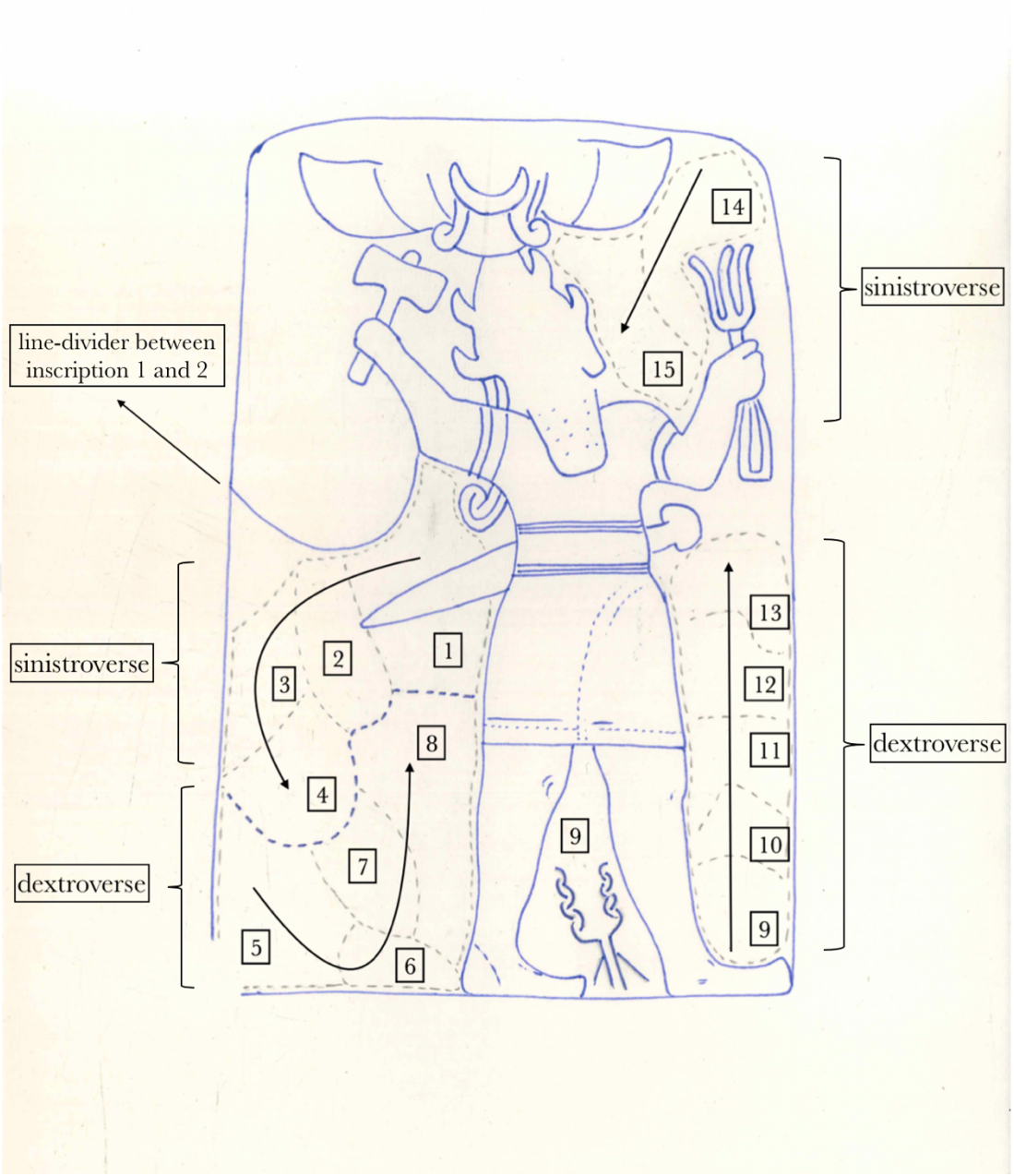



Figure 22. Drawing of the obverse of the Körkün Stele showing the reading sequence and direction of the 'lines' Inscription 2 (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 59)

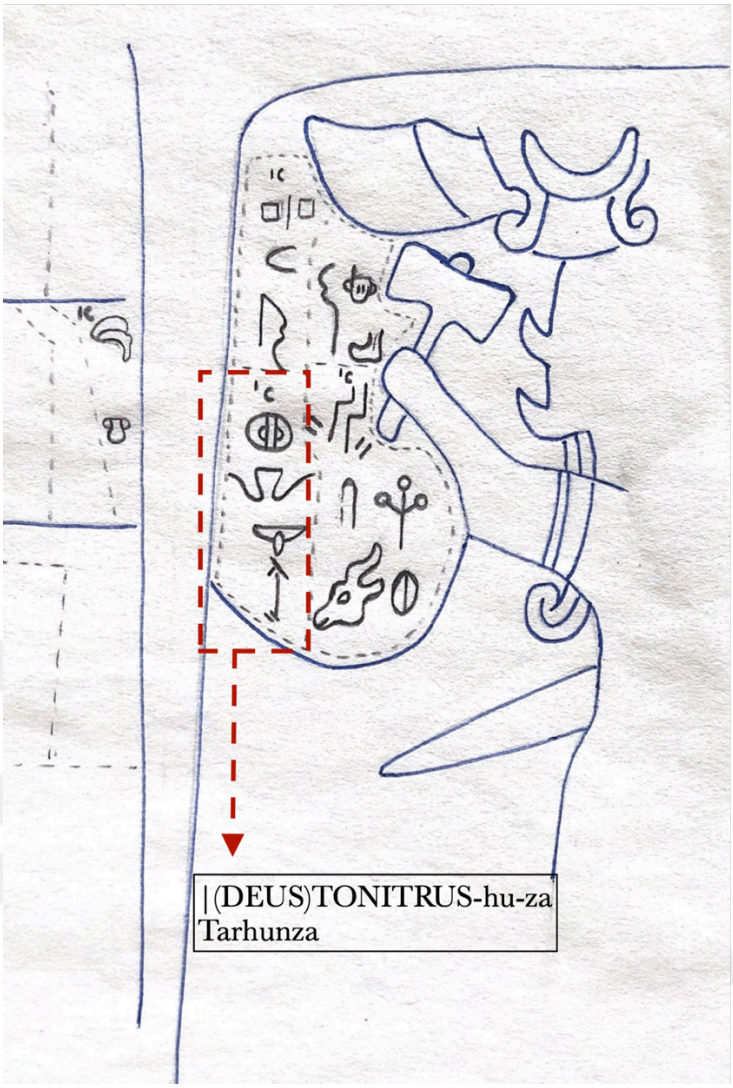



Figure 23. Detail of the obverse of the Körkün Stele showing the four clusters of Inscription 1 on the obverse (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 59)

Realization of this intentional semantic connection between the text and image indicates that the cross-over is not fortuitous. Then, we can also reason that only when inscription 1 is already present or conceptually arranged as it is, inscription 2 can start at the very edge of its parameter line. The first signs of inscription 2 align with the curvature of the line-divider, which readily suggests that these signs were carved with the awareness that a part of inscription 1 was meant to be on the obverse. Otherwise, inscription 2 would appear as if starting at an indeterminate point and the extension of Inscription 1 placed to fill in this unseemly

gap by chance. This, of course, is rather unlikely. The movement of the inscription is determined by the available writing surface—as one assumes that the body of the god is not appropriate for writing over—and by a concern for filling this surface with the most efficient and meaningful way, with respect to the content and length of the inscription and the image of the deity.

I have already discussed in Chapter 3.3.3.1 that the physical and visual proximity of the signs which make up a meaningful unit is fundamental to the organization of its constituent clusters into an inscription on the monument. A similar concern in the arrangement of a visually united group of clusters also presenting a textually homogenous and meaningful statement is observable on both the Körkün Stele as well as the Cekke Stele. The left-hand side of Inscription 2, comprised of eight clusters, translates as: "[clusters 1-4] My wife(?) Nanasis, the dear one – [clusters 5-7] she gave (me?) a child of the body (lit. "heart')."[161] The signs in first four clusters are written sinistroverse, and the four clusters move down and leftwards (sinistroverse), as indicated by the sign direction. There is a direction change after cluster 4, as they are written dextroverse, and they start to move primarily towards right and up. Figure 21 shows the distribution of these eight clusters making up this statement. Their arrangement suggests that the organization is not random, and it even takes boustrophedon writing into consideration, even if not arranged in lines, as is conventional. The clusters are arranged sequentially and in a circular pattern, with the last cluster—containing the demonstrative pronoun connecting this statement to the logogram between the legs of the god—the eight clusters come full circle, a body of text that is meaningful in itself. If this part had been horizontally organized across the stele, it would have been fragmentized into smaller clusters. Furthermore, it

[161] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 173.

would have filled the lower half of the background, leaving the useful top-right corner of the background empty.

After the left-hand-side, the inscription first moves on to the space between the legs of the god, with a single sign, a logogram used for anything related to wine and vineyards, and then moves to the right-hand-side. Here, it moves from the base towards the top and translates as (including cluster 8 on the left-hand-side): "(He) who takes this vine [(VITIS)*wa/i-ni-na*] away from her, from Nanasis, (or) the child, (or) the grandchild, or the great-grandchild ..."[162] This part is the protasis of the curse formula whose conclusion is compensated with the apodosis on the reverse. With that final statement, the inscription comes to a closure with a reference to the end of the text in the reverse, connected through the similarity of the two protases. So, left and right sides on the inscription on the obverse is constructed in two related but separate, meaningful blocks.

If we were to take the interpretative approach one step further, we are even able to observe a time-related over-arching composition (Figure 24). The inscription on the reverse narrates and depicts a temporal time dimension. This part records certain daily affairs and memorable past activities and secures it under the curse statement. The composition on the front is entirely different. On the front face, we encounter the Storm-god and the inscription which is sharply divided into four visually separate groups. The figure of the god divides the surface into its left and right sides. The line-divider on the left-hand-side and the arm of the god holding the trident on the right-hand-side divides the writing space into its upper and lower halves. Upper-left-hand-side contains the name of the god and the creation of his image. This is the initial act which leads to the creation of the deity, a materialization

[162] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 173.

of the eternal presence of the god in the material world. Therefore, this part of the inscription describes an act and its consequence which is meant to be eternal. The creation of the monument with the Storm-god on it is an act which happens in the present, in temporal time; while through the epiphany of the god in the stele it partakes in the time eternal. The inscription continues in the lower-left-hand-side mentioning the birth of a child to Kazupi and Nanasi, that is in the time past, with regards to the day of erection of the stele. On the lower right-hand-side Kazupi bequeaths the vineyard to his wife and son, which represents time present, as the willing of the property is realized through the erection of the stele. As his will is inscribed on the stone, it becomes part of the present reality. And finally, on the upper-right-hand-side are inscribed the words 'grandson' and 'great-grandson,' which can easily be interpreted as a reference to the future. At the time of the creation of the monument Kazupi might already have had a great son, but rhetorically, the mentioning of future generations indicates descendance and the continuation of the desired condition in the future through the future generations. All these sections of the inscription revolve around the image of Tarhunza, who is divine and eternally present and is made perpetually enduring in the material world through the stele. As the inscription completes its circular movement; it passes through eternal, past, present and future expressions of time in the text. The transfer of the account of the erection of the stele to the front completes this composition. When we approach the two inscriptions from that perspective, it is perfectly possible to interpret the upper left-hand side as part of the inscription on the front. Therefore, we would have one complete inscription on the front and another one on the back, changing the reading sequence the literary understanding of the text dictates.

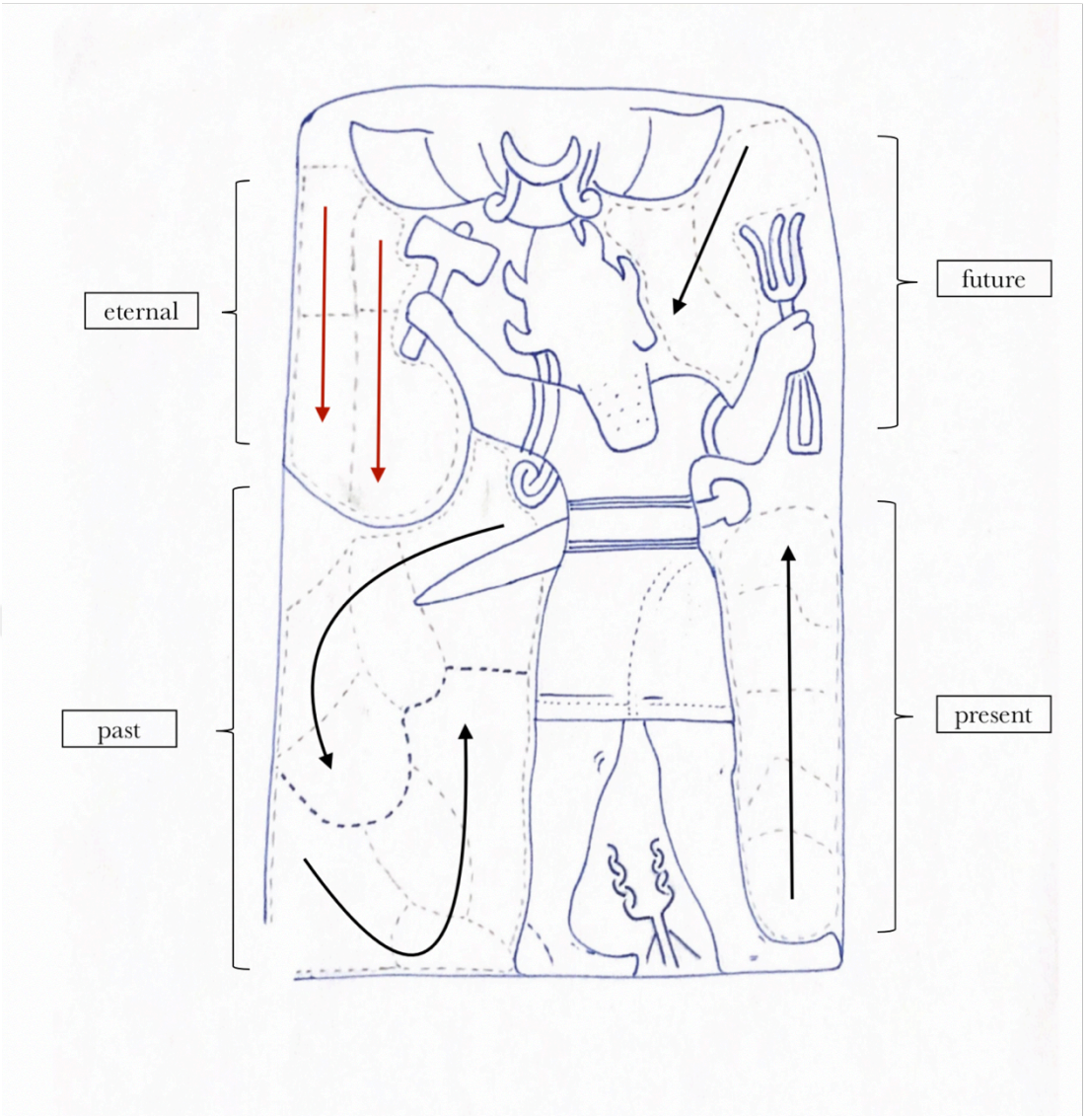



Figure 24. Drawing of the obverse of the Körkün Stele showing the temporal reading of Inscription 2 (Drawing traced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 59)

The presence of the god not only indicates his essentiality in holding the past, present and the desired future together, as shown in the inscription but also working in collaboration with the curse formula ensures the integrity and safety of the inscription. Therefore, I would claim that such inscriptions on stelae as well as statues should not be understood simply as dedicatory inscriptions. They contain written information about a present situation which needs to be realized or preserved and about a will for the future that is related to the present realities whose continuity

needs to be ensured. These dynamics are put into effect on the monuments through their manifestation in writing, but also through the creation of reciprocal relationship between writing and the imagery on the monuments. This performativity between text and image is ingrained on these monuments.[163]

### 5.1.2 VITIS logogram: Bridging content with imagery, images with epiphanies

The main theme of inscription 2 is the inheritance of a vine/vineyard. The logogram used for vineyard is transliterated as VITIS and is used to determine wine, vine and vineyards. Hawkins prefers to translate it as 'vine' in this context,[164] constituting the Luwian word *wiyanis*. This is the sign that is inscribed between the legs of the Storm-god, emphasized by its location, form and significance for the theme of the text. Here, the sign functions not only as a logogram. It makes the theme of the text immediately perceptible, visually revealing and foregrounding the notion of vineyard. Furthermore, it works beyond its immediate connection to the text by recalling the images of the manifestation of the Storm-god of Vineyards surrounded by vegetation, as represented in many landscape reliefs in the region of Tabal.

The logogram is magnified and is larger than any other sign on the stele. A comparison to other forms of the sign on other monuments would demonstrate that it is more embellished than its other forms (Figure 25). The sign is inscribed between the legs of the striding god, in a delineated place, in isolation; thus revealing a concern for distinguishing a semantically powerful sign by placing it in a specially designated place. The phonetic complements of the logogram, *wa/i-ni-na*, follows the sign; but they are detached from the sign, and are inscribed above the left foot of the god, breaking the cluster (Figure 26). Just as many other characteristics of this stele,

[163] Bahrani, *The Graven Image,* 130-143.
[164] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 175, §11.

also the appearance of VITIS sign is not random; to the contrary, it is part of a more elaborate construct. So much so that, the sign transposes the remainder of the text to another layer of meaning through the visual associations of the sign.

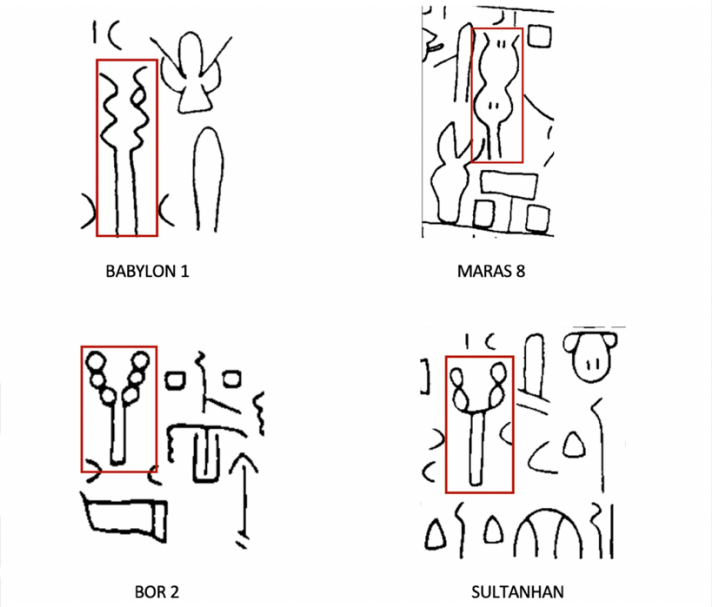



Figure 25. Four versions of the VITIS logogram

At the beginning of the present chapter I have briefly mentioned the widespread and diverse presence of the cult of many Storm-gods among the Syro-Anatolian principalities in the Iron Age. One of those cults was that of the Storm-god of Vineyards. His emergence in this new aspect is pervasive in both text and imagery of Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments. On the Körkün Stele the Storm-god is not specifically called 'of the Vineyard,' but as 'Halabean Tarhunzas,' however the dedication is for the inheritance of a vine/vineyard to the wife and the son. And the god is shown as the guarantor of the 'contract.' There are other similar monuments/documents which name the Storm-god associated with vineyards as a god of vegetation like KULULI 1 or KARKAMIŠ A30*h* inscriptions. For instance,

on Sultanhan Stele, the Storm-god is described in the following words, in Hawkins' edition:

§4 *When* I presented him,
§5 he came with all goodness,
§6 and the *corn-stem(s)* burgeoned forth at (his) foot,
§7 and the vine was good here.
…
§15 and the *corn-stem(s)* will come up from the earth, and the vine.[165]

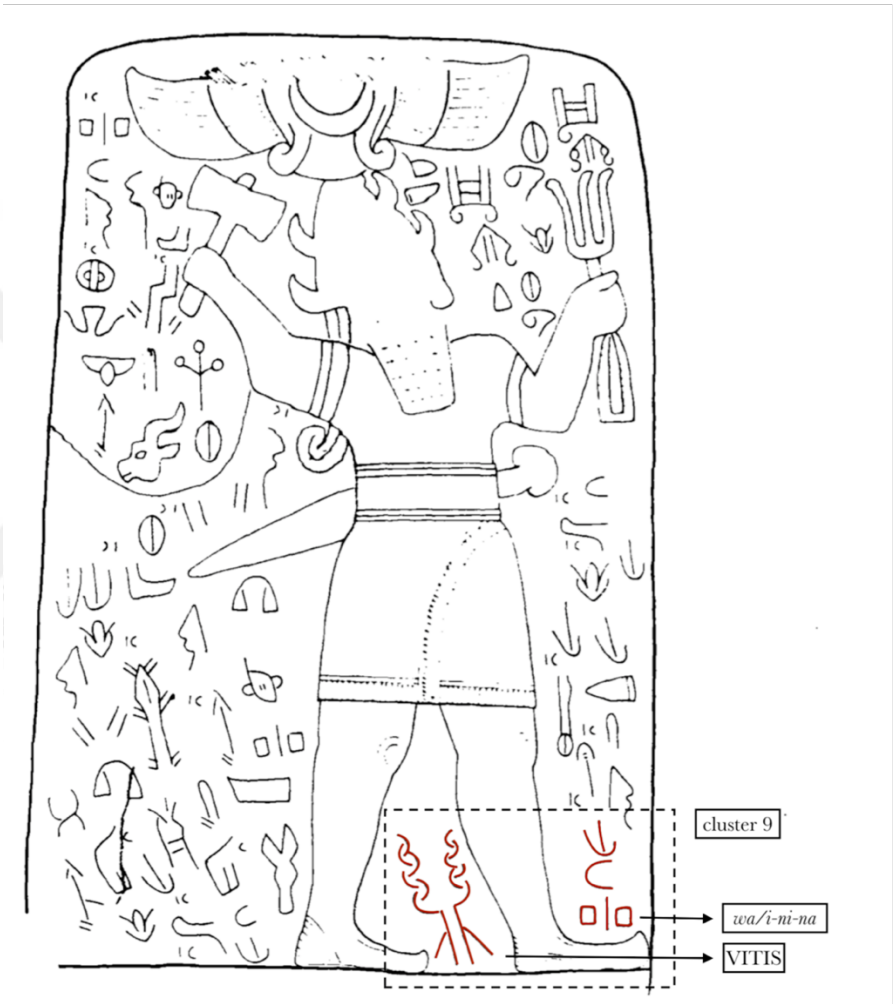



Figure 26. Drawing of the obverse of the Körkün Stele showing cluster 9 of inscription 2 (Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions,* plate 59)

[165] Transliteration:
§4 |*a-wa/i-na* |*u-pa-ha* |*HWI-i*
§5 |*wa/i-sá* |OMNIS-*mi-ri+i* [|*sa*]-*na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i* |*á-wa/i-tà-'*
§6 |*wa/i-ti-i* |*pa*$^{?}$*+ra/i-wa/i-li-sá-'* [|]("PES")*pa-tà* |*ARHA-'* |*la+ra/i-ta*
§7 |("VITIS" )*wa/i-ia-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-'* |*za-ri+i* || |*sa-na-wa/i-ia-ta-'*
…
§15 |("TERRA" )*ta-sà*-REL+*ra/i-ri i-pa-wa/i-ta-' pá? + ra/i-wa/i-li-sá* |SUPER+*ra/i-'* |"PES"2(-) *tà-i* |*wa/i-ia-ni-sá-ha*||

This is a scene that became standard in the visual depictions of the god. İvriz Rock Relief, İvriz, Keşlikyayla and Niğde 2 Stelae all from ancient Tabal region, depict the same scene. On İvriz relief (Figure 27), vine sprouts around the back foot of the god, while barley emerges around the front foot; and Tarhunza grasps each one with one hand, picturing the description of the epiphany. Hawkins has already recognized that the imagery of the Storm-god in which he grasps barley and vine sprouting at his feet is the pictorial translation of the theophany described in texts.[166] He further notes that his interpretation of VITIS sign on Sultanhan Stele as vine, instead of wine, depends on the depiction of the epiphany on İvriz Rock Relief.[167] I would propose that the Körkün Stele alludes to such depictions of the epiphany of Tarhunza of Vineyards, by means of the VITIS/VINE sign. Through its elaborated execution the sign works as a visual/mnemonic device which conjures up images of Tarhunza with vine and barley winding round his legs.

It would be misleading to conceive the sign in terms of either a sign or image, as part of the text or the image; because it is both at the same time. The way in which it was conceptualized does not prioritize its image over its sound or vice versa. It was a visually informed sign that was intended to bind together the visual, textual, monumental and mnemonic aspects of the monument as every single one of these dimensions overlap on the VITIS sign. Therefore, its presence is essential for all these aspects. In the following section I will present another idiosyncratic stele which will illustrate such a multivalent use of hieroglyphic signs functioning both as text and image.

[166] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, Commentary §§ 5-7, 468.
[167] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, Commentary §7, 468.



Figure 27. İvriz rock relief (Bittel 1976)

## 5.2 Maraş B/4 Stele

A stele discovered in the city of Maraş, in front of the Northwest gate of the Konak, Maraş B/4 Stele as it is later designated by Orthmann was published in 1936 by Stefan Przeworski.[168] The stele had been brought to the Istanbul Archeological Museums, then the Müze-i Hümayûn, the Imperial Museum, in the early 20th century, and registered in the museum catalogue as N. 7781, under the date 16 June 1908.[169] The stele is currently in the depots of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

Broken diagonally in the middle, the stele is carved of basaltic stone and stands 0.42 m. high and 0.31 m. wide and 14.5 m. deep, making it the smallest artifact included within the scope of this thesis by far (Figure 28). The bottom and the sides are fairly preserved with a tenon protruding at the bottom, suggesting that the slab was designed as a stele and was meant to be inserted into a base. Przeworski substantiates this observation by noting that the tenon does not contain any inscription or engravement.[170] The obverse is flat and the back is reported as not worked and left irregular,[171] which is peculiar as the reverse of the majority of its comparanda are either finely dressed or inscribed. Indeed, following our inspection of the stele with my professor Aslı Özyar on May 9th, 2019 there seems to be more to say concerning the situation of the reverse of the stele.

[168] Przeworski, "Notes d'archéologie Syrienne et Hittite III: Quelques Nouveaux Monuments de Marash," 33.
[169] John David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 468.
[170] Przeworski, "Notes d'archéologie Syrienne et Hittite III: Quelques Nouveaux Monuments de Marash," 33.
[171] Przeworski, "Notes d'archéologie Syrienne et Hittite III: Quelques Nouveaux Monuments de Marash," 33.



Figure 28. Maras B/4 Stele, obverse (Author's own photograph)

Contrary to previous observations, the reverse has been extensively worked. Traces of more than one surface are identifiable, suggesting that the stele was re-carved and reused, the relief image and the inscription on the front being only the latest phase of the use of the stone. Two large patches of finely dressed and slightly curving surfaces are preserved, disconnected from each other (Figure 29). These two surfaces thin down the slab towards the edges of the stone which is thickest in the area in-between these three patches. On this area small traces of a finely carved surface still can be identified, appearing as ridges disconnected from each other by easily identifiable chisel marks (Figures 29, 30 and 31). Even though it is impossible to identify now, the remains of a relief image that was chiseled away are still discernible.

The current state of the backside, thick around the middle and inclining down towards the sides. While the stele is 21.5 cm thick across the break at the top (Figure 30), this measurement decreases to 6 cm across the bottom of the tenon (Figure 31). These measurements suggest a form comparable with the curved backs of the Storm-god stelae in Iron Age Anatolia, as hypothesized in figure 32 based on a model of half-columnar stelae like the Cekke stele.




Figure 29. Maras B/4 Stele, reverse, with the support fill, separate surfaces and chisel marks indicated
Please note that solid arrows point at traces of smoothed carved ridges of a possibly destroyed relief image. Dashed arrows point at sharp edges of the chisel marks.
(Author's own photograph)



Figure 30. Maraş B/4 Stele, reverse (Author's own photograph)



Figure 31. Maras B/4 Stele, reverse, showing the parallel chisel marks (Author's own photograph)




Figure 32. Maras B/4 Stele, reverse, showing the measurement of the break at the top (Author's own photograph)




Figure 33. Maras B/4 Stele, reverse, showing the measurement of the tenon (Author's own photograph)



Figure 34. Maras B/4 Stele, reverse, with the reconstruction of a hypothetical curved back (Author's own photograph)

### 5.2.1 The Storm-god: A typological analysis

An image of the Storm-god is engraved in relief on the front, surrounded by a Luwian inscription in Anatolian hieroglyphs (Figure 28). Only the lower part of the figure has survived due to the diagonal break along the middle of the slab. The god is positioned dominantly in the center, shown poising, surrounded by a space filled with inscription to the sides and below. He looks as if hovering in space within a nondescript and indefinite space. The stele is quite well preserved and there is little damage to the surface, with no considerable signs of weathering.[172]

Because of the angle of the break, little of the body above the belt and nothing but the armpit of the right arm is preserved. The right arm, bent and raised possibly over the head, is visible from shoulder to elbow. Below the raised right arm, the lower curved end of a braid emerges below the armpit. Noticeably, despite being part of the relief image, which is carved in high relief, the curled tip of the braided ponytail is executed in low relief like the signs of the inscription, which are also in very low-relief (Figure 35).

He is possibly dressed in a plain shirt, whose right sleeve rendered in very low relief is only discernible under proper lighting (Figure 35). The god wears a short kilt of undecorated fabric ending above the knees, wrapping around the thighs firmly, leaving the legs naked. As he strides forward, the diagonal edge of the wrap-around kilt becomes visible. The skirt is fastened around the waist with a wide belt. He wears traditional Hittite shoes with upturned toes.

One of the few indicated anatomical details are the knee caps, also noticed by Przeworski,[173] and the malleolus bone on the right ankle (Figure 36). The left ankle

[172] Please see Appendix B.3 for the drawing of the stele and the inscription in Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*.
[173] Przeworski, "Notes d'archéologie Syrienne et Hittite III: Quelques Nouveaux Monuments de Marash," 33.

is broken, one of the few damages the figure has suffered. The curves of the calves and sturdiness of the legs and thighs emphasize the strong musculature of the naked legs.




Figure 35. Maras B/4 Stele, obverse, close-up of the right arm and the ponytail (Author's own photograph)
The white arrow on the upper left-hand side points at the edge of the sleeve of the shirt.

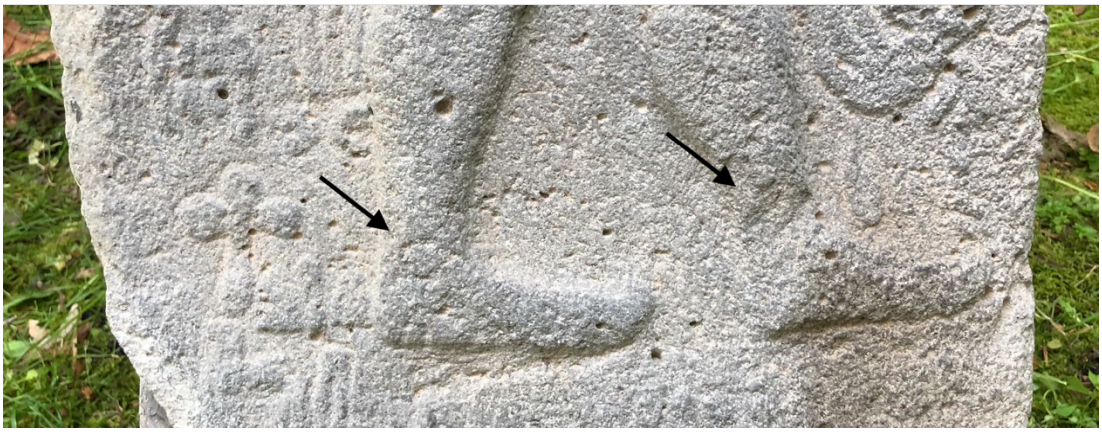


Figure 36. Maras B/4 Stele, obverse, close up of the feet showing the malleolus (Author's own photograph)

The angle of the right upper-arm with the body draws a close parallel with Körkün and Kürtül Stelae (Figure 37), indicating a heavyset upper body and chest bulging above the robust and elongated lower body. Similarly, he would have had an axe in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left. We would reasonably expect a bearded face and a head adorned with a conical horned crown. The stele probably had a curved top with a winged sun disk hovering above the head of the deity.




Figure 37. Kürtül Stele. Maraş Museum, No. 197 (Photograph reproduced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, pl.122)



Figure 38. Tell Ahmar/Qubbah Stele, The National Museum of Aleppo.
Photograph reproduced from Bunnens, *A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-god at Til Barsib-Masuwari*, fig. 7, 140.

The preserved iconography of the god provides enough clue to group this small-size stele among other depictions of Tarhunza which are best characterized with the Qubbah Stele[174] (Figure 38) and the Tell Ahmar Group. This group is distinguished by the striding and smiting pose of the Storm-god in a short Hittite kilt with sword, axe and trident trio as his insignia. The Maraş Stele in the Adana Museum (Figure 39), Storm-god stele from Kürtül in Maraş Museum (Figure 37) and the Körkün Stele in Antep Museum, (Figure 19) are the closest examples. Even though these are the closest comparisons in Iron Age, the execution of the relief, very well-proportioned body and the rendering of the details hearken to the Storm-gods of Late Bronze Age reliefs, indicating an archaizing tendency.




Figure 39. Storm-god stele with Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscription Maraş 11. Adana Museum, No.1721 (Photograph reproduced from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, pl. 121)

[174] Bunnens, *A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-god at Til Barsib-Masuwari*, 33-53.

### 5.2.2 The sword of the god and/or the dagger-shaped *li* syllabogram

The sword fastened to the belt of the god was among the most widespread attributes of the Storm-god, common to most of his representations in the Iron Age, including all four images of the god mentioned above. All of them carry a sword along with axe and trident, while the storm-god of Maras B/4 stele does not carry one despite belonging with this group of Storm-gods. The Storm-gods with a highly Assyrianized attire like those of Cekke and Atika Stelae and the Storm-god of Vineyards represented on the stelae and rock reliefs from Tabal region never carry a sword, which make its absence on the god of Maraş B/4 Stele even more noteworthy. Then, how can we interpret the absence of this important attribute of the god on this stele, if we were to look for an explanation beyond the absentmindedness of the artist.

The sword is always depicted on the far, left side of the body. Therefore, the upper half of the sword is hidden from view, with the scabbard emerging above the belt, in front of the body. The tip of the sword is normally shown below the waist, behind the god. Although the sword is usually depicted slightly inclined as is exemplified by the Qubbah Stele, the incline can be reversed as well as can be seen on the Kürtül Stele (Figure 37).[175] The sword is such a prominent object associated with the image of the god that, when its depiction is transposed into the hieroglyphic signary as the phonetic sign *li*, the form and the position in which it is attached to the body was taken over with it.

[175] Even more variant positions of the sword have been attested, though they are rare. The East Wing of the Outer Citadel Gate of Sam'al/Zincirli in modern Turkey was decorated with a series of basalt orthostats, currently in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. One of the orthostats depicts a Storm-god in the same pose and similar attire with the Storm-gods of the Tell-Ahmar group however, the sword is shown in the reverse direction. The scabbard is in the behind and the tip of the sword is on the front (Figure 40).



Figure 40. Orthostat showing a Storm-god from Zincirli.

The dagger-shaped '*li*' syllabogram (L.278)[176] (Figure 41) is commonly used in the construction of complex logograms. The best examples are the writings of the name of king Hattušili III with a complex logogram. In the writings of the name, the sign does not simply accompany the main logogram denoting the name of the king, it

[176] Laroche. *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites,* 146-47.

conjoins the logogram. The dagger-shaped phonogram, intended as the phonetic indicator for *li* sound, intersects with the main logogram. This attachment not only serves to complement the logogram phonetically, but also visually at the same time.

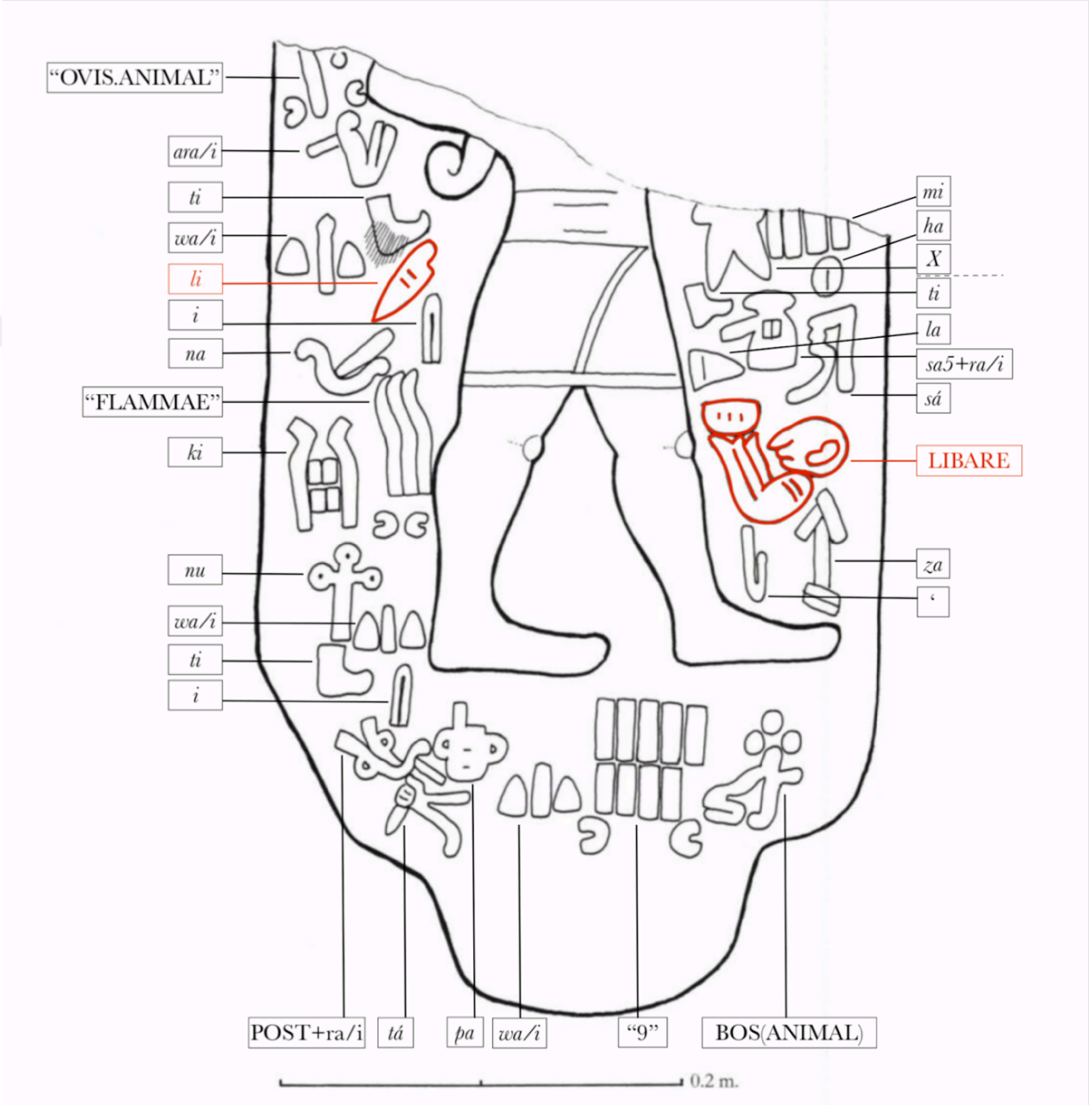



Figure 41. Drawing of Maraş B/4 Stele, obverse, with transliterations of signs
Transliterations of logograms into Latin are written in capitals, and the syllabograms are in lower case italics. The appearance of the signs in transliteration follows the reading sequence shown in Figure 21 with yellow arrows. The two signs, *li* syllabogram and LIBARE logogram are rendered in red, which will be specifically mentioned within the text.
(Drawing taken from J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, plate 119)

Hattušili's name was written with three vertical strokes joined by a horizontal stroke at the bottom. The sign is originally the logogram for Hattuša, the city of the land of Hatti (Figure 42). The form of the sign was probably connected to the thunderbolt-shaped logogram for the supreme deity of Central Anatolia, the Storm-god. To make this logogram the name of the king, the dagger-sign is intersected with the logogram exactly at an angle like the angle it makes with the body of the deities in reliefs. The logograms are superimposed over the phonetic sign; therefore, part of the dagger remains behind the logogram as is in the relief images. We cannot judge to what extent the usage of sword in images and the dagger in these complex logograms were regarded as parallel. The fact that, however, the visual form of the logogram of the king's name is reminiscent of the appearance of the swords in the relief images is undeniable. Hence, the transformation of the HATTI logogram into the name of Hattušili III is not only lexical, it is also the transformation of a logogram into an anthropomorphic image of 'the man of/from Hatti.' It is even more probable that the use of the dagger sign in the logograms was meant to evoke the notions of masculine power and physical/military prowess the swords in the belts of gods and kings connoted.



Figure 42. Reconstructed seal impression of Hattušili III (Herbordt 2011, Tafel 24)

I have afforded this brief diversion because I believe that the simultaneous use of the phonological and pictorial dimensions of the dagger sign could help us explain the peculiar absence of the sword on the Storm-god of Maraş B/4 Stele. It is possible that the dagger sign used for its phonetic value in Maraş 5 inscription could also visually compensate for the lacking sword. The dagger-shaped syllabogram '*li*' forms part of the word *ara/i-ti-wa/i-**li**-i-na* written phonetically.[177] The word is placed right behind the Storm-god on the left-hand side of the stele (Figure 41). The sign '*li*' appears exactly where the tip of the sword would have been, had it been shown. The presence of the sign in this particular location is intended to remind its audience the regular and essential apparel of the deity with a sword. The choice of the word and its placement by the belt of the god can hardly be coincidental. Such an interpretation of the sign could present an intriguing instance of merging the visual and textual functions of the signs. Such an interplay of text and imagery on this stele, however, is not constricted to this sign and is elaborately illustrated in the use of another sign, which I will turn to analyze now.

### 5.2.3 Writing and depicting sacrifice simultaneously: The LIBARE logogram

On many monuments the image and inscription are separated by a line or an inset. If not, the inscription would have line dividers which determines and frames the space reserved for the inscription. This does not seem to be the case here, on Maraş B/4 Stele. The deity and the inscription are present in the same plane of existence and are

[177] See Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 267-70; especially the commentaries for Maraş 3 and Maraş 5 inscriptions. Hawkins proposes that the word is a rhotacized version of the word *ada(n)tiwali-*. The precise meaning of the word is far from clear, but in comparison with other attestations of the word, Hawkins reconstructs the meaning as an adjective used for sacrificial sheep possibly meaning 'fat(?)'.

rendered in the same relief technique and are only differentiated by the much higher elevation of the relief from the background compared to that of the signs.

The inscription is a short instruction for the sacrifice of a sheep and nine oxen to the Storm-god.[178] It is placed circular along the edges of the slab, on the sides and below the feet of the deity. It starts on the left-hand side, behind the image of the god and continues down, turning right along the bottom of the stele, and then finally ascending along the right side, in front of the deity (Figure 43). J. D. Hawkins has conducted the most thorough analysis of both the monument and the inscription and he describes this odd positioning of the inscription as "...scattered irregularly over the background to the figure, behind, below and in front of it; [it is] not arranged in lines but zigzags down the left-hand background, with the signs oriented in different directions."[179] Contrary to his observation, the signs in the first segment—that is the left-hand side of the stele, behind the god—are all oriented towards right, hence the column needs to be read from top to bottom and sinistroverse, meaning from right to left (Figure 44). With the POST logogram in the lower left corner, the inscription starts to move horizontally, along the bottom of the stele, under the feet of the god. Here, the signs change their direction as well, now facing left. On the right-hand side, in front of the god, the signs continue from bottom to top; and as expected the direction of signs change again, turning right (Figure 44).

[178] See Appendix A.3 for the full translation of the text by J. D. Hawkins.
[179] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 269.

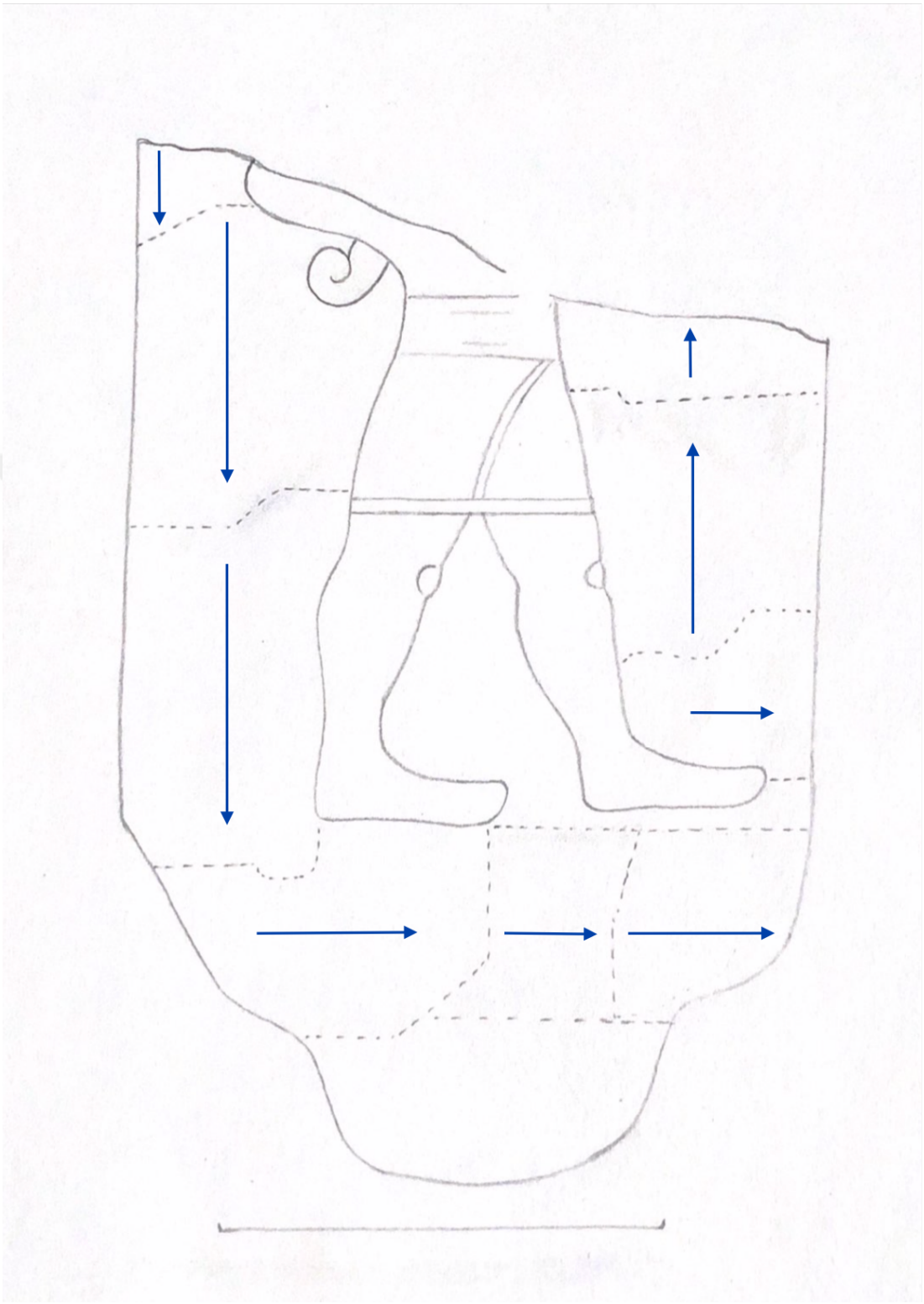


Figure 43. Drawing of Maraş B/4 Stele, obverse, showing the sequence of reading of clusters (Drawing traced from J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, plate 119.)

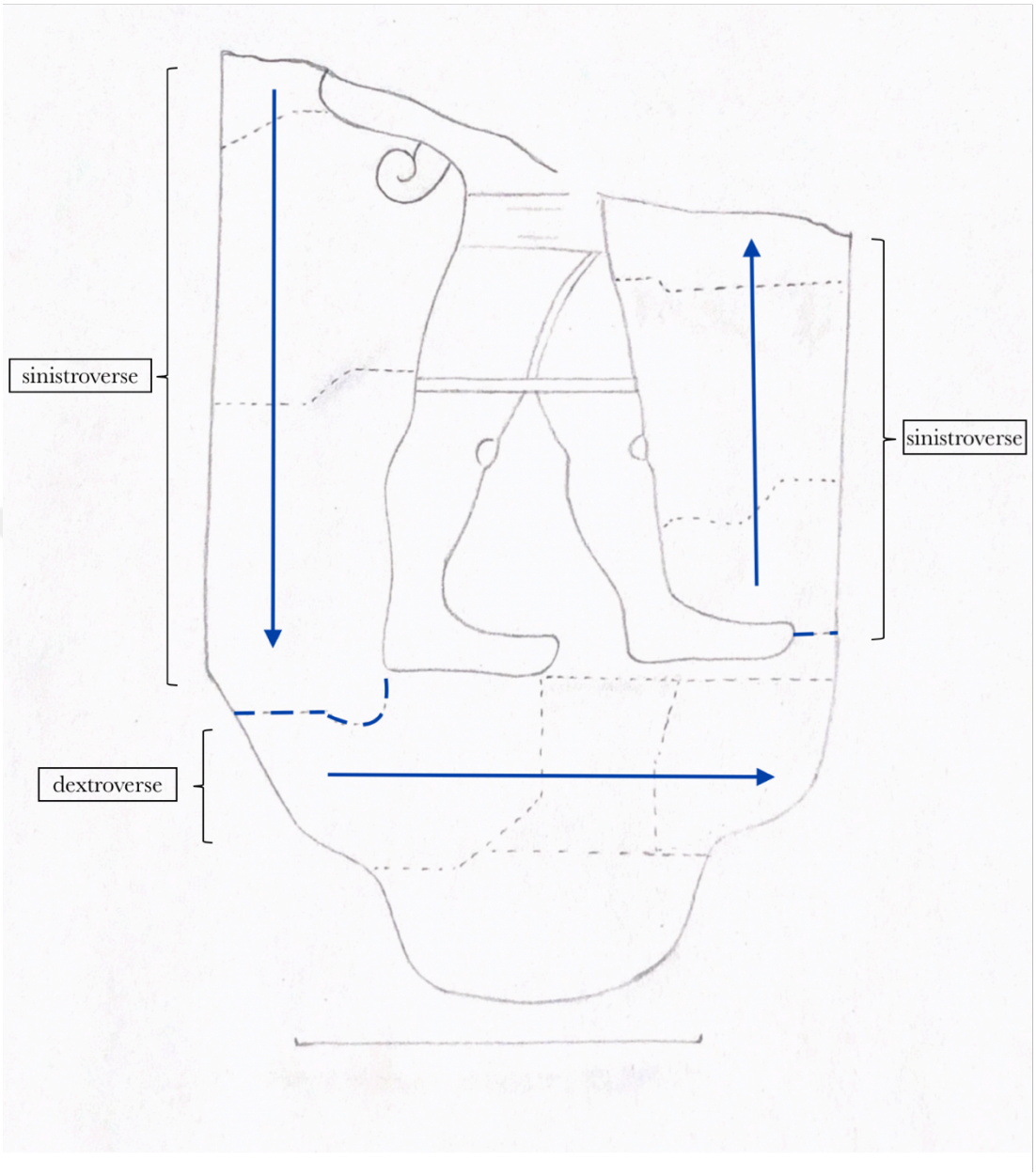



Figure 44. Drawing of Maraş B/4 Stele, obverse, showing the division of the inscription into three parts with change of direction indicated (Drawing traced from J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, plate 119)

One of the key notions of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing is the physical integrity of signs forming a cluster, a feature of the script I have discussed in the second chapter. It is probable that the continuous circular movement of the inscription was a solution to the fact that in a more conventional horizontal

arrangement of lines the clusters would be separated and broken across the relief image of the god, which could not be inscribed over. If we consider the size and shape of the stone slab, the image of the god and the hieroglyphic signs, it would have been impossible to fit a lengthy cluster containing multiple signs within each narrow band of background on either side. This would have necessitated the continuation of the remaining signs of the cluster not fitting into that available space on the side where the cluster started to continue in the line on the other side of the surface. This was definitely not preferred.

If these segments were conceived or executed in consecutive horizontal lines, it would be immediately apparent that they conform to the rules of boustrophedon writing; therefore, I propose that the three parts of the inscription are executed in boustrophedon logic, if not in the customary appearance of Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions. Thus, I would like to add to Hawkins' reconstruction of the inscription that the organization is not irregular but diverts from the norms of writing so that it complies with the shape and size of the stele and the position of the image of the Storm-god on it. Each line starts where the previous one ends, and each change of line is accompanied by a directional change in reading. Therefore, in the third segment where the inscription continues on the right side of the stele, the signs face right again—sinistroverse reading direction—just like in the first segment. On the right-hand-side, however, the LIBARE sign (Figure 45), denoting the notion of offering and sacrifice, is reversed and carved dextroverse, defying the rule of boustrophedon. Then, we are supposed to question the reason behind this reversal.

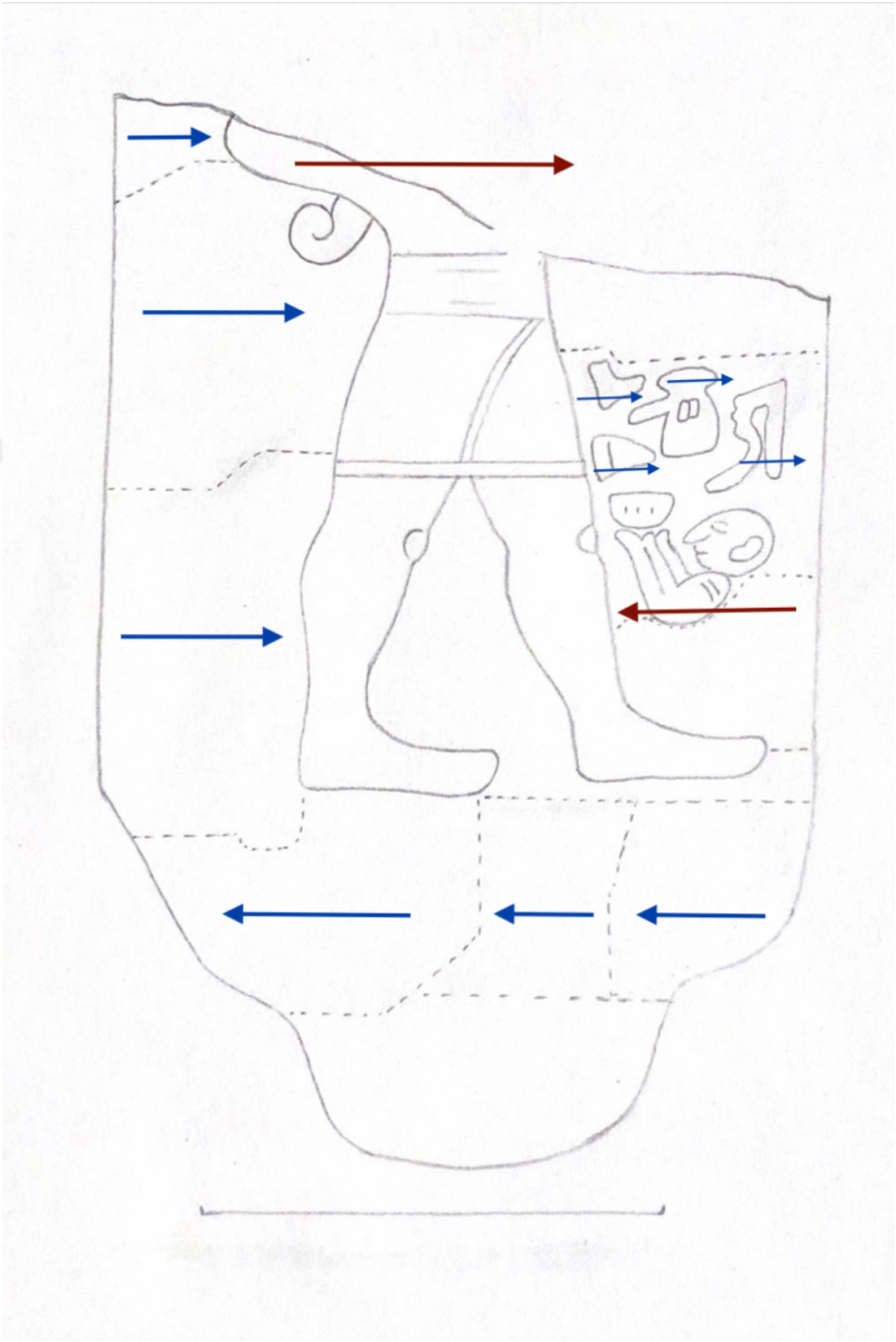


Figure 45. Drawing of Maraş B/4 Stele, obverse, showing the division of the orientation of the sign clusters (Drawing traced from J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, plate 119)

The first sign of the third segment, on the right-hand side, is the logogram for presenting offerings and sacrificing, that we transliterate as LIBARE, accompanied by its full phonetic rendering in syllabograms (Figure 45).[180] It is traditionally represented as a bent arm holding a cup, depicting an act of offering to the divine. The standard form of the sign is composed of an arm shown from shoulder down in profile, holding a cup. The version of the sign on Maraş B/4 Stele is unique. It is larger than most other signs in the inscription. Both arms are shown together with a head[181] whose anatomical details like the nose, ear and mouth are indicated with incised lines. Even though the sign is already anthropomorphic in its original form for depicting an arm and denoting a human act, the version of the logogram in Maraş 5 inscription is further emphasized. The addition of anatomical details and a more complete human form, while redundant for linguistic purposes, anthropomorphizes the LIBARE sign.

This sign, no longer simply a logogram, or the semantic carrier of the syllabic form of the word following it, is an image of the worshipper positioned before his/her god, at his knees. It is turned towards the god, facing him, as a worshipper would do in the real life. The image/sign of the worshipper is reversed from its normal direction so that its representation is appropriate, facing the god, instead of turning away from him. The visual dynamics between the LIBARE sign and the image of the Storm-god overrules a straightforward observance of the rules of writing.

The reversal of the sign leads to another unique violation of rules of writing, as the logogram and its phonetic complements are now in opposing directions. The

[180] Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites*, 20.
[181] The peculiar appearance of a head as an addition to the usual form of the sign as well as its dextroverse direction have also been noted by Hawkins, *CHLI,* 270, MARAŞ 5, Commentary §2.

word *sá-sa5+ra/i-la-ti* (*sasarli-*), a common verb with meanings like to sacrifice, libate or offer, follows the logogram written in full phonetic form. Together, the logogram and the syllabograms form a cluster (Figures 28 and 45), a meaningful unit meaning 'they shall offer...'.[182] Written within the same segment, forming a cluster, it would be expected that the two parts of the cluster are in directional agreement, carved in the same orientation. The syllabograms are rendered facing right in sinistroverse reading direction, as dictated by the boustrophedon writing. The logogram of the cluster, LIBARE is in the reverse direction to the syllabograms. To my knowledge, this is the only case in the entire corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions where the logogram and phonetic signs of the same word are rendered in opposing directions, within the same line. Instead of the simple observance of orthographic rules, here the direction of signs is determined by the visual dynamics between the LIBARE sign and its collocutor, the figure of the Storm-god. The need to depict the sign and the image in a visually proper relationship causes the rules of writing to bend. The rules of writing are bent just enough to accommodate the semantic associations of the logogram. Text and image interpenetrate, not only materially in their similar execution on the stone surface but also in their reciprocal relationship, as the image depicts what is recorded in language and the text describes the act of sacrifice played out between the image of the god and the logogram. The LIBARE sign depicts the notion which it denotes.

Such reversals were neither unique to Maras B/4 Stele nor uncommon in other writing traditions. Fisher notes the reversal of the hieroglyphs identifying the decapitated bodies of the enemies on the Narmer Palette aligning with the bodies while the rest of the hieroglyphs were rendered in the normal reading direction of

[182] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 270, MARAŞ 5.

Egyptian hieroglyphs from right to left.[183] This 'logic of orientation' in Fisher's words, whose very first example is on the Narmer Palette became one of the hallmarks of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing which Fisher had thoroughly explored in his seminal work *The Orientation of Hieroglyph: Reversals*, published in 1977.[184] Similarly, as D. Silverman notes, the common Egyptian tradition of adding limbs to hieroglyphs 'transform a static ideogram of a deity into an activated figure.'[185]

The syllabic signs before and after the logogram do not share the same visual and semantic connection with the god, therefore they follow the demands of conventional boustrophedon writing. Then, the blunt directional incongruity between the logogram and its phonetic complements disrupts the monotonousness of the script, emphasizing that the logogram is also present at a layer of meaning which excludes the other signs in the inscription. Moreover, as all the signs above the soles of the feet of the god are turned right, aligning with the Storm-god, the only sign in this whole upper part that is directed towards the deity is the LIBARE sign (Figure 45). Being the only sign oriented left while being surrounded by images and signs that are all rendered in an opposing direction must be extremely salient and arresting to the observant eye, for anyone who is familiar with this system of writing, such sharp alterations were probably extremely outstanding.

Such an execution of the script is unique to the Maraş B/4 Stele. Every unconventional appearance of the image of the god and the inscription is planned as an excuse for the inscription to contribute to the overall effectiveness of the message of the monument. The inscription circumscribes the image of the god, replacing the usual succession of horizontal lines, as if rippling around the gravitational force of

[183] Fischer, *The Origin of Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, 69.
[184] Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs.*
[185] Silverman, "Text and Image and the Origin of Writing in Ancient Egypt," 208.

the central image. The lack of line dividers and usual line-based arrangement wipes out the spatial differentiation of image and text on the same monument. The placement of the LIBARE sign establishes the hierarchical status of the god and the worshipper, the reversal of the sign makes it face the god; hence this minor alteration of the rule of directional agreement animates the logogram as an image, bringing it into a dynamic relationship with the divinity. It communicates the message in written form as a text, but then, the text displays its content by visualizing it in a pictorial format, the perfect example of interpenetration of text and image, content and format.

## 5.3 Conclusion

The two stelae I have inspected in this chapter demonstrate that Anatolian hieroglyphic writing was not only used to record Luwian language, but even more prominently served to display the inscription as a visual message as much as a textual one.

On the Körkün Stele, the transition of cluster thirty containing the name of the god from reverse to obverse where the image of the god exists is an attempt to build a semantic connection between text and image, bringing together the name and image of the god within the same field of vision.

The peculiar use of VITIS sign on the Körkün Stele and the LIBARE sign on the Maraş B/4 Stele both demonstrate that the sign can connote multiple ways of expressing meaning beyond the denotation of the specific Luwian word. They achieve this either by recalling the representation of the god as a deity of vegetation or by blending the representation of worship with the act of worship, respectively. While VITIS sign is foregrounded as an image through its isolating placement and elaborated form, LIBARE sign is also reversed to display the encounter between the

god and the worshipper. The signs amalgamate their visual and textual associations, and the perception of all dimensions of meaning is delivered and received in a single act, occurring simultaneously. M. Marazzi describes this feature of a pictographic script like the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing as follows:

> In the face of a system that can pass from the plane of visual communication to that of linguistic communication with ease, however, it is possible to interrelate the two planes within the same sentence, putting different processes of communication into action simultaneously. A preliminary functional characterization is fundamental in order to appreciate the significance of the individual glyphs within the compositions they give life to.[186] (author's own translation)

On these monuments, neither the text nor the image "precede ... dominate, resist, supplement, the other."[187] The relationship is not one of subordination or in other words, of text-image hierarchy but of absolute merging of one with the other, a feat that is unique to pictorial scripts.

[186] Please see Appendix C.2 for the original version of the quoted passage in Italian. Marazzi, Scrittura, Percezione e Cultura: Qualche Riflessione Sull'Anatolia in età Hittita, 234.
[187] Mitchell, *Pictorial Theory*, 28.

# CHAPTER 6

# CONCLUSION:

# WRITING AS TEXTUAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATION

> Material objects are polysemeous [sic]. Underlying their signifiers is, as Barthes noted for the image, 'a "floating chain" of signifieds (IMT: 39). This polysemy creates uncertainty, disquieting in a civilization which likes signs but likes them to be clear (IMT: 29). The lack of control over the signifieds urges a means to channel them, to tie the signifier and signified together, in order to impose a certain meaning on the object: 'Hence in every society various techniques are developed intended to fix the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs; the linguistic message is one of these techniques' (IMT: 39; emphasis in original).[188]

In display inscriptions, meaning is carved into stone in multiple layers of signification. Until recently, multidisciplinary studies of ancient writing have been neglected, with writing being reserved for the expertise of the epigraphists and the linguists. The study of an inscription normatively indicated decipherment and translation, and writing was thought to fulfil its mission with the extraction of the encoded message. This concentration on textuality has been concurrent with the traditional theoretical discussions on writing based on an evolutionary approach and the presentation of phonetized scripts—the alphabet being the ultimate aim—as the most efficient form of written representation. These two positions constituted the theoretical foundations of the modern Western study of writing. Placing the linguistic content in the center of academic inquiry, as part of the strategy 'to counter the terror of uncertain signs' a solely textual understanding of writing is an attempt at curbing Barthes' floating chains of signification; in other words, circumventing all other

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[188] Olsen, Roland Barthes: From Sign to Text, 195.

constituents of a polysemous representation for the sake of the undisputable clarity of a linguistic message. Therefore, it is crucial to study pictographic scripts, such as the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing as a multi-dimensional system, for they present various opportunities to revisit writing as a visual artifact, and break away from the position that subordinates the visual dimension of meaning to the textual.

Expanding our definition of writing beyond the contours of verbal expression significantly contributes to our understanding of the depth and complexity of meaning that can be woven into the inscription. To demonstrate that I have chosen to work on Anatolian hieroglyphic writing, questioning how to approach this peculiar writing system as a visual/non-verbal system of notation and how and why such a thread of questioning can contribute to the studies of writing and text-image relationships. In response to this, having reviewed the Anatolian hieroglyphs and analyzed three stelae inscribed in this script, we can identify three main forms of relationships in the monumental inscriptions executed in Anatolian hieroglyphs: the execution and imagery of individual signs, the relationship between the textual content and the graphic organization of the inscriptions, and the relationships between a sign or sign cluster and the imagery on the stelae. These altogether make up different levels of signification, expanding from a single sign to the inscription to the whole monument, all of which intertwine in writing. All these planes of meaning are tied into the inscription which is the intersection of the visual, material and textual aspects of representation.

To begin with the first kind of relationship, that is based on the individual signs, I have emphasized the power of the pictorial nature of the Anatolian hieroglyphic signs multiple times. The calculated positioning of the *amu* sign on Cekke Stele is laden with many consequences. Primarily, it not only appears at a

specific place, it also positions the name of the servant it introduces in the. Appropriate position his rank necessitates; while at the same time drawing the eye to the beginning of the text whose organization on the surface is complicated and unconventional. Similarly, on the Körkün and Maraş B/4 Stelae certain signs are depicted and located in such a way that their appearance and placement become significant contributors to the overall meaning and functioning of the signs. The spatial and visual relationships that are built around the VITIS and LIBARE logograms on Körkün and Maraş B/4 Stelae respectively, enable the signs to function beyond their linguistic 'signifieds,' and to connote meaning that is not dependent on the linguistic perception or verbal production of the signs.

Anatolian hieroglyphic signary itself is a text-image composite. The signs of the Anatolian hieroglyphic system, due to its pictographic and ideographic nature, is polyvalent. The polysemy of meaning is not restricted to polyphony of the signs. The signs themselves are polysemous because they cut across the boundaries between text and image, sound and material form by being able to denote and connote both verbal and visual meaning at the same time.

In Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions the content and the graphic organization of the script are co-dependent. I have demonstrated this second mode of relationship, on the stelae I have analyzed in the preceding two chapters, most starkly on the Cekke Stele. On the stele, textually cohesive segments of the inscription are placed on surfaces that are also visually separate from each other, mirroring the linguistic distinction within the text. Furthermore, this reflection of the content-based separation on the graphic organization is also used to indicate the separate sources and functions of the two inscriptions. On the other hand, while visual separation of the inscriptions represents the presence of two different inscriptions, their existence

and display together, on the same monument, also unifies them. A striking example of that observation is the way in which the missing apodosis on the obverse is substituted by the apodosis on the reverse; as the protasis is the same on both sides.

Finally, besides the script itself having a strong visual dimension, the signs and the texts are also put into relationship with the images of the Storm-gods they are represented with. One form of doing that is the placement of the parts of the texts that are directly related to the stele itself on the obverse or transferring the names of the deities to the side where the image of the god appears. The skip-over of the name of Tarhunzas to the front, beside the god, on the Körkün Stele; the placement of the name of the specific Tarhunzas on the Cekke Stele by the head of the god, while other generic allusions to the god appear elsewhere on the reverse; and the display of the parts of the text of Inscription 2 and all of Inscription 1 that are directly related to the stele and Tarhunzas on the obverse of the Cekke Stele all stand in evidence to that observation. This proximity of signs and the images they are associated with ensures the presence and the perception of the two different media that represent the monument and the deity on the same physical plane and within the same field of vision.

A second strategy for binding together text and image is using the pictoriality of the signs, to which I have alluded to in the first type of relationship. The heightened visual properties of the LIBARE and VITIS signs on Körkün and Maraş B/4 stelae are not effective by themselves. Their visual dimension can gain full meaning only in reference to the images of the Storm-god, which justify and complete the appearance and positioning of the signs, even when they diverge from the conventional rules of writing.

When text and image were combined for display on a monument—as they were on the three stelae I have investigated here—the inscription or the image are never planned separately, of course excluding secondary uses and later interventions. The care with which content and form of an inscription were related to the imagery is not a cursory phenomenon on all three stelae analyzed in this thesis. The way in which the inscription is draped over the Cekke Stele implicates an impeccable calculation before executing the inscription on the stone. The way in which the two inscriptions complement each other, the visual separation of the two texts with regards to their source material—one being copied from a text of contract, while the other being created for the monument—and the precise correspondence of the content of the text on the front to the image Storm-god; all strongly indicate a meticulous planning of text and image together, in reference to each other. Likewise, the arrangement of the inscriptions on the Körkün and Maraş B/4 Stelae are neither perfunctory nor anomalous.

All these observations and arguments indicate that in a monumental Anatolian hieroglyphic inscription the linguistic message recorded in the text is not necessarily the focal point of the monument. The network of relationships that is built between the visual and the textual aspects constitute the monument as a hybrid artifact. In this thesis, I claim for the existence of and attempt to decode the construction of meaning in multiple (basically textual and visual) dimensions, which is the polysemy of writing in Anatolian hieroglyphs.

This thesis does not attempt to suggest that the use of the visuality of the script as I have explored in here is normative and generalizable across the corpus of Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions. We do not observe the same kind of uses of the script in every single monument, however, a thorough analysis of any one of those

could yield an unexpected application of the inscription and strategy of creating meaning. In addition to that the observations made in this thesis are not exclusive to the Anatolian hieroglyphs or the Near Eastern Antiquity. The visual properties of writing is explored by all societies in almost all writing stems, therefore it is a ubiquitous phenomenon with innumerable internal variations, such as the wide gap between alphabetical and logo-syllabic systems.

If we were to revisit the idea of writing as a system of multi-dimensional signification and meaning creation, then we have to abandon trying to "tie the signifier and signified together, in order to impose a certain meaning on the object."[189] We are supposed to try to perceive the signifier and the signified together in the context of writing comprising the written sign and the universe of meanings attached to it. In this thesis, Anatolian hieroglyphs and their monumental display have been the objects of my efforts in comprehending them as polysemous artifacts and equilibrating the two main aspects of and approaches to these monuments as texts and images.

[189] Olsen, Roland Barthes: From Sign to Text, 195.

# APPENDIX A

# TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS

# OF THE CEKKE, KÖRKÜN AND MARAŞ B/4 STELAE

## 1. THE CEKKE STELE[190]

Inscription 1, obverse

(bottom)
I (am) LORD-tiwaras, beloved servant of Sasturas.
This ... LORD-tiwaras set up for Sasturas his lord,
and this *stele* the latter *composed.*

(top)
For this celestial Tarhuzas they shall *burn* up a *calf,*
and in future they shall offer an ox and a sheep.

Inscription 2, reverse
Kamanis the Ruler, the Country-Lord of the cities Karkamiš (and) Malizi(?), (and) Sasturas, "first servant" of Kamanis,

— the city Kamana they bought from the Kanapuweans with their ... ,
and to them they gave 600 mules, (saying): "...3 *minas*(?) (of) *silver* (?) to Warpatas's sons we give,
... to Labarnas and Zazas 4 *minas*(?) (of) *silver*(?) from the city Nuhuza we give,
... in every city before Ahalis the River-Lord we make a feast(?),
an ox, 15 sheep to the city Kanapu (and) 2 *minas*(?) (of) *silver*(?) (and) a meal(?) we give,
and before LORD-tiwaras. Ahalis's (son) we give ...
We bind the city (as) a *donation* for 20(+)10 TAMI('s) and child(ren),
and there was the *major,* Zashapuzis(?)'s son, BRACCHIUM-la-
[...]nis(PN?), and the great ones(?).

We engrave *frontier stelae,* and we bind them (as) a *donation*
for the fathers and sons. From the city Zilaparaha Tarhuntiwaris and Harana-(m)us(?) his son, Haralis and Tarhuntawaris his son, Haranis the Hawarean and Sant-*adalas(i)* his son, Nanis and Adalawaris(?) his son, From the city Lutapa(?). Kaparas and /*Kwaz*ayaras his son. Arimis(?) and Zahamus his son. From the city Apakuruta ...lumilis(?) and Suzis his son.
From the city Zarahanu Las and Piyatarhunzas his son, Tiwarimis and Santa(m)us(?) his son.
From the city Sarmuta Papis and Huhawaris his son, Halpamus and Astitarhunzas his son. From the city Isata. Uraturhunzas and Tarhuwasuwas his son, Tanim*adalas*(?)

[190] The translations of all three stelae are copied from Hawkins' *CHLI.*

and Arimis(?) his son. From the city Huhurata Amus and Walinayas his son. From the city Satarpa Zuna(m)us(?) and Halpatiwaras his son.

We ... the SURI's at the head(?),
and we establish frontiers."

(He) who shall approach this city with malice, or shall *infringe* the frontiers, or shall stand for TARPI- against this stele, and erase these *words,* against him may celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, the Good God and Ea, the Moon (and) the Sun come *fatally!* Let him not behold the *abundance* of the Sky, and let him not [TARPI-] the *abundance* of the Earth,
and let him not behold the TAW-ASHA abundance of Kubaba! For him may these gods change(?) the land's *life* (to) stone(?)!

## 2. THE KÖRKÜN STELE

Inscription 1 (reverse)

I (am) Kazupis(?), Azinis's son.
I myself was ... (for) 30 years(?), (and) I myself, by my *trusty*(?) *person* the lord's preferred (?), did then by no means cause to ... by Kubaba's command and Tarhunzas's.

When King Astirus built himself *craft*-houses, I seated there this Halabean Tarhunzas.

My grandson (and) great-grandson to my ... ... glorified by the army came forth. May he give a ... *blood-offering* to this god!

(He) who takes (it) away from Nanasis (or) the child, against him <may> heaven and earth litigate!

Inscription 2 (obverse)

My wife(?) Nanasis, the dear one — she gave (me?) a child of the body (lit. "heart").

(He) who takes this vine away from her, from Nanasis, (or) the child, (or) the grandchild, or the great-grandchild ...

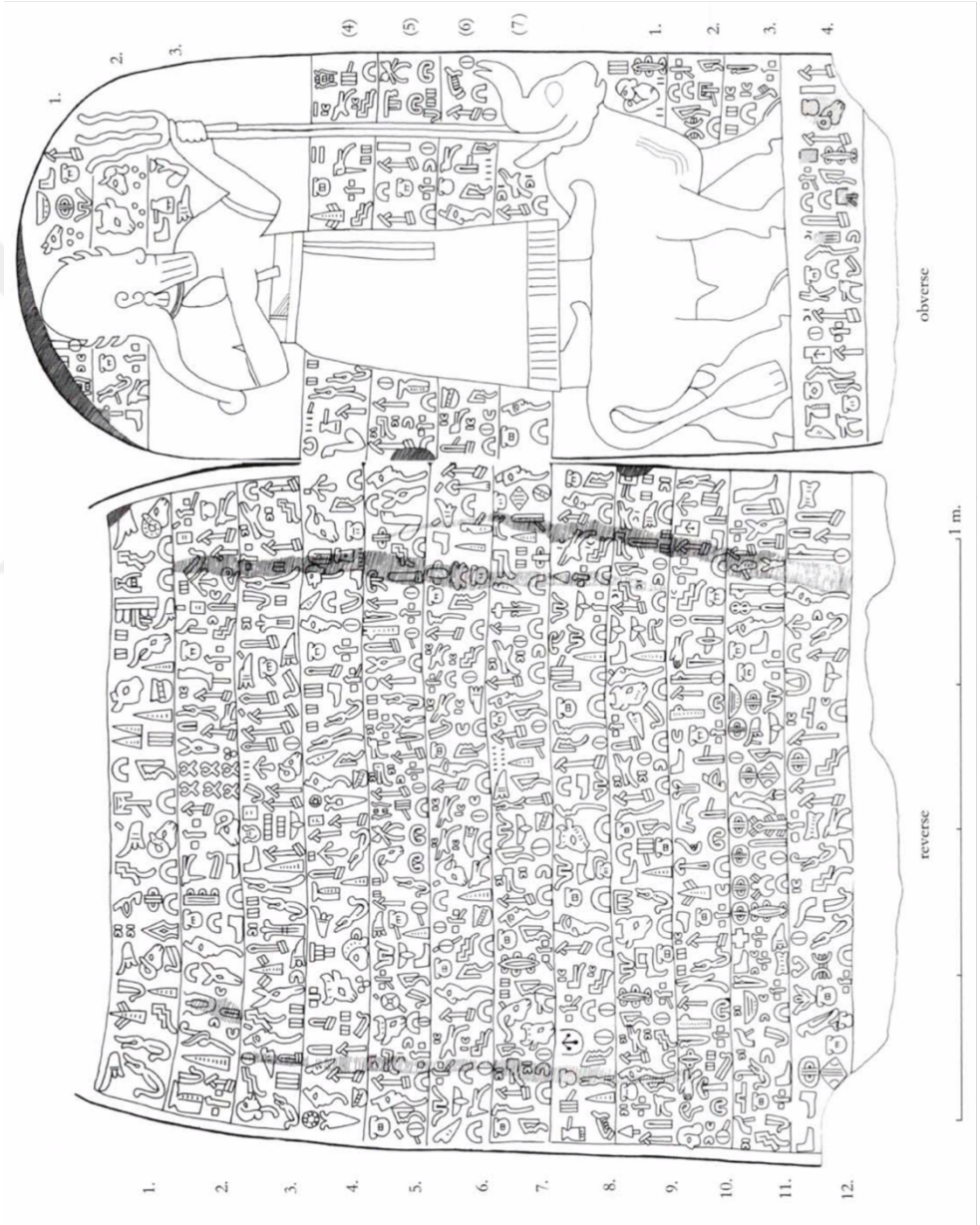
3. MARAŞ B/4 STELE

...*fat* [sh]eep they shall burn(?),
and in future they shall offer nine oxen,
and ... [ ...

APPENDIX B

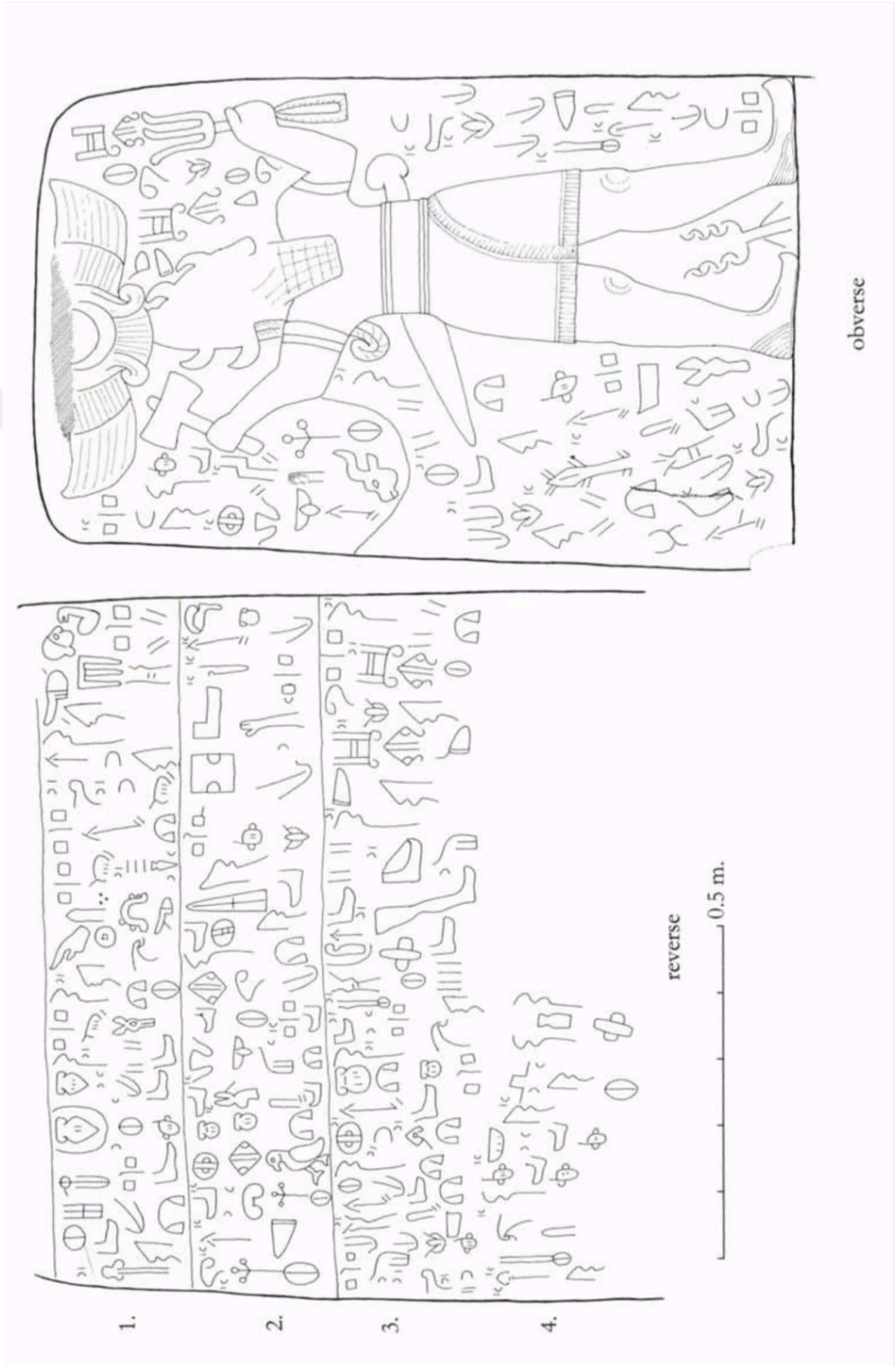
DRAWINGS OF THE CEKKE, KÖRKÜN AND MARAŞ B/4 STELAE

1. THE CEKKE STELE[191]




[191] The drawings of all three stelae are copied from Hawkins' *CHLI.*

## 2. THE KÖRKÜN STELE



3. MARAŞ B/4 STELE



# APPENDIX C

## ORIGINAL TEXTS OF THE TRANSLATED BLOCK QUOTATIONS

1. Mais il faut tout de suite ajouter que si chaque identité a besoin d'une marque phonologique, et que donc la phonologie justifie la sémiologie en lui fournissant une marque dénotative, en retour la sémiologie justifie l'existence de la phonologie en lui fournissant une fonction qui atteste sa pertinence. (Sigrist, “Parole et Ecriture,” 7.)

2. A fronte di un sistema che può indifferentemente passare dal piano della comunicazione visiva a quello della comunicazione linguistica, anzi, è in grado di interrelare i due piani all’interno dello stesso enunciato, mettendo in atto contemporaneamente diversi procedimenti comunicativi, risulta fondamentale una preliminare caratterizzazione funzionale dei singoli glifi per apprezzarne la capacità significativa all’interno delle composizioni cui questi danno vita. (Marazzi, Scrittura, Percezione e Cultura: Qualche Riflessione Sull’Anatolia in età Hittita, 234.)

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