und denen von Tepe Gaura, wenn man, wie es ja immer noch die Anschauung ist, ein gemeinsames oder zumindest für die Frühzeit verwandtes Volk für dieses Gebiet annehmen will, die Subarier, die ihrerseits wieder unter Umständen die Vorfahren der Hurriter gewesen sind. Vielmehr wird es wohl so sein, daß überall dort, wo Holz als Baumaterial zur Verfügung stand, diese langrechteckige, mit einem Firstdach versehene Bauform entstand. Die Keimzelle war, wiederum für die Holzarchitektur charakteristisch, der Einraum, später um eine Vorhalle und einen Vorraum bereichert.\(^{10}\)

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**Abb. 17 Assur. Sin-Samas-Tempel. A. Haller - W. Andrae, WVDOG 67 (Berlin 1955) 84, Abb. 24.**

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**OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCULPTURES OF ALACA HÜYÜK**

**MACHTILD J. MELLINK**

I. Sculptured friezes on the West tower:

The two reliefs with deer and boar hunting scenes Alaca Hüyük Nos. 14 and 15 (Pl. I, figs. a and b) were discovered by Th. Macridy-Bey in 1907.\(^{1}\) They were found fallen in front of the West tower of the Sphinx Gate opposite the row of sculptured blocks (orthostats) Nos. 1-7. Macridy assumed that the blocks with hunting scenes had originally stood on top of this row, like the unnumbered trapezoidal block found in situ over orthostat 9. He gave a drawing of the reconstruction\(^ {2}\) (here text-fig. 1) which shows four large, roughly trapezoidal blocks (from left to right: 16, blank = X, 15, 14) set in a row over orthostats 1-6. H. G. Güterbock confirmed that this was the correct arrangement after he had verified that the upper edges of orthostats 4-5 and the lower edge of block 15 have corresponding cuttings and beddings.\(^ {3}\)

The West tower, then, had two friezes along its South face, the lower one of thick building blocks with their outer faces cut in nearly rectangular fashion, resembling orthostats; the upper one carved on much larger blocks with irregular trapezoidal contours. The design on the lower course consists of two parts moving out from the center: on slabs 4-7, the right half of the lower frieze, a

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\(^{10}\) Wir schlossen uns damit der Ansicht von K. Bittel an: IstM 5, 1934, 144 f.

\(^{1}\) Th. Macridy-Bey, "La Porte des Sphinx à Eyyuk. Fouilles du Musée Impérial Ottoman," Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 13 (Berlin 1908) pp. 3, 18 ff., figs. 23, 24, and plate 1, plan.

\(^{2}\) Op. cito, fig. 15.

procession moves towards the bull statue on its pedestal; the left half of the lower frieze, 1-3, shows acrobats, a sword cutter, musicians, and an unfinished large bull rhyton (proteome) on wheels. Both designs would seem to represent part of one religious celebration to which sacrificial processions as well as music and entertainment by acrobats belong. The Inandik relief vase has given us an extensive iconographic repertoire of such occasions. The treatment of the Alaca slabs as elements of a frieze rather than as individual orthostats is evident, even if the frieze is broken in the middle to be directed to the left and right.

![Diagram of frieze elements](image)

**Fig. 1**

The upper row of larger blocks had a different subject matter: hunting, but its decoration was also treated in continuing, frieze-like fashion. This is even more evident because no rectangular frames exist here in the contours of the blocks, and because each block is divided horizontally in two zones, making a triple set of friezes on the West tower.

There used to be some doubt about the structural superposition of the upper and lower row, but this has been adequately refuted by G"uterbock. The decorative system of the tower is one of multiple friezes, if we accept the contemporaneity in construction and use
of the upper and lower courses. Since the early days of clearance at Alaca Hüyük were not those of stratigraphic analysis of the fill against the façade and over the fallen blocks, we have no simple archaeological evidence to prove the contemporaneity of both rows. On the other hand, the frieze principle within the bisected upper row is so evident that on aesthetic and compositional grounds the hunting scenes belong with the procession.

In addition, the state of completion in both the upper and lower friezes is similar. On the right hand side of the lower frieze (4-7) all blocks are completely carved; on the left side, 1 is very incomplete, 2 is one third incomplete, 3 is finished. The carving proceeded from right to left, in situ. 4

In the upper row, 14, the boar and deer hunt, at the right of Macridy’s series, is completed in both upper and lower registers; 15, the large slab to the left of 14, is completed in its lower register (multiple stags, fawn); its upper register was blocked out but left incomplete. Slabs X (found in situ) to the left of 15, and 16 to the left of X were prepared for decoration but left blank. Again, the artists were working from right to left and did not proceed to the extreme left. The decoration could easily have been in progress at two levels simultaneously, since the upper row was less advanced than the lower; one sculptor could be carving the top register of 15 (over the completed 4-5) while colleagues could be busy with 1 and 2 in the bottom frieze. The state at which the work was interrupted, and the general order of priority in the carving, suggests contemporaneity of the total design. It would be a remarkable coincidence if the same kind of interruption had occurred twice in the sculptural program at Alaca Hüyük and in exactly the same spot (the South face of the West tower).

Neither is the difference in foundation level between blocks 1-3 and blocks 4-7 to be taken as affecting the unity of the lower frieze. The baseline of the acrobats on block 3 is about the same as that of the three dignitaries on block 4; the sculptor took care not to carve the lower strip of block 4 although it was technically available.

The existence of superposed friezes in Hittite sculptural decoration reveals a noteworthy artistic principle. The registration of narrative

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4 Cf. Th. Macridy-Bey, La Porte des Sphinx à Eyûk, p. 11.
frizes is well known to us in minor arts from the Old Hittite period on, best documented in the relief vases of Bitik, Inandik, and various similar fragments. Such cult vases suggest the existence of Hittite wall decorations, either painted in flat designs or painted over stucco relief, resembling Minoan wall reliefs of the second palace period in Knossos and elsewhere. Such wall paintings or stucco reliefs are as yet undiscovered in the badly ruined monumental buildings of the Hittites. The presence of sculptured superposed frizes on the West tower at Alaca Hüyük supports the hypothesis that the Hittites, like their Mesopotamian and Egyptian contemporaries, knew and practiced in their major arts the illustration of rituals in continuous narrative strips, superposed in a succession of events. The date of the earliest Hittite use of this principle is at least that of the relief vases, i.e. about the 16th-15th centuries B.C. The date of the Alaca Hüyük sculptures has not yet been adequately studied. The affinities to the relief vases are strong; the chronologic evidence recently derived from the Achemhüyük ivories encourages us to re-investigate the formation of Hittite art. In any case, a date in the late 13th century has become untenable for Alaca; even the decorative details on the stags and bull need not restrict our choice to the period of Muwatalli.

II. The hunting scenes Macridy 15 and 14:

The ritual connection between the lower frizes on the West tower (procession and acrobats) and the two upper frizes (hunting) has been pointed out by Güterbock. The new installation of lights over the Alaca sculptures in the Ankara Museum makes it possible to appreciate and study the hunting slabs in their vigorous detail, although the analysis of the unfinished upper register of slab 15 remains difficult. The slab was broken in three pieces and parts of its upper right corner and center have been lost since the relief was illustrated by Macridy and Garstang. The upper register of 14 has the well preserved scene of a kneeling archer aiming a javelin-like arrow with a long, barbed point at a boar at bay in front of him; on the adjoining upper strip of 15 the scene may have continued with two smaller, running (or dead?) animals; then a male figure appears standing to the left in front of large forms; is he pouring a libation (as a hunter-archer) in front of a god? At the left, a reclining horned animal (?), and a tree from which some items are suspended (Pl. I, fig. b).

The lower registers, finished on both slabs, are much more evident. On the right hand side of slab 14 another kneeling archer was aiming his javelin-arrow at a group of stags. Much of the surface here has been lost, but the upper part of a bow is preserved under the right foot of the upper archer; the long point of the arrow is seen above the stag on 14. The general contours of the lower archer are identical to that of his counterpart in the upper register. In front of the lower archer on relief 14 is a semi-crouching stag facing left, i.e. in the same direction as the archer, with its rear legs shown half bent; one front leg is stretched out forward as if flattened under the lowered head, the other front leg was bent but is now missing. The stag nibbles at a leaf of a stylized plant: we are in a forest or thicket (Pl. II, fig. c). The stag, although a magnificent specimen with large antlers, is not a free dweller in the woods. A ring is attached to its muzzle. Half of this ring is clearly visible below the contour of the lower jaw. A rope fastened to this ring is stretched along the lower contour of the neck to the foreleg of the stag. Here the stone is damaged. The rope appears

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6 K. Bittel, Kleinasiasische Studien (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 5, 1942) p. 208;
9 H. G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Boğazköy II (Berlin 1949, Archiv für Orientforschung Bellet 7) p. 51. The simplified patterns on the bull of Muwatalli’s seals Nos. 1 and 80 may well be later imitations of the patterns at Alaca Hüyük.
11 J. Wiesner pointed to this detail in Archäologischer Anzeiger (1949) p. 426. Tamed stags were known in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, cf. the stag with a rope tied around its muzzle, then wound around its leg, L. Ch. Waterlin, Excavations at Kish IV 1925-29 (Paris 1934) p. 33. Such a stag is the animal which carries the hunting god at Malatya. Cf. Hildred Joyce Yorke, The Stag in the Ancient Near East (Dissertation Columbia University 1971) p. 129.
again under the belly of the stag and disappears behind its rump; a break again makes it difficult to see how the rope (a small fragment of which can be recognized behind the rump) reached the archer; perhaps it was tied around his waist. The genitals of the animal are not shown, but the antlers identify him as a male of the species.

The position of the stag leaves no doubt that he was restrained by the hunter. As we look at the continuation of the lower frieze to the left, on slab 15 (Pl. II, fig. d), we see the explanation of the scene: the archer is aiming at the stag who is innocently moving towards him in the forest (again rendered by a stylized plant form), lured by the captive stag which the hunter has placed in the thicket in front of him as a decoy. The stag on slab 15 is heading for a potential rival, the decoy, and as a result moves right toward its human enemy, the lower archer, who is about to shoot over the back of the decoy. Behind the principal victim, three other potential victims are aware of the danger; not lured into the trap by the decoy, they flee in panic towards the left: a small fawn in the upper field, two superposed stags at the left side. The vigorous gait of the three animals is indicative of their fright; the reason of their panic is made clear by the turn of the heads of two of the fleeing animals: unlike the deceived prime victim, they spot the hunter and rush back away from him. This is lively narration in a continuous frieze which draws slabs 15 and 14 closely together; their lower registers can be understood only in conjunction. The height of the lower friezes is not strictly identical (that of 15 is 84 cm., that of 14, 65 cm.) so that the horizontal upper borders were not level; however, the lowered position of the head of the decoy makes the transition less abrupt. This technical discrepancy is of minor relevance in view of the strong coherence of the narration in the frieze.

III. The continuation of the upper West frieze.

Given the full confirmation of Macridy and Güterbock's discoveries that the West tower was decorated with a lower and an upper (double) frieze, and that the design was coherent in the length of each frieze, what became of the upper frieze at its East end where it approached the gate?

At the end of the lower frieze, blocks 6 and 7 have the stately scene of the queen and king approaching an altar in front of the bull statue on its pedestal. Block 7 is the corner stone; the true edge of the corner was missing in Macridy's days; the two sides of the block are now separate due to the removal of the back of the block when it was prepared for transport by Macridy. The lower frieze turns North and continues towards the Sphinx Gate along the ramp or staircase which must have led to the level of the sphinxes. On the return of block 7, the frieze on the left side of the rising entrance way shows two men in short costume, facing each other and holding a standard between them, the top of which is damaged, then a small nude man facing a robed priest who holds a ceremonial axe or looped staff. The baseline of these figures begins to rise with the ramp.

The upper frieze series cannot have stopped abruptly after slab 14, the boar and deer hunt, but it must have continued over slabs 6 and 7 and around the corner. We have a corner block which in style matches the vigorous action of the hunting slabs: Macridy No. 19, the long lion who lunges forward and puts his front paws on a couchant small bull (Pl. III, fig. c). This lion is in relief on the side of a long left corner block; the front of the block is worked in the round so that the protome of the lion, his front paws, and the small couchant bull projected from the wall face in which the rest of the block was embedded. This is best visible now on the left side of the lion-and-bull block. The projecting parts (the lion's head as far back as the ears, the lion's paws) are carved in detail to a depth of about 32 cm.; the stone behind this is smoothed to be fitted against an adjoining block. The neck of the lion is freed from the block to a greater depth but this counts as sunk relief in the surface of the block, not as projection.

It is clear that the block was not originally set at ground level, it is relatively low (about 60 cm.) so that it would have been unimpressive when looked down upon; and the small bull especially is worked so that its sides and base are meant to be visible from below. The presence of a winged disc on the long side under the lion proves that a lower frieze completed the iconography of the long side of the block. 14

14 Cf. Macridy, op. cit, fig. 25 for the original corner.
14 See Akurgal - Hirmer fig. 90.
Putting the lion-and-bull block on the Southwest corner stone 7 of the lower frieze may offer a solution to the artistic and technical problems of the upper frieze: the protome of the lion and bull projects as a three-dimensional unit at the corner of the tower; the lion's long body flanks the entrance ramp, and the winged sun disc carved under the lion will then sit in place over the standard held by the two antithetical men on slab 7, locking the two friezes together (Text-fig. 2; Pl. IV, fig. 1; Pl. V, fig. 1).

Technically, the corner block of the lion and bull fits the available space. The original width of the lower corner block 7, South side, was 60 cm. at the top (before the corner was damaged); the base width of the lion block is about 60 cm. with a slight projection of the bull's head to the East. The center of the winged disc on the East side of the lion block is at 72 cm. from the front edge of the console, i.e., at 72 - 32 = 40 cm. from the structural front edge of the block. On the East side of block 7, the side with the standard bearers, the axis of the staff is also 40 cm. from the original corner.

The upper edge of block 7, East side, is cut with a slight rise at 69 cm. from its South corner. It is at present difficult to check the underside of the lion block which is now partly embedded in concrete. An uneven edge is noticeable at 79 cm. from the structural corner; this would not match the cutting on top of block 7, but the lion block will have to be examined in detail to see if the lower edge is intact and if it had an original indentation at a point closer to the South corner.

We have no connecting block at present between the hunting scenes of the upper West frieze and the tentative corner piece of the lion-and-bull protome. The gap between block 14 and the corner would be 1.35 m. wide; the height of the missing block is uncertain. It would have been about 1.42 m. at its left side where it adjoined 14, and it either would have tapered down to about 90 cm. to join the lion block or it may have overlapped this with a projecting rectangle of about 50 cm. height and 69 cm. width. The latter is not improbable, as it would make a structural tie in the masonry of the second course. Such blocks may have existed among the Alaca gate sculptures, to judge by Ankara Museum No. 41, a block with a bull charging to the left. The lower left corner of this block is cut out to fit over another block (here to fit a space of about 34 cm. width and 40 cm. height). Block 14, the boar hunt slab, originally had a projection at its right side, as visible in Macridy's photograph. This tenon, now chiselled down, must have helped to lock the block between 14 and the corner safely into place. The tenon on 14 is too small to correspond to the cut-out in Ankara block 41 with the charging bull, but the system is analogous.

An objection to the proposed reconstruction may be made on the ground that the lion-and-bull block does not overlap the joint between the lower course blocks 6 and 7; it would rest exclusively on block 7 (cf. Pl. IV, fig. f), making for an awkward superposition of vertical joints. This is no strong objection in view of the abrupt offset between the tops of blocks 6 and 7; the right edge of block 6 is about 8 cm. higher than the left end of 7, an unusual difference too large to be bridged by a simple cutting in the lower edge of an overlapping upper block. Moreover, a small cutting at the left lower edge of the lion-and-bull block can still be seen in its present (trimmed) condition; this cutting may have helped to ease the block against the projecting edge of 6.

The iconographical superposition of the lion-and-bull console over the bull statue on its pedestal may be surprising at first sight, since it puts the worshipped bull immediately under the bull which appears as a stylized victim of the corner lion. The lion and bull group belongs in the upper frieze in a context of hunting and wildlife. These scenes, however, cannot have been without reference to the religious rituals shown in the lower frieze. Güterbock pointed out that scenes of worship and scenes of hunting also coexist on Hittite seals. An offering scene may have been shown in the upper frieze of block 15, as suggested above.

Perhaps we should consider the stylized markings on the worshipped bull, the bull-victim, and the deer of the upper West frieze as signs of religious distinction. The marks consist of a staff with

16 Macridy, op. cit. fig. 23.
17 A slightly less radical offset exists between the corner block of the East tower and its neighbor, but there too the level changes abruptly (a rise of 6 cm. after a width of c. 75 cm. for the corner block).
curved end (the curved end points away from the head of the animal), two dots below the curved end, and a trefoil on the hindquarter of the animal. These marks occur exclusively on the two bulls\textsuperscript{19} and the five deer of the West tower; they are absent from all other animals (boar, lion, sacrificial ram and goats). Rather than simple dappled skin patterns, the marks may be read as stamps of ritual relevance, with the possible implication that both bull and stag could become the center of worship themselves, as is evident in the case of the bull on the platform. The small, marked bull under the lion’s paws reclines formally and peacefully. Has the triumph here been turned into protection, and is the lion the guardian rather than the enemy of the couchant bull? In any case, there is an ambivalence in the role of the deer and bulls. The deer are hunted, but also may be the sacred animal of the god of the hunt; the bull may be attacked by the lion as a potential victim, but appears autonomous as a worshipped being in statue form on its pedestal.

IV. The general design of the Sphinx Gate:

The proposed reconstruction of the West tower calls for questions about the East tower and the general aspect of the sculptures of the entrance complex known as the Sphinx Gate.

For the reconstruction of the East tower we need a block that forms the counterpart of the lion-and-bull West cornerstone in the Ankara Museum. Half of the East corner block is preserved in the garden of the museum at Alaca Hüyük. It shows the hindquarters of the East (right side) lion in relief, with the same conventional contour for the mane on the slender, taut body. The front part is missing, and with it the protome of the lion and victim. Since the East corner block is incompletely carved, and the series of friezes on the East tower is less well preserved, the East side will need careful reconstruction after a checking of all measurements of the available blocks, sides, and beddings.

Again the lower frieze represents a religious procession, in this case approaching a goddess apparently set in a niche (like the later

\textsuperscript{19} The couchant bull under the lion’s paws has one dot only and a set of wavy lines in lieu of the second dot, cf. Akurgal-Hirmer fig. 51. Macridy, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 13, considers the marks on the bull of block 7 as “signes de son caractère sacré.”
Kubaba), but except for three blocks the lower frieze is lost at present. We may assume that the upper frieze was contrasting in subject matter with perhaps room for block 46, now in the Ankara Museum, showing a hunter on foot spearing a lion which is attacked by two dogs. A block in the Alaca Hüyük Museum garden may adjoin, and the charging bull on Ankara Museum block 41 is another candidate.

The decorative system of superposed friezes becomes evident as we put the lion blocks at the outer corners of the gateway, and as we begin to visualize the right hand side of the gate as a complete counterpart in decorative detail, corner lions and superposed friezes carved with appropriate designs. The gate complex then has a triple system of animal guardians: at the outer corners of the buttresses, lions lunging forward over small bulls, the protomes architecturally used as projecting sculptures in the round; at the first doorway, the large sphinxes still in situ; at the inner door, unfinished sphinxes or lions facing the city.

The protome sculptures of lion-and-bull projecting at eye level are an unusual, but not entirely surprising feature. Protomes as abbreviated gate guardians, projecting from the masonry of the walls in which they are embedded, are known from Alaca and Boğazköy. Protomes set at a higher level in the masonry, thus projecting as consoles, are otherwise unparalleled at Hittite sites. The other unusual feature is the involvement of the gate guardians in subsidiary action, here in the subjection of the small bull victim under the lion's paws. In this respect the Alaca corner lion is related to the earliest Hittite art we know, the ivories from Acemhöyük, among which are renderings of seated lions in quiet pose with their victims (stags) held firmly in their jaws.

The most interesting aspect of this gate composition is the vigorous interlocking of frieze design and gate-guarding animals, two- and three-dimensional sculpture. The outer corner lions are like the later tamassu in that they have their profiles carved on the gate jambs.

20 Akurgal - Hirmer fig. 95.
21 Macelidly op. cit. fig. 40, illustrated upside down, and fig. 39 A: an archer, rampant lion, and a dog (?).
The transition from the console-like protome to the flat relief of the long body is boldly masked by stylization of the shoulder as it wraps around the structural corner; shoulder and mane have formalized contours. The protomes of the lions close off the upper, hunting frieze; the lower frieze rises as a procession in the outer gate chamber to the level of the sphinxes.\textsuperscript{23} The sphinxes, the next set of guardians, are protomes projecting from the gate blocks, but instead of their profiles, we find large scale relief designs on the inner jambs of the gate, evidently part of the ritual frieze which came up from the outer gate chamber. Best preserved is the double-headed eagle supporting a long-robed figure of a goddess(?) facing in from the East jamb of the gate; the eagle, in keeping with Alaca style, not only supports the robed figure but also subdues two hares under its talons.\textsuperscript{24} The third set of animal guardians, facing the city, was left unfinished, but they evidently were meant to be part of the original design as protomes, with the procession continuing on the South faces and jambs of the inner gate. Human feet are still preserved on the left gate block.\textsuperscript{25}

The total impression which this gate complex, even in its unfinished state, must have made on the spectator and visitor was monumental, formal as well as lively. At least three friezes could be seen on the West tower, one or more in the entrance court rising from below and behind the long lions; a ritual procession continued in the inner gate chamber. At corners and door jambs, large guardians emerged partially from the masonry. No strict horizontals were maintained to separate the friezes; no unity of scale was enforced; the formal character of ritual observances was set off by vivid renderings of the entertainers on the West tower; the apotropaic duties of the animals at the outer corners did not prevent them from participating in the hunting and action scenes of the upper registers.

\textsuperscript{23} Macridy block 12 (fig. 28, p. 21 in his monograph), the six men walking up a ramp to the right, probably belongs to the second register adjoining the lion, making a length of $2.36 + 2.00 = 4.36$ for this course, which equals the required length of the left outer gate jamb (4.40 m.). Block No. 15 (Macridy's fig. 27) is incomplete. It could have continued the lower frieze, set at a higher base level than block 7.

\textsuperscript{24} Details in Akurgal-Hürmer fig. 88. A double-headed eagle supports the goddesses Yazılıkaya Nos. 45 and 46 (one and the same? daughter of Teshub, cf. Laroche, Revue Hittite et Asiatique XXVII, 1969, pp. 85-93). This late eagle has no victims, but a composition with victims occurs among the Acemhöyük ivories.

\textsuperscript{25} Macridy op. cit. figs 13 and 14.

The sculptural decoration may have been enlivened with paint, now utterly lost; indeed, with the aid of the Alaca Hüyük sculptures, we may begin to visualize the lost painted wall decorations of early Hittite temples and palaces, in which native Anatolian art blends monumentally with inspiration from Egypt and Mesopotamia.