

Yağmur Heffron

Paraphernalia of Funerary Display at Kaneš

A Closer Look at Gold Eye- and Mouth-Pieces

<https://doi.org/10.1515/aof-2020-0006>

Abstract: The Hittite royal funerary ritual *šalliš waštaiš* prescribes gold pieces to be placed on the eyes and mouth of the deceased. This is consistent with the manner in which thin sheets of hammered gold are reported to have been found on the faces of occupants of in-house graves in the Lower Town of Kültepe, ancient Kaneš. Mouth-pieces of unmistakable similarity have also turned up in great numbers in Late Bronze Age graves on Cyprus, most notably at Enkomi. Beyond comparison with the *šalliš waštaiš* text, gold eye- and mouth-pieces from Kaneš have received little attention. This contribution offers the first comprehensive study of these objects specifically as a class of funerary paraphernalia. It provides a catalogue and typology of gold sheets, and explores their archaeological context before turning to their social and symbolic significance against the backdrop of the cosmopolitan Kanešean households. The discussion considers hybridity in terms of a compatibility between funerary practices across different cultural settings, also noting chronological implications.

Keywords: Anatolian religion, text and artefact, funerary display, grave wealth, cultural continuity, transmission

Introduction

Direct correspondences between artefact and text are rare, which makes them uniquely attractive for bridging the “historical/archaeological divide.”¹ Bridging this divide is not, however, simply a matter of finding matches – otherwise the results would go no further than an illustrated glossary.² Matching text to artefact is only a starting point for making inferences which might not otherwise be possible from singularly material- or singularly text-based lines of inquiry. The same is true also for establishing archaeological comparanda, which gain greater analytical momentum if pushed beyond the simple identification of parallels so as to consider functional and contextual comparisons, and possible differences in meaning in different cultural settings. The following discussion invokes the wider implications of correspondences between texts and artefacts against the complex socio-religious background of Kaneš, specifically in relation to continuity in and transmission of ritual practices within and out of Anatolia during the second millennium B.C.

Kültepe-Kaneš stands out as a truly remarkable site, which Anatolian archaeology deservedly continues to boast. Kültepe’s principal claim to fame is that it is the earliest known Anatolian centre of the Bronze Age to have produced historical documentation, in the form of the cuneiform archives recovered from the houses of resident merchants and businessmen. The houses themselves are no less remarkable, given their high degree of archaeological preservation and rich assemblages, of which cuneiform tablets are but one part. Kültepe’s

1 Postgate (1994: 176).

2 Cf. Postgate (2018).

extensive repertoire of ceramics and small finds not only attests to a highly sophisticated level of craft production and symbolic idiom, but also makes for a superbly photogenic collection showcasing the site.³

For far too long, however, the aesthetic qualities of Kültepe's material culture have dominated the conversation whilst artefactual studies have remained largely on the descriptive front, with little effort put towards interpretative analyses or contextual discussions.⁴ Such discussions are made all the more difficult by the thinness of information in published excavation reports, which tend to be especially nebulous on grave assemblages. In fact, the more spectacular and display-worthy an object, the fewer contextual details seem to have been made available in publication. Some of the most showcased Kültepe finds are items of personal adornment such as pendants, rings, or pins made of gold, silver, or electrum, and inlaid with precious stones such as lapis lazuli and carnelian recovered from funerary contexts.⁵ In fact, had Kültepe graves not been found below the floors of ordinary houses, they almost certainly would have been dubbed 'royal', like the famous Early Bronze Age discoveries made at Alacahöyük or Troy.

Kültepe's 'treasures' have been cited principally as testimony to the affluence and sophistication of the residents of Kaneš.⁶ There remains ample room to extend the interpretative horizon for such objects beyond their extrinsic value, and consider their intrinsic value in terms of their social and symbolic significance.⁷ Gold eye- and mouth-covers present an ideal category of object for a wider discussion of cultural continuity and transmission within the funerary sphere. Their function *specifically* as ritual paraphernalia is evident from the circumstances of their *in situ* discovery, which in turn are further reinforced by textual correspondences with *šalliš waštaiš*⁸ as well as typological comparanda from Cyprus.⁹

Funerary Archaeology at Kültepe

In a multi-ethnic community such as Kaneš, where intermarriage between local and migrant populations is historically documented¹⁰ and in-house burial archaeologically attested, evidence for funerary practices holds tremendous potential to inform discussions of identity, and admixture. Indeed, the material record at Kültepe demonstrates an amalgamation of practices reflecting a diversity of means, preferences, and beliefs not necessarily limited to the local Anatolian cultural horizon, but incorporating identifiably Syro-Mesopotamian traditions.¹¹ This in turn has significant implications for gold eye- and mouth-covers, whose correspondence to Hittite paraphernalia makes them stand out all the more against the complex background of cultural admixture at Kaneš.¹²

While out of habit and for the sake of convenience it may be tempting to reduce the nature of cultural encounters at Kaneš to those between Assyrians and Anatolians (as though Assyrians were the only foreign presence or Anatolians a monolithic group), it is crucial not to lose sight of the fact that Kaneš was the nexus of a much wider range of cultural, linguistic, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. It is precisely this highly

³ Özgüç's 2003 book, *Kültepe, Kaniš-Neša: The Earliest International Trade Center and the Oldest Capital City of the Hittites* (Turkish version published in 2004), showcasing the archaeological riches of this site, is matched by the more recent exhibition catalogue, *Anatolia's Prologue* (Kulakoğlu/Kangal 2011). The site was also featured in a 2013 issue of the popular magazine *Aktüel Arkeoloji*, again illustrated with striking photographs.

⁴ That "the emphasis has been on 'what', not 'how' or 'why', on description, not explanation" (Pader 1982: 50) is neither a new problem, nor one exclusive to Kültepe. For recent efforts towards contextual discussions on the use of domestic space, see Barjamovic (2015) on tablet finds; Heffron (2016) on ritual installations.

⁵ See, for instance, Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: catalogue numbers 329–371).

⁶ Özgüç (1986), Özgüç (2004).

⁷ E.g. Highcock (2017).

⁸ Most recently Patrier (2013: 58).

⁹ Most recently Graziadio (2013).

¹⁰ For a recent overview, see Heffron (2017), with references.

¹¹ Heffron (2016).

¹² Recently, Patrier (2012) proposed a comparison between *šalliš waštaiš* and rituals at Mari.

heterogeneous nature of the *kārum* period communities which presents an exceptional subject for investigation.¹³ Tantalisingly, it is for the same reason that funerary practices documented for Kültepe – where not just the town itself but individual households were composed of ethnically mixed residents – prove difficult to attribute conclusively to a specific cultural horizon by methods typically relying on stylistic analyses of grave goods for discussing identity. The overall diversity within the funerary assemblage suggests that material culture associated with death and burial often incorporated, perhaps even necessitated, ‘foreign’ as well as ‘local’ elements in expressing and/or emulating identity, whether it might be ethnic, religious, professional, gender-based, or other. In this respect, Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria’s recent strontium isotope ratio analyses of human teeth from individuals buried in Lower Town graves is a case in point for moving beyond traditional culture-historical approaches.¹⁴ Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria makes an unprecedented case for identifying individuals born elsewhere but buried in Kaneš. This calibre of rigorous analysis adds further urgency for artefactual examinations to catch up, so that we might “bring this new type of evidence into a *meaningful* conversation with architecture, material culture, and texts to develop a grassroots perspective on culture and society at Kanesh.”¹⁵ Such a perspective necessitates a fresh look at the households as the physical as well as symbolic nexuses of cross-cultural interaction for the diverse admixture of communities, frequently brought together by intermarriage, at Kültepe-Kaneš. The domestic house itself also served as the setting of funerary activity, numerous dwellings being equipped with graves below the floor.

The broader context of Anatolia’s Middle Bronze Age funerary record is represented by a variety of different grave types (sometimes co-occurring at a single cemetery) which does not appear to conform to a single pattern that may be aligned neatly with a particular set of religious habits. It is difficult to judge the extent to which (or indeed whether) different types reflected different cosmological associations.¹⁶ As a means of status signalling, however, one type particularly stands out: stone cist graves, which certainly represent the most labour-intensive and costly type of construction in comparison to simple earth pits, sherd-covered graves, or pithos burials. The preponderance of this type at Kültepe comes as no surprise as many residents of ancient Kaneš were wealthy businessmen who could easily afford such ostentation.¹⁷

In his ambitious study of 2nd millennium burials across Anatolia, Akyurt has catalogued a total of 79 graves for Kültepe. Patrier estimates about 80 graves.¹⁸ There exists an alarmingly large and unexplained gap in data over half a century of excavations,¹⁹ as “[t]here is no information detailing whether any human remains were found between 1954 and 2005.”²⁰ Therefore, we have good reason to assume that what has thus far been made available in published reports does not represent the full extent of graves encountered during the course of excavations at the site. Overall, available information on graves, grave goods, and human remains from Kültepe is patchy. While earlier reports from the 1950s tend to offer relatively more descriptive detail, it is not uncommon for graves to be unnumbered or otherwise unspecified in terms of location, contents, occupants, or contextual associations. Cross-referencing between individual reports can sometimes allow ‘floating’ graves to be (re)assigned to their original locations and decontextualized finds to be traced to their find-spots, but this is not always possible. Wider issues of contextual association and individual cases

¹³ See, for instance, recent work by Atıcı (2014); Larsen/Lassen (2014); Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2017).

¹⁴ Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2017).

¹⁵ Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2017: 64 [italics added]).

¹⁶ Likewise for inferring social class, age, gender, and so on, for which the most immediate obstacle is of course the absence of reliable physical anthropological data, as recently highlighted by Patrier (2013: 56). See also Deliyannis (1997).

¹⁷ Deliyannis (1997) has similarly commented in relation to the richness of the grave goods at Kültepe: “Le développement urbain et économique spectaculaire du site de Kültepe durant sa position de principal *kārum* anatolien, celui de Kanes, semble également avoir eu des répercussions dans la domaine funéraire, en particulier dans le mobilier funéraire, qui [...] se diversifie et surtout s’enrichit dans les couches II et Ib.”

¹⁸ Patrier (2013: 55).

¹⁹ According to Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 46), “skeletal assemblages from excavation seasons until 2006 were reburied without analysis.”

²⁰ Üstündağ (2014: 158). Skeletal remains from the very first seasons of excavations have been studied and published by M. Şenyürük (1952; 1958); see also Özgüç (1950). For the short history of osteological analyses at Kültepe between 1948–1954, see Üstündağ (2014:158) and Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 65–66).

are discussed in detail below. Recent work, thankfully, is better documented. Üstündağ's osteological report on 24 burials containing a minimum number of 45 individuals gives some preliminary information on grave types and find-spots, which are indeed in keeping with general trends exhibited by earlier discoveries. The burials include the familiar range of cist, pithos, and earth graves and mostly appear to have been placed below house floors, with a small number, apparently not associated with architecture, being attributed to open spaces or streets.²¹

As for grave goods, certain types of finds, particularly precious objects, present an additional complication of their own. The appeal of some artefacts as display-worthy pieces has no doubt contributed to their isolation from other finds within the same assemblage and catalogued separately. This has resulted in the further dispersal and loss of contextual information. This being said, it is the very same appeal of show-piece objects that presumably ensured that *all* gold and silver finds were catalogued and published (whereas less 'interesting' objects might have been overlooked). In other words, while we have reason to be sceptical about whether the available excavation reports account for a full or at least a statistically representative repertoire of the more 'ordinary' finds, in the case of 'unique' items such as gold sheets, we may safely assume that the pieces published by Özgüç represent a full inventory of gold/silver/electrum sheets excavated up until 1986.²²

Additional gold and silver sheets have since been found, but have not been fully accounted for. Kulakoğlu and Kangal's 2011 exhibition catalogue includes two gold pieces which appear to be more recent discoveries; these have been included in the typology proposed here (Nos. 16 and 24). One gold and three silver pieces are listed among goods associated with a cist grave from Level I (Grave 2006/M4) by Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria²³ but no photos or further information on these items have been released. The contextual associations of these finds are discussed below, but they have not been included in the catalogue. Much more recently, Kulakoğlu has reported a silver diadem from a late third – early second millennium grave excavated on the mound.²⁴ It is clear that ongoing excavations at Kültepe continue to produce gold and silver sheets, but none of these can enter discussion in any meaningful way until they are adequately published.

Typology of Gold Sheets

Within the overall repertoire of gold jewellery recovered from Kültepe graves, thin sheets of hammered gold are found rounded into rings, wristbands, and diadems.²⁵ There are also flat sheets shaped into rectangles, ovals, lozenges, and discs, which were clearly not intended to be wrapped around the head, finger, or the wrist. Some of the larger ovals could, however, also fall under the general category of headdresses, as their form lends itself easily to be worn as frontlets.²⁶ Those with perforations on either side must have been sewn onto fabric, such as clothing or a shroud.²⁷ While gold was by far the preferred medium, a small number of the flat sheets were made of silver and electrum.²⁸

We know for certain that at least *some* gold pieces were placed over the eyes and the mouth. Two artificial reconstructions on display in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara show how we may imagine

²¹ Üstündağ (2014:159); see also Üstündağ (2009). For further details on context and associated finds, see Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 463–481).

²² Özgüç (1986).

²³ Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 481).

²⁴ Kulakoğlu (2017). See n. 45 below.

²⁵ As a category, diadems include long, narrow head bands over 15 cm in length (e.g. Özgüç 1986: pl.63/2a). Sheets curved into bands are easily recognisable as bracelets or rings (e.g. Özgüç 1986: pl. H/5–8). One gold diadem was attached to the edge of a silver conical cap as part of a composite headdress, leading Özgüç to postulate similar (though relatively more modest) examples made up of a felt cap with a gold or silver diadem around the edge (Özgüç 1986: pl.64/1a-c).

²⁶ For comparanda, see, for instance, frontlets from Ur or Ugarit (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: figs. 46a, 47, 110). Özgüç (1954: 372) also recognises distinction between eye- / mouth-covers and longer pieces for being worn on the forehead: "[...] gold sheets that are longer than those covering the eyes and the mouths of the dead were placed on the forehead" (author's translation).

²⁷ Özgüç (1954: 369).

²⁸ The term "gold sheet" used throughout as a shorthand to refer to the wider group including silver and electrum pieces.

that a ‘complete’ set may have looked like on a body fully decked out for burial, including a cap, diadem, mouth- and eye-covers (**Figs. 1a-b**).²⁹ Note that the gold cap on one of the displays (Kt f/K 007, **Fig. 1b**)³⁰ is recorded for a cist grave separate from the other items,³¹ while the long, wide band placed over the mouth was in fact originally catalogued as a diadem.³² It remains uncertain, therefore, whether any actual grave contained a similar set comprising all the elements brought together for the display.

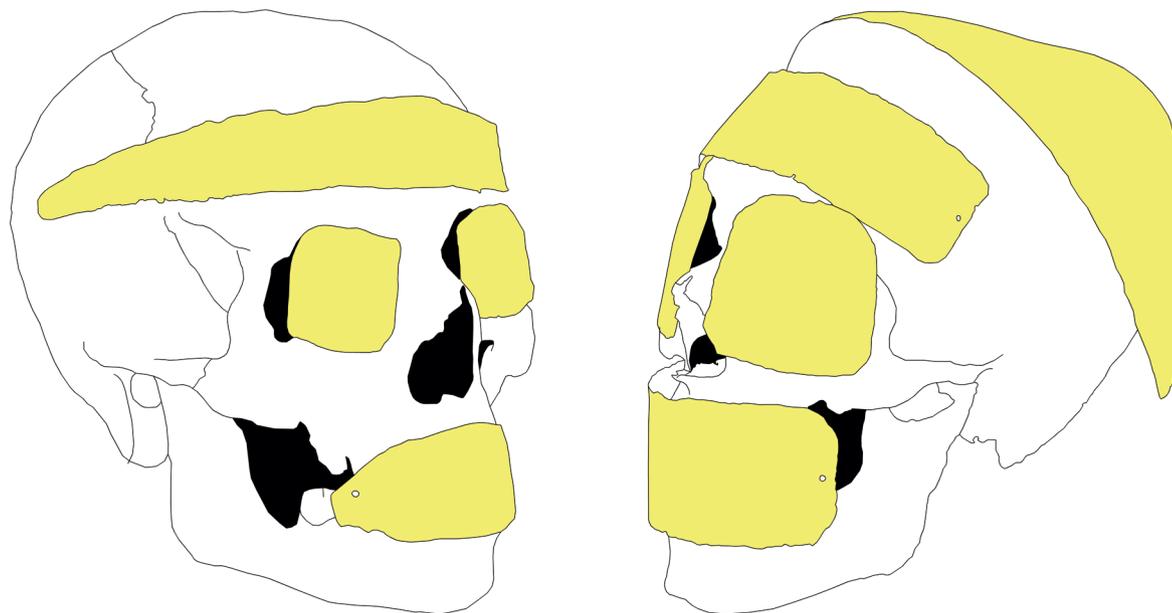


Fig. 1a–1b: Imagined arrangement of gold sheets on display in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (Ankara). Line drawings by Neil Erskine after Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 300–301). Not to scale; original displays use adult human skulls.

While flat sheets of gold/silver have received a brief discussion under generalised categories as diadems, eye- and mouth-covers, a systematic typology has not been attempted. Likewise, although most of the published sheets have appeared in a catalogue, the latter is in the form of an inventory, with very little contextual or other detail that might aid further interpretative analyses. Here I propose a new and detailed typology for gold/silver sheets with plausible affordances as eye- and mouth-covers. These include the relatively longer and/or wider bands (particularly Type 1a; see below) which most likely served as frontlets, i.e., headdresses, but could *also* have been used to cover the mouth as well as the eyes.³³ Much larger pieces which are clearly diadems,³⁴ rings, and wristbands,³⁵ as well as those which were clearly used as sheaths or plating for items made of perishable material, have been excluded.³⁶ The following discussion outlines the methodological premises behind the proposed typology.

²⁹ Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 300–301).

³⁰ Entered erroneously as a “bowl” in Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 301). See also Özgüç (1986: 26, pl. 66/13a-b, şek. 28).

³¹ Özgüç (1986: 26, pl. 64/1a-c, şek. 24).

³² Özgüç (1986: 22); catalogued as a frontlet here (Type 1a, No. 3, see **Table 1**).

³³ As imagined in the museum displays described above.

³⁴ This group also includes curved fragments which seem to have been wrapped around the head rather than placed on the face. See Özgüç (1986: pls. 63/1, 2a-b, 3, 4, 11, and pl.64/a).

³⁵ Özgüç (1986: pls. 63/13a-b, 14a-b, 15, 16, and pl.64/3).

³⁶ Özgüç (1986: pl. 65/7).

Table 1: Catalogue of gold/silver/electrum pieces placed on the body as funerary paraphernalia

No.	Excavation No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Museum No. ³⁷	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Comments	Bibliography
Type 1									
1	Kt v/K 165	180-13-74 (A)	1a /p* frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	9.8 x 3.4	lb Excavated 1970	cist grave	*Four perforations, one in each corner	Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/12) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/t)
2	Kt p/K 143	94-98-64 (A)	1a /? undetermined	gold	fragment 5.0 x 2.8	lb	cist grave		Özgüç (1986: 22, pls. H/17, 63/5)
3	Kt c/k 186		1a /p mouth-piece	gold	6.2 x 2.5 ³⁸	II?	cist grave <i>Assemblage 1</i> (see Table 2)		Özgüç (1953: res.7) Özgüç (1986: 29, şek. 37, plan 8) Akyurt (1998: şek. 93b)
4	Kt h/K 1	19205 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	13.5 x 5.3	Not specified Excavated 1956	cist grave, used twice: <i>Assemblage 2</i> (see Table 3)		Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/9) Akyurt (1998: şek.106/v) Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 301)
5	Kt h/K 2	19214 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	16.3 x 4.0	Not specified Excavated 1956			Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/6) Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 301)
6	Kt h/K 3	18756 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	16.0 x 4.1	Not specified Excavated 1956			Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/7)
7	Kt h/K 4	18757 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	10.8 x 2.4	Not specified Excavated 1956		Two perforations on both corners on one end; single perforation in centre of opposite end	Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/10)
8	Kt g/K 28	15672 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	11.5 x 2.5	Not specified Excavated 1955	cist grave (robbed) same context as unspecified gold diadem fragment	Listed as a pair with No. 21 in excavation catalogue	Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/11)

37 Note that not all items catalogued here have been published with museum numbers.

38 Estimated from photo scale in Özgüç (1953: res. 7).

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. ³⁷	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Comments	Bibliography
9	Kt h/k 7	18759	1a /p undetermined	gold	dimensions not recorded	lb	grave	Preserved in two fragments; single perforation on end of one of the preserved fragments	Özgülç (1986: pl. 64/5)
10	Kt g/K 27	15671 (A)	1a /p mouth-piece	gold	7.8 x 2.2	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/4)
11	Kt q/K 26	1567 (A)	1b /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	9.7 x 2.6	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 23–24, pl. 65/3) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/s)
12	Kt f/K 398	18773 (A)	1b mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	5.4 x 1.9	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 23–24, pl. 65/2)
13	Kt g/K 29	15673 (A)	1b /p mouth-piece or frontlet	Gold	8.8 x 2.8	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/2)
14	Kt i/K 63	19317 (A)	1b /p mouth-piece	gold	7.6 x 2.8	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/20)
15	Kt K 12	18760 (A)	1b /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	8.7 x 3.3	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/9) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/r)
16	Kt 81/K 46	81/229 (K)	1c /p mouth-piece	gold	7.5 x 3.1	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, 64/21) Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 300)
17	Kt f/K 277	18769	1c /p mouth-piece	Gold	7.7 x 3.2	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/7) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/k)
18	Kt f/K 267	18772 (A)	1c /p mouth-piece	gold	6.0 x 2.0	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/13) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/j)
19	Kt a/K 686	11253	1d mouth-piece	electrum	7.6 x 5.5	ll	cist grave <i>Assemblage 3</i> (see Table 4)	Part of a three-piece set with a pair of electrum pectorals (Kt a/K 685 and Kt a/K 684) not included in the catalogue here	Özgülç (1948: 86, lev. LXIV şek. 391–392) Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/19)

No.	Excavation	Museum No. ³⁷	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Comments	Bibliography
Type 2									
20	Kt g/K 115	15677 (A)	2a /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	8.3 x 2.0	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/8) Akyurt (1998: řek. 106/p)
21	Kt 84/K 92	84/289 (K)	2a /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	9.7 x 2.5	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 23–24, pl. 65/4)
22	Kt m/K 152	120-12-64 (A)	2a /p mouth-piece	gold	6.7 x 2.2	lb	grave	Found together with No. 8?	Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/6)
23	Kt m/T 156		2a /p mouth-piece	silver	5.5 x 1.5	Early Bronze III	cist grave on mound		Özgülç (1986: 119, řek. 25)
24	Kt 88/ k 958	88/536 (K)	2a /p mouth-piece	gold	7.2 x 2.7	II		Horizontal slit along middle	Kulakođlu/Kangal (2011: 302, no. 325)
25	Kt 1/K 181	19319 (A)	2a /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	8.4 x 3.1	lb	grave	Perforations as triangular cut-outs	Özgülç (1986: 24–25, 64/15)
26	Kt f/K 285	18770 (A)	2a /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	9.6 x 3.0	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/11)
27	11254 (A)		2a mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	9.5 x 3.0	II	cist grave <i>Assemblage 3</i> (see Table 4)	Associated with skeleton positioned on the west side	Özgülç (1948: 86, lev. LXIV) Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/10)
28	Kt 77/K 95	77/789 (K)	2a mouth-piece	gold	5.7 x 2.5	lb	grave	Ends not preserved; unclear if piece was originally perforated	Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/23)
29	Kt u/K 84	6137 (K)	2a /p mouth-piece (fragment)	gold	2.2 x 1.8	lb	grave	Single perforation on preserved end	Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/24)
30	K 90/K 413	90/3014 (K)	2b /p mouth-piece	gold	7.0 x 2.2	lb	grave	Incised crosshatching	Kulakođlu/Kangal (2011: 303, no. 328)

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. ³⁷	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Comments	Bibliography
31	Kt f/K 405	18771 (A)	2b /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	8.2 x 2.6	II ³⁹	cist grave (disturbed); courtyard of house in R-T/19-20	Shallow horizontal incision across centre	Özgülç (1948: 51–52, lev. LXIV şek. 393, plan 2B) Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pl. 64/12) Akyurt (1998 TS1)
32	Kt b/K 253	11325 (A)	2b /p mouth-piece	gold	6.2 x 2.3	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/19)
33	Kt u/K 26	61736 (K)	2b /p mouth-piece	gold	7.3 x 2.5	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/22) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/n)
34	K 90/K 414	90/3015 (K)	2b /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	8.4 x 1.6	Ib	grave	Incised crosshatching	Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 303, no. 327)
35	Kt t/K 37	178-14-74 (A)	2b /p mouth-piece	gold	6.7 x 2.9	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/18) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/1)
36	Kt g/K120	15680 (A)	2b mouth-piece	gold	5.2 x 2.0	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 23–24, pl. 65/1)
37	Kt 84/K 18	84/238 (K)	2c /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	10.0 x 3.3	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 23–24, pl. 65/5) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/o)
38	Kt h/K 5	19210 (A) 19214 ⁴⁰	2c /p mouth-piece	gold	10.1 x 3.6	Ia	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 63/8) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/y)
39	Kt v/K 162	180-10-74	2c /p mouth-piece	gold	7.8 x 3.7	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pls. H/15, 64/14) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/m)
40	Kt m/K 153	120-142-64 (A)	2c mouth-piece	gold	7.2 x 2.5	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24, pl. 64/17)
41	Kt v/K161	180-9-74 (A)	2c /p mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	9.3 x 3.2	Ib	grave		Özgülç (1986: 24–25, pls. H/16 64/ 16)

39 Attributed to Level Ib in Özgülç 1986 but recorded for Level II in the original publication in Özgülç (1948).

40 Museum number is given as 19210 (A) in the list of plates in Özgülç (1986: 101) but as 19214 elsewhere in the same publication (Özgülç 1986: 24).

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. ³⁷	Type	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Comments	Bibliography
Type 3									
42	Kt u/K 91	6136 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 2.8 cm	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/8) Akyurt (1998: şek.106/g?) ⁴¹
43	Kt 81/K 45	6136 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 2.1 cm	lb	grave <i>Assemblage 4</i> (see Table 5)	One of a pair with No. 44	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/9)
44	Kt 81/K 44	81/228 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 2.1 cm	lb		One of a pair with No. 43	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/10)
45	Kt u/K 24	81/227 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 2.9	lb	grave <i>Assemblage 5</i> (see Table 6)	One of a pair with No. 46	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/11)
46	Kt u/K 25	6136 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 3.0	lb		One of a pair with No. 45	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/12)
47	Kt h/K 252	6076 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 3.3	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/13)
48	Kt t/K 39	178-15-74 (A)	3a /p eye-piece	gold	D 3.6	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/15) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/h)
49	Kt a/K 151	120-6-64 (A)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 4.4	lb	grave		Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/16)
50	Kt 84/ K 156	84/335 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 4.9	lb	grave <i>Assemblage 6</i> (see Table 7)	One of a pair with No. 51	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/3)
51	Kt 84/ K 157	84/336 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	D 4.7	lb		One of a pair with No. 50	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/4)
52	Kt c/k 187	-	3a eye-piece	silver	D. 4.8 ⁴²	II?	cist grave <i>Assemblage 1</i> (see Table 2)	One of a pair with No. 53	Özgülç (1953: res.7)
53	Kt c/k 188	-	3a eye-piece	silver	D. 4.8 ⁴³	II?		One of a pair with No. 52	Özgülç (1986: 29, şek. 37, plan 8) Akyurt (1998: şek. 93b)
54	Kt v/K 163	180-11-74	3b eye-piece	gold	4.5 x 4.4	lb	grave <i>Assemblage 7</i> (see Table 8)	One of a pair with No. 55	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/7)
55	Kt v/K 164	180-12-74	3b eye-piece	gold	4.5 x 4.4	lb		One of a pair with No. 54	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/8)

41 Erroneously referenced in Akyurt as corresponding to Özgülç (1986: pl.68/8).

42 Estimated from photo scale in Özgülç (1953: res. 7).

43 Estimated from photo scale in Özgülç (1953: res. 7).

No. Excavation No.	Museum No. ³⁷	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Comments	Bibliography
56	Kt v/K 73	6501/2 (K)	3b eye-piece	silver	D 3.5 cm	lb	grave	Özgülç (1986: 26, pl. 66/9)
							No. 57	
57	Kt v/K 72 ⁴⁴	6501/1 (K)	3b eye-piece	silver	D 3.5 cm	lb	grave	Özgülç (1986: 26, pl. 66/10)
	Kt g/K 117 ⁴⁵						(see Table 9)	No. 56
58	Kt t/K 38	178-15-74	3b eye-piece	gold	D 3.4 cm	lb	grave	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 65/14) Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 302)
59	Kt g/K 16	15678 (A?)	3c eye-piece	gold	2.6 x 2.3	lb	grave	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/5)
							<i>Assemblage 9</i>	Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/i)
60	Kt g/K 17	15679 (A?)	3c eye-piece	gold	2.9 x 2.8	lb	grave	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/6)
							(see Table 10)	No. 59
61	-	5679 (A)	3c eye-piece	gold	2.8 x 2.7	lb?	grave	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/11)
							<i>Assemblage 10</i>	No. 62
62	Kt 84/K 19	84/239 (K)	3c eye-piece	gold	3.0 x 3.3	lb?	grave	Özgülç (1986: 25, pl. 66/12)
							(see Table 11)	No. 61

44 Excavation number given in text (Özgülç 1986: 26).

45 Excavation number given in the catalogue (Özgülç 1986: 103).

Table 1 provides a single catalogue in which information on individual gold/silver/electrum sheets discussed in this article is collected, including contextual information, bibliographic references, and commentary on discrepancies across publications. Some of this information is augmented by additional contextual details provided in Akyurt,⁴⁶ although these are not entirely free of inconsistencies either. The catalogue in **Table 1** is organised by type, with each piece assigned a unique number (Nos. 1–62). Examples for each type are illustrated in **Figs. 2–3**. The catalogue can be used for easy reference as it collates the information originally published across several different inventories in *Kültepe-Kaniş II*, which have then been checked against earlier site reports.⁴⁷ Three pieces not previously published in excavation reports but shown in the exhibition catalogue *Anatolia's Prologue*, have also been included.⁴⁸

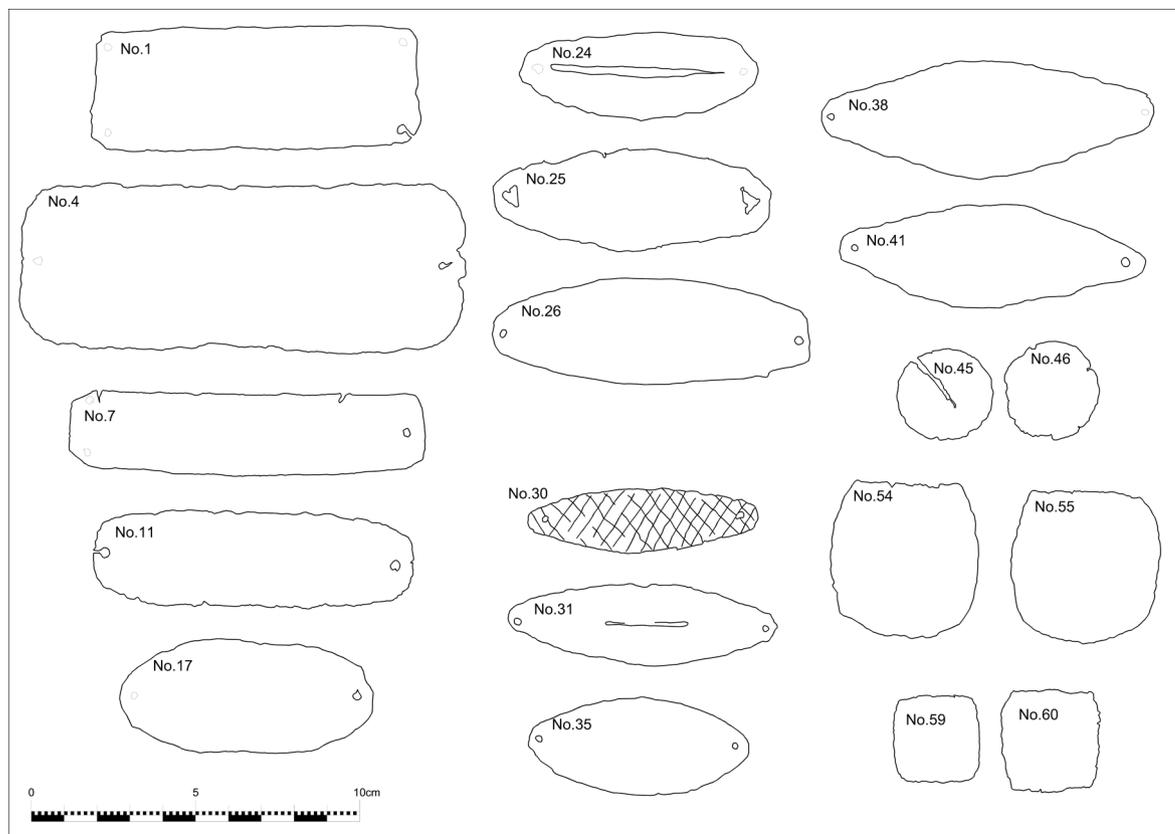


Fig. 2: Representative examples of each type of gold sheet discussed in the text. Line drawings by Neil Erskine after Özgüç (1986: Nos. 1, 4, 7, 11, 17, 24–26, 31, 35, 38, 41, 45–46, 54–55, 59–60) and Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: No. 30). See **Table 1** for bibliographical information on each individual piece.

⁴⁶ Akyurt (1998).

⁴⁷ Özgüç (1950; 1953; 1954).

⁴⁸ Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011).



Fig. 3: Large electrum sheet or ‘plate’ (No. 19). Line drawing by Neil Erskine after Özgüç (1986). See **Table 1** for bibliographical information.

Bands: Types 1 and 2

Type 1 Gold sheets with elongated shapes such as rectangular or tapering bands lend themselves to use as mouth-covers. Comparanda from Ur and Ugarit⁴⁹ suggest that, while the wider and fuller forms (similar to Type 1 here) are more likely to have served as frontlets, those from Enkomi (Type 2 here) show that the sharply tapering ends are very much in keeping with imitating the shape of a mouth. Both possible uses are noted in **Table 1**, with the most likely function (as suggested by size) entered first: pieces over 10 cm in length have been catalogued as frontlets *or* mouth-pieces; pieces between 8–10 cm as mouth-pieces *or* frontlets, and pieces below 8 cm as mouth-pieces. This necessarily arbitrary set of distinctions is not intended to suggest absolute categories, but to indicate relative likelihoods of a particular use.

Type 1a (Nos. 1–10) comprises pieces with sharp or slightly rounded corners presenting a distinctive rectangular form. Most of these pieces are over 10 cm long (Nos. 4–8), with a mean average of 12.2 cm and, therefore, the most likely to have served principally as frontlets.⁵⁰ See **Fig. 2: 1, 4, 7** for examples.

Type 1b (Nos. 11–15) includes pieces with much more rounded corners, which may be seen as a transitional form between Types 1a and 1c. Type 1b ranges from 5.4 to 8.8 cm in length, conspicuously shorter

⁴⁹ Maxwell-Hyslop (1971: figs. 46a, 47, 110).

⁵⁰ Excluded from the mean average are No. 2 which is a fragment measuring 5.0 × 2.8 cm but may well have exceeded 10 cm in original length; and No. 8, for which no measurements or photo scale are available.

than the range for Type 1a, therefore perhaps more likely to have been used as mouth-covers. See **Fig. 2: 11** for an example.

Type 1c (Nos. 16–18) has a distinctly elliptical outline in contrast to the sharper corners of the more rectangular Type 1a. Only represented by three pieces, it ranges from 6 to 7.2 cm in length, which again would serve quite well for a mouth-piece. See **Fig. 2: 17** for an example.

Type 1d (No. 19) is represented by a single electrum sheet (**Fig. 3**). Although the fragmentary condition of this piece makes it difficult to gauge its original shape, it appears to have had rounded yet relatively well-defined corners. The difference between its length (7.6 cm) and width (5.5 cm) is small, producing the shape of a panel rather than an elongated band. This piece was recorded as one of a set (Assemblage 3, see **Table 4**).

Type 2 corresponds to gold sheets with tapering ends which represent the most suitable form for mouth-covers as they imitate the shape of a mouth. Two examples in particular leave little doubt as to their intended function as mouth-covers: No. 24 has a narrow slit, and No. 31 (**Fig. 2**) has a shallow incision running along the middle, both examples undoubtedly delineating lips.⁵¹

Type 2a (Nos. 20–29) has a very gentle taper and looks quite similar to Type 1c, though narrower in width (1.5 to 3.1 cm). See **Fig. 2: 24–26** for examples.

Type 2b (Nos. 30–36) has much more pronounced tapered ends, with a distinct bulge in the centre in most pieces. See **Fig. 2: 30–31, 35** for examples.

Type 2c (Nos. 37–41) are almost lozenge-shaped, with the sharpest taper at the ends. See **Fig. 2: 38, 41** for examples.

Round pieces: Type 3

Round pieces fall into three distinct types. With the exception of a single piece (No. 47), they have no perforations, indicating that they were not sewn or tied on to a surface, perhaps because they were intended to be manipulated as described for the *šakuwal* eye-covers in *šallis waštaiš*, which are lifted and then placed back on the face of the deceased (see below).

Type 3a (Nos. 42–53) are near-perfect discs. This group includes six matching pairs with identical measurements. See **Fig. 2: 45–46** for examples.

Type 3b (Nos. 54–58) represents circular pieces with one trimmed, straight edge, ranging in diameter from 3.4–4.5 cm. See **Fig. 2: 54–55** for examples.

Type 3c (Nos. 59–62) includes two pairs of roughly square-shaped pieces, ranging from 3 × 3.3 cm to 2.6 × 2.3 cm. See **Fig. 2: 59–60** for examples.

One oversized pair of round silver pieces with a distinctly concave form did not serve as eye-covers,⁵² since this pair was placed on the chest of the corpse, which was equipped with a separate pair of smaller silver eye-covers (Nos. 52–53, **Table 1**; Assemblage 3, **Table 4**). A similar pair of concave electrum pieces, also larger than average and described as “cups” by the excavator, probably also presents pectorals rather than eye-covers.⁵³ Neither pair is numbered as an eye-cover in the catalogue here.

Archaeological Context

For the majority of published gold sheets, there is extremely little contextual information available. With only a handful of exceptions (see Assemblages below), none of the published sheets can be traced back to the

⁵¹ The only other pieces with additional surface treatment are No. 30 (**Fig. 2**) and No. 34 in the form of an incised decoration in a diagonal mesh pattern similar to a frontlet from Ugarit (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: fig. 119).

⁵² Kt c/k 189 and Kt c/k 190, both measuring 7.5 × 7.0 cm (Özgüç 1953: res. 7; 1959: 29, şek. 37, plan 8; Akyurt 1998: şek. 93b).

⁵³ Kt a/K 684 and Kt a/K 685, with diameters measuring 5.8 and 5.8 cm, respectively (Özgüç 1950: 86, lev. LXIV, şek. 397; 1986: 25, pls. 65/17–18; Akyurt 1998: 227, şek. 109c-d).

graves where they were found, which means that we have no idea about the distribution of these objects across the site, or what other grave goods were deposited in the same graves, or whether gold pieces accompanied a particular age group and/or sex more prominently.

There is, at least, a fairly consistent record of the occupation levels to which most of the published pieces are assigned. This shows a clear concentration in Level Ib. Of the 62 pieces catalogued here, 48 (77 %) come from Level Ib; 7 pieces (11 %) are recorded for Level II graves; and just one piece for Level Ia (2%). The remaining five pieces (8 %) cannot be attributed to a specific level with certainty. Only one piece (2 %) is dated to an Early Bronze III level on the mound. All pieces are ascribed to cist graves, reinforcing the connotations of wealth (and status) associated with this type of grave construction.⁵⁴

Only a small portion of the overall repertoire of gold sheets can be grouped into individual assemblages (Assemblages 1–9 in **Tables 2–10**). One such assemblage consists of five bands reported to come from a cist grave excavated in 1956 (Assemblage 1, **Table 2**).⁵⁵ The level to which this grave belongs is not recorded, nor is the number of individuals interred in it. The reuse of the grave suggests a minimum number of two grave occupants, but it is also likely that the grave included at least five individuals if we assume each was accompanied by a single band (possibly a frontlet rather than a mouth-cover, given the length of the pieces).

Table 2: Assemblage 1: Silver pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
3	Kt c/k 186		1a /p mouth-piece	silver	6.2 × 2.5	II ²	cist grave – possibly the cist grave discovered below the easternmost room of house (shops?) on O-P/ 20-12 attributed to Buzutaya	Özgüç (1953: res.7)
52	Kt c/k 187		3a eye-piece	silver	Diam. 4.8	II ²		
53	Kt c/k 188		3a eye-piece	silver	Diam. 4.8	II ²		

In two cases it is possible to speak of actual ‘sets’ made up of different types of gold/silver/electrum sheets evidently intended as part of a single attire. Most notable is the set of silver sheets (Assemblage 1, **Table 2**), which consists of a mouth-cover, a pair of round eye-covers, a pair of larger concave pectorals, as well as a long band on the waist which resembles a diadem but was more likely (part of) a belt given its position.⁵⁶ It should be noted that the archaeological context of this set is not entirely certain, but inferred as a best guess from the information available in excavation reports. This set was published in a *Bulleten* report which unfortunately does not disclose the specific findspot of the relevant funerary assemblage, either by attributing it to a particular grave or to a house. The only explicit reference to a specific burial is the description of a cist grave⁵⁷ below the floor of the easternmost room of a Level II structure in O-P/20-21, later published as a series of shops attributed to a certain Buzutaya.⁵⁸ It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that this grave, described as equipped with “plenty of funerary goods”⁵⁹ is the same one which produced the silver set.

⁵⁴ One exception to this is the silver band (No. 23, Type 2a) from a cist grave on the Kültepe mound as opposed to the lower town (Özgüç 1986: 119, şek. 25). It is possible that it was found together with a silver diadem (Özgüç 1986: 22, şek. 23) also recorded as coming from the mound. Recently, Kulakoğlu (2017) has reported a silver diadem (K 2010/t M1) from a stone-circled pit grave on the mound, dated to the late third or early second millennium B.C.

⁵⁵ The fifth piece reported for this assemblage is an uncatalogued fragment, only mentioned in passing (Özgüç 1986: 23). No. 5 has been used in the ‘set’ brought together for one of the museum displays mentioned above but does not have a contextual association with any of the other pieces.

⁵⁶ Pectorals and band (belt?) not included in the catalogue here. See Özgüç (1953: res. 7).

⁵⁷ Özgüç (1986: 29, şek. 37, plan 8); Akyurt (1998: şek. 93b).

⁵⁸ Previously read “Puzuta” (Özgüç 1959: 29, şek. 37, plan 8).

⁵⁹ Özgüç (1953:103).

Table 3: Assemblage 2: Gold pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
4	Kt h/K 1	19205 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	13.5 × 5.3	Excavated in 1956	cist grave, used twice	Özgüç (1986: 23, pl.63/9) Akyurt (1998: şek.106/v) Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 301)
5	Kt h/K 2	19214 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	16.3 × 4.0	Excavated in 1956		Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/6) Kulakoğlu/Kangal (2011: 301)
6	Kt h/K 3	18756 (A)	1a /p frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	16.0 × 4.1	Excavated in 1956		Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/7)
7	Kt h/K 4	18757 (A)	1a /p* frontlet or mouth-piece	gold	10.8 × 2.4	Excavated in 1956		Özgüç (1986: 23, pl. 63/10)

The other set (Assemblage 3, **Table 4**) consists of three electrum sheets: two round pieces and three fragments of an unusual shape. The same grave assemblage (Assemblage 3) also includes a gold piece, which was specifically recorded in association with the individual placed on the west side of the grave; so perhaps the electrum set belonged to the other occupant on the east side. The grave itself, one of the very few graves recorded in any detail, was found below the Level II house in G/9 attributed to Lāqēpum.⁶⁰ This house has only partially been excavated, which is why its ground plan simply consists of three adjacent rooms. The stone cist was placed under the middle room, where the tablet archive of Lāqēpum was also discovered. The excavator reports signs of disturbance in antiquity: one of the cover slabs was missing and the bones were found in disarray.

Table 4: Assemblage 3: Electrum pieces and a gold sheet

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
19	Kt a/K 686	11253	1d mouth-piece	electrum	7.6 × 5.5	II	Cist grave (3 No.lu sanduka = TS3 in Akyurt 1998) below the middle room of partially excavated house in in G/9 attributed to Lāqēpum	Özgüç (1948: 86, lev. LXIV şek. 391-2) Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 65/19)
27	11254 (A)		2a mouth-piece or frontlet	gold	9.5 × 3.0	II		Özgüç (1948: 86, lev. LXIV şek. 391-2) Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 65/19)

The two grave occupants are identified as an adult male and a subadult female,⁶¹ who were placed in the hocker position facing each other on a wooden grill-like platform at the bottom of the cist.⁶² Bones of both

⁶⁰ Özgüç (1950: 86, lev. LXVI, lev. XXX şek. 122, 124; lev. XXXI, şek. 130). Akyurt (1998: tablo 53, şek92a-b). Note that Akyurt only records the gold piece but does not mention the electrum set.

⁶¹ Skeleton numbers 6a and 6b, respectively (Şenyürek 1952).

⁶² Özgüç (1950: lev. III); Akyurt (1998: şek. 92b).

individuals are reported to show signs of some kind of fire treatment,⁶³ which evidently took place inside the grave. Özgüç notes evidence of burning in the grave fill, as well as on some of the grave goods.⁶⁴ However, the great majority of the grave goods did not show signs of having been exposed to fire, indicating that these were deposited at a stage after the fire treatment.⁶⁵ It is significant that the two “electrum cups” or pectorals (see above) are among the finds listed as showing signs of burning, which suggests that they were worn at the time of the body’s fire treatment.⁶⁶

Table 5: Assemblage 4: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
43	Kt 81/K 45	6136 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	Diam. 2.1 cm	lb	grave	Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 65/9)
44	Kt 81/K 44	81/228 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	Diam. 2.1 cm	lb		Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 65/10)

Table 6: Assemblage 5: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
45	Kt u/K 24	81/227 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	Diam. 2.9 cm	lb	grave	Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 65/11)
46	Kt u/K 25	6136 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	Diam. 3.0 cm	lb		Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 65/12)

Table 7: Assemblage 6: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
50	Kt 84/K 156	84/335 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	Diam. 4.9	lb	grave	Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/3)
51	Kt 84/K 157	84/336 (K)	3a eye-piece	gold	Diam. 4.7	lb		Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/4)

⁶³ *Prima facie*, the fire treatment of the dead might recall the Hittite practices but it is important to note that the burning in this case did not amount to full cremation. Instead, it may have been intended as a means of preserving the bodies, for which the Royal Cemetery at Ur offers an interesting analogy (Baadsgaard et al. 2011).

⁶⁴ Özgüç (1950: 53–54).

⁶⁵ These include, associated with the skeleton on the east side, a spouted pitcher (*ibrik*) placed near the head, a trefoil-mouth pitcher, two bronze bowls (stacked), a bronze bottle, a bronze spearhead, and a bone “cosmetics” box placed near the knees; and associated with the skeleton on the west side, a lead cirlet. Between the two were two inscribed amulets, a seal, a large bronze bowl and a decorated bone handle (Özgüç 1950: 53–54).

⁶⁶ The other item recorded as displaying signs of burning is a composite handle made of bronze and wood, and a bronze spearhead, both associated with the skeleton on the west side. (Özgüç 1950: 53–54).

Table 8: Assemblage 7: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
54	Kt v/K 163	180-11-74	3b eye-piece	gold	4.5 × 4.4	lb	grave	Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/7)
55	Kt v/K 164	180-12-74	3b eye-piece	gold	4.5 × 4.4	lb		Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/7)

Table 9: Assemblage 8: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
56	Kt v/K 73	6501/2 (K)	3b eye-piece	silver	Diam. 3.5 cm	lb	grave	Özgüç (1986: 26, pl. 66/9)
57	Kt v/K 72 ⁶⁷ Kt g/K 117	6501/1 (K)	3b eye-piece	silver	Diam. 3.5 cm	lb		Özgüç (1986: 26, pl. 66/10)

Table 10: Assemblage 9: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
59	Kt g/K 16	15678 (A?)	3c eye-piece	gold	2.6 × 2.3	lb	grave	Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/5) Akyurt (1998: şek. 106/i)
60	Kt g/K 17	15679 (A?)	3c eye-piece	gold	2.9 × 2.8	lb		Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/6)

Table 11: Assemblage 10: Pair of gold eye-pieces

No.	Excavation No.	Museum No. A = Ankara K = Kayseri	Type /p = perforated on both ends	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Level	Context	Bibliography
61	-	5679 (A)	3c eye-piece	gold	2.8 × 2.7	lb?	grave	Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/11)
62	Kt 84/K 19	84/239 (K)	3c eye-piece	gold	3.0 × 3.3	lb?		Özgüç (1986: 25, pl. 66/12)

A single gold sheet perforated on both ends (No. 31) can be traced back to a disturbed cist grave below the courtyard of the Level II house in R-T/19-21 attributed to Uzua.⁶⁸ According to the original excavation report, this gold sheet was discovered near the hips of an adult skeleton. Şenyürek distinguishes an adult male, an adult female, and a subadult female among the human remains excavated in this house.⁶⁹ However, since the house included several pithos graves, in addition to the cist grave, it is not clear which of these individuals occupied which burial.

⁶⁷ Two different excavation numbers given in Özgüç (1986: 26, 103).

⁶⁸ "1 No. lu sanduka" (Özgüç 1950: 51–52, lev. LXIV şek. 393, plan 2B).

⁶⁹ Skeleton numbers 2A, 4, and 2B respectively (Şenyürek 1952).

Finally, excavation reports refer to a “little sheet” (*levhacık*) discovered over the shoulder of the skeleton in a cist grave⁷⁰ from the Level Ib house in D-F/7-8, below the floor of the rectangular room to the northeast of the courtyard. It is not possible to determine which of the published gold sheets corresponds to this find.

An unpublished Level Ia cist grave (M04), excavated in 2006, offers a glimpse into the contextual associations of gold/silver sheets. The inventory and short description that Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria provided is reproduced here with her permission:⁷¹

Context	Open area	
Type	Stone cist	
Orientation	NE-SW	
Dimensions	130 × 180 cm	
Preservation	Disturbed and robbed in antiquity	
Occupants ⁷²	Adult male, 60+ years Adult female, 20–25 years Adult female, 20–25 years	
Finds	inside the grave	outside the grave
	Bone inlay fragments Bronze ring Bronze pin with broken head Bronze pin with sliced head Gold pin 3 pieces of silver foil Boot-shaped vessel Trefoil-mouth jug	Gold foil piece Bronze pin Grape-bunch vessel Trefoil-mouth jug
Description	This cist grave of Level Ia was disturbed and looted in antiquity. However, even the remaining objects demonstrate the richness and variety of the original burial offerings. The grave must have been used over a long time probably as a family grave, since it included three individuals. As such, the grave is reminiscent of the wealthy cist graves of Kültepe with multiple burials, known from previous excavation seasons. The remaining burial offerings included bronze pins and rings”, silver and gold foil pieces, bone inlay fragments probably used in decorating wooden cosmetic boxes, trefoil-mouth pitchers, and most strikingly a boot-shaped rhyton inside and a grape-bunch shaped rhyton found outside the grave. The finds outside the grave were not <i>in situ</i> , and probably were originally placed inside the grave. An old man and a young woman were found in a contracted position, lying on their side with heads towards northeast, although they may not have been in original position, since the skeletal remains were moved around by looters. The body position of the third individual, a young woman, could not be identified.	

While it is difficult to draw conclusions before the grave is fully published, the data and interpretation presented by Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria are very much in keeping with gold/silver sheets as part of a constellation of status-signalling grave gifts. Moreover, the date of the grave reinforces the continuity of this expensive practice into Level Ia. Assuming the silver and gold sheets represent eye- and/or mouth-pieces (as opposed to fragments of a headdress), we can infer a ritually charged element of funerary display prior to or perhaps at the time of interment. Note also that the presence of boot- and grape-shaped ritual vessels as well as a pair of trefoil-mouth jugs inside the grave suggest that cultic drinking and/or libations were also part of the funerary rites at or around the time of burial.

⁷⁰ Özgüç (1954: 363, res. 9); TS 10 in Akyurt (1998: tablo 58).

⁷¹ For excavation and inventory numbers, see Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 481–483).

⁷² The age and sex of the grave occupants are based on Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria’s reading of field notes and the age/sex information published in Üstündağ (2014). Note that the isotope signatures for two female occupants of this grave show that they were born at Kaneš; the male occupant yielded no teeth for analysis. See Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 418, fig. 9.3) for an interpretation of the isotope analysis results from this grave.

Links with the Hittite royal funerary ritual *šalliš waštaiš*

The key source of documentary evidence for Hittite funerary practices is the text (or texts) outlining the ritual referred to as *šalliš waštaiš*, after its first line: “If a great ‘sin’ (or ‘calamity’) (*šalliš waštaiš*) occurs in Hattuša — (that is), either a king or queen becomes a god (i.e. dies) — (then) ...”⁷³ The series of rites that make up the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual take place over the course of 14 days,⁷⁴ but the information preserved for individual days is highly uneven.⁷⁵ The most climactic event in the ritual is the cremation of the dead king or queen on the funerary pyre, which takes place on the night of Day 2. On the morning of Day 3,⁷⁶ the bones are collected from the ashes of the extinguished pyre and eventually deposited in the “stone house” (E₂.NA₄), i.e. a funerary chamber.⁷⁷ The numerous rites and ceremonies filling up the rest of the 14-day programme involve a series of libations, animal sacrifice, ritual drinking, singing, and so forth.

Gold eye- and mouth-covers, *šakuwal* and *pūriyal*, respectively, are mentioned on two occasions towards the end of Day 2. The first is the initial placement of these items over the face of the deceased:

- 1 [ma-a-an MUNUS-za-m]a na-aš-ta U₂-NU-TE^{mes} MUNUS-TI an-da pi₂-e-da-^ran[-zi]
 2[(nam-ma) ma-ah-h]a-an U₂-NU-TE^{mes} ir-ha-a-it-ta-ri nu-uš-ša-an
 3 [ak-kan₂-ta-aš (p)]u-u-ri-ja-aš še-ir pu-u-ri-ja-al KU₃.GI A-NA IGI^{hi.a}-aš
 4 [še-ir (ša-ku-wa-al-l)]i KU₃.GI ti-an-zi nu šal-li hal-zi-ja

- 1 [B]ut [if it is a woman] (i.e. if the queen has died),] they brin[g] inside the woman’s utensils.
 2 [(Then, wh)]en (the actions with the woman’s) utensils are finished,
 3 They place a lip-cover of gold over [(the l)]ips [of the deceased]
 4 <and> [(eye-cove)r]s of gold [over] the eyes. The main <meal> is announced.⁷⁸

Later, the *šakuwal* and the *pūriyal* are placed back on the face of the deceased after s/he has been kissed by a participant of the ritual:

- 58 [a]k-kan₂-ta-an ku-wa-aš-zi
 59 [ša-k]u-wa-al-li KU₃.GI da-a-i
 58 [] kisses [the d]eceased.
 59 [] he places [eye-c]overs of gold [...].⁷⁹

Again, various utensils (a bow and arrows for a man and a distaff and spindle for a woman)⁸⁰ are associated with the episode, suggesting that the *šakuwal* and the *pūriyal* were also part of the funerary paraphernalia with which the body was prepared for display.

The *CHD* defines *šakuwal* simply as “eye-cover”; *pūriyal* is likewise entered as “lip cover”, with a reference to the gold sheets found in Kültepe graves.⁸¹ Van den Hout suggested that *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* might be inlays for an effigy.⁸² His principal reason for suggesting inlays (rather than objects actually placed on the face of the deceased) has to do with the reconstruction of the ritual sequence over Day 2, which would situate

⁷³ *mān* ^{uru}Hattuši *šalliš waštaiš kišari naššu=za LUGAL-uš našma MUNUS.LUGAL-aš DINGIR-LIM-iš kišari* (Kassian et al. 2002: 9). For a narrative summary, see Gurney (1977); for a discussion of associated rites from a religious historical perspective, see Haas (1994: 219–229); van den Hout (1995). See also Otten (1958) for an early translation.

⁷⁴ According to Testart (2005: 29) we are dealing not with a single ritual but rather a series of different rituals comprising a complex ensemble.

⁷⁵ Van den Hout (1995: 196).

⁷⁶ Following the reconstruction by Kassian et al. (2002: 257). Likewise, Haas (2000) situates cremation at the end of Day 2.

⁷⁷ See van den Hout (1994) for a discussion.

⁷⁸ KBo. 25.184 Vs. i (Kassian et al. 2002: 86–87). See also van den Hout (1994).

⁷⁹ KBo. 25.184 Vs. ii (Kassian et al. 2002: 98–99).

⁸⁰ See van den Hout (1995: 200).

⁸¹ See van den Hout (1995: 201) for a detailed etymological break-down.

⁸² Van den Hout (1994).

the episode involving gold pieces *after* the cremation had taken place. As it would make little sense to place eye- and mouth-covers over cremated remains (even less so to kiss them!), the only reasonable conclusion following from the above premise is that the recipient of the *šakuwal* and the *pūriyal* (and indeed the ceremonial kissing) at this stage must be an effigy rather than the actual body of the deceased.

Kassian et al., however, have proposed a different reconstruction in which certain parts of the ritual previously attributed to Day 2 are now assigned to Day 3, thus placing cremation at the transition between these two days, at the end (presumably the night) of Day 2.⁸³ This would then remove the need to reconcile the use of *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* in relation to the cremated remains of a king or queen, whom we can, therefore, imagine as lying in repose throughout Day 2, perfectly suitable for carrying gold ornaments on their faces and being kissed.

Thus we have a direct parallel with the eye- and mouth-covers from Kültepe, some of which were discovered on the face of the deceased,⁸⁴ exactly as described in the Hittite text. A philologically ‘purist’ position “that language is the only reality, and any attempt to explain objective reality is blocked by the totalizing fact of language,”⁸⁵ would maintain that the texts do not actually *describe* the objects in question in exactly the same manner as their proposed correlates in material culture. Of course, it is entirely possible that items labelled *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* in Hittite did not look *exactly* like the eye- and mouth-covers from Kültepe; or that the Hittite terms covered a wider semantic range than what we can attribute to the Kültepe pieces by their material affordances alone. An absolute correspondence, however, is not absolutely necessary for drawing meaningful inferences. Following Andrén, “[w]ith texts as a starting point it is a matter of establishing ‘closeness’ to the artifacts.”⁸⁶ What is the nature of this closeness for our particular case?

Chronological Implications and Cultural Continuity

Prima facie, the correspondence between *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* and the gold sheets from Kültepe relies on a chronological ‘leap’ as well as one of social setting. On the one hand, we are looking at a ritual documented by texts dated principally to the 13th century B.C.; on the other, we have grave goods dated predominantly to Kültepe Level Ib (1833–1690 B.C.).⁸⁷ Moreover, the Hittite royal funerary ritual is an elite affair and very much a public spectacle, whereas Kültepe’s in-house burials belong to the milieu of private family rites carried out in domestic dwellings. How can these discrepancies in time and social context be addressed?

In terms of chronology, establishing a link between *šalliš waštaiš* and *kārum* period graves is not so much a dangerous leap, but more of a permissible hop. Philologists already seem to agree that the language of the texts points to earlier origins for the composition. According to Kassian et al., “The fact that the preserved copies of the [*šalliš waštaiš* Ritual] go back to Pre-N[ew] H[ittite] originals is *communis opinio*.”⁸⁸ The only exceptions reported are two fragments dated to the 14th century or earlier by van den Hout, who proposes either a Middle Hittite (ca. 1450–1350 B.C.) or even an earlier Old Hittite (ca. 1650–1450 B.C.) date for the original composition judging by its language.⁸⁹

Further in defence of an earlier tradition, Kassian et al. highlight the presence of Hattic deities on Days 1 and 2, asserting that the “*šalliš waštaiš* prototext goes back to the most ancient Hitt[ite]-Hatt[ic] tradition,”⁹⁰ by which they seem to be alluding to a period preceding the emergence of the fully-fledged Hittite state, prior to the mid-17th century B.C. A compromise between the lower end of van den Hout’s more cautious estimate with the presumably much earlier period suggested by Kassian et al. would place us in the 17th century. This

⁸³ Kassian et al. (2002: 25).

⁸⁴ Özgüç (1986: 24–25).

⁸⁵ Stratford (2017: 12).

⁸⁶ Andrén (1998).

⁸⁷ Dates according to Barjamovic et al. (2012).

⁸⁸ Kassian et al. (2002: 12).

⁸⁹ Van den Hout (1995: 57).

⁹⁰ Kassian et al. (2002: 13).

in turn would overlap with the lower end of Kültepe Ib (ca. 1833–1690 B.C.), which is the phase to which the majority of the gold sheets are dated. One piece (No. 38) included in the catalogue in **Table 1** here, as well as the unpublished finds from Grave MO4 (see above), suggest that the use of funerary gold sheets continued into Kültepe Ia (ca. 1690–1650² B.C.), an occupation level that is periodised under Old Hittite.⁹¹ This would fit very well into the wider context of multiple strands of cultural continuity from the *kārum* period into that of the Hittite state,⁹² helping establish “a basic temporal closeness”⁹³ necessary for maintaining a firm correspondence between artefact and text.

It follows, then, that we have a longer historical span across which to consider Hittite funerary practices. This span is not simply longer, but actually jumps across a very important threshold in scholarly reconstructions of Bronze Age Anatolia, separating the historically defined *kārum* period from that of the Hittite state. The end of the *kārum* period is still poorly understood, as the circumstances under which the Assyrian trade network ceased to operate remain largely unclear. The ‘break’ between Assyrian trade and Hittite state formation may not be an absolute void as previously thought, however.⁹⁴ Continuity between the *kārum* and Old Hittite periods is certainly well attested by various categories – pottery, art, scribal traditions – to which we may now add funerary practices.

As for the seeming discrepancy between the officialised funerary rites of Hittite royalty and the private practices of the resident merchants of Kaneš, this is not out of keep with other cases of correspondence between the textual account of *šalliš waštaiš* and archaeological evidence, indicating that the activities outlined in the royal Hittite funerary ritual were not necessarily exclusive to royalty. A number of parallels between *šalliš waštaiš* and material culture have already been noted in relation to the extramural burial sites such as at Ilıca and Osmankayası, both of which exhibit material evidence attesting to several practices known from the funerary ritual text, such as cremation,⁹⁵ deliberate vessel-smashing,⁹⁶ as well as equid sacrifice.⁹⁷

Against this background of correspondences, the rites outlined in the *šalliš waštaiš* text can be seen as a reflection of wider funerary traditions rather than performances exclusive to the occasion of a royal death. If key elements of *šalliš waštaiš* such as cremation or ritual vessel-smashing cannot be isolated from broader practices, then it stands to reason that the use of gold eye- and mouth-pieces, such as *šakuwal* and *pūriyal*, would likewise be compatible with funerary activity outside the strictly royal sphere. Needless to say, the funerary use of such expensive items – insofar as they were made of precious metals – would still have been limited to the social landscape of the wealthy.⁹⁸ Both the textual and the archaeological evidence for Hittite funerary practices may well reflect elite customs, and so we must remain circumspect in projecting *šalliš waštaiš* to Hittite society in its entirety. For the purposes of drawing a comparison with Kültepe, however, this presents no problems as the Kanešeian antecedents of Hittite *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* clearly reflect the practices of a wealthy social class.⁹⁹

⁹¹ See Gates (2017).

⁹² *Kārum* Period antecedents of Hittite art have long been recognised (Emre 2011; Kulakoğlu 2008; N. Özgüç 1965). On religious material culture and associated practices, see Heffron (2014); on the organisation of Hittite religion, see Gates (2017).

⁹³ Andrén (1998: 160).

⁹⁴ Gates (2017).

⁹⁵ Van den Hout (1994: 54). It should be noted, however, that both cemeteries also contained inhumation graves, demonstrating that these two means of treating the dead were not mutually exclusive, and were practiced by members of the same community with rights or access to the same burial ground.

⁹⁶ Haas (2000: 66), cf. van den Hout (1994: 54).

⁹⁷ Haas (2000: 66).

⁹⁸ The same reasoning easily extends to bovine sacrifice and indeed cremation, both involving costly resources.

⁹⁹ Needless to say, *šalliš waštaiš* and Kültepe graves diverge most conspicuously on the practice of cremation, but this does not necessarily detract from the premise of parallels between the two contexts unless one insisted on a perfect, one-to-one correspondence which is not what is being proposed here. Simply stated, neither Kültepe graves nor even those at Osmankayası and Ilıca are being presented as the direct correlates of *šalliš waštaiš*, but as archaeological evidence including certain elements that are direct or very close material correlates to the textually documented practices within a larger ceremony.

Funerary Display

In both Kanešean and Hittite contexts, eye- and mouth-pieces are tied into two kinds of display, namely to show off wealth as well as to prepare the deceased for lying in state. Both types of display suggest an audience which presumably involved members of the family and/or the household, or perhaps even a larger kinship group who gathered to witness the passage of the deceased from the world of the living to that of the dead. In the context of the royal *šalliš waštaiš* ritual, the element of display is part of the state cult and therefore carries a much broader sense of public ceremony. Even if the immediate audience and ritual participants who lift the *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* to kiss the deceased were limited to close family, the overall ritual has significance for the entire community. In Kültepe, however, where similar paraphernalia have turned up in private graves below house floors in the residential quarter, the context is domestic, and therefore reflects the private concerns of individual families and households.

Reconstructing the funerary display of the Hittite king or queen from a performative standpoint, a particularly useful analogy is presented by “Midas’ bed” discovered in Tumulus MM at Gordion. This was a piece of funerary furniture on which the fully decked-out body of the deceased was laid over multiple layers of cloth.¹⁰⁰ According to Simpson’s detailed reconstruction, the “bed” was in fact an open coffin, which she suggests

“must have been used in a funerary ceremony outside the tomb and the king must have lain in state in his coffin. Onlookers were present, and the projecting ledges and especially the rails served to keep viewers at a distance from the king.”¹⁰¹

Based on the contents of the tomb, such as “banquet tables” (i.e. tray-topped tables suitable for serving), bronze bowls and cauldrons, jugs, and ladles, Simpson goes on to reconstruct burial rites involving an elaborate feast.¹⁰² While we do not have the benefit of an archaeological inventory for Hittite practices, we do have a rich textual account detailing numerous episodes of cultic drinking, food offerings, and a “main meal” announced immediately after the placement of the *šakuwal* and the *pūriyal* over the face of the deceased, suggesting that display of the deceased was linked to commensality.¹⁰³

A similar reconstruction for earlier funerary rites at Kültepe would not be far-fetched. Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria cautions against presuming a “social audience” unless we imagine a funerary procession going around neighbourhoods,¹⁰⁴ because space inside an average house would be limited for a substantial gathering. There is, however, no reason why we could not postulate a steady procession of mourners filing into the funeral home in small groups while the deceased remains on display *in situ*. This would be more in keeping with intimate acts such as the kissing of the deceased, which may well have been part of the funerary display rites practiced in Kanešean houses as they were for Hittite royalty.

Paraphernalia such as eye- and mouth-pieces would be central to this portion of the rites, not simply as ostentation, but as crucial elements for a key ritual turning point at which the deceased is transformed from a corpse into an acceptable object to ceremonial exhibit. Curtis provides a useful summary of the key symbolic associations to be considered for this kind of paraphernalia:

“The custom of covering all or part of a dead person’s face has a long history in the ancient world. It is generally thought that the intention was to preserve, or at any rate to conceal the decay of, those organs which would be most needed in the afterlife. As only a completely physical existence beyond the grave was envisaged, it was essential that the deceased would be able to see, eat, breathe and speak. Gold was extensively used as the covering material because of its incorruptible property. In addition, covering the face of the dead person would have made it more presentable at the funeral ceremony and less painful to look upon.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Simpson (1990: 69).

¹⁰¹ Simpson (1990: 84–85).

¹⁰² Simpson (1990: 85).

¹⁰³ Food offerings in the context of the Hittite funerary ritual are in fact referenced by Simpson (1990: 85).

¹⁰⁴ Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria (2015: 259).

¹⁰⁵ Curtis (1995: 230).

Compatibility with Mesopotamian Practices

In terms of ritual function, Michel aligns Kültepe eye- and mouth-pieces with Mesopotamian practices of covering the eyes and mouth of the deceased to prevent the spirit from escaping, or else demons from entering through these orifices.¹⁰⁶ However, the opposite function is suggested by several mouth-pieces. No. 24, in particular, has a narrow horizontal slit across the middle, which was surely intended to keep the mouth ‘open.’ Another mouth-piece (No. 31), which bears an incision in place of a slit, might likewise have reinforced the idea of parting lips. The same observation also holds true for the gold mouth-piece from the so-called Grave of an Old Assyrian Merchant (Grave 20) at Aššur, marked with “a raised circle with a centre boss,”¹⁰⁷ which seems to mimic a mouth in speech.

It may be tempting to see the mouth-piece in Aššur’s Grave 20, which was part of a four-piece set comprising three other gold bands,¹⁰⁸ as evidence that the funerary use of gold/silver sheets as face-covers was a Mesopotamian (rather than Anatolian) tradition. The known archaeological distribution of funerary face-covers, however, favours Anatolia as the likelier source. As Patrier notes, gold discs used as funerary eye-covers are not attested outside of Kültepe in this period,¹⁰⁹ which suggests that gold eye- and mouth-covers belonged to a principally Anatolian cultural milieu. Indeed, the silver mouth-piece recorded for an EB III cist grave on the Kültepe Mound (No. 23),¹¹⁰ indicates that the funerary use of thin sheets of hammered precious metal was already in place prior to the historically attested presence of Assyrian merchants here.¹¹¹ Therefore, the entire set of gold bands in Grave 20 should be counted as part of the small assemblage of Anatolian (or Anatolian-inspired) objects deposited in this context, which includes a set of quadruple spiral beads¹¹² and a cylinder seal recut in Anatolian style.¹¹³ Indeed, the very reason for viewing Grave 20 as having belonged to a “family member of a citizen of Ashur whose commercial or political interests were oriented toward Anatolia”¹¹⁴ has been the presence of these objects.

What then, is to be made of the fact that at Kültepe, the only gold/silver sheets with precise contexts all seem to come from houses attributed – on the basis of archives – to individuals bearing Assyrian names: Lāqēpum, Uzua, and possibly Buzutaya?¹¹⁵ First, we must remember that these three instances do not make up a statistically significant number considering that they represent only about 5 % of the published corpus of gold/silver face-covers examined here. In the absence of contextual information for the remaining 95 %, this clustering around ‘Assyrian’ households may simply be coincidental. Moreover, ascribing ethnicity to individuals, solely on the basis of personal names is problematic,¹¹⁶ as is projecting the ethnic identity of a single individual on to an entire household. This being said, we must also recognise that an Assyrian name does indicate a certain degree of cultural affinity, whether through parentage, profession, or emulation. In the end, Lāqēpum, Uzua, and Buzutaya may themselves have subscribed to Assyrian ethnicity, but it is also possible that other members of their households, particularly their wives, in-laws, or children, may have identified as

106 Michel (2008: 186). See also Bottéro (1980; 1983); von Soden (1994).

107 Aruz (1995a: 48–49).

108 The largest of the bands is surely a diadem; the position of the other two on either side of the skull (Wartke 1995a) suggests these may have been further parts of an elaborate headpiece.

109 Patrier (2013: 58).

110 Kulakoğlu (2017) reports a silver diadem from another grave (Kt-10 M01) on the Mound, excavated in 2010 and dated to the late third or early second millennium B.C.

111 It is important, however, not to conflate headdresses such as diadems and frontlets (which are indeed attested in numerous contexts outside Anatolia and therefore reflect more generic trends of elite regalia) with eye- and mouth-covers (which serve a much more specialised symbolic function).

112 Aruz (1995b: 50).

113 Wartke (1995a: 47; 1995b: 52); Aruz (1995c: 60–61).

114 Wartke (1995a: 47).

115 Uzua is referred to as an “Anatolian” in the original publications, but Hertel (2014: 49) notes that this is in fact an Assyrian name. At least in Buzutaya’s case, we know that the immediate members of his family also held good Assyrian names. See Albayrak/Erol (2016) for archives belonging to Buzutaya.

116 Larsen/Lassen (2014: 280, n. 44).

‘Anatolian.’ As we have no way of knowing precisely which members were buried with which items, or what their principal ethnic affinities were, this remains a moot point.

Perhaps the only reasonable conclusion to be made here is that households which included members bearing Assyrian names and which therefore belonged, to some degree at least, to the sphere of Assyrian cultural affiliation, were not averse to or excluded from Anatolian funerary practices calling for the use of gold eye- and mouth-pieces.

This in turn introduces the question of ritual compatibility between Anatolian and Assyrian funerary practices. For the latter, a particularly informative source is no doubt the dossier of documents relating to the funerary expenses following the death of a certain Ištar-Lamassī, an Assyrian woman buried by her Anatolian husband Lullu.¹¹⁷ Most notable here is the reference to *bikītum*, “bemoaning,” carried out for Ištar-Lamassī and her sons who had died shortly after her. The second day was presumably when *kussiam ṭabbu’um*, “removal of the chair” took place for Ištar-Lamassī (but not the sons). The co-occurrence of *bikītum* and *kussiam ṭabbu’um* in several texts indicates that they followed each other in quick succession, perhaps as two distinct stages of a single set of funerary rites. The expenses associated with these rites and the accompanying funerary meals¹¹⁸ suggest that a fairly large group of people must have participated. Judging by the expenses attached to *bikītum*, this rite probably involved professional wailers, which in turn predicates an audience and therefore reinforces the performative aspect of the activities surrounding death and burial. Added to this, the various components of burial rites lasting over at least two days are also in keeping with the deceased being put on display for the duration of these rites, including feasting.

In first millennium texts, the Akkadian term *taklimtu*, “display (of the body before burial),”¹¹⁹ refers to a ritual during which the deceased was exhibited along with his/her belongings and wailed over. In one case, this involved the kissing of the feet of the deceased.¹²⁰ Occasionally *taklimtu* is followed by *šuruptu*, “burning (as a funerary rite),”¹²¹ which may refer to burnt offerings¹²² or perhaps a kind of fire-treatment of the body. The association between the *taklimtu*-display and *šuruptu*-burning is particularly tantalising when discussing funerary practices at Kaneš, where there is at least one recorded case of a grave in which the deceased appear to have received some kind of fire treatment *in situ* inside the grave (see Assemblage 3 above). As fire treatment of bodies at Kültepe is too poorly understood, however, any connection with first millennium Assyrian rites of *taklimtu* and *šuruptu* is too tenuous to propose at this stage.

Given the broader contexts of funerary display in Mesopotamian tradition, the use of Anatolian-style gold/silver face-covers would be entirely reasonable in the burial rites of individuals who principally subscribed to Assyrian religious practices.

Aegeo-Mediterranean Links

Numerous parallels between Hittite and Greek funerary customs have long been noted, including the central event of cremation itself and associated activities, such as the collection and anointment of bones,¹²³ as well as the smashing of vessels used in ritual.¹²⁴ Most recently, Morris¹²⁵ suggested a link specifically between Hittite *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* and the gold and electrum masks from the shaft graves at Mycenae. While Patrier

¹¹⁷ Veenhof (2008; 2017: 253–269).

¹¹⁸ Veenhof (2017: 268).

¹¹⁹ CAD T: 80.

¹²⁰ Potts (1997: 221). Scurlock (1991: 3) proposed that *taklimtu* refers to the display of grave goods only, but there are cases in which it is clear that the corpse was exhibited as well (e.g. Parpola 1993: 288).

¹²¹ CAD Š/III: 373.

¹²² Parpola (1993: 10).

¹²³ Rutherford (2007).

¹²⁴ Morris (2013: 162).

¹²⁵ Morris (2013: 162). See also Morris (2001).

is reluctant to compare the simple eye- and mouth-pieces from Kültepe with such elaborate masks,¹²⁶ it is not difficult to see a ‘transitional’ stage in the four pieces of hammered gold placed as a mask on the face of a child in Grave III of Grave Circle A.¹²⁷

A much more striking resemblance comes from Cyprus.¹²⁸ The rich repertoire of gold and other precious objects in the Late Cypriot (LC) II (ca. 1450–1200 BC)¹²⁹ tombs at Enkomi include thin sheets of hammered gold, which offer close comparanda for Kültepe Types 1 and 2. The Enkomi pieces also have perforations on either end, indicating they too were intended to be tied or sewn onto a surface.¹³⁰ As at Kültepe, a certain degree of typological ambiguity is likewise present at Enkomi: thin rectangular, oval, or lozenge-shaped sheets could be equally suitable for mouth-pieces or as frontlets or diadems.¹³¹ Similarly as I have suggested for the Kültepe pieces (see above), Graziadio proposed that “different typologies suggest different uses.”¹³² Again, size can be recognised as an indicator of the basic principal function, long bands (up to 25–26 cm) being generally regarded as headdresses.¹³³

An immediately conspicuous difference is the absence of smaller round pieces as eye-covers from the Cypriot repertoire. The possibility remains, of course, that single long bands may have been used to cover the eyes as well as the mouth.¹³⁴ Graziadio, however, notes that this is far from certain, since no gold band has been found over the eyes.¹³⁵ The fact that the Enkomi repertoire includes numerous pieces with schematised mouths indicated on them, but none with eye decoration,¹³⁶ suggests that covering the eyes may not have been (a fundamental) part of Cypriot rituals.

Indeed, perhaps one of the most striking aspects of the Enkomi repertoire of funerary gold sheets is that a substantial number can be identified *specifically* as mouth-pieces thanks to incised or embossed designs imitating lips;¹³⁷ one example depicts stubble above and around the upper lip.¹³⁸ Another piece with a very small opening cut into the middle¹³⁹ is reminiscent of the Kültepe mouth-cover with the slit (No. 24). Other lozenge-shaped pieces bear elaborate embossed decoration, which makes them perhaps more suitable candidates for headdresses, although it does not necessarily rule that they served as mouth-covers.¹⁴⁰

What kind of link could we postulate between gold mouth-pieces from Kültepe and those from Enkomi? Graziadio acknowledges that “some plain gold plates found in situ at Kültepe might be considered the most direct antecedents of Cypriot mouthpieces,” but is cautious to note that the Kültepe pieces dated to the 18th century BC precede the appearance of mouthpieces in Cyprus by about a century.¹⁴¹ The gap may in fact be

126 “Il ne s’agit pas de ‘masques funéraires’ au sens propre du terme puisqu’ils ne représentent pas le visage du défunt, masques bien connus par ailleurs dans d’autres civilisations (comme en Égypte ou à Mycènes par exemple)” (Patrier 2013: 58).

127 Karo (1930: pl. 146).

128 As already noted, for instance, by Graziadio (2013) and Poldurgo (2002).

129 “Despite the presence of LCI objects in at least two of the built tombs, it is almost certain that they were constructed in LCII, either LCIIIB or early LCIIIC. Use may have continued into LCIIIA but probably not very long” (Crewe 2009: 31). For Cypriot chronology, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/chronological_chart.aspx.

130 Note that the Cypriot examples could have up to three perforations (Graziadio 2013: 345) whereas at Kültepe there is only one perforation on either end except for No. 1 which has a hole punched in each of the four corners.

131 See, for instance, the revised catalogue for Tomb 66, in which most such pieces are described as “diadem or mouth piece” (Crewe 2009: 37–38).

132 Graziadio (2013: 345).

133 Graziadio (2013: 345).

134 Catling (1968: 168) and Curtois et al. (1986: 117), cited in Graziadio (2013: 345). Similarly postulated by Özgüç (1954: 61–62) for Kültepe bands: “That these [gold sheets] have been found in pairs in some graves indicates that the large ones were used to cover the eyes, with string passed through the holes and tied around the back of the head” (author’s translation).

135 Graziadio (2013: 345).

136 Graziadio (2013: 345).

137 Nos. 1897,0401.319 and 1897,0401.705 in Crewe et al. (2008).

138 No. 1897,0401.717 in Crewe et al. (2008).

139 No. 1897,0401.499 in Crewe et al. (2008).

140 Note, for instance, the spiral decoration on either side of the full-lipped mouth on No. 1897,0401.528 in Crewe et al. (2008).

141 Graziadio (2013: 346).

much narrower if we take into account the gold sheet reported from Kültepe Level Ia (No. 38), the final phase of occupation which is estimated to have ended sometime around 1650 B.C.¹⁴² Although the construction of the Enkomi tombs is dated to LC II (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.), the grave goods fall within a range of the entire Late Cypriot period, namely from ca. 1650 to 1050 B.C.¹⁴³ LC II at Enkomi is associated with a conspicuous change and innovation in the ritual sphere,¹⁴⁴ as part of an “islandwide adoption of a complex of symbolic paraphernalia,”¹⁴⁵ such as bull rhyta and terracotta figurines. According to Webb, “the dissemination of ideological and behavioural constructs associated with these objects must have occurred in the 16th [century] or early 15th [century].”¹⁴⁶ Therefore the latest gold pieces from Kültepe could well have been near-contemporaries of their earliest counterparts at Enkomi. Given the correspondence between Kültepe eye- and mouth-covers and Hittite *šakuwal* and *pūriyal* (a parallel Graziadio also recognises),¹⁴⁷ Hittite practices might be responsible for the link between funerary customs of Middle Bronze Age Kaneš and Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Anatolian influence on Cypriot ritual practices is a well-recognised phenomenon, particularly in relation to funerary feasting. According to Steel, “[t]he equipment and major dietary components of this feasting (cattle and possibly also alcoholic beverages such as wine) were introduced to the island from Anatolia.”¹⁴⁸ It is not difficult to place other elements of conspicuous consumption and costly funerary display, such as gold mouth-covers, against this background of cultural transmission. It is important to recognise that this does not necessarily point to a population movement, but rather to what Steel describes as a “transferral of esoteric knowledge of exotic drinking customs and the novel use of external referents in the expression of identity and status.”¹⁴⁹ Drawing Kültepe material into this constellation of Cypro-Anatolian comparanda enables us to postulate a longer phase in the transmission and/or emulation of exotic(isied) customs of funerary consumption and elite display across a wider span over the second millennium.

While Anatolia may have been the origin of the practice of gold bands for Cypriot funerary practice, Enkomi, where 440 gold strips have been uncovered, seems to have become a veritable centre of production in its own right. Taken on its own terms, the repertoire of funerary gold strips at Enkomi has strong Syro-Levantine parallels, to the extent that it seems to have (re)influenced the use of mouth-covers in Ugarit.¹⁵⁰ Syro-Levantine parallels are especially conspicuous in those pieces with embossed decoration, which begin to emerge in LC IIA with an overall admixture of Aegean, Egyptian, and Near Eastern motifs,¹⁵¹ which is in keeping with the internationalism of style, especially in the minor arts, of the period. Motifs borrowed from the Syro-Levantine milieu may not have been purely decorative, but selected for and/or came with specific funerary connotations.¹⁵²

We must be cautious, however, in extrapolating the ritual significance of these objects in their respective contexts of the Anatolian plateau and the island of Cyprus (and beyond). Two sets of gold mouth-covers identical in basic form may have invoked entirely distinct symbolic meanings, so that we must first look closely at how the Enkomi mouth-pieces have been interpreted in their own cultural milieu before we can consider if and how these interpretations may be applied to Kültepe.

Within the context of Cypriot funerary archaeology, interest in gold diadems and mouth pieces has focused on assessing their significance as status markers,¹⁵³ overall chronological progression within Cy-

142 Kulakoğlu (2014: 87).

143 Crewe (2009: 27).

144 Crewe (2009: 28).

145 Crewe (2007: 27).

146 Webb (1999: 297).

147 Graziadio (2013: 347).

148 Steel (2004: 288).

149 Steel (2004: 288). Note that cultic drinking in Hittite Anatolia also has its origins in Kültepe’s diverse material record of zoomorphic and other ritual vessels in keeping with communal drinking ceremonies (Heffron 2014, with references).

150 Graziadio (2013: 345–347).

151 Poldurgo (2002).

152 Poldurgo (2002).

153 Keswani (1989a; 2004). Note, however, that in terms of estimating relative wealth, gold bands tend to be placed at the lower end of affluence markers: “With respect to the category of gold and silver objects, tombs with relatively low gold content tended to

prus;¹⁵⁴ and links with interregional comparanda.¹⁵⁵ In their methodology for analysing funerary goods from Late Bronze Age Cyprus, Graziadio and Pezzi assign different object types to three main functional categories, namely, status markers, ritual paraphernalia, and utilitarian items.¹⁵⁶ Within this scheme, gold diadems and mouth-pieces are categorised (principally) under the first group as “status markers and/or objects with prevailing symbolic value.”¹⁵⁷ It has also been suggested that within the wider category of gold jewellery, pieces hammered into thin sheets are too fragile for everyday use and therefore more likely to have carried a symbolic meaning¹⁵⁸ as opposed, for example, to clothes pins. Whittaker, however, is correct to remark that “the thinness of the gold foil is an unreliable indicator.”¹⁵⁹ Indeed, some Cypriot diadems display “signs of crinkling and attrition suggestive of considerable wear,”¹⁶⁰ which suggests that they were not manufactured exclusively for funerary use. This brings us back to the distinction between headdresses and mouth-covers, the former being items which *could* have been worn in life, while the latter are items suitable only for the dead. Similarly, Graziadio proposes that “mouthpieces might be regarded as the *only* Cypriot object of exclusively funerary use.”¹⁶¹

In contrast to the wider discussions generated by Cypriot material, particularly on social organisation, wealth accumulation, and the emergence of elites,¹⁶² previous commentaries on Kültepe material have not considered similar implications of funerary display. The special position of Kaneš for the political economy of Middle Bronze Age Anatolia is yet to receive a closer inspection, particularly with a view to diachronic change both from the end of the third to the second millennium¹⁶³ as well as throughout the process of urbanisation during the early centuries of the second millennium.¹⁶⁴ Within the political economy of the *kārum* network itself, we know gold to have received a much more rigid economic treatment, distinct from other ‘currency’ metals such as silver or copper. While a portion of the profits in silver would be regularly reinvested in the next caravan, Assyrian businessmen had strict instructions from Aššur not to put gold back into circulation, but send it directly to Aššur.¹⁶⁵

Let us not forget that, in addition to its extrinsic economic value, gold also carries a great deal of intrinsic value in terms of social and symbolic meaning. It is, first and foremost, a marker of wealth and status. Moreover, the very physical qualities of the metal gold are in keeping with a heightened symbolic significance. The colour and luminance of gold, as well as its resistance to corrosion easily invoke metaphysical qualities and associations with immortality. With regard to the funerary use of gold in the Aegean world, Whittaker notes that “the indestructibility and immutability of gold in contrast to the impermanence of human flesh serve to make it particularly appropriate as a symbol of immortality.”¹⁶⁶ There is no reason why similar associations cannot be postulated for Kültepe. A much-cited reference to (the figurine of) a “god in gold” (DINGIR^{hi} ša KU₃.GI) in an inheritance text from Kültepe¹⁶⁷ confirms that gold was a suitable material for divine representation.

contain only the simpler, lighter weight types such as gold foil diadems and mouthpieces, small groups of beads, earrings, and hair spirals” (Keswani 2004: 126).

154 Poldurgo (2002).

155 Graziadio/Pezzi (2010).

156 The precise descriptions as formulated by Graziadio/Pezzi (2010) are as follows: “Status indicators and/or objects with prevailing symbolic value,” “objects for religious or ritual use,” and “objects with prevailing utilitarian use.”

157 Graziadio/Pezzi (2010: 22).

158 Graziadio/Pezzi (2010: 22).

159 Whittaker (2014: 172).

160 Keswani (1989b: 529–530), cited in Graziadio (2013: 347). See also Graziadio/Pezzi (2010: 22).

161 Graziadio (2013: 347 [italics added]).

162 Most notably, Keswani (2004).

163 See Yazicioğlu-Santamaria (2015) for a timely call of considering Kültepe’s third millennium settlement as an antecedent to the Kaneš visible in second millennium Old Assyrian texts.

164 Lumsden (2008).

165 Larsen (2015: 117–118).

166 Whittaker (2014: 174). Similar formulations in Laffineur (2012: 443); Graziadio (2013: 345).

167 Kt 2001/k 325/b (Albayrak 2004: 11–12).

A complementary piece of archaeological evidence is a hammered sheet of gold stamped with the image of a striding deity, which comes from Level Ia of the Lower Town.¹⁶⁸

On the whole, Late Bronze Age comparanda from Enkomi show that the Kültepe mouth- and eye-covers should be regarded not only as part of a continuous tradition within Anatolia, but also as part of a wider circulation of funerary customs extending into Cyprus, which in turn features its own close parallels with the Syro-Levantine world.

Concluding Remarks

Since their discovery, Kültepe's eye- and mouth-pieces have received limited analytical commentary. They have been presented principally as indicators of wealth by the excavator, while others have pointed out the correspondence between them and the Hittite *šakuwal* and *pūriyal*, and the parallels with Cypriot mouth-covers. What has not been noted is the unmistakable spike in the funerary deposition of gold sheets during Level Ib of Kültepe's Lower Town occupation. This is part of a larger trend by which high value goods such as gold and silver jewellery become particularly conspicuous in Kültepe's Level Ib funerary assemblage.

Level Ib is a phase that corresponds to significant socio-economic changes in the *kārum* network as suggested by the textual evidence. The sharp decline in the sheer number of cuneiform documents recovered from this level in comparison to the previous Level II points to a reconfiguration of Assyrian mercantile presence in Anatolia. In addition, historians have long noted the increased references in Level Ib texts to Assyrians in debt to Anatolian creditors. Also conspicuous in Level Ib texts are references to political unrest.¹⁶⁹ It is not immediately clear why such a period of shrinking Assyrian commercial activity, the seeming impoverishment of Assyrian businessmen, and relative instability in the region coincides with the time when the consumption of expensive funerary paraphernalia becomes widespread. Depositing greater amounts of precious items in graves may have been a measure to safeguard wealth. Özgüç noted the regularity with which disturbed and robbed graves were encountered at Kültepe. Whatever taboos may have existed against desecrating graves, these were evidently not too prohibitive. We may even speculate that it was considered permissible to remove items from a grave when it was re-opened for secondary interment.¹⁷⁰

Alternatively, an increase in expensive funerary consumption may be a response to changing socio-economic currents. As the wealthy expats of Level II became less prominent in Level Ib, the balance appears to have shifted in favour of Anatolians as the new business elite. In a social context in which commercial activity and associated wealth was configured along ethnic lines,¹⁷¹ we can expect an emergent elite to distinguish itself not merely by means of displaying wealth (“we *too* have money”), but to do so in a culturally distinct manner (“it is *us* who have the money”). Indeed, withholding gold from shipments to Aššur and removing it from economic circulation of any kind would have been a powerful statement of non-affiliation with the Assyrian caravan circuit. Anyone visibly depositing gold in graves would therefore be sending the message that they were not bound by Aššur's commercial influence.

Furthermore, in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural context of Kaneš, where surely no single set of ritual customs was universal, any highly conspicuous element of funerary display can be seen as an expression of ethno-religious identity. For eye- and mouth-pieces, which are demonstrable forerunners of Hittite *šakuwal* and *pūriyal*, such affiliation surely lies within the Anatolian sphere. This being said, given the ethnically composite nature of Kanešean households, neither gold pieces in particular nor funerary display in general can be

¹⁶⁸ Reported to come from a fill layer, with no further commentary. Note that this piece has been showcased for the striking similarity of the divine representation to the standard canon of Hittite art, reinforcing the status of Kaneš as the point of origin for symbolic expression in later Hittite imagery (Kulakoğlu 2008).

¹⁶⁹ Barjamovic et al. (2012).

¹⁷⁰ In Mari, Yasmah-Addu's inventorying of the valuable items from Yahdun-Lim's tomb (Heimpel 2003: 175, n. 3) suggests that grave goods could remain accessible and therefore not necessarily removed from circulation altogether.

¹⁷¹ Stein (2008: 31); see also Larsen/Lassen (2014: 177) for the case of the Anatolian Luhrahšu whose ambitions to enter the caravan circuit is being kept in check by his Assyrian colleagues.

considered independently of the inevitable background of cultural hybridity. While Kültepe's gold pieces fit better into a recognisably Anatolian (rather than Mesopotamian) ritual milieu, they also belong to a wider set of practices centring on funerary display, which in turn serves as a focal point of mourning rites and feasting. None of these components would have been particularly outlandish for Assyrian expatriates living in Anatolia, whose own multi-stage funerary rites extended over a period of time between death and final burial. Anatolian Lullu's undertaking of the funerary preparations of his Assyrian wife Ištar-Lamassī is a case in point for us to progress from seeking out specifically Anatolian/indigenous or Mesopotamian/foreign elements of ritual practices in isolation, but instead consider hybridity in terms of *compatibility* across different cultures.

Acknowledgements: A sizeable portion of the research for this paper was carried out between 2013-2015 when I held an Anniversary Research Fellowship at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge. I would like to thank several colleagues in particular for their help during various draft stages of the final product: Dr. Christina Tsouparopoulou, who aided my search for Aegean comparanda; Dr. İlgi Gerçek, who saved me from Hittitological blunders; Dr. Bike Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria, who generously made time for read and comment on the entire text, and whose dissertation on Kanešean communities continues to be an invaluable resource; and Neil Erskine, who produced the line drawings to make everything a little more intelligible. I am also extremely grateful to Professor Cécile Michel, whose observations and suggestions I hope to have utilised well. Last but not least, I wish to thank Dr. Claudia Suter for the editorial care she has taken at every stage.

References

- Akyurt, M.İ. (1998): M.Ö. 2. Binde Anadolu'da Ölü Gömme Adetleri, Ankara.
- Albayrak, İ. (2004): 'She Will Live, Eat, and Be Anointed Together with Them' *ušbat aklat u paššsat ištīšunu*. In: J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen (PIHANS 100)*, Leiden, 179–190.
- Albayrak, İ./H. Erol (2016): Kültepe Tabletleri IX-a, Ankara.
- Andrén, A. (1998): *Between Artifact and Text: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*, New York.
- Aruz, J. (1995a): Diadems nos. 23–26. In: P.O. Harper et al. (ed.), *Assyrian Origins: Discoveries in Ashur on the Tigris*, New York, 48–49.
- Aruz, J. (1995b): Grave 20 Beads. In: P.O. Harper et al. (ed.), *Assyrian Origins: Discoveries in Ashur on the Tigris*, New York, 50–51.
- Aruz, J. (1995c): Cylinder Seal no. 41. In: P.O. Harper et al. (ed.), *Assyrian Origins: Discoveries in Ashur on the Tigris*, New York, 60–61.
- Baadsgaard, A./J. Monge/S. Cox/R.L. Zettler (2011): Human Sacrifice and Intentional Corpse Preservation in the Royal Cemetery of Ur, *Antiquity* 85, 27–42.
- Barjamovic, G. (2015): Contextualizing Tradition: Magic, Literacy and Domestic Life in Old Assyrian Kanesh. In: P. Delnero/J. Lauinger (ed.), *Texts and Contexts: The Circulation and Transmission of Cuneiform Texts in Social Space (SANER 9)*, Berlin, 48–86.
- Barjamovic, G./T. Hertel/M.T. Larsen (2012): Ups and Downs at Kanesh: Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period (PIHANS 120), Leiden.
- Bottéro, J. (1980): La mythologie de la mort en Mésopotamie ancienne. In: B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the XXVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Mesopotamia 8)*, Copenhagen, 25–52.
- Bottéro, J. (1983): Les morts et l'au-delà dans les rituels en accadien contre l'action des "revenants", *ZA* 73, 153–203.
- Crewe, L. (2007): *Early Enkomi: Regionalism, Trade and Society at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus (BAR IntSer. 1706)*, Oxford.
- Crewe, L. (2009): Feasting with the Dead? Tomb 66 at Enkomi. In: T. Kiely (ed.), *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum. Essays in Honour of Dr. Veronica Tatton-Brown (British Museum Research Publication 180)*, London, 27–48.
- Crewe, L./H. Caitling/T. Kiely (2008): Enkomi. In: T. Kiely (ed.), *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum*. British Museum Online Research Catalogue: http://www.britishmuseum.org/system_pages/holding_area/ancient_cyprus_british_museum.aspx, accessed 05/06/2017.
- Curtis, J. (1995): Gold Face-Masks in the Ancient Near East. In: S. Campbell/A. Green (ed.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East (Oxbow Monograph 51)*, Oxford, 226–231.
- Deliyannis, Y. (1997): Les pratiques funéraires en Anatolie durant la 1^{ère} moitié du II^e millénaire avant notre ère. Haluka 2: http://y.deliyannis.free.fr/hatti/articles.php?id=hk_2_2, accessed 21/07/2016.
- Emre, K. (2011): The Traces of Kültepe/Kanesh in Hittite Art. In: F. Kulakoğlu/S. Kangal (ed.), *Anatolia's Prologue. Kültepe Kanesh Karum, Kayseri*, 154–159.

- Gates, M.-H. (2017): Gods, Temple, and Cult at the Service of the Early Hittite State. In: Y. Heffron/A. Stone/M. Worthington (ed.), *At the Dawn of History. Studies in Honour of J. N. Postgate*, Winona Lake, IN, 189–210.
- Graziadio, G. (2013): The Importance of Mouth Coverings in the Late Cypriot Burial Customs. In: L. Bombardieri et al. (ed.), *Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012 (BAR IntSer. 2581), Oxford, 345–351.
- Graziadio, G./E. Pezzi (2010): The Late Bronze Age Tombs at Enkomi: Shaping a Methodology for Analysing Funerary Furniture. In: A.M. Jasink/L. Bombardieri (ed.), *Researches in Cypriote History and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Meeting Held in Florence, April 29–30th*, Florence, 19–32.
- Gurney, O.R. (1977): *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, Oxford.
- Haas, V. (1994): *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (HdOr. 1/5), Leiden.
- Haas, V. (2000): Hethitische Bestattungsbräuche, *AfO* 27, 52–67.
- Heffron, Y. (2014): The Material Culture of Hittite ‘God-drinking,’ *JANER* 14, 164–185.
- Heffron, Y. (2016): Stone Stelae and Religious Space at Kültepe-Kaneš, *AnSt.* 66, 23–42.
- Heffron, Y. (2017): Testing the Middle Ground in Assyro-Anatolian Marriages of the *kārum* Period, *Iraq* 79, 71–83.
- Heimpel, W. (2003): *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation, with Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (MesCiv. 12), Winona Lake, IN.
- Hertel, T.K. (2014): The Lower Town of Kültepe: Urban Layout and Population. In: L. Atıcı et al. (ed.), *Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity* (JCS Suppl. Ser. 4), Atlanta, GA, 25–54.
- Highcock, N. (2017): ‘From Your Sister’s Things ...’: Clothing Pins and Women’s Economic Agency across Early Second Millennium Anatolia and Assyria. Paper Presented at the 10th International Congress of Hittitology, Chicago.
- Karo, G. (1930): *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, München.
- Kassian, A./A. Korolëv/A. Sidel’itsev (2002): Hittite Funerary Ritual *šalliš waštaiš* (AOAT 288), Münster.
- Keswani, S.P.F. (1989a): *Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus* (PhD Thesis, University of Michigan).
- Keswani, S.P.F. (1989b): Dimensions of Social Hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: An Analysis of the Mortuary Data from Enkomi, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2/1, 49–86.
- Keswani, S.P.F. (2004): *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus*, London.
- Kulakoğlu, F. (2008): A Hittite God from Kültepe. In: C. Michel (ed.), *Old Assyrian Studies in Memory of Paul Garelli* (OAAS 4, PIHANS 112), Leiden, 13–19.
- Kulakoğlu, F. (2014): Kanesh after the Assyrian Colony Period: Current Research at Kültepe and the Question of the End of the Bronze Age Settlement. In: L. Atıcı et al. (ed.), *Current Research at Kültepe Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity* (JCS Suppl. Ser. 4), Atlanta, GA, 85–94.
- Kulakoğlu, F. (2015): Current Research at Kültepe. In: F. Kulakoğlu/C. Michel (eds.), *Proceedings of the 1st Kültepe International Meeting, Kültepe, September 19–23 2013. Studies Dedicated to Kutlu Emre (Kültepe International Meetings 1)*, Turnhout.
- Kulakoğlu, F. (2017): New Term Excavations at Kültepe: The First International Trade Center in Anatolia. Lecture Delivered at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York, 28 March 2017. Video recording online: <http://isaw.nyu.edu/events/archive/2016/anatolia-before-assyrians>, accessed 8/10/2017.
- Kulakoğlu, F./S. Kangal (ed.) (2011): *Anatolia’s Prologue: Kültepe Kanish Karum, Kayseri*.
- Laffineur, R. (2012): Jewellery. In: E.H. Cline (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (ca. 3000–1000 B.C.), Oxford, 443–456.
- Larsen, M.T. (2015): *Ancient Kanesh: A Merchant Colony in Bronze Age Anatolia*, Cambridge.
- Larsen, M.T./A.W. Lassen (2014): Cultural Exchange at Kültepe. In: M. Kozuh et al. (ed.), *Extraction & Control. Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper* (SAOC 68), Chicago, IL, 171–188.
- Lumsden, S. (2008): Material Culture and the Middle Ground in the Old Assyrian Colony Period. In: C. Michel (ed.), *Old Assyrian Studies in Memory of Paul Garelli* (OAAS 4, PIHANS 112), Leiden, 21–43.
- Maxwell-Hyslop K.R. (1971): *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000–612 BC*, London.
- Michel, C. (2008): Les Assyriens et les esprits de leurs morts. In: C. Michel (ed.), *Old Assyrian Studies in Memory of Paul Garelli* (OAAS 4, PIHANS 112), Leiden, 181–197.
- Morris, S. (2001): Potniya Aswiya: Anatolian Contributions to Greek Religion. In: R. Laffineur/R. Hägg (ed.), *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg University, 12–14 April 2000* (Aegaeum 22), Liège, 423–434.
- Morris, S. (2013): From Kizzuwatna to Troy? Puduhepa, Piyamaradu, and Anatolian Ritual in Homer. In: S.W. Jamison/H.C. Melchert/B. Vine (ed.), *Proceedings of the 24th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, Bremen, 151–167.
- Otten, H. (1958): *Hethitische Totenrituale* (DAWOfO 37), Berlin.
- Özgüç, N. (1965): The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe, Ankara.
- Özgüç, T. (1950): Kültepe Kazısı 1948 / Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948, Ankara.
- Özgüç, T. (1953): Kültepe’de 1950 Yılında T.T.K. Adına Yapılan Kazılar Hakkında Ön-Rapor, *Belleten* 17/65: 101–108.
- Özgüç, T. (1954): Kültepe’de 1953 Yılında Yapılan Kazılar, *Belleten* 18/69, 357–372.
- Özgüç, T. (1959): Kültepe-Kaniş: Asur Ticaret Kolonilerinin Merkezinde Yapılan Yeni Araştırmalar / New Researches at the Center of the Assyrian Trade Colonies, Ankara.

- Özgüç, T. (1986): Kültepe-Kaniş II: Eski Yakınođu'nun Ticaret Merkezinde Yeni Arařtırmalar / New Researches at the Trading Center of the Ancient Near East, Ankara.
- Özgüç, T. (2003): Kültepe-Kaniş/Neša: The Earliest International Trade Center and the Oldest Capital of the Hittites, Tokyo.
- Özgüç, T. (2004): Kültepe Kaniş/Neša, İstanbul.
- Pader, E.-J. (1982): Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains (BAR IntSer. 130), Oxford.
- Parpola, S. (1993): Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars (SAA 10), Helsinki.
- Patrier, J. (2012): Deuil et funéraires dans la première moitié du IIe millénaire av. J.-C. dans la zone syro-anatolienne, NABU 2012/1, 18.
- Patrier, J. (2013): Quelques réflexions sur les tombes *intra-muros* en Anatolie centrale au IIe millénaire AC. In: O. Henry (ed.), Le mort dans la ville, İstanbul, 53–66.
- Poldurgo, F. (2002): Some Preliminary Considerations on the Development of Cypriot Diadems and Mouthpieces during Late Bronze Age. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 89–100.
- Postgate, J.N. (1994): Text and Figure in Ancient Mesopotamia: Match and Mismatch. In: C. Renfrew/E.B.W. Zubrow (ed.), The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology, Cambridge, 176–184.
- Postgate, J.N. (2018): Bridging the Gap: In Retrospect and Prospect. In: P. Attinger et al. (ed.), Text and Image. Proceedings of the 62^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Geneva and Bern, 22–26 June 2015 (OBO SA 40), Leuven – Paris – Bristol, 11–18.
- Potts, D.T. (1997): Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations, Ithaca, NY.
- Rutherford, I. (2007): Achilles and the *šalliš waštaiš* Ritual: Performing Death in Greece and Anatolia. In: N. Laneri (ed.), Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean (OIS 3), Chicago, 223–236.
- Simpson, E. (1990): 'Midas' Bed' and a Royal Phrygian Funeral, JFA 17/1, 69–87.
- Steel, L. (2004): A Goodly Feast ... A Cup of Mellow Wine: Feasting in Bronze Age Cyprus, Hesperia 73/2, 281–300.
- Stein G. (2008): A Theoretical Model for Political Economy and Social Identity in the Old Assyrian Colonies of Anatolia, TÜBA-AR 11, 25–40.
- Stratford, E. (2017): A Year of Vengeance, Vol. 1: Time, Narrative, and the Old Assyrian Trade (SANER 17, 1), Berlin.
- Şenyürek, M. (1952): A Study of the Human Skeletons from Kültepe, Excavated under the Auspices of the Turkish Historical Society: The Skeletons from the Excavation Season of 1948, Belleten 16/63, 323–343.
- Testart, A. (2005): Le texte hittite des funéraires royales au risque du comparatisme, Ktema 30, 29–36.
- Üstündağ, H. (2009): Kültepe-Kanesh (Turkey), Season 2007: Bioarchaeology of the Near East, Short Fieldwork Reports 3, 31–36.
- Üstündağ, H. (2014): Human Remains from Kültepe-Kanesh: Preliminary Results of the Old Assyrian Burials from the 2005–2008 Excavations. In: L. Atıcı et al. (ed.), Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh. An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity (JCS Suppl. Ser. 4), Atlanta, GA, 157–175.
- van den Hout, T. (1994): Death as a Privilege: The Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual. In: J.M. Bremer/T.P.J. van den Hout/R. Peters (ed.), Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World, Amsterdam, 37–76.
- van den Hout, T. (1995): An Image of the Dead? Some Remarks on the Second Day of the Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual. In: O. Caruba/M. Giorgieri/C. Mora (ed.), Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia, Pavia, 195–211.
- Veenhof, K.R. (2008): The Death and Burial of Ishtar-Lamassi in *kārum* Kanish. In: R.J. van der Spek (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society: Studies Presented to Marten Stol, Bethesda, MD, 97–119.
- Veenhof, K.R. (2017): Kültepe Tabletleri VIII, Ankara.
- Wartke, R.-B. (1995a): Old Assyrian Merchant's Grave (Grave 20). In: P.O. Harper et al. (ed.), Assyrian Origins: Discoveries in Ashur on the Tigris, New York, 44–47.
- Wartke, R.-B. (1995b): Necklace Beads and Pendants no. 27. In: P.O. Harper et al. (ed.), Assyrian Origins: Discoveries in Ashur on the Tigris, New York, 52.
- Webb, J.M. (1999): Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age, Jonsered.
- Whittaker, H. (2014): Religion and Society in Middle Bronze Age Greece, Cambridge.
- Yazıcıođlu-Santamaria, G.B. (2015): The People of Kanesh: Residential Mobility, Community Life, and Cultural Pluralism in a Bronze Age City in Anatolia, Turkey (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago).
- Yazıcıođlu-Santamaria, G.B. (2017): Locals, Immigrants, and Marriage Ties at Kültepe during the Old Assyrian Period. In: F. Kulaçođlu/G. Barjamovic (ed.), Proceedings of the 2nd Kültepe International Meeting, Kültepe, 26–30 July 2015. Studies Dedicated to Klaas Veenhof (Kültepe International Meetings 2, Subartu 39), Turnhout, 63–86.