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TELL AHMAR II

Guy BUNNENS

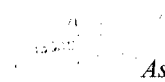
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A NEW LUWIAN STELE  
AND THE CULT OF THE STORM - GOD  
AT TIL BARSIB - MASUWARI

With a Chapter by J. David HAWKINS and a Contribution by Isabelle LEIRENS



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# ABBREVIATIONS

‘ABU ‘ASSAF, <i>Ain Dara</i>	A. ‘ABU ‘ASSAF, <i>Der Tempel von Ain Dara</i> , Damaszener Forschungen 3, Mainz 1990.
AKURGAL, <i>Bildkunst</i>	E. AKURGAL, <i>Späthethitische Bildkunst</i> , Ankara 1949.
AKURGAL, <i>Orient und Okzident</i>	E. AKURGAL, <i>Orient und Okzident</i> , Baden Baden 1966.
AKURGAL, <i>Die Kunst der Hethiter</i>	E. AKURGAL, <i>Die Kunst der Hethiter</i> , with photographs by M. HIRMER, Munich 1961.
ANEP	J. B. PRITCHARD (ed.), <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament</i> , Princeton 1954.
ANET	J. B. PRITCHARD (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed., Princeton 1969.
AOAT <i>Arslan-Tash</i>	Alter Orient und Alter Testament. F. THUREAU-DANGIN, A. BARROIS, G. DOSSIN & M. DUNAND, <i>Arslan Tash</i> , BAH 16, Paris 1931.
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique.
BITTEL, <i>Les Hittites</i>	K. BITTEL, <i>Les Hittites</i> , L’univers des formes 24, Paris 1976.
BÖRKER-KLÄHN	J. BÖRKER-KLÄHN, <i>Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs</i> , Baghdader Forschungen 4, Mainz 1982.
<i>Carchemish</i> , I	<i>Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djerabis/Djerablus on Behalf of the British Museum</i> , I, D. G. HOGARTH, Introductory, London 1914.
<i>Carchemish</i> , II	<i>Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djerabis/Djerablus on Behalf of the British Museum</i> , II, C. L. WOOLLEY, The Town Defences, London 1921.
<i>Carchemish</i> , III	<i>Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djerabis/Djerablus on Behalf of the British Museum</i> , III, C. L. WOOLLEY, Excavations in the Inner Town; R. D. BARNETT, The Hittite Inscriptions, London 1952.

# ABBREVIATIONS

# IX

CHD	<i>Chicago Hittite Dictionary.</i>
CHLI, I	<i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> , I, J. D. HAWKINS, <i>Inscriptions of the Iron Age</i> , Berlin 2000.
CHLI, II	<i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> , II, H. ÇAMBEL, <i>Karatepe-Aslantaş: The Inscriptions; Facsimile Edition</i> , Berlin 1999.
CLL	H. C. MELCHERT, <i>Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon</i> , Chapel Hill 1993.
<i>Context of Scripture</i>	W. W. HALLO & K. L. YOUNGER (eds.), <i>The Context of Scripture</i> , 3 vols., Leiden 2003.
DION, <i>Les Araméens</i>	P.-E. DION, <i>Les Araméens à l’âge du Fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales</i> , Paris 1997.
EPRO	<i>Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain</i> , Leiden.
GENGE, <i>Reliefs</i>	H. GENGE, <i>Nordsyrische-Südanatolische Reliefs: Eine archäologisch-historische Untersuchung, Datierung und Bestimmung</i> , Copenhagen 1979.
HAAS, <i>Religion</i>	V. HAAS, <i>Geschichte der hethitischen Religion</i> , Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1, Bd. 15, Leiden 1994.
HH	E. LAROCHE, <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites</i> , Paris 1960.
IHH	B. HROZNY, <i>Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques</i> , Prague 1933-1937.
KAI	H. DONNER & W. RÖLLIG, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., Wiesbaden 1966-1969.
KAJ	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts.</i>
KOHLMEYER, <i>Tempel</i>	K. KOHLMEYER, <i>Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo</i> , Gerda Henkel Vorlesung, Nordrhein-westfälische Akademie Der Wissenschaften, Münster 2000.
KOHLMEYER, <i>Halab</i>	K. KOHLMEYER, “Halab: Neues zu Aleppo im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend vor Christus,” <i>Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie</i> , 16 (1999/2000), pp. 111-130.



KTU	M. DIETRICH, O. LORETZ & J. SANMARTIN, <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)</i> , Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens, Band 8, Munster 1995.
LIPINSKI, <i>The Aramaeans</i>	E. LIPINSKI, <i>The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion</i> , Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 100, Leuven, Paris & Sterling (VA) 2000.
MERIGGI, <i>Glossar</i>	P. MERIGGI, <i>Hieroglyphisch-bethitisches Glossar</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., Wiesbaden 1962.
MERIGGI, <i>Manuale</i>	P. MERIGGI, <i>Manuale di eteo geroglifico</i> , Rome 1966-1975.
ORTHMANN, <i>Der alte Orient</i>	W. ORTHMANN (ed.), <i>Der alte Orient</i> , Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 18, Berlin 1975.
RIMA 2	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods</i> , 2, A. K. GRAYSON, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C.</i> , I, 1114-859 B.C., Toronto 1991.
RIMA 3	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods</i> , 3, A. K. GRAYSON, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C.</i> , I, 858-745 B.C., Toronto 1996.
RGTC	<i>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes</i> .
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> .
SAA	State Archives of Assyria.
SCHWEMER, <i>Wettergottgestalten</i>	D. SCHWEMER, <i>Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen: Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen</i> , Wiesbaden 2001.
Sendschirli	F. von LUSCHAN <i>et al.</i> , <i>Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli</i> , 5 vols., Berlin 1893-1943.
STARKE, <i>Stammbildung</i>	F. STARKE, <i>Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschriftluwischen Nomens</i> , StBoT 31, Wiesbaden 1990.
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten.
Til-Barsib	F. THUREAU-DANGIN & M. DUNAND, <i>Til-Barsib</i> , BAH 23, Paris 1936.

TSSI	J. C. L. GIBSON, <i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i> , 3 vols., Oxford 1971-1982.
USK	W. ORTHMANN, <i>Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst</i> , Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 8, Bonn 1971.
VANEL, <i>L'iconographie</i>	A. VANEL, <i>L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien jusqu'au VIIe siècle avant J.-C.</i> , Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 3, Paris 1965.
van GESSEL, <i>OHP</i>	B. H. L. van GESSEL, <i>Onomastikon of the Hittite Pantheon</i> , Handbuch der Orientalistik 1/33, Leiden 1998-2001.

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## INTRODUCTION

The present publication aims to make public a stele, carved with both a relief of the Storm-God and a Luwian inscription, that was discovered in the Euphrates river in 1999 between the modern village of Qubbah and the archaeological site of Tell Ahmar in northern Syria (see maps, figs. 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup> The stele will be referred to as the "Ahmar/Qubbah stele".

### The Ahmar/Qubbah stele and the Tell Ahmar Archaeological Project

Work concerning this new stele has been conducted as part of the Tell Ahmar Archaeological Project. From 1988 till 1999 the project was placed under the University of Melbourne's auspices. The discovery and rescue of the stele were thus carried out during the last excavation season of the University of Melbourne at Tell Ahmar. From 2000 onwards the Tell Ahmar Archaeological Project has been integrated into the Archaeological Mission of the University of Liège (Belgium) in Syria directed by Prof. Önhan Tunca and all work and research concerning the new stele, since 2000, were conducted as part of the activities of the Liège University Mission.

The present volume takes place in the publication series of the Archaeological Mission of the University of Liège in Syria, but, as it includes work that was started under the auspices of the University of Melbourne, it continues the numbering of the Tell Ahmar project publication, the first volume of which was included in the Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore called *Tell Ahmar II*.

Tell Ahmar is the site of an ancient city, called Masuwari in the Luwian language, Til Barsib/Tarbusiba in West-Semitic and Kar-Shalmaneser in Assyrian. It was excavated from 1929 to 1931 by a French expedition conducted by François

<sup>1</sup> The stele has already been briefly mentioned in G. BUNNENS, "Tell Ahmar/Til Barsib, the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth seasons (1998-2000)," *Orient-Express*, 2001/3, pp. 65-68, and more in detail in ID., "The iconography of the Storm-God: Preliminary Remarks on a New Luwian Stele from Til Barsib/Masuware," paper read at the conference *La Syrie moyenne, de la mer à la steppe* in Hama on 28 September 1999 (in press) and ID., "The Storm-God in northern Syria and southern Anatolia, from Hadad of Aleppo to Jupiter Dolichenus," *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, ed. M. HUTTER & S. HUTTER-BRAUNER, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, pp. 57-81.

<sup>2</sup> G. BUNNENS (ed.), *Tell Ahmar 1988 Season*, Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series 2, Publications of the Melbourne University Expedition to Tell Ahmar 1, Leuven 1990.

Thureau-Dangin.<sup>3</sup> Research was resumed at the site in 1988 because the building of a dam, known as the Tishrin Dam, immediately to the north of the lake formed by the Tabqa Dam, was threatening Tell Ahmar as well as many other archaeological sites up to the modern Turkish border. In summer 1999 the Tishrin Dam was completed and two thirds of the 60-hectare ancient settlement were inundated. The main archaeological mound forms now a peninsula on the northern shore of the dam's lake.

### Scope of the Present Publication and Methodology

Although the main goal of the present publication is to make public the new stele, the pages that follow aim to go beyond a simple description of the stone and a publication of its inscription. The monument will be placed against a more general background and the approach will be less art-historical<sup>4</sup> than historical. The stele will be considered, not as a work of art in itself, but as a moment in a series of converging evolutive processes. Why did a particular person erect this particular stele in this particular region? The intention was to convey a message that was not only religious but also political, and the choice of the image was not, or not only, a matter of routine. It aimed to reflect some of its author's preoccupations. The following pages will therefore try to identify the intention that is at the origin of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

In so doing, two levels of analysis will be adopted. On a first level, the work will be analysed in order to identify possible correlations with already known sculptures and thus recognize not only its artistic affiliation and date of execution but also the expression means or symbols adopted by the artist. This will be done in chapter 3. On a second level the work, considered as a structured complex of symbolic interrelationships, will be viewed in the light of both pictorial and textual evidence. Chapters 4 and 5 will be devoted to these aspects of the research.

In the absence of direct evidence shedding light on the meaning of the various motifs that compose the scene carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, the discussion will try to create series, working on the assumption that, if it can be considered that a series responds to one original intention, information collected on

<sup>3</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN & M. DUNAND, *Til-Barsib*, Paris 1936. Preliminary research was conducted at the site in 1927 and 1928: F. THUREAU-DANGIN & M. DUNAND, "Tell Ahmar," *Syria* 10 (1929), pp. 185-205.

<sup>4</sup> Recent discussions on the methodology of art history as applied to Near Eastern art include, among others, W. ORTHMANN, *USK*, pp. 225-231; I. J. WINTER, "The affective properties of styles: An Inquiry into analytical process and the inscription of meaning in art history," *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. C. A. JONES & P. GALLISON, New York & London 1998, pp. 55-77, as well as most of this author's publications; several contributions to the volume *Fluchtpunkt Uruk, archäologische Einheit aus methodischer Vielfalt: Schriften für Hans Jörg Nissen*, ed. H. KÜHNE, R. BERNBECK & K. BARTL, Rhaden 1999 (especially R.M. CZICHON, "Altorientalische Kunstgeschichte in der Sackgasse?," pp. 29-37; R. LAMPRICH, "Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Gedanken zur Theorie Erwin Panofskys," pp. 38-46; H. KÜHNE, "Anstelle eines Nachwortes: Gedanken zur kunstgeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise in der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie," pp. 342-351); D. BONATZ, *Das syro-hethitische Grabdenkmal*, Mainz 2000, pp. 5-12.

one item of the series applies to the series as a whole, at least in the absence of any indication to the contrary. Christian iconography, for instance, works along these lines. There are different iconographic motifs, all linked with a specific aspect of religion, that an artist can interpret but not develop beyond certain limits. "Nativity", "Pietà", "Crucifixion", "Deposition" etc. include specific features and comply with composition rules that an artist is obliged to accept if he wants to be understood.

In the pages below "iconography" / "iconographic" will refer to the images and figurative motifs combined by the artist to produce a work regardless of the style of its execution. The concept of "motif" will be used rather loosely. It will be applied, for instance, to the entire scene as well as to the figure of the god or to his symbols or attributes.

"Symbol" / "symbolic" / "symbolism" will designate those motifs that are the material sign of an abstract or invisible reality. "Attribute" will be used for a symbol specific to a particular figure.

"Style" / "stylistic" will mean the aspect and form given to a sculpture as a result of the method adopted to carve it. The stylistic criteria that may be used include: relief (high or low), plasticity (flat surface or rendition of volume; straight lines or more realistic contours), rendition of details (incised or in relief), proportions (ratio of various parts of the picture to one another; it must be noted, however, that no attempt has been made to use measurements because, if one works from photographs, it is difficult to get reliable figures).

### Note on the catalogue (pp. 109-136)

A catalogue listing Syro-Anatolian Storm-God figures dating from the Iron Age is appended to the present study. Relevant information concerning the publication of the various works as well as, when relevant, of their inscriptions can be found there. In the discussion, Storm-God figures are referred to as "cat." followed by their number in the catalogue. Illustrations are given on pages 156-171 (figures 56-122), which list the works in the same order as the catalogue.

## CHAPTER 1

### *The Ahmar/Qubbah Stele*

#### DISCOVERY

In June 1999 Mr Ibrahim Jassem, brother of Mr Usama Jassem, the guardian of the site of Tell Ahmar, reported that a carved stone had been seen in the Euphrates river at some distance downstream from Tell Ahmar, near the village of Qubbah (see map, fig. 2) and close to the field of Mr Hassan Hammoud who seems to have been the first person to see it. The stele, which, as was said above, will be referred to as the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, had apparently remained unnoticed until then. Only the lowering of the water level, due in part to the construction of a series of dams on the Euphrates river in Turkey, had made it visible.

After due verification, it became clear that the stone was a large stele, some three metres high, broken into two pieces and bearing a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (parts of what is now called sides C and D were visible). It lay at right angle to the main stream of the river, at a distance of two or three metres from the bank (figs. 3 & 4).

The régime of the river was such that the best time to observe the stone and, consequently, to rescue the monument was on Mondays. This was the time when the operating systems of the Turkish dams retained a maximum volume of water and, therefore, the time when the water level was at its lowest. This circumstance conditioned all the subsequent rescue work. After a few failed attempts made with locally available equipment on the Mondays following the first visit, two crane trucks were brought from Aleppo and, on Monday 19 July, the stele was taken out of the water and delivered to the Aleppo National Museum. Not only was this Monday the last Monday of the excavation season at Tell Ahmar, but a few weeks later the Tishrin Dam was completed and water started rising. The whole operation was completed just in time.

#### CURRENT LOCATION

The stele has now been reconstructed by the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums and placed on display in the inner courtyard of the Aleppo National Museum (fig. 6).

The stele's accession number is M 11611.

## STATE OF PRESERVATION

The stele, as was said above, is broken into two pieces at about mid-height (fig. 5). It is roughly quadrangular in section, slightly tapering towards the top. The upper part of the reverse is slanting towards the front, thus giving a rounded profile to the top of the back of the stele (cf. fig. 9). The front (side A) is carved with a relief showing the Storm-God with attributes and symbols (figs. 7-8, 10-20). The upper half of the three other sides (sides B, C and D) bears an eight-line Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (figs. 9, 41-42). The base has broken off, but without damaging the relief carved on the front. Originally the stele must have been more than three metres high.

As it is, however, it is a remarkably well preserved monument and an outstanding work of art.

## DIMENSIONS

Total height of the front (A): 3.07 m.

Width of bottom of front (A): 0.94 m.

Width of front (A) below the winged disk: 0.89 m.

Width of bottom of right side (D): 0.82 m.

Width of bottom of left side (B): 0.76 m.

Width of bottom of back (C): 0.94 m.

## MATERIAL

The stone is grey/black basalt. It may have been coated with white plaster and details may have been outlined with colour paint.<sup>1</sup> A mineral deposit of pleasant yellowish colour covers most of the surface.

## DESCRIPTION

The scene carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele can be split into four main motifs.

*Winged disk*

A highly elaborate winged disk has been carved at the top of side A (fig. 10). It consists of a plain disk encased in a crescent the points of which are turned upwards. Immediately below the crescent are three rows of ball-like motifs. The rows decrease in size from top to bottom whilst the ball-like motifs become slightly bigger from one row to the other. Below these rows there is a horizontal line of small balls, a horizontal straight line, a row of vertical straight lines and a last horizontal

<sup>1</sup> See below, Isabelle Leirens' contribution, pp. 7-9.

straight line. All these motifs form a kind of triangle set on its point and contained, on either side, by oblique lines with curling bottom ends. All this evokes the breast and tail of a bird.

On either side of this motif are outstretched and slightly undulating wings. The wings consist of seven roughly horizontal lines, figuring feathers. They are both subdivided into two uneven parts by an oblique line almost parallel to the oblique straight lines of the central motif. This partitioning may render the difference in colour and size between the part of the wing that is close to the bird's body and the outer end of the wing.<sup>2</sup>

*Storm-God*

The main component of the scene carved on side A is undoubtedly the figure of the god shown in profile, standing on a bull and facing the right-hand side of the scene. The deity is wearing a helmet with a bulbous top and two pairs of horns on either side (fig. 11). The lower edge of the helmet is decorated with a thickened band incised with two horizontal grooves. The lower pair of horns seems to continue this band.

A long pigtail with a curling end is hanging down along the back of the god (fig. 13). Two lines have been incised all along the pigtail as to define three locks of hair. The beard is almost quadrangular in shape and joins kinds of side whiskers (fig. 11). The beard and the whiskers form one unit which is split in nine rows of hair locks consisting of three vertical lines joining in a spiral at their bottom end. Spirals are curling in alternate directions from one row to the other.

The eye is almond-shaped and shown as if it were seen frontally (figs. 11-12). The eye-lids are outlined by a thick oval line. A small round incision marks the pupil. The nose is rounded. The lips are hardly indicated. The ear, slightly damaged, consists of a kind of convoluted protuberance outlining the ear's contours. The neck is thick and short, almost non-existent.

The torso is clothed in a short-sleeved shirt. The edges of the shirt, around the neck and at the extremity of the sleeves, are marked by a rounded band.

A wide belt whose edges are outlined by a rounded strip marks the waist. A short sword was attached to it on the left-hand side (fig. 15). The pommel is rounded at the top and wider than tall. The hilt looks awkwardly short. The top end of the blade and the scabbard are semi-circular in shape.

Below the belt, a kilt with a fringe covers the legs above the knees (fig. 15). The kilt is formed by a piece of cloth wrapped around the god's body, as is indicated by the oblique line running from the waist to the fringe, which represents the edge of

<sup>2</sup> D. PARAYRE, "A propos de la glyptique 'mitanienne': le disque ailé de Thèbes à Kirkuk et d'Alishar à Meskéné," *Problèmes concernant les Hurrites*, II, ed. M.-T. BARRELET, Paris 1984, pl. I/1, p. 230, outlines the main features of a falcon's wing as compared with the wings of the Near Eastern winged disk motif.

the piece of cloth. A tassel, possibly attached to the belt or to the sword on the invisible side of the figure, is shown along the god's left thigh.

The god is wearing shoes with upturned toes (fig. 16).

He is lifting his right arm behind his head and is brandishing an axe whose long blade is turned towards the top of the stele (fig. 12). The back part of the axe is about one third of the blade in size.

The right hand is raised in front of the god and holds a trident-like object which must be interpreted as a stylized thunderbolt (fig. 14). The teeth of the trident are not perfectly straight but slightly undulating to evoke lightning.

### *Bull*

The bull, on whose back the god is standing, is young, almost a calf (fig. 20). Surprisingly, its physical features are more detailed than those of the god. The sculptor made an extensive use of linear patterns to outline these features, especially the eye and the muscles of the shoulder (fig. 17) and of the hind-legs. Ball-like ornaments represent hair at the base of the horn and above the hooves.

The only visible horn is shown in the shape of an inverted S (fig. 18). The tail ends in a tuft that is shown between the hind-legs (fig. 19). The testicles are clearly indicated. The line between the belly and the left hind-leg — which, as will be seen below (p. 44), represents the penis — strangely turns around the leg.

Other features also look unrealistic. For instance, the head looks too small when compared with the body. The neck is too thick and seems to extend above the head behind the horn, probably in an unfortunate attempt to represent a humped bull. The fore-legs look shorter than their hind-counterparts. Musculature is unrealistically stylized. The animal is walking with its two left legs forward and the two right ones backward.

In general, the figure of the bull is too small compared with that of the god.

### *Guilloche*

The so-called guilloche pattern marks the ground line (fig. 20). It consists of the juxtaposition of eight elongated triple Ss placed between two horizontal straight lines.

The date of the stele will be discussed in the next chapter when stylistic and iconographic comparisons are considered.

### STYLE

The carving style of the relief is marked by four essential features:

(1) The sculpture is made in high relief, very close to a sculpture in the round.

(2) Surfaces are treated with a great sense of volume, again much closer to a sculpture in the round than to a bas-relief.

(3) In delineating the figures there is a trend to adopt rounded forms. This is particularly visible in the physical features of the bull, such as the head and highly stylized muscles, but also in the arms and legs of the god whose calf, for instance, is exceptionally fleshy. Straight lines are rare.

(4) Details appear in low relief on the surface of the main figures, in contrast to some Iron Age Syro-Anatolian reliefs on which details are incised — as, for instance, on the Tell Halaf reliefs — or, at least, do not protrude from the surface. A remarkable feature is the use of cord-like lines to outline some details, such as, for instance, the separation between the inner and outer parts of the wings of the winged disk, the eye of the god, the edge of his sleeves and most of the physical features of the bull.

In general, the work gives an impression of elegance and volume, despite some oddities in execution.

### ORIGINAL LOCATION

The stele is in an unusually good state of preservation, which suggests that it fell in the water in antiquity without suffering much damage. No intentional breakage or erasure is visible. This is possible only if the stone sunk when it was transported on the river or if it stood nearby and fell in the water while it was still an object of worship. The latter possibility seems more likely, although the first one cannot be entirely ruled out.

The river course changed frequently, even in modern time. When F. Thureau-Dangin's expedition was working at Tell Ahmar some seventy years ago, the main branch of the river was flowing by the foot of the tell. Some thirty years later, in the late 1960s, it shifted to the other side of the valley. The tell itself has been affected by the river's instability. All its southern part has been eroded away at an unknown moment in the past.

In such conditions, it would not be surprising if a stele erected on the bank of the Euphrates fell in the water as a result of one of these changes of the river course.

Actually, the area was occupied in antiquity. Villagers reported that antiquities could be found in the fields near the find spot of the stele. Time prevented us from carrying out a systematic investigation of the area, but Roman tiles were visible in the field nearby. A fragment of Roman biconical millstone as well as a fragment of Iron Age column base were collected by a villager. On the other hand, Gertrude Bell reported that, in 1909, she saw a Hittite inscription and two

fragments of relief between the villages of Tell Ahmar and Qubbah<sup>3</sup>. One of these reliefs may be the same as the one which T. E. Lawrence had seen reused in the wall of a house at Qubbah and which F. Thureau-Dangin subsequently published.<sup>4</sup> This relief dates from the Iron Age as does a bull photographed by Gertrude Bell.<sup>5</sup> Until recently a piece of another Iron Age relief, on which only the hoof and part of the belly of a bull were preserved, was lying on the side of the road west of Qubbah.

An ancient settlement, dating back to the Iron Age, may thus have existed in the close vicinity of the place where the stele was found. The Ahmar/Qubbah stele may have been part of it. It must be observed, however, that Iron Age monuments were not necessarily placed within a sacred precinct or in a "prestige" building. D. Ussishkin has reminded that they could stand on the street near city gates.<sup>6</sup> They could even stand on the side of a road. The Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar was found at some distance from the north-west gate<sup>7</sup> where it does not seem to have been part of an architectural complex. It was probably placed there to be seen by everyone going out of the city.

Similarly, the Ahmar/Qubbah stele may have stood on a road that was running alongside the river.

<sup>3</sup> G. L. BELL, "The east bank of the Euphrates from Tell Ahmar to Hit," *The Geographical Journal*, 36 (1910), p. 515; EAD., *Amurath to Amurath*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London 1924, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Til-Barsib*, pp. 137-138 and pl. X/3.

<sup>5</sup> A photograph of a bull is available on the web site of the "Gertrude Bell Project" maintained by the University of Newcastle upon Tyne (Album J, photo 135: [www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/](http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/home/)).

<sup>6</sup> D. USSISHKIN, "The erection of royal monuments in city-gates," *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, ed. K. EMRE et al., Ankara 1989, pp. 485-496.

<sup>7</sup> *Til-Barsib*, pp. 137-138 and pl. X/3.

## APPENDIX

Isabelle LEIRENS<sup>8</sup>

### *Étude technico-matérielle*

La stèle en basalte a été découverte, couchée dans l'Euphrate, en juillet 1999. Le lit de l'Euphrate s'étant déplacé au cours des siècles, il n'est pas certain que cette stèle soit restée en permanence submergée dans l'eau tout au long de son histoire. Lors de l'étude de la surface de la stèle nous avons observé des zones d'altération variées qui pourraient être dues à une exposition différente.

Ses six à sept tonnes ont nécessité deux grues pour la retirer de l'eau. Elle a ensuite été acheminée par camion vers le musée d'Alep où elle a été entreposée dans la jardin qui se trouve à l'entrée du musée dans l'attente d'un traitement et d'un emplacement approprié.

La stèle était fracturée horizontalement à mi-hauteur et recouverte de concrétions blanchâtres (figs. 23 & 24). Une étude plus approfondie devrait permettre de retracer l'aspect original de la stèle. Elle mènerait également à la définition d'un traitement de conservation et à la proposition d'un lieu d'exposition approprié. Cette étude a été confiée en juillet 2000 à l'atelier de conservation/restauration de pierres de l'Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique (IRPA, Belgique).

### **Le basalte : ses caractéristiques, son état**

L'utilisation de basalte pour cette stèle n'a rien d'étonnant. D'autres stèles conservées dans le musée attestent l'utilisation de basalte pour ce type de stèles dans la région. Il s'agit d'un matériau couramment utilisé et plusieurs études géologiques et minéralogiques ont été effectuées sur des objets en basalte provenant de Syrie afin de définir les caractéristiques des différentes carrières d'exploitation<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Chef d'atelier Matériaux pierreux, Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique, Parc du Cinquenaire 1, 1000 Bruxelles (Belgique).

<sup>9</sup> Les basaltes provenant de Dahr Safra (côte méditerranéenne, Syrie) et du Sud-Ouest de la Syrie centrale ont été étudiés par R. F. MAHFOUD et J. N. BECK, "High AL<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> basalt from Syria," *The Syrian Journal of Geology*, General Establishment of Geology and Mineral Resources, 14, First Quarter, 1989. Le basalte provenant de Karatepe (Turquie) a été étudié par E. N. CANER et A. G. TURKMENOĞLU, "Deterioration of basalts from Hittite archaeological site, Karatepe, Turkey," *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on Deterioration and Conservation of Stone. Lausanne, Switzerland, 25-27 Septembre 1985*, 1985, p. 411-420. Les basaltes découverts lors de fouilles en Syrie du Nord ont été étudiés notamment par N. LEASE, "Nouvelles données sur les sources d'approvisionnement en basalte en Syrie du Nord durant le troisième millénaire," 66<sup>e</sup> congrès de l'Acfas, Université Laval, 1998, et M. TROKAY, "Le matériel de broyage en basalte du Tell Ahmar (Area C, fouilles de 1989-1996)," *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, ed. P. MATTHIAE et al., Rome 2000, pp. 1665-1677.



Le basalte est une roche ignée extrusive basique contenant 55 à 65 % de silice. Elle est noire lorsque la présence de minéraux ferromagnésiens est élevée. Elle contient des cristaux de plagioclase, olivine et de pyroxène dans une masse comprenant ces mêmes minéraux et de la magnétite. L'analyse<sup>10</sup> du basalte de la stèle révèle également la présence de cristaux de titane dans la matrice (rutile  $\text{TiO}_2$  ?). Sa dureté est de 5 à 5,5 sur l'échelle de Mohs.

La texture du basalte peut être vésiculaire, ceci signifie qu'il présente des zones de porosité différente. C'est le cas de la stèle (fig. 25), une large bande vésiculaire verticale parcourt la hauteur de la stèle, une autre bande vésiculaire part de la bande verticale vers l'angle arrière droit de la stèle.

Une oxydation de certains éléments ferriques est observable à l'œil nu. Au niveau microscopique, nous observons que l'oxydation des éléments ferriques a provoqué des exfoliations et des décohésions dans la masse. Cette oxydation se remarque surtout dans les zones vésiculaires et tout le long de ces zones, nous remarquons également la formation de fissures (figs. 25 & 26).

#### Etat de la surface : des concrétions et des traces de peinture

Avant d'entamer l'étude matérielle de la stèle, nous avons observé les autres stèles en basalte conservées dans le musée d'Alep. Une différence retenait notre attention ; aucune d'elle n'avait conservé une couche superficielle similaire à celle de la stèle qui nous intéresse. Nous avons pensé dans un premier temps, que l'état de surface de notre stèle était dû uniquement à son immersion dans l'eau et au dépôt de calcaire.

En effectuant une étude stratigraphique et topographique, nous avons observé des traces pouvant provenir de couches de finition originale de la stèle.

#### Les premières observations

Nous avons observé deux aspects de surface et trois types de stratigraphies différentes. Les aspects de surface semblent liés aux conditions de conservation de la stèle et plus particulièrement à son orientation. Certaines parties ont été abritées de l'eau et du soleil, car elles étaient enfoncées dans la vase. D'autres, à peu près 80% de la surface, ont été exposées à l'eau et à l'air de façon alternée.

La partie enfoncée dans la vase n'est pas recouverte de couches de concrétion. Elle comporte une couche blanche présentant des traces rouges et noires (fig. 29).

La partie au contact de l'eau est quant à elle recouverte d'une fine couche de dépôts et de concrétions déposés au cours des siècles. Cette couche couvre parfois

<sup>10</sup> L'analyse du basalte a été exécutée à l'IRPA par Dr Marina Van Bos.

des traces colorées décrites ci-dessus. Elle est de consistance irrégulière, dure par endroits et pulvérulente à d'autres (figs. 23 & 24).

Les flancs droit et gauche, ainsi que la face arrière sont essentiellement recouverts de concrétions, nous n'avons pas relevé de traces de couleurs.

#### Observations sous microscope binoculaire et analyses de laboratoire

Les traces colorées que nous avons observées ont été analysées (fig. 28)<sup>11</sup>. Elles contiennent des minéraux pouvant provenir de terres colorées et utilisées pour rehausser de couleurs les détails de la stèle. Les minéraux identifiés sont du noir de manganèse et des oxydes de fer, composants des terres rouges.

Cette peinture aurait été appliquée sur une couche de fond blanc composé principalement de carbonate de calcium<sup>12</sup>. Celle-ci recouvrait vraisemblablement toute la surface de la stèle.

Ces traces de peinture ont été conservées grâce à l'enfoncement de la stèle dans le sol. Le fait que ce soit la face avant de la stèle qui ait été protégée est particulièrement intéressant. Ceci devrait permettre de comparer les traces de peintures observées avec les peintures murales du palais assyrien.

#### L'observation des traits de peinture

Au niveau du personnage, les contours sculptés semblent accentués d'un trait noir d'un centimètre de largeur (figs. 29 & 30). On observe des traits courbes noirs sur le tronc. Ceux-ci font penser à des motifs d'écailles. Les yeux sont cernés de noir.

Les traces sont très localisées et pourraient correspondre à des traits de peinture. Nous avons relevé ces traces et les avons reportées sur un schéma (fig. 30).

#### La conservation de la stèle

L'assemblage de la partie inférieure et de la partie supérieure de la stèle a été effectué par une équipe de restaurateurs syriens dans l'année qui a suivi notre étude.

En ce qui concerne la couche picturale, une intervention minimale est conseillée. Il s'agit ici d'un exemple rare de stèle ayant conservé une partie de sa couche de finition. Il est important de conserver les traces qui recouvrent la stèle avec un fixage de la couche picturale là où elle est fragile.

Un emplacement à l'intérieur du musée plutôt qu'à l'extérieur serait plus approprié pour la protection de la polychromie et du support.

<sup>11</sup> Analyses effectuées par Dr Marina Van Bos à l'IRPA : analyses FT-IR et SEM-EDX.

<sup>12</sup> L'analyse par SEM-EDX montre principalement la présence de calcium, alors que l'analyse FT-IR démontre la présence de groupes de carbonates. Il s'agit ici de carbonates de calcium.



## CHAPTER 2

J. David HAWKINS

### *The Inscription*

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele bears the sixth Luwian inscription discovered in the Tell Ahmar region and will be referred to as TELL AHMAR 6 (or TA 6).

#### DESCRIPTION

**Inscription:** The left side (B), reverse (C) and right side (D) bear an eight-line inscription, beginning on side B upper right, running sinistroversely along l. 1 across side C to side D left side where it descends to l. 2 and returns dextroversely, continuing thus boustrophedon until its termination on l. 8.

**Dimensions:** (stele) total ht. just over 3 m; w. (sides A and C) 0.90 m increasing to 0.93; th. (bottom of inscription, side B) 0.69 m, (side D) 0.73 m; (inscription) lg. (top line) 2.04 m, (bottom line) 2.28 m; l. ht., 0.16-0.19 m.

**Condition:** excellent, corners between sides B-C, C-D worn in places, some damage along break.

**Script, line-dividers:** relief.

**Sign forms:** monumental, *ma* occasionally cursive.

**Peculiarities:** alternation between plain and elaborate *na*; cursive *á*- in *á-ta-na*, §2.

**Word-dividers:** very frequent.

#### CONTENT

Dedication of stele by Hamiyata king of Masuwari (Til-Barsib) to “this Tarhunza of the Army”, the deity represented. §1, name, title; §§2-3, favour of gods; §§3-7, victories in father’s reign with Tarhunza’s support; §§8-12, on father’s death gods’ favour given and cultivated; §§13-15, ?; §§16-19, victories with help of Tarhunza of the Army; §§20-21, message from seer to establish Tarhunza of the Army; §§22-26, establishment of Tarhunza with offerings; §§27-32, Tarhunza of the Army invoked in protective curse.

#### DATE

As for other Hamiyata stelae TELL AHMAR 2, BOROWSKI 3 and TELL AHMAR 5: reign of Hamiyata belongs in dynastic narrative given on TELL AHMAR 1 by Ariyahina’s son, who seems to have deposed Hamiyata’s son. Close links with the Suhi-Katuwa sculpture from Karkamiš place these monuments in later 10<sup>th</sup> - early 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

## TEXT

Traced from Guy Bunnens' photographs; collations in Aleppo Museum by Andrew George; inspected by the author in Aleppo Museum, September 2003, after restoration.

## NOTE

A curious graphic phenomenon has recently been observed in Hittite Empire Hieroglyphic inscriptions, especially EMİRGAZİ. It is designated "initial-*a*-final" because it involves writing the sign *a* belonging at the beginning of a word after all the component signs. See HAWKINS in H. C. MELCHERT, *The Luwians*, Leiden 2003, pp. 159-161.

## TRANSLITERATION

1. §1. (B) EGO-*wa/i-mi*<sup>1</sup>*ha-mi-ia-ta-sa* | IUDEX-*ní-sa* | *ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za*-<*sa*> (URBS) | REX-*ti-i-sa* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*si* (C)SERVUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>-i-sa*
- §2. *wa/i-mu-*' | *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-na* | INFANS(-)*ní*-\*282-*wa/i-ra+a* CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS) *ia* [...] (D) (DEUS) BONUS (DEUS) LUNA-*sa* | *á-ta-na* | (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tara/i-za-mi-sa* (DEUS) SOL-*sa* (DEUS) CERVUS-*sa* ||
2. (DEUS) *kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS) *ku+AVIS* (DEUS) *hi-pu-tà-sa* EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si-ha* (DEUS) *sà-US-ka-sa* (C) [(DEUS)] FORTIS-*sa* (DEUS) SARMA-*sa* | "CAELUM"-*ti-sa* | "TERRA"-REL + *ra/i-ti-sa-ha* (DEUS) AVIS-*ti-zi* (DEUS) \*30 (-)*tà-ti-zi a-tá* (B) | *ta-sa<sup>2</sup>-mi-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi* | (LITUUS) *á-za-ta*
3. §3. *wa/i-mu-*' | *á-ma-za* | *tá-ti-ia-za* | "LIGNUM"-*la-ha-za* || |*pi-ia-ta*
- §4. *a-wa/i* | *ku-ma-na mi-i-sa-*' | *tá-ti-sa* | *ha-IUDEX*-< +*ra/i<sup>2</sup>*> -*i-sa sa-tá-*'
- §5. | *mu-pa-wa/i-*' (C) *mi-[i-]zi-*' | *tá-ti-zi ta<sub>4</sub>-ní-zi-*' (DEUS.ORIENS) *ki-sà-ta-ma-si-zi* (DEUS.ORIENS) *ki-sà-ta-ma-ti* | ARHA | "DELERE"-*nú[sà]-ha*
- §6. (D) [...] -*wa/i* | (OCCIDENS) *i-pa-ma-si-zi* | ARHA | DELERE-*nu-sà-ha mi-ia-ti-*' | DOMINUS-*na-ní-ia-ti* | \*314-*sa-ta-na-ti*
4. §7. | PRAE-*pa-wa/i*|| -*mu* | *za-a-sa* | EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si-sa* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* | *hu-ha-sà-ta-si*

Further examination has shown that this feature is continued in the Late Hieroglyphic inscriptions, particularly those of early Karkamiš (Suhi-Katuwa) and the closely associated Tell Ahmar group, including the present inscription where we observe the following writings (*\*a* represents this initial-*a*-final"):

*\*a-wa/i-ma* (§2); *\*a-wa/i-mu* (§3); *\*a-mi-sa*, *\*a-sa-tá* (§4); *\*a-mu-pa-wa/i* *\*a-mi-[i-]zi*, *\*a-ta<sub>4</sub>-ní-zi* (§5); *\*a-mi-ia-ti* (§6); *\*a-mi-i-sa* (§8); *\*á-mi-ia-za* (§10); *\*a-wa/i-ma-za-ta* (§12); *\*a-wa/i-ma-sa* (§18); *\*a-wa/i-ma-sa* (§19); *\*a-ta-ni-zi-pa-wa/i-mi* (§21); *\*a-wa/i-mu* (§22); *\*a-pa-ti-i* (§26); *\*a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i* (§30); *\*a-pa-ti-pa-wa/i* (§31); *\*a-pa-si-na* (§32); *\*a-wa/i-tú-ta* (§33). Note also *\*a-MALUS-wa/i-za* (§30, = *atuwiza* ?).

## TRANSLATION

- §1. I am Hamiyata the Ruler, Masuwarean king, the servant of Tarhunza.
- §2. Me a ... child(?) Celestial Tarhunza, Ea, the Grain-God, the Moon-God, the ... Sun-God, Runtiya, Karhuha, Kubaba, Hiputa, and Sauska of the Army, Teššub, Šarruma, Heaven and Earth, the ... gods, the ... gods, the ... gods loved,
- §3. and to me they gave my paternal succession.
- §4. When my father was alive,
- §5. I myself was destroying my father's enemies, those of the east from the east,
- §6. ... those of the west I was destroying with my lord's support,
- §7. this Tarhunza of the Army ran before me.

- §8. | REL-ia-pa-wa/i mi-i-sa-' | tá-ti-sa | ARHA (MORI) wa/i-la-tá
- §9. (C) | [za-a-zi]-pa-wa/i-mu DEUS-ní-zi | (MANUS) su-bi-tà | (LITUUS) á-za-ta
- §10. a-wa/i mi-ia-za-' | tá-ti-ia-za | á-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za | NEG<sub>2</sub>' | INFRA-ta  
LITUUS<sup>2</sup> + na<sup>2</sup>-tà(?)
- §11. | SUPER + ra/i-a-ha-wa/i | na<sup>2</sup>-ní-tà
- §12. DEUS-na-za-pa-wa/i | VIA-wa/i-na | (LITUUS) tara/i-wa/i-i-ha
5. §13. wa/i-ma-za-ta-' | (MANUS) su-za | (\*314) ha-zi-wa/i-sà PONERE-wa/i || -ha
- §14. | CAPUT-ti-pa-wa/i | INFANS-ní-i | VAS-tara/i-na | BONUS-li-ia-nu-  
wa/i-ha | ("CAPUT") ha + ra/i-ma-bi-na
- §15. | \*187-wa/i-sa-pa-wa/i-ta | 1-ta-ti-i (C) | (PES<sub>2</sub>) tara/i-zi-ha
- §16. | FINES-bi-zi-pa-wa/i | za-la-na | PONERE-wa/i-ha
- §17. | za-a-sa-pa-wa/i-mu | EXERCITUS-la/i/u-na-si-i-sa (DEUS) TONITRUS-sa  
| (LITUUS) á-za-ta
- §18. wa/i-ma-sa-' | LITUUS<sup>2</sup> + na<sup>2</sup>-bi-i-tà | VIA(-)hu-sa-la-bi-tà-ha wa/i + ra/i-li-ta
- §19. wa/i-ma-sa-' | PRAE-na | hu-ha-sà-ta-si
- §20. a-wa/i | FINES-bi-zi | ("VAS") la-tara/i-ha ||
6. §21. ta<sub>4</sub>-ni-zi-pa-wa/i-mi-i-' | ARHA | ("DELERE") mara + ra/i(?) -nu-wa/i-ha
- §22. wa/i-mu-' DEUS-na-mi-i-sa | á-sa<sub>5</sub>-za-ta
- §23. | EXERCITUS-la/i/u-na-si-i-wa/i (C)(DEUS)TONITRUS-na (SOLIUM)i-sà-  
nu-wa/i
- §24. | a-wa/i | REL-a-ti-i | (ANNUS) u-si-i | FLUMEN \*427.\*311-pa-x | (PES<sub>2</sub>) i-ha  
(DEUS)TONITRUS-sa-ti | (\*314)ha-sa-ta-na-ti-i (B) 5 × CENTUM(-)ta-na-ti  
| ("SCALA + PES + ROTA") za-la-la-ti-i | \*179.\*347.5(-)ia-ma-ti
7. | \*187(-)REL-ta-na-ti-i-ha-wa/i || EXERCITUS-la/i/u-na-ti-i
- §25. | ARHA-pa-wa/i | REL-i | PES-wa/i-i-ha

- §8. But when my father died,
- §9. these gods loved me to fullness,
- §10. they did not look(?) down on my father's name,
- §11. and they ... -ed (it) up.
- §12. For the gods I showed(?) the way,
- §13. and for them I established a full ritual.
- §14. For man (and) boy the person I exalted (and) the head,
- §15. (interpretation by E. Rieken, see commentary)
- §16. I put the frontiers ZALAN,
- §17. but this Tarhunza of the Army loved me,
- §18. and he made me (his) own in vision and in ...-ing,
- §19. and he ran before me,
- §20. and I extended the frontiers.
- §21. I destroyed for myself the enemies,
- §22. and the god-inspired (one) said to me:
- §23. "Establish Tarhunza of the Army!",
- §24. and in the year in which I went ... with Tarhunza's support with 500 carts,  
with ... and with the ... army,
- §25. when I came forth,

- §26. *a-wa/i* | *za-a-na* | EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*na* (C)  
*pa-ti-i-'* | (ANNUS) *u-si-i* | (SOLIUM) *i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha*
- §27. *a-wa/i* | REL-*ia* | \*527(-)*na-ta-ti-i* | (CURRUS) *wa/i+ra/i-za-ní-i-sa*  
 | (SA<sub>4</sub>)*sá-za-i*
- §28. | *za-a-ti-pa-wa/i* | EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-sa-na* (D) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti-i*  
 | 9 BOS-*za* (or 9-*u-za?*) | *pi-pi-sa-wa/i*
- §29. *ḥa-mi-i-ia-ta-sa-pa-wa/i-ta* | *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za* | REL-*i-sa* | ARHA | “MALLEUS”  
 (-)AVIS-*la-i* ||
8. §30. | NEG<sub>2</sub>-*a-pa-wa/i ḥa-mi-ia-ta-sa-na* | NEPOS-*sa-ta-ní-i* | REL-*i-sa* | MALUS-  
*wa/i-za-'* | POST-*ni a-tá* | (VAS.ANIMAL)*za+ra/i-ti-ti-i*
- §31. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-'* | *za-sa* (C) | EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si-i-sa* (DEUS)  
 TONITRUS-*sa* | LEO(ANIMAL)-*wa/i-sa* | *i-zi-ia-ru*
- §32. *a-wa/i pa-si-na-'* | (CAPUT)*ha+ra/i-ma-hi-na* FEMINA-*ti-i-na*  
 | INFANS-*ni-na* | INFRA-*ta* | (BIBERE) *pa-sà-tú*
- §33. *wa/i-tú-ta-'* LOCUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>-wa/i-za* (B) | NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa CUM u-sa-la-li-ti*
- §34. | *á-na*(REGIO)-*i-ta-pa-wa/i* NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-a-pa* | (PES<sub>2</sub>)*i-ti* | *za-a-na* (DEUS)  
 TONITRUS-*na ḥa-mi-ia-ta-si-i-na* | *wa/i+ra/i-\*273-na*

## COMMENTARY

§1. Titles: Hamiyata entitles himself elsewhere [“ ... ? ,] Masuwarean King” (TELL AHMAR 5, §1); “the Ruler, the King Masuwarean [ ... ]” (BOROWSKI 3, §1); “Masuwarean [ ... ....] king, Tarhunza’s servant” (TELL AHMAR 2, §1). The latter two damaged passages would have had sufficient space to include a patronym, but the former, like the present new passage, did not give this information.

SERVUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>-i-*: for this form, as against the simple SERVUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>-*, see *CHLI*, I/1, pp. 58 (KARATEPE, §I.6), 237 (ALEPPO 2, §1).

§2. This fully preserved clause is paralleled by damaged and incomplete versions on TELL AHMAR 2, §2 (Hamiyata) and TELL AHMAR 1, §2 (Ariyahina’s son). Comparison of the three passages may be instructive:

TA 6. *wa/i-mu-'* | *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-na* | INFANS(-)*ní-\*282-wa/i-ra+a* ...

TA 1. *wa/i-mu-'* | *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-na* | INFANS(-)*ní-\*282-wa/i-ra+a* ...

TA 2. *wa/i-mu-'* | *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-i-na* [ ...

§26. in that year I established this Tarhunza of the Army.

§27. When the chariot will SAZA- with \*526,

§28. to this Tarhunza of the Army I shall always give nine oxen (or “a ninth”).

§29. (He) who shall erase Hamiyata’s name,

§30. or who shall desire evil for Hamiyata’s posterity,

§31. for him may this Tarhunza of the Army become a lion,

§32. may he swallow down his head, wife (and) child!

§33. For him may he not USALALI the ... ,

§34. nor let him go to the land Anaita to ... this Tarhunza of Hamiyata!

In each, the subject + verb are: “the gods (in a long list) loved” ((LITUUS) *á-za-ta*, preserved TELL AHMAR 6 and 1).

*wa/i-mu-'*: *mu* almost certainly direct object, “the gods loved *me* ...”.

*á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>(-i)-na*: order of reading *á-ia-* confirmed by comparison of TELL AHMAR 6 with TELL AHMAR 2 and 1. Addition of (-*i*-) in TELL AHMAR 2 may connect with problematic vocalization of *ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>*. Final -*na* is likely to be ending acc. sing. MF., thus qualifying -*mu*.

|INFANS(-)*ní/ní-\*282-wa/i-ra+a*: apparently written in the same way (apart from *ní/ní*) on TELL AHMAR 6 and 1; comparison of two attestations suggests this as the correct order of reading. The order suggested in *CHLI*, I/1, p. 240 f. does not seem possible, which may rule out the comparison there with (INFANS)*niwarani-*, “helpless (child)”. Reading, form, case and syntactic position of this word remain unclear. While the general sense of the clause “me as a child/from my childhood the

gods loved" seems likely, it is difficult to suggest how this can be extracted from what appears.

God list (numbers register position in list)

- (1) TA 6. CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa*  
 (1) TA 1. "CAELUM"-*si-i-sa* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu-sa*
- (1) TA 2. [ ...
- (2) TA 6. (DEUS) *ia* [ ... ? – conceivably an erased REX-*ti-sa*]  
 (2) TA 1. (DEUS) *i-ia-sa* | REX-*ti-i-sa*  
 (2) TA 2. [(DEUS)] *i-ia-sa* | REX-*ti-i-sa*
- (3) TA 6. (DEUS) BONUS  
 (3) TA 1. (DEUS) BONUS *ku-mara +ra/i-ma* (for reading *mara +ra/i*, see below, §21)  
 (3) TA 2. (DEUS) BONUS-*sa*
- (TA 6.)  
 (4) TA 1. (DEUS. "HORDEUM") *ma-ti-la/i/u-sa*  
 (4) TA 2. (DEUS) HORDEUM-*la/i/u-i-sa*
- (4) TA 6. (DEUS) LUNA-*sa*  
 (6) TA 1. | *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa* (URBS) (DEUS) LUNA + *MI-sa*  
 (5) TA 2. | *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa* (URBS) (DEUS) LUNA + *MI-sa*
- (5) TA 6. | *á-ta-na* | (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* (DEUS) SOL-*sa*  
 (TA 1?) | [ ... – probably omits this deity]  
 (6) TA 2. | *á-ta-na* | (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* | ?SOL? [ ...]
- (6) TA 6. (DEUS) CERVUS-*sa*  
 (TA 1.)  
 (TA 2.)
- (7) TA 6. (DEUS) *kar-hu-ha-sa*  
 (7?) TA 1. [ ... – probably *Karhuha* here]  
 (7) TA 2. (DEUS) *ka+ra/i-[hu-ha]-sa*
- (8) TA 6. (DEUS) *ku-AVIS*  
 (8) TA 1. (DEUS) *k[u-A]VIS-pa-[pa]-sa* ... [ ...]  
 (8) TA 2. (DEUS) *ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa* [...]

TELL AHMAR 2 breaks off here; TELL AHMAR 1 continues with some unidentifiable signs then breaks off.

TELL AHMAR 6 continues: <sup>(9)</sup>Hiputa, <sup>(10)</sup>Sauska of the Army, <sup>(11)</sup>Tisupa (= TELL AHMAR 1 no.5), <sup>(12)</sup>Sarruma, <sup>(13)</sup>Heaven, <sup>(14)</sup>Earth, <sup>(15)</sup>... gods, <sup>(16)</sup>... gods, <sup>(17)</sup>... gods.

(DEUS) BONUS: this deity's name spelled out phonetically only on TELL AHMAR 1, and cf. *CHLI*, I/2, p. 372 (TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 2b l.1, §ii) – *ku-mara +ra/i-ma* (*Kumarma*-?), a late reflex of Kumarbi (for the reading *mara +ra/i*, see below, §21)

*Matili*: a barley deity (for HORDEUM, "barley", see *CHLI*, I/2, p. 477, AKSARAY, §4a) occurs in the 4<sup>th</sup> place on TELL AHMAR 2 and 1, but not in this new list.

| *á-ta-na* | (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* (DEUS) SOL-*sa*: this clear writing confirms the reading and identification of the deity in 6<sup>th</sup> place on TELL AHMAR 2.

(DEUS) SOL: the form of the logogram SOL with an added pair of wings, as here, may also be visible on MALATYA 14 (*CHLI*, I/3, plate 152). The damaged writing of TELL AHMAR 2 is probably that given by Hrozny (word divider, SOL with wings, *IHH* III, p. 482 f.), also Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2 p. 212), rather than by Poetto (*Oriens Antiquus* 17 [1978], p. 280, n.7).

*á-ta-na* best identified as preverb *antan*, modifying sense of (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tarzami*, participle of (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tarzi*- (for which see §15 below, interpreted as "turn" by Elisabeth Rieken). We should note however that *anda* is usually written *a-tá*: cf. below, *a-tá(-)ta-sa<sup>2</sup>-mi*. Rieken compares *antan tarzami*- with Hitt. *anda neiant*-, "(benevolently) inclined towards".

(DEUS) CERVUS-*sa* (DEUS) *kar-hu-ha-sa*: for the syncretism between the old Hittite Stag-God, (DEUS) CERVUS / *Runtiya*-, and the Karkamiš god *Karhuha*, see *CHLI*, I/1, pp. 106 f. (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §18b), 328 f. (MALATYA 13, left side). (DEUS) CERVUS is not normally found in KARKAMIŠ inscriptions nor *Karhuha* outside them. TELL AHMAR 1 no.7 (i.e. the broken space between the Moon-God and Kubaba) was probably *Karhuha* rather than the Sun-God with his bulky epithet, who is thus likely to be absent from that inscription.

*Hiputa*: the goddess Hebat, written with *-pu-* or *-pa-*, occurs in the inscriptions of Malatya (GÜRÜN, §§1a, 7), possibly Commagene (ANCOZ 9, §2: see commentary, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 359), and Tabal (ÇİFTLİK, §8; KULULU 5, §1).

EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si* (DEUS) *sà-US-ka*:- the old Hurrian goddess Sauska is a rare survivor in the Late Hittite Hieroglyphic inscriptions, attested elsewhere only on MALATYA 6 (see commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 308); and the survival of the epithet "of the Army" (*ku(wa)lanasi*, gen. sing.) is even more surprising, since an Empire period <sup>D</sup>*IŠTAR* KARAŠ is not attested.

*Tisupa*: presumed reading of (DEUS) FORTIS, which is complemented *-su-pa-* on TELL AHMAR 1, §2 (in the 5<sup>th</sup> place in the god list, as opposed to the 11<sup>th</sup> here). This follows Bossert and Meriggi (see *Glossar*, p. 186 s.v. 33). Cf. the PNN TONITRUS-*pa* (NINEVEH seals 1-3, *CHLI*, I/2, p. 582) and compounded with -TONITRUS-*pa-// -ti-sa-pa-* (KARKAMIŠ A7, §§7, 9, 10, 13, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 129).

(DEUS) TONITRUS may on occasion be read *Tešub* rather than *Tarhunza* (see GÜRÜN §1a, 7, and commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 297), especially in context with Hebat and Sarruma (but cf. KULULU 5, §1).

“CAELUM”-*ti-sa* “TERRA”-REL + *ra/i-ti-sa-ha*: further example of “Heaven and Earth” personified by suffix -*a(n)ti-*, *tipasa(n)tis taskwara(n)tis-ha*: cf. BOYBEYPINARI 2, §21, and my remarks *Anatolian Studies*, 20 (1970), p. 95; for Cun. Luw., see Starke, *Stammbildung*, p. 98.

(DEUS) AVIS-*ti-zi* (presumably nom plur. MF): (DEUS) AVIS-*tani-* means something like “day” (KARKAMIŠ A11a, §10, see commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 97 f.; cf. TELL AHMAR 2, §10). It is not clear whether the present writing, apparently a group of deities, can be connected.

(DEUS) \*30(-)*tà-ti-zi*: logogram \*30 attested elsewhere solely in writing of verb “\*30”(-)*ri+i-nu-wa/i-*, which is not understood (KARKAMIŠ A12, §13). Equally it is quite unclear how to interpret the sign here.

*a-tá(-)ta-sa<sup>2</sup>-mi-zi*: the sign -*sa-* is not clear on any of the photographs, but A.R. George in his collation of the text has drawn a clear -*sa-*. A possible explanation for this group is *a-tá* = *anta* (preverb), *tasami-* participle, nom. plur. MF, of verb *tasa-*, “the ANTA TASA-ed (gods)”.

§3. This clause is found in KARKAMIŠ A14a, §3 (Suhi II); KARKAMIŠ A11a, §3; A2+3, §2 (both Katuwa); TELL AHMAR 2, §3; BOROWSKI 3, §3, and the present occurrence (all Hamiyata); and TELL AHMAR 1, §4 (Ariyahina’s son). It seems to indicate legitimate succession, although Hamiyata’s father appears to have been a usurper (TELL AHMAR 1, §§11-13). See the discussion of (“LIGNUM”) *sà-la-ha-za*, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 241 f.

§4. *ha-IUDEX* < + *ra/i?* > -*i-sa*: for *ha-IUDEX* + *ra/i-* = Phoen. *hym*, “life”, see KARATEPE §XLIX, 276, and commentary, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 65. For *ha-IUDEX* + *ra/i* *asa-*, “be in life”, see KARKAMIŠ A5a, §2, and commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 183. If we accept that we have established a noun *batara/i-*, “life”, we may identify the present form as an adjective formed in -*i-*, “alive”. The meaning seems contextually appropriate when paired with §8, “But when my father died ...”.

The presence and interpretation of this clause may lead to a reappraisal of the restoration of TELL AHMAR 1, §7, cf. commentary, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 242. It would seem likely that we have the same context there, and thus should restore:

§7. *a-wa/i* | *ku-ma-na* [*mi-i-s*]-*a-*’ [(AVUS)]*hu-ha[-ti]-sa* [*ha-IUDEX* + *ra/i*]-*i-sá* [*sa-ta*]-’

§7. “when [my] [great]-grandfather [was] [ali]ve,

§8. he was lord in his demesne,

§9. he governed from the west and from the east.

§10. But when he died in the land of Ana ...”.

My previous restoration was “when [my great]-grandfather (Hapatila) [was king] ...”, and I placed Hapatila as king 1 in the dynastic narrative. Even with this new

proposal, it is probably implicit in the narrative that Hapatila was king: note especially the verb (“LIGNUM”) CRUS-LEPUS + *ra/i-*, “govern” (§9). I would still understand the narrative in the same way as before.

§5. *mi-zi-*’ | *tá-ti-zi ta<sub>4</sub>-ní-zi-*’, “my father’s enemies”: *tatinzi* clearly the adj. *tati(ya)-*, “paternal, of the father”, which is so frequently attested, while *tati-*, “father”, is never found in the gen. sing. The word *ta<sub>4</sub>-ní-zi-*’, “enemies” (also §21 below), repeats the form of an earlier pair of occurrences in KARKAMIŠ A23, §§4-5, where it was unclear whether an initial *a-* was present or whether this belonged as -’ at the end of the previous word. We thus read there:

§4. *wa/i-mu-*’ *mi-zi-*’ *ta<sub>4</sub>-ní-zi-*’ | *pi-pa-sa-ta*

§5. *mu-pa-wa/i-*’ *ta<sub>4</sub>-na-za-*’ | NEG<sub>2</sub> | *pi-ia-ta*

§4. “She kept giving my enemies to me,

§5. but me to (my) enemies she did not give”.

Nevertheless a graphic practice “initial-*a*-final” observed for the Empire period suggests that here too the final -’ (-*a*) represents an initial *a-*, thus *atani(n)zi*: see above, pp. 14-15. The sense “enemy” for *atani-* emerges as clearly from the new context as from the former. An etymology awaits.

§6. DOMINUS-*na-ni-ia-ti*: again a possessive adj. in -*i(ya)-* as is normal with this word; cf. KARATEPE, 71, 75; and commentary to the form, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 260.

\*314-*sa-ta-na-ti*: cf. below §24, (\*314)*ba-sa-ta-na-ti-i*, apparently a full phonetic writing. These attestations usefully repeat an earlier occurrence, CEKKE, §6b:

*ka-ma-na-na*(URBS) URBS + *MI-ni-na* *ka-na-pu-wa/i-na-za*(URBS) CUM-*ni* (“CONTRACTUS”) *i-sa-ta á-pa-sa-ti* \*314-*sa-tá-na-ti*

“the city Kamana they bought from the Kanapuweans by their \*314”.

In the present contexts “support” seems to fit the sense, but a more precise definition of the word may have to await an etymological interpretation.

The lord providing the support is presumably the Tarhunza of the Army from the following clause, as also in §24.

§7. “Storm-God of the Army”, well established Hittite god (van Gessel, *OHP* II, pp. 660, 781-783) appearing here for the first time in the Late Period.

*hu-ha-sà-ta-si* (also §19): this verb exactly matches (PES<sub>2</sub>) *HWI-HWI-sà-tá-si* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §8, for which see commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 105 f. for discussion and other examples). The context in the two KARKAMIŠ parallels is of “ancestors not having reached areas”. “Gods running before” occurs on KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §11, and in Empire attestations on YALBURT cited in the discussion of the word in the commentary to §8. It was assumed that Empire Cun. *huiya-*, “run”, would be matched by Empire Hier., thus the sign writing the verb was transliterated *hwi*, but it was felt that the Late Period verb recognized as descended from the Empire writing might have undergone phonetic modification, so it was transliterated

*HWT-ia-* and *HWT-HWT-sà-* to allow for this possibility. The present new attestation provides *prima facie* evidence for believing that *HWT-HWT-sà-* was indeed read *hu-ba-sà-*. We further identify as before *-ta*, 3 plur. pret., +*si* still just as unexplained. The same termination *-si* appears in KARKAMIŠ A11b, §8, and A12, §2 (*PES*)*HWT-HWT-sà-tá-si*, 3rd pers. plur. preterite, and in the verb *i-zi-ia-si* attested twice in the new ÇİNEKÖY bilingual (Tekoğlu and Lemaire, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 2000, pp. 961-1007, see p. 980): in §6 (my numbering, edition §VII), a passive meaning 'were made, became' is necessary and is confirmed by the Phoenician equivalent *kn*, 'were'; *ibid.* §5, a passive translation is far better than an active one and is confirmed by the same Phoenician equivalent. Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies points out: "If *-si* marks passive voice, we could assume that in the verb 'to run', which is intransitive and is mostly used in the active, it has a middle value; the Hittite *huwai-*, 'to run', though mostly active, is also attested with similar meaning in the middle (see Neu, *StBoT* 5, p. 61f. and *StBoT* 6 *passim*). The form *i-zi-ia-si* of ÇİNEKÖY differs from the others because *-si* is added to stem and not to the personal endings. However, *i-zi-ia-si* matches the present passive *iziyari*, 'is made, becomes', attested in KARATEPE and elsewhere, even if *i-zi-ia-si* ought to be plural. We do not have evidence for the third plural passive present of *iziya-* but we note that it is possible that the passive imperative *i-zi-ia-ru* found in Karatepe (§LV 315), may be used as plural, though the neuter subject prevents any certainty. In ÇİNEKÖY the context requires a past tense, and if so it is difficult to resist the temptation to link the final *-si* with the *-ti* element which in Hittite is often found in the preterite passive. However, both the phonology and the morphology of these *-si* forms in Luwian are far from clear and will require much further discussion".

§8. *REL-ia*: So also §27 below. In the present context, the translation "when" imposes itself, but in the exactly parallel clauses TELL AHMAR 5 §8 (also Hamiyata), and TELL AHMAR 1, §§10, 18 (Ariyahina's son), *REL-i* is found with the same assured sense. For *REL-i*, see below, §25, also:

KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§17, 24, also 21 (*REL-'*)

KARKAMIŠ A6, §§18, 23

KARKAMIŠ A23, §9

BOYBEYPINARI 2, §7

KULULU 1, §15

SULTANHAN, §§10, 11, 35

BOHÇA, §10

TOPADA, §§35, 37 (?)

ASSUR letter e, §§7, 10 (?)

For *REL-i-ia*, see KARKAMIŠ A6, §8.

*ARHA* (MORI) *wala-*, "die": since my original identification of the logogram and its phonetic rendering on the basis of TELL AHMAR 1, §§10, 18, and other passages (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 94 (1980), pp. 109-119), two further exactly

parallel attestations have appeared in TELL AHMAR 5, §8, and the present one (both Hamiyata).

§9. (MANUS) *su-hi-tà*, "fullness": cf. (MANUS) *su-za*, "full" (§13 below). The stem may be recognized as *su(wa)-*, verb determined by MANUS (KARATEPE, 38, also MARAŞ 8 §7(?); now also MANUS.HORDEUM, TELL AHMAR 5, §2); redupl. *susu-* (KARKAMIŠ A30b, §§3, 1); Cun. Luw. *suwa-* (*CLL*, s.v.), Hitt. *suwai-*, also adj. *suu-*, "full". See J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Die hethitischen U-Stämme*, Amsterdam 1984, §§310-319. The present (MANUS) *su-za* may be interpreted as *su(wa)nza* > *sunza* (nom./acc. sing. N); and (MANUS) *su-hi-tà* as *su(wa)hi(t)-* > *suhi(t)-* (dat. sing. of *-ahi(t)-* abstract, for which cf. Cun. Luw. *suwatar*, *CLL* s.v.).

§10. *mi-ia-za-* | *tá-ti-ia-za* | *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za*, "my father's name": cf. *amanza tatiyanza ... atamanza* (BOYBEYPINARI 2, §18), also *amanza tatiyanza salahanza*, "my father's succession" (above §3, etc.). Thus "my" nom./acc. sing. N is normally *amanza*, while (a)*miyanza* is well attested as dat. plur. Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies wonders whether there is a semantic or syntactic difference between the two forms. *amanza* is the expected neuter of 'my', so that in §3 the reference is to 'my own hereditary power', while in §10 (a)*miyanza* does not indicate 'my name' but the name of 'my father': *mei patris nomen* vs. *mea vis paterna*. Morphologically *amanza* is a neuter and consequently has no 'i-Motion', in contrast with *amis*, while (a)*miyanza* could be a -yo- derivative.

§§10-11. The signs at the end of §10 – beginning of §11 are somewhat jumbled, possibly because this area is circling the corner of the stele, which has additionally resulted in the signs becoming somewhat worn. Nevertheless the readings are reasonably assured.

INFRA-*ta* LITUUS<sup>2</sup>+*na*<sup>2</sup>-, "look down on, despise": cf. SUB-*na-na* LITUUS+*na-* (TELL AHMAR 1, §11).

*na<sup>2</sup>-ni-*: the verb if correctly read may well be the same as the hapax legomenon Glossenkeil *nani-* (meaning uncertain, see *CHD*, s.v.). A very general sense may be drawn from the present context, "bring (up), raise (up)", or the like.

§12. VIA-*wa/i-na*: the same form, KARATEPE, 180, was considered uncertain, whether acc. sing. MF, *harwan*, or dat. sing., *harwana* (see *CHLI*, I/1, p. 62, I/2, p. 373). The present occurrence is much more likely to be acc. sing. MF, direct object, thus contributing to the solution of the problem and pointing to the existence of *harwa-*, extended form *harwa(n)t-*. Cf. Cun. Luw. \**harwa-* (*CLL*, s.v., also *harwanna/i-*).

(LITUUS) *tara/i-wa/i-i-*: may or may not be the same verb as ("\*69") *tara/i-wa/i-i-* (ISKENDERUN, §1, see commentary, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 260). The determinative LITUUS, suggested to mark verbs generally of perception (Hawkins, *Kadmos*, 19



(1980), pp. 123-142) may indicate that we have a different verb. We may further compare Cun. Luw. *tarawiya*-, for which Melchert accepts the meaning “hand over, deliver” (*CLL*, s.v., *contra* Starke), and this was found to fit well the ISKENDERUN context, in the sense of “providing” goods for temples, agreeing also with Hitt. *tarrawai*-. Here “providing a road for the gods” seems possible, suggesting as it does the Hitt. ritual practice of attracting (“drawing”) the gods by means of “paths” (KASKAL) of various substances. We are left with the use of LITUUS and whether this can be understood in the context, or whether a different verb, e.g. “showing”, might be more appropriate.

§13. (MANUS) *su-za* (= *su(wa)nza*, “full”, nom./acc. sing. N): see discussion above (§9).

(\*314)*ha-zi-wa/i-sà*, “ritual, rite”: good example of the Glossenkeil Luw. loan into Hitt. *hazziwi(t)*-, showing nom./acc. sing. N particle *-sa*; attested elsewhere in Hier. only in abl., (“LIGNUM”) *ha-zi-wa/i+ra/i-ti* (§IRZI, §2). The use of the determinative \*314 for LIGNUM is not explained: the former determines also *hasa*- “bone, force”; *batastari*-, “frightfulness”; *katuna*-, “?”; *kapilali*-, “enemy”; (-)*sapaza*-, “?”; *hatašana*-, “support” (? see below, §24); LIGNUM should now be collated. For Hitt. Luw. *hazziwi(t)*-, see Starke, *StBoT* 31, pp. 181-183, and cf. Melchert, *CLL*, s.v.

§§14-15. The clear clause §15 should offer renewed possibility of understanding the damaged and obscure parallels TELL AHMAR 1 §6, and BOROWSKI 3, §4. Furthermore §14 though quite different from TELL AHMAR 1, §5, shows sufficiently parallel sense to indicate a similar context. In discussion Elisabeth Rieken has contributed significantly to the elucidation.

§14. // TELL AHMAR 1, §5. (We should bear in mind that TELL AHMAR 1 is later than the Hamiyata stelae – §18 records his death).

§14 is structurally clear, even if the sense in context is not immediately apparent: “for a man (and) child (both dat. sing.) I exalted the person (and) head (both acc. sing. MF)”. This pattern may now assist in the understanding of the damaged TELL AHMAR 1, §5, itself already understood from a comparison of the fragment TELL AHMAR 3 (LOUVRE), which reads:

§1. ... ] | *ma-su-wa/i+[ra/i]-na* (URBS) | (“CAELUM”) *ti-pa-si-i* <sup>1</sup>SUPER+*ra/i-*’  
[ ... ]-*i-ha*

“The city Masuwari up to the sky I [rai]sed (?)”

TELL AHMAR 1 reads:

§5. *a-[wa/i]* (FINES) *i+ra/i-[ha/bi]-z[i/a]* | *pa-[ ... ]-x* [*ma*]-*su-wa/i+ra/i-* [ ... ]  
CRUS(URBS) [(CAELUM)*ti*]-*pa-si-i* [SU]PER+*ra/i* [ ... ]-*i-ha* | (“CAPUT”) *ha+ra/i-*  
*ma-bi-na*

verb SUPER+*ra/i* [ ... ]-*i-ha*: same in both, “I [rai]sed(?) up (to the sky)”, proposed restoration [PUGNUS-*ri+*]-*i*-, “raise”.

(“CAPUT”) *ha+ra/i-ma-bi-na*, “head”, acc. sing. MF, same position and context as in TELL AHMAR 6, §14, implies that the two clauses have same general sense: thus “I exalted (*waliyanu*-) the person (*atri*-) (and/as/at) the head” // “I [rai]sed up ... (and/as/at) the head”.

“for a man (and) child (dat. sing.) the person (acc. sing. MF)” // “the frontiers ... the city Masuwari ...”: “frontiers” likely to be acc. (plur. MF, *irbinzi*); “Masuwari ...” likely to be dat., // “man (and) child”, thus for people one exalts the *atri*- (and) head, for a city, one raises up the frontiers (and) head. The problem remains as to how to restore [*ma*]*suwari*-[...], now seen as probably dative, and how to integrate CRUS, probably syllabic *ta*<sub>5</sub>

One word, | *pa*-[...]-*x* remains to explain in TELL AHMAR 1, §4: uncertain, possibly some derived form of demonstr. (*a*)*pa*-?

§15. // TELL AHMAR 1, §6 // BOROWSKI 3, §4, virtually identical clauses. See for discussion Elisabeth Rieken, *Studia J. E. Rasmussen*, ed. A. Hyllested *et al.*, Innsbruck 2004, p. 462f.

\*187-*wa/i-sa* // [“\*18]7”-*tú-sa* // \*187-*sa*: a combination of the first two writings with a new attestation \*187(-)*tu-wa/i-sá* (EREĞLI, §2: see Poetto, *Novalis Indogermanica* (Fs. G.-Neumann, Graz, 2002, p. 399) seems to show a word \*187(-)*tu(wi)sa*, case acc. sing. N or gen. (sing.)? Note also \*187(-)*tu-wa/i-i-za* (acc. sing. N? ASSUR letter c, §7).

| 1-*ta-ti-i* // 1-*ti-i* (TELL AHMAR 1 and BOROWSKI 3): numeral, cardinal or ordinal, case dat. sing. or abl. ?; cf. 1-*ti-na* (acc. sing. MF, ASSUR letter b, §4, and commentary). Rieken proposes (-)*tu(wi)s*, gen. (sing.), dependent on 1-(*ta*)-*ti-i*, dat. sing. Alternatively Melchert suggests (-)*tu(wi)sa*, acc. sing. N, obj. of *tarziha*, 1-(*ta*)-*ti* adverbial (*apud* Rieken, p. 467), but a sense for this is less easy to envisage in context.

CAPUT-*hi* (BOROWSKI 3 only, before \*187-*sa* 1-*ti-i*) must be dat. sing. and is very curious in view of the (CAPUT) *harmahin* with which the preceding clause ends in the other two inscriptions.

(PES<sub>2</sub>) *tara/i-zi-ha* (same in all three clauses): cf. *tarziha* (without determinative, BULGARMADEN, §5), partic. (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tarzami*- (above, §2), caus. (PES<sub>2</sub>) *tarzanu*- (KARKAMIŠ A11a, §6), and Empire without determinative (EMİRGAZI altars, §§9, 26, with commentary, *StBoT* Bh. 3, p. 99 f.). Elisabeth Rieken now proposes for this verb the sense “turn”, translating: “I turned myself (i.e. became) (to the head,) to the first of the (-)TUWI” (loc. cit.).

§16. FINES-*bi-zi za-la-na* PONERE-*wa/i-*, “put the frontiers ZALAN”: phrase already known from ALEPPO 3, §3 (see *CHLI*, I/2, p. 563, commentary); and recently ANCOZ 7, §5 (see *CHLI*, I/1, p. 357, commentary), ANCOZ 8, §2; also (obj. uncertain, “it/them”) KARKAMIŠ A13a-c, §3 // BOYBEYPINARI 2, §14. In all contexts the action appears as a negative prohibited one, except perhaps ALEPPO 3, but the present example shows the action performed by the author-speaker, thus not



wholly negative. The context here may extend from §16 to §20, another action relating to “the frontiers”, probably in some way the antithesis of the first, the phrase *irhinzi latara/i-* meaning “extend the frontiers” (for discussion of *latara/i-*, see below, §20). Thus the author “put the frontiers ZALAN”, then with the love and support of the Storm-God of the Army he LATARA/I-ed them. The word *zala(n)* is identified by Starke as acc. sing./plur. in adverbial use with the Cun. Luw. stem *zalla-*, translating “entgegenesetzt, im Gegensatz (dazu), abweichend umgekehrt” (*StBoT* 41, p. 40 f.). In the present context of frontiers we might understand “put ZALAN” as “put across, bar, close”, as opposed to *latara/i-*, “extend, open”.

§18. *wa/i-ma-sa-* = *wa-m(u)* (object) -*as* (subject), “and me he ...”.

*wa/i+ra/i-li-ta-* verb *warali-* looks like denom. from adj. *warali-*, “own, proper”, attested in context of *warali-iziya-*, “make own, appropriate” (see *CHLI*, I/1, p. 67 (KARATEPE, §LXIX) for discussion; and cf. now TELL AHMAR 5, §9 – *CHLI*, I/1, p. 232 f.). As denom. verb, *warali-* could have the same or similar meaning to *warali-iziya-*, “appropriate, make (one’s) own”.

LITUUS<sup>2</sup>+*na<sup>2</sup>-hi-i-tà* | VIA(-)*hu-sa-la-hi-tà-ha*: identification of signs, order of reading not altogether certain, but it seems clear that we have here a pair of -(a)*hit-* abstracts, dat. sing. in -*a*, linked by copula -*ha*, ... -(a)*hita* ... -(a)*hitaha*.

LITUUS+*nahi(t)-* must mean simply “seeing, vision” (LITUUS+*na-*, “see” – Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 [1980], pp. 126-138).

VIA(-)*hu-sa-la-hi-tà(-ha)*: presumably a stem *husala-* determined by logogram VIA, elsewhere determining only *harwa-*, “road”, *harwa(n)tahi(t)-*, “travelling” (see above §12, commentary), *harwani-*, “send”, see references, *CHLI*, I/2, p. 626. The stem *husala-*, for which I can at present suggest no parallels, may be understood by reference to the determinative, thus *husalahi(t)-* perhaps similar to *harwa(n)tahit-*.

§19. See above, §7, commentary.

§20. (“VAS”) *la-tara/i-ha*: there can be no doubt that this is the same verb as TERRA(-)*la-tara/i-*, obj. FINES+*ha-zi* (IZGIN 2, §2), and “MANUS”(-)*la-tara/i-*, obj. “Adanawean plain”, = Phoen. *rhb*, “extend” (KARATEPE, 21). The three different determinatives employed may be explained by the widely differing dates, thus epigraphic traditions, of the three inscriptions. The writing *la-tara/i-* is probably full phonetic. The sense is understood from the KARATEPE Phoen. equivalent, and in the present context, “putting the frontiers ZALAN” and “LATARA/I-ing the frontiers” seem to be opposing or contrasted senses, as noted in §16, commentary.

§21. *ta<sub>4</sub>-ni-zi-*, “enemies”: see above, §5, commentary. We may observe that “my father’s enemies” in that context appears here as “the enemies for myself (-*mi*)”, i.e. “my own enemies”.

(“DELERE”) *mara<sup>+</sup>ra/i(?) -nu-wa/i-*, “destroy”: for the sign here transliterated *mara<sup>+</sup>ra/i* (*HH* no. 462), see the discussion *CHLI*, I/1, p. 36 f. Appendix 3, where I maintained the admittedly superseded reading *pá<sup>2</sup>+ra/i*, on the grounds that the sign could not simply be equated with *ma*. As *CHLI*, vol. I passed through press to publication, it was gradually becoming clearer that \*462 itself has a value *MARA*, with or without an additional *ra/i* (which must therefore be represented in transliteration): see *CHLI*, I/2, p. 524, commentary to BULGARMADEN, §7; I/1, p. 356 f., ANCOZ 7, §7, also §9, and commentary. In the last attestation it is now clear that *i-mara<sup>+</sup>ra/i-sa-na* (DEUS) CERVUS<sub>2</sub>-*ia* represents *imrasan Runtiya*, “to the Stag-God of the Country”, thus Hier. *imrasan* = Cun. Luw. *im(ma)rassan*, dat. sing. of *imrassi-*, gen. adj. of *imra-* (= Hitt. *gimra-*), “field, country”. The writing of the epithet elsewhere is simply *i-mara(-si)* (i.e. without +*ra/i*), thereby confirming the readings \*462 = *mara*, \*462+*ra/i* = *mara<sup>+</sup>ra/i*. This will be argued in greater detail elsewhere. Meanwhile the present (“DELERE”) *mara<sup>+</sup>ra/i-nu-wa/i-* (reading confirmed by author’s collation, Aleppo, September 2003) produces at last confirmation for Melchert’s proposal to recognize in the verb DELERE(-*nuwa-*), with fragmentary writing (DELERE)*ma[ra]+ra/i-nu-wa[i-...]* (KARKAMIŠ A28g, see *CHLI*, I/1, p. 216), the Luw. equivalent of Hitt. *mernu-/marnu-*, “make disappear” (*Anatolian Studies*, 38 [1988], pp. 36-38; see now J. D. Hawkins in *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies A. Morpurgo Davies*, ed. J. H. W. Penney, Oxford 2004, pp. 355-369, esp. 363).

§22. DEUS-*na-mi-i-sa*: clause happily paralleled in Hamiyata’s TELL AHMAR 5, §11, where the clear equivalent of the present word is written CORNU+CAPUT-*mi-i-sa*, a logogram (head with horns) showing the appearance of the personage, where the present writing suggests the reading *masanami-*. This then can be identified with the hapax legomenon Hitt.-Luw. *LU<sup>1</sup>massanami-* (*CHD*, s.v.; Starke, *StBoT* 31, p. 167 with n.551; Melchert, *CLL*, s.v.), for which the Hitt. semantic equivalent, \**siuniyant-* (LU<sup>1</sup>DINGIR-LIM-*niyant-*) has been noted (Laroche, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 21 [1967], p. 176). These two TELL AHMAR clauses with the *masanami-* prophet delivering a message from the Storm-God find an interesting comparison in a recently published Mari text in which the *āpilu-* priest of the Storm-God lord of Halab delivers a prophetic message to Zimrilim of Mari: see J.-M. Durand, *MARI*, 7 (1993), pp. 41-61.

§23. The form of this clause, the sole utterance of the *masanami-* prophet, together with its sequel, gives us a clearer idea of the damaged utterance of the prophet and its sequel on TELL AHMAR 5, §12-15. Thus here: “The prophet said to me, ‘Seat the Storm-God of the Army!’, and in which year I went ... , in that year I seated the Storm-God of the Army.”

TELL AHMAR 5 §§11-15

§10. Thereafter this god exalted me,

§11. and his prophet said to me:

- §12a. SUPER+*ra/i-a-wa/i-ta* | (SA<sub>4</sub>)*li-li-ia*  
 b. *wa/i-na'* | VAS-*tara/i-i-na* BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wa/i*  
 "(a) Hasten (?), (b) and exalt him the *atri-*."  
 §13. *wa/i-n[a²]H'²* [ ...  
 §14. ... ] DEUS-*ni-sa* [ ...  
 §15. ... (-)*wa/i-na'* | VAS-*tara/i-na* | BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wa/i-ha*  
 "... ] I exalted him the *atri-*."

It now looks as if we should divide differently, as indicated. The imp. *sara* (SA<sub>4</sub>)*liliya* looks likely to mean "hasten" or "rise up", perhaps associated with Hitt. *liliwa-*, rather than Hitt.-Luw. *lilai-*, "appease". Then as TELL AHMAR 6, §26, reports the carrying out of the injunction §23, so TELL AHMAR 5, §15, is the report of the carrying out of the injunction §12b. For (not) setting up a human (as) an *atri-*, see ALEPPO 2, §11.

§24. (FLUMEN) \*427.\*311-*pa-x* : apparently a river name, written with two initial logograms.

(\*314) *ha-sa-ta-na-ti-i*: looks likely to be a full phonetic writing of \*314-*sa-ta-na-ti* (above, §6, also CEKKE, §6, cited there). The contexts suggest the meaning "support, assistance".

5 × CENTUM(-)*ta-na-ti* : the last three signs appear to be the phonetic complement of the word "five hundred". It is not known whether this would be declinable, thus ablative in agreement with the following word, or indeclinable, thus simply ending *-tanati*.

("SCALA + PES + ROTA") *za-la-la-*: further occurrence of this word "cart", occurring on BULGARMADEN, §9, see commentary, *CHLI*, I/2, p. 525.

\*179.\*347.5(-)*ia-ma-ti*: word, not necessarily fully phonetically written, in ablative. The same three logograms are found determining a word *was(a)pa-*, CEKKE, §12, and ASSUR letter *e*, §§18, 21, in contexts very different from the present (see commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 149, I/2, p. 548).

\*187(-)REL-*ta-na-ti-i*: word perhaps fully phonetic, reading *kwitanati*, abl. sing., adj. qualifying EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-ti-i*.

§25. REL-*i*, "when", see above, §8, discussion.

*arba awi-*, "come forth": apparently literal, as KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§17, 21, 24; but possibly with the sense "succeed (to the throne)", as Hitt. *sara ispart-* (MARAŞ 4, §16, see commentary, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 258).

§27. REL-*ia*, "when": see above §9, discussion.

\*527(-)*na-ta-ti-i* : unknown logogram/word, presumably abl. (sing.); nearest logogram *HH* no.265, similar crescent on pole standing in a pot (?), determining the word *mizinala-*, designation of functionary (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §17b). The present sign requires a new number in the system introduced *CHLI*, I/1, p. 24.5 with Table 1;

Marazzi *et al.*, *Il Geroglifico Anatolico*, pp. 68-70, C3. List of additional signs. In this system, it is numbered \*527.

(CURRUS) *wa/i+ra/i-za-ni-i-*: attested elsewhere in the parallel clauses KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §7 // A12, §4. The transcription of the logogram and translation of the word are dependent solely on the identification of the pictogram.

(SA<sub>4</sub>) *sá-za-i*: unknown verb, 3 sing. pres. in *-i*. For SA<sub>4</sub> as determinative cf. (SA<sub>4</sub>) *sani-*, "overturn" (*CHLI*, I/1, pp. 89, 267). The present context hardly seems adequate to propose an exact interpretation, but the overall sense in context appears to be "when the chariot does something successful/victorious".

§28. 9 BOS-*za*, "nine ox(en)": cf. MARAŞ 5, §2; for BOS-*za* as (nom.) acc. sing. N collective, see commentary there, *CHLI*, I/1, p. 270. Alternatively perhaps read 9-*u-za*, "a ninth", for which cf. KARKAMIŠ A1a, §8, 11 (9-*za*); KARKAMIŠ A13d, §§4, 7 ("9"-*wa/i-i-za*).

*pi-pi-sa-*: for usual *pi-pa-sa-*, "keep giving", for which see ALEPPO 2, §17; KARKAMIŠ A23 §4; MARAŞ 1, §11; BOR, §11; BOHCA, §§3, 5; etc.; form agrees with Cun. Luw. *pipissa-* (*CLL*, s.v.)

§29. "MALLEUS"(-)AVIS-*la-*, "erase": elsewhere "MALLEUS"(-)\*71-*la-* (TELL AHMAR 2, §12; BOYBEYPINARI 1, §9; MARAŞ 8 §12(?)). Here *HH* no.71, listed by Laroche among the "hands", is replaced by AVIS, which implies that the former is a cursive form of the latter. This may or may not be adequate evidence for deleting *HH* no.71 and transferring the entries to *HH* no.128 (AVIS). If so, the entries would belong under those listed *CHLI*, I/1, p. 24.1.

§30. NEG<sub>2</sub>-*a-pa-(napa)*: disjunctive of the type noted in *An.St.* 25 (1975), pp. 145-147, cit. 55a, ii, iii, vi; 55b, iv, v; 54 ii; 55a, ii; 56a, ii-vi, viii, written NEG<sub>2</sub>-*pa* (except the last cit. (TELL AHMAR 2), written NEG<sub>2</sub>-*a-pa*); contrasted with *ni/ní-pa*, cit. 55c, ii, v; 55b, ii, iii; 56b, ii. Note also the new example of NEG<sub>2</sub>-*a-pa*, TELL AHMAR 5, §17 – this writing can be seen to be confined to inscriptions of Hamiyata, TELL AHMAR 2, 5 and 6. Note also Hamiyata's disjunctive NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-pa* (= *nispa*), BOROWSKI 3, §§9, 10, with commentary *CHLI*, I/1, p. 231; and NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-a-pa*, below, §34.

NEPOS-*sa-ta-ni-i*: sense of this previously unattested writing understood from logogram NEPOS, written without the usual INFANS (cf. NEPOS-*ta-*, KULULU 4, §2, commentary *CHLI*, I/2, p. 446).

MALUS-*wa/i-za-*: third such writing, following TELL AHMAR 2, §13, and 1, §19, for which see Hawkins, *Anatolian Studies*, 30 (1980), p. 150, and the comment of Starke, *ibid.*, p. 156, Addendum 3; id., *StBoT* 31, p. 189.

(VAS.ANIMAL)*za-ra/i-ti-ti-i*: this attestation confirms my restorations of the verbs in TELL AHMAR 2, §13, and 1, §20, for which see commentary, *CHLI*, I/1, pp. 229, 242f. As noted there, the verb (VAS) *zarti-* is identified as denom. verb of

(VAS)*zart(iya)-*, "heart". The use of the logogram marker ANIMAL (*HH* no. 404) is curious: it is normally employed to mark an animal head as an actual animal rather than a syllabogram, and I had always supposed that it represented the breath of the animal, i.e. "living animal". Its use here seems to be simply in place of the usual logogram mark, *HH* no. 410.

POST-*ni a-tá*: the other attestations of *zarti-*, "desire" (TELL AHMAR 2, §13, and 1 §20, also KARABURUN, §§7, 9), use the preverb CUM-*ni* (SULTANHAN, §46, has no preverb).

§31. LEO(ANIMAL)-*wa/i-sa*, "lion": interesting new clause. The Luw. reading of Cun. UR.MAH, Hier. LEO as onomastic elements has been identified as *walwi-* essentially by Steinherr, *Die Welt des Orients*, 4 (1967/68), pp. 320-325; and it has also been shown that the Hitt. correspondence is *walkuwa*, Lehrman, *Names*, 26 (1978), pp. 220-230; *Sprache*, 33 (1987), pp. 13-18. For a recent review of the onomastic evidence with new attestations, see Hawkins *apud* Herbordt, *Bo.-Ha.* XIX (forthcoming), Excursus 9. This all fits very well with the present attestation, where the phon. compl. -*wa/i-* may be taken to agree with the reading *walwi-*.

§32. Cf. the fragmentary TELL AHMAR 2, §23.

(BIBERE)*pa-sà-tú*, "swallow (down)": logogram EDERE (*HH* no.7) shows a figure holding a round bread to the mouth, BIBERE (*HH* no.8) a cup. It is not quite clear which we have here, though BIBERE may fit better with *pasa-*, "swallow" = Luw.-Hitt. (◀) *pas(s)-*, iter. *pas(is)k-*, (attestations now fully given in *CHD* P, s.v.). The present *pasa-* is the first clear Hier. attestation, while the uncertain *paza-* and *panuwa-* (BABYLON 1, §10, SULTANHAN, §36, commentary, *CHLI*, I/2, pp. 394, 471) need reassessment. Cf. for context INFRA-*ta aza-*, "eat down", KARABURUN, §§8, 10.

§33. Cf. the almost identical KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §12, itself not clearly understood. The close similarity emphasizes the strong links between the KARKAMIŠ and TELL AHMAR epigraphic traditions, links seen also in the sculpture.

LOCUS-*ta<sub>5</sub>* // *ta<sub>4</sub>-wa/i-za* and *wa/i* // *u-sa-la-li-* remain unelucidated.

§34. *á-na*(REGIO)-*i-ta*: cf. *á-na*(REGIO) (TELL AHMAR 1, §10) and *á-na*(REGIO)-*i-tá-wa/i-na-*' (TELL AHMAR 2, §10), commentary *CHLI*, I/1, pp. 229, 242. The basic toponym appears as *Ana*, occurring also with -*ita* suffix. It was proposed to recognize in this the middle Euphrates land of 'Ana(*t*).

NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-a-pa*, "nor", following prohib. NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa* of previous clause. Cf. NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-pa* ... NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-pa* BOROWSKI 3, §§9, 10, with remarks above, §30. Does NEG<sub>3</sub>-*sa-a-pa*, previously unattested, represent *nisapa* or *nispa*?

*zan Tarhunzan Hamiyatasin*, "this Tarhunza of Hamiyata", acc. sing. MF, presumably direct obj. of following word, which must thus be a verbal form.

*wa/i+ra/i-\*273-na*: the sign \*273 is normally used as a logogram determining the words *warpi-*, *tupi-*, *hutailli-*, also (mainly Empire) as logogram for *muwa-* (see *CHLI*, I/2, pp. 419, 440 f.). Use as a syllabogram is hardly recognized, except in the PN TONITRUS-*bu-wa/i+ra/i-\*273-* (BULGARMADEN, §1, see commentary *CHLI*, I/2, p. 523): indeed it looks possible that the second element of the PN might be the same stem as the present word. Since a verb is required to govern the preceding accusative, it must be sought in *wa/i+ra/i-\*273-na*, which is thus likely to be an infinitive. For a similarly patterned clause ending in infinitive, cf. BABYLON 1, §15. To get an infinitive ending in -*una*, \*273 would require a value *Cu*, where the initial consonant would have to be the last of the stem *war...*, but I cannot propose a stem which would yield an infinitive *warxuna*, nor indeed an onomastic element which would yield *Tarhuwarxu-*. But a general sense "worship" or "pray to" seems required by the context.

## CHAPTER 3

### *Iconographic and Stylistic Context*

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele obviously belongs to the so-called Neo-Hittite, or Late Hittite or Syro-Hittite or else Syro-Anatolian, tradition of sculpture that was common in south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria in the late second and early first millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, as will be seen below, it ranges among works that are typical of the neighbouring city of Carchemish. However, the exact position of the stele within this artistic tradition requires further investigation.

#### I.

#### OVERALL CONCEPTION OF THE STELE

The combination of motifs that is found on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele — a smiting Storm-God standing on the back of a bull and brandishing an axe and a trident-thunderbolt, a winged disk above the scene and a guilloche below — is very particular, but it includes motifs that were already combined in the Bronze Age.

#### A. Origin of the Motif

The iconographic motif of the smiting Storm-God goes back to the second millennium B.C.<sup>2</sup> It appeared on cylinder seals in the 18<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>3</sup> From then on the Storm-God was often shown wearing a kilt and holding a mace in his right hand and, in his left, objects that varied from one depiction to the other. One of these objects could be a thunderbolt often of the two-spike type.<sup>4</sup>

A famous example is given by the stele discovered out of context at Ugarit and dating either from the Middle or, more probably, from the Late Bronze Age (fig. 31).<sup>5</sup> The relief showed the Storm-God with a mace in his right hand and, in his left, a lightning ending in a spear-head at its lower end.<sup>6</sup> In front of him was a small male

<sup>1</sup> On the history of this art form see below pp. 50-52.

<sup>2</sup> D. COLLON, "The Smiting God: A study of a bronze in the Pomerance Collection in New York," *Levant*, 4 (1972), pp. 111-134.

<sup>3</sup> A. OTTO, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik*, Berlin & New York 2000, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> E. UNGER, "Blitz. b)," *RLA*, 2 (1938), p. 30; VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 32-35; A. 'ABŪ 'ASSĀF, "Die Ikonographie des altbabylonischen Wettergottes," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 14 (1983), pp. 47-53, esp. Nos. 9, 10, 13, 26-28, 33, 37, 39.

<sup>5</sup> C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica*, II, Paris 1949, pp. 46-49; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 284; M. YON in M. YON (ed.), *Ras Shamra-Ougarit*, VI, *Arts et industries de la pierre*, Paris 1991, pp. 294-299.

<sup>6</sup> Some scholars prefer to think that, instead of a lightning, the god is holding a plant (see VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 83-84; M. YON, *loc. cit.* [n. 5]).

figure, probably a prince. There was no symbol above the scene. Below the feet of the god were two sets of wavy lines contained by straight lines. These wavy lines may have had a function similar to that of the guilloche on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.<sup>7</sup>

In the second half of the second millennium the thunderbolt could be replaced by the W-like sign used in the Luwian hieroglyphic script to note the name of the Storm-God (cf. fig. 32).<sup>8</sup> Sometimes, as was noted by J. D. Hawkins,<sup>9</sup> the W-sign looked like a trident, as was the case, for instance, for the Storm-God on the central panel at Yazılıkaya,<sup>10</sup> for the Hittite Storm-God depicted on a seal impression made on a jar,<sup>11</sup> for the god on the seal of Amanmashu, an official of Carchemish, impressed on a tablet discovered at Ugarit,<sup>12</sup> and for many of the seal impressions found at Emar (e. g. figs. 33 and 34),<sup>13</sup> as well as for a seal impression from el-Qitar.<sup>14</sup> The close relationship existing between the W-sign and the trident-thunderbolt is illustrated by Relief C from Arslantepe/Malatya (cat. 32), dating from c. 1000 B.C. As J. D. Hawkins has observed,<sup>15</sup> this is the only Neo-Hittite example of a figure of the Storm-God holding the Luwian form of his name instead of a thunderbolt. However, in this particular case, the distinction between sign of writing and iconography is not as sharp as J. D. Hawkins suggests because a kind of handle is visible, that extends below the hand of the god. The W-sign, here, was clearly meant to be seen as an object carried by the god. The trident-thunderbolt can thus be considered as the transformation of a particular form of the W-sign, attested for instance at Yazılıkaya, into an iconographic motif symbolizing lightning.

All this crystallized in the Carchemish region in the 14<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to produce a complex iconographic motif that can be considered as the immediate precursor of the scene carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. One of the seals of Ini-Teshub king of Carchemish showed a smiting Storm-God with a long curling pigtail,

<sup>7</sup> P. BORDREUIL, "Recherches ougaritiques, I, Où Baal a-t-il remporté la victoire contre Yam?," *Semitica*, 40 (1991), pp. 17-27, suggests that these wavy lines may represent mountains near the sea.

<sup>8</sup> VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 111-119; J. D. HAWKINS, "What does the Hittite Storm-God hold?," *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, ed. D. J. W. MEIJER, Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo 1992, pp. 53-82.

<sup>9</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 56-58, who insists on the distinction that must be made between the W-sign and the motif of the trident-thunderbolt.

<sup>10</sup> Figure No. 42 of the divine procession. On the W-sign: J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 65 and fig. 2/c, 4/a, pl. I/a.

<sup>11</sup> E. UZUNOĞLU, "Die Abrollung eines hethitischen Siegels auf einem Pithos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 29 (1979), p. 66, fig. 2; *Schatten uit Turkije*, Exhibition catalogue, Leiden 1986, No. 131, p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica*, III, Paris 1956, fig. 67, p. 49 (photo), fig. 68, p. 50 (drawing); BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 183, p. 168.

<sup>13</sup> Impressions with this motif are reproduced in D. BEYER, *Emar*, IV, *Les sceaux*, Fribourg & Göttingen 2001, plates A and B.

<sup>14</sup> D. SNELL, "The cuneiform tablet from el-Qitar," *Abr-Nahrain*, 22 (1983-84), pp. 159-170; J. ZIMMER (ed.), *The Archaeological Context: The Melbourne-Euphrates Expedition to Syria, 1982-83 : 1983-84 (An Exhibition Presented as a Tribute to the Memory of Mr William Culican)*, Melbourne 1984, pp. 100, 102; A. ARCHI, "A seal impression from el-Qitar/Til-Abnu (Syria)," *Anatolian Studies*, 43 (1993), pp. 203-206.

<sup>15</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 56-57.

short kilt and horned helmet. He was holding a mace in his right hand and the W-sign above his left (fig. 32).<sup>16</sup> The god was standing on the back of a bull. However, there was no winged disk directly associated with the divine figure and no guilloche or any similar symbol was visible. At Emar, the seals of Dagan-belu (fig. 33)<sup>17</sup> and Matkali-Dagan (fig. 34),<sup>18</sup> of which impressions were found on tablets from the site, showed a similar scene. The resemblance with the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele was made even stronger by the presence of the trident-shaped variant of the W-sign above the god's left hand. Another link with the motif on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele was provided by the posture of the bull that was shown standing and almost running. On Late Bronze Age cylinder seals, when the Storm-God was depicted standing on the back of a bull, the bull was often in a recumbent position.

The motif of a smiting Storm-God standing on the back of a bull and portrayed with horned helmet, long curling pigtail, short kilt and trident-like thunderbolt was thus taking shape in the Carchemish region at the end of the Bronze Age.

## B. The Smiting Storm-God Standing on the Back of a Bull in the Iron Age

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele gives one of the earliest examples of a smiting Storm-God standing on the back of a bull in the Iron Age.<sup>19</sup> It departs from the Late Bronze Age precursors by the axe that replaced the mace in the god's right hand and the symbol in his left, that is no longer the W-shaped Luwian sign but a trident-thunderbolt.<sup>20</sup> The bull is now looking forward, not backward as on Late Bronze Age examples. The author of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele added a winged disk and a guilloche to the motif of the Storm-God standing on a bull.

The closest iconographic parallel to the Ahmar/Qubbah stele was found at Tell Ahmar itself. It is the Storm-God stele B (cat. 1), which is slightly later in date as is indicated by the inscription, which relates the death of Hamiyata, the author of the inscription carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.<sup>21</sup> It includes the winged disk with a crescent, the smiting Storm-God, bull and guilloche.

Later by probably more than a century is a relief from Karaçay Köy in the Maraş region (cat. 2). It also shows a winged disk and a smiting Storm-God on a bull. As the lower part of the relief is lost, it is impossible to tell whether the ground line was marked by a guilloche.

<sup>16</sup> *Ugaritica*, III, fig. 34.

<sup>17</sup> D. BEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 13), No. A12, p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> D. BEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 13), No. A35 pp. 69-70.

<sup>19</sup> On the date of the stele, see below pp. 52-53.

<sup>20</sup> VANEL, *L'iconographie*, p. 136, thinks that Assyrian influence played a role in shaping this form of thunderbolt.

<sup>21</sup> See below, p. 85.

There may have been more reliefs with the same motif, but as they are also missing the lower part of the scene it is impossible to tell whether the Storm-God stood on a bull and whether there was a guilloche to mark the bottom line. These reliefs include the Storm-God stele A from Tell Ahmar (cat. 3), carved for the same ruler as the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, a stele of unknown provenance, now in the Elie Borowski collection (cat. 4), also carved for the same ruler, and a relief from Kürtül (cat. 5), similar in style to the Karaçay Köy stele (cat. 2) and dating from the late eighth century. Other reliefs only preserved the lower part of a scene that must have shown a god standing on the back of a bull (cat. 60-65). None of them includes a guilloche.

The essential features of the motif, apart from the guilloche, survived in later works as may be inferred from interpretations of the motif such as the Assyrianizing stele that is kept in the Ankara Museum (cat. 14) and another stele discovered at Arslan Tash (cat. 16). Conversely, a stele kept in a private collection and probably dating from the late eighth century (cat. 61) seems to reflect another iconographic tradition, although it includes features present on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele such as, besides the god standing on a bull, the two pairs of horns and the belted kilt with a tassel. But it also includes elements, such as the volutes attached to the kilt, that belonged to the sculptures from the Ivriz region (cat. 26-28). And it is surely no coincidence if the thunderbolt in the god's left hand is not of the trident type. Lastly, a stele from Taşlıköy also shows a Storm-God on the back of a bull (cat. 60), but, apart from this, it offers little comparison with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele finds thus its place in an iconographic tradition that started in the first half of the second millennium B.C. Its immediate precursors, showing a smiting Storm-God standing on a bull, were found towards the end of the Bronze Age in the Carchemish region, especially at Carchemish itself and at Emar. In the early Iron Age, an artist reinterpreted the motif by adding a winged disk and a guilloche. This particular combination of motifs may have been known as far north as the Maraş area. It was subsequently adapted in other areas to produce slightly different pictures of the Storm-God.

A study of the individual motifs should help to get closer to a proper understanding of the position of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele in Syro-Anatolian artistic tradition.

## II.

### INDIVIDUAL MOTIFS

#### A. Winged Disk

The essential feature of the winged disk on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele is the inclusion of a crescent below the disk. The closest parallels seem to be the winged disk on the Storm-God stele A from Tell Ahmar (cat. 3) – although, in this case, the winged

disk is less detailed in execution and more compact in proportions – and another winged disk on a relief from Carchemish (fig. 35).<sup>22</sup> In both cases the disk is encased in a crescent, the wings are subdivided into two parts, lines ending in a volute delimit a space filled with ball-like motifs between the disk and the wings, and the volutes form part of a stylized tail. However, on the Carchemish stele, the line separating the wing from the ball-like motifs is not straight but undulating and the crescent is marked by two incisions parallel to its edges. The proportions are different: the Carchemish disk is more compact. It is interesting to note that, according to S. Mazzoni,<sup>23</sup> this winged disk might have been placed above the doorway giving access to the temple of the Storm-God, immediately to the right of the orthostat with the Storm-God figure. The god, who was marching on a guilloche, would thus have been also associated with a winged disk.

Another disk offers similarities with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. It is carved on a stone presently kept in the Adana Museum (fig. 37).<sup>24</sup> The disk is encased in a crescent with two parallel incisions as on the Carchemish example, the wings are partitioned into two parts and two undulating lines, ending in a volute, delimit a space between the wings and the disk, which is filled in with ball-like motifs.

A fourth disk is similar in conception and proportions to the one on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele but slightly different in the details. It has been carved at the top of a stele discovered in Birecik in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and assumed to be from Menbij (fig. 38).<sup>25</sup> This particular disk has the wings divided in two parts. It also has straight lines ending in a volute, that delimit a space between the disk and the wings, but it lacks the crescent under the disk and the ball-like motifs below the disk.

More distant comparisons can be made with winged disks carved on some of the ivories discovered in room SW.7 of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud (fig. 36),<sup>26</sup> that may have originated in Syria.<sup>27</sup> These winged disks also lack the crescent and the ball-like motifs. They are different in their proportions but similar in conception (wings subdivided in two parts, space between the disk and the wings, volutes and tail).

<sup>22</sup> *Carchemish*, III, pl. B36c. S. MAZZONI, "The gate and the city: Change and continuity in Syro-Hittite urban ideology," *Die orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch*, ed. G. WILHELM, Saarbrücken 1997, p. 323, n. 42, already drew attention to the similarity between this sun-disk and the winged disk on the Storm-God stele A from Tell Ahmar.

<sup>23</sup> S. MAZZONI, "La Siria nell'età del Ferro: un modello di sviluppo," *Isimu*, 1 (1998), p. 17, n. 23; EAD., *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 323, n. 42.

<sup>24</sup> J. BRETSCHNEIDER, "Zu einer Flügelsonne im Ethnologisches Museum von Adana," *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 23 (1991), pp. 9-12.

<sup>25</sup> *USK*, pl. 5c; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, 1979, fig. 44.

<sup>26</sup> M. MALLOWAN & G. HERRMANN, *Furniture from SW.7, Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud Ivories III*, London 1974, especially No. 19.

<sup>27</sup> M. MALLOWAN & G. HERRMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 38-39. I. J. WINTER, "Carved ivory furniture panels from Nimrud: A coherent subgroup of the North Syrian Style," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 11 (1976), pp. 51-52, convincingly argues that these ivories come from the Zincirli/Sakça Gözü area.



It is interesting to note that Sphinxes from Ain Dara (fig. 39) have a chest and wings stylized in the same way as the wings and ball-like motifs on the winged disk at the top of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.<sup>28</sup>

I. J. Winter considers the group of sun-disks to which belong the examples discussed above as typical of what she calls the "North Syrian koine".<sup>29</sup> D. Parayre, in her study of the winged disks found in the Carchemish region, lists the Tell Ahmar examples that were already known to her as well as the Carchemish and Menbij winged disks mentioned above under her type 3 (winged disk with a bird's tail between two volutes), sub-type 2 (the tail is not placed immediately below the disk).<sup>30</sup>

The winged disk carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele belongs thus to an iconographic tradition known in northern Syria. The closest parallels, however, come from the Carchemish/Tell Ahmar area. Affinities with the Ain Dara sculpture can also be observed.

## B. Storm-God

### 1. *The Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt*

Iconographically, the closest parallels come from the Tell Ahmar region: the Storm-God stele A (cat. 3) and the Borowski stele (cat. 4), both roughly contemporary with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. They both include the helmet with two pairs of horns, square beard, curling pigtail, belted kilt, sword, axe and trident-thunderbolt.

Of the works that have been discussed above (pp. 35-36), the stele from Karaçay Köy (cat. 2), the stele from Kürtül (cat. 5) and another stele from Maraş (cat. 7) are marked by only a few minor discrepancies. The axe looks like a double axe on the Maraş stelae (cat. 2 and 7) and, on the stele from Kürtül (cat. 5), the outer branches of the trident-thunderbolt are rendered as zigzag lines. This is not sufficient to say that, iconographically, they are not dependent on the same model as the Storm-God figures from Tell Ahmar.

Also very similar is the god on a stele from Körkün, dating from the late ninth century (cat. 8). This relief displays minor divergences as well. The axe is a double axe and the trident-thunderbolt has an appendage, a sort of string hanging down below the god's left hand, which is reminiscent of a similar appendage visible on a Hittite seal impression already mentioned above (n. 11), but, in general, the stele may be assumed to have had the same iconographic model as the stelae that have just been mentioned. Körkün was about half-way between Maraş and Tell Ahmar and could thus have been affected by the same artistic tradition.

<sup>28</sup> ABU 'ASSĀF, *Ain Dara*, plate 19b, 20b.

<sup>29</sup> I. J. WINTER, "Phoenician and North Syrian style of ivory carving in historical context: Questions of style and distribution," *Iraq*, 38 (1976), pp. 4-6.

<sup>30</sup> D. PARAYRE, "Carchemish entre Anatolie et Syrie à travers l'image du disque solaire ailé (ca. 1800-717 avant J.C.)," *Hethitica*, 8 (1987), p. 332.

A stele discovered in Babylon (cat. 9), but surely originating from northern Syria, offers another interesting comparison. It shows a god that is also very similar in appearance, although his helmet has only one pair of horns and the thunderbolt in his left hand consists of three zigzags converging into the god's left hand. Stylistically it recalls the reliefs of the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty at Carchemish and could therefore have been carved in the late tenth or early ninth century in the Carchemish area in the same artistic environment as the previously mentioned reliefs.

A late monument must still be mentioned. A stele from Gözlühüyük, to the south of Maraş, which probably dates from the seventh century, is carved with a curious interpretation of the old motif (cat. 11). The horned helmet, square beard, belted kilt, axe and trident-thunderbolt are still present, but there are also marked differences due to Egyptian influence, especially the pigtail drawn as a cord issuing from the top of the helmet – which is inspired by the cord that is found on Egyptian depictions of Baal –,<sup>31</sup> the helmet itself that recalls the atef-crown, and the uraeus on the front of the helmet. Also remarkable are the absence of sword and the two volutes attached to the lower fringe of the kilt.

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele seems thus to have been among the oldest of a series of Iron Age reliefs that focused on a Storm-God figure shown in smiting posture and brandishing an axe and a trident-like thunderbolt.

It could happen that a Storm-God picture was part of a broader composition of which it was not the central figure.

A figure of the Storm-God, which is leading a procession on the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish (cat. 12),<sup>32</sup> closely resembles the Storm-God on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, both in style and conception. However, it differs by the position of the sword that is hanging from the god's right side instead of the left and does not point backward as on the stele. The overall appearance, however, is very similar.

An unknown god portrayed on the Herald's Wall at Carchemish (fig. 40) also deserves to be mentioned because its similarity with the Ahmar/Qubbah Storm-God is striking.<sup>33</sup> It shows, on the left-hand side of a slab, a bearded deity wearing a helmet with two pairs of horns. A sword is attached to a wide belt on its left side. The god is brandishing an axe in his right hand, which he lifts behind his head, and, with his left hand, instead of holding a thunderbolt, he is grasping the right hind-leg of a lion. The identification of this god is uncertain. Judging from the iconography, he could be a

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the examples collected by I. CORNELIUS, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c. 1500-1000 B.C.E.)*, Fribourg & Göttingen 1994.

<sup>32</sup> On the stylistic similarity: I. J. WINTER, "Carchemish *ša kišad Puratti*," *Anatolian Studies*, 33 (1983), p. 181.

<sup>33</sup> D. USSISHKIN, "Was Bit-Adini a Neo-Hittite or Aramaean state?," *Or*, 40 (1971), p. 435; I. J. WINTER, *loc. cit.* (n. 32).

Storm-God,<sup>34</sup> but the action in which he participates does not seem to be specific to the Storm-God. The god is killing a lion with the assistance of another deity of lesser rank as is indicated by the absence of horns on his helmet. Anyhow, horned helmet, beard, pigtail, belted kilt, sword and axe are almost identical to their counterparts on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

An orthostat from Zincirli, possibly dating from the tenth century, has also been carved with a figure of the Storm-God that takes part in a procession (cat. 13), but it differs from the Ahmar/Qubbah stele by the absence of horns on his helmet and by the position of the sword that, although placed on the left side of the god, is pointing forward as on the Carchemish relief. As the Zincirli orthostat is part of a divine procession that has clearly been inspired by the procession on the Long Wall of Sculpture,<sup>35</sup> the iconographic differences in the figure of the Storm-God may be considered as one of the iconographic misinterpretations that affect the entire scene. With this example it is thus very likely that we are still in the Carchemish artistic tradition.

A new discovery made by K. Kohlmeyer in October 2003 on the Aleppo Citadel added an important piece of information (cat. 49). A large relief portraying the Storm-God in front of a king has come to light. Iconographically, this Storm-God offers striking similarities with the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, essentially the smiting posture, helmet with two pairs of horns and a kind of disk at the top, long pigtail with curling end, short-sleeved shirt, kilt and shoes with upturned toes. A sword, almost horizontal, is attached to the god's left side. Differences only concern minor aspects of the divine figure. The god's pigtail, on the Aleppo relief, is shown before, not behind, the right shoulder. The tiara has straight sides instead of rounded contours and includes decorative patterns that are absent from the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. The main and most surprising difference is the absence of objects in the god's hands. No axe, no thunderbolt, no attribute of any kind has been carved although the god's posture and the position of his hands clearly imply the use of weapons. Apart from this, however, the essential features of the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele are present. Only the style is entirely different, but, as far as iconography is concerned, there is a common source of inspiration to the two works.

The existence of the Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt as an independent iconographic motif can be further demonstrated by the existence of other images of Smiting Storm-Gods that are associated with other symbols and attributes. For instance, the Storm-God figures carved on the Lion Gate reliefs at Arslantepe/Malatya (cat. 32-34, 45) form another consistent group of Smiting Storm-

<sup>34</sup> So think F. THUREAU-DANGIN in *Til-Barsib*, pp. 134-135; M. E. L. MALLOWAN, "Carchemish: Reflections on the chronology of the sculpture," p. 73; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 56-57, 180. However, ORTHMANN, *USK*, p. 239, expresses doubts on the identification.

<sup>35</sup> On this see J. D. HAWKINS, "The Syro-Hittite States," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates to Volume III, ed. J. BOARDMAN, Cambridge 1984, pp. 76-77.

Gods (Group IV/A), which differs from the deities with an axe and trident-thunderbolt by the object placed in the god's right hand.

In other cases the smiting posture may have been used only because it was, since the early second millennium, a common way of portraying the Storm-God. Such may be the case of the Smiting Gods that belong to the group called here Storm-God with Bunches of Grape and Ears of Wheat (Group III). Quite remarkable is the stele from Niğde (cat. 30). The figure of the god is clearly inspired from that of the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt, but the god has no sword, his kilt or tunic is longer and, most importantly, the thunderbolt is a compromise between the trident motif and the double bunch of lightnings common in Assyrian art. On the rock relief at Gökbezi (cat. 31), the thunderbolt definitely comprised a double bunch of lightnings. The meaning of the image did not depend on the posture of the god. The homogeneity of the group, and its independance as an iconographic motif, is indicated by the area of distribution of the reliefs, all from Tabal, and, when available, by the inscriptions. The essential symbols seem to have been the bunch of grapes and ear of wheat, not the smiting posture.

Similarly, of the three reliefs that show the Storm-God jumping into his chariot (cat. 43-45), two portray him in smiting posture (cat. 44 and 45) and one does not (cat. 43).

Lastly, the smiting Storm-God on the stele from Ashara (cat. 47) has no parallel as far as the divine figure is concerned. It is a key work, however, in the sense that it shows what kind of foe the god could be fighting. In other cases the smiting posture suggests a fight without giving a clue about its nature.

A word must be said, in this context, about the Storm-God stele C from Tell Ahmar (cat. 53). At first sight, it would seem to offer another example of the Storm-God motif illustrated by the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. However, it differs from the Ahmar/Qubbah stele by two important details. Firstly, the trident-like thunderbolt is continued, beneath the god's hand, by a straight line that looks like a spear. Secondly, a bird is shown in front of the god. This must refer to an aspect of the Storm-God that is different from the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. These discrepancies prevent from considering this relief on a par with the other Storm-God reliefs from Tell Ahmar. It must represent another religious tradition to which the silver pendant from the Sarre Collection (cat. 36) may have also belonged. Quite characteristically, the god shown on the pendant is not a Smiting God.

More smiting Storm-Gods are known (cat. 51-57) but, in most cases, their bad state of preservation prevents from identifying their exact nature.

A common inspiration is thus at the origin of a series of figures of Storm-Gods holding an axe and a trident-thunderbolt, that is found from the Maraş region to the Tell Ahmar area and possibly as far south as Aleppo.

The existence of diverging examples of Smiting Storm-Gods confirms that the "Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt" was perceived in



antiquity as an autonomous and well defined motif. This motif was integrated, on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, into a complex composition.

We can now turn to the details that make up the divine figure.

## 2. *The god's accoutrements*

**Hair-style.** The hair-style adopted by the artist to portray the god, with locks made of parallel lines joining in a volute, has been shown by E. Akurgal to be characteristic of Late Hittite art, more specifically of Akurgal's "mittelspätethitische Stilstufe".<sup>36</sup> On earlier works, for instance on some reliefs from Zincirli, the hair are more simply stylized and, on later sculptures, the Late Hittite hairlock is progressively replaced, under Assyrian influence, by locks consisting of a spiral ending in a volute.

**Pigtail.** The long curling pigtail is a divine attribute inherited from Bronze Age Hittite, as well as Syrian, iconography. Stylistically, the pigtail of the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele is slightly different from its counterparts on reliefs from the Tell Ahmar and Carchemish region. It consists of three parallel locks, instead of two on the other examples, and it lacks the series of diagonal strokes visible on the best preserved examples.<sup>37</sup>

**Clothing.** The elements that make up the god's attire — especially short-sleeved shirt, kilt with wide belt<sup>38</sup> and fringe, tassel, sword — are frequently encountered on monuments from northern Syria. It is remarkable, however, that they are rarely found all together. Besides the other Storm-God stelae from the Tell Ahmar region, one can mention an orthostat from the Aleppo Citadel (fig. 41),<sup>39</sup> which depicts a minor deity that participates in a procession behind the "Mace God",<sup>40</sup> and a stele from Arslan Tash (fig. 42),<sup>41</sup> which seems to be the funerary stele of a warrior.<sup>42</sup> Very close is a group of sculpture portraying rulers,<sup>43</sup> especially a figure on an orthostat from the south gate of the Zincirli citadel (fig. 46),<sup>44</sup> a statue from Zincirli (fig. 44),<sup>45</sup> a statue from Serrin (fig. 45),<sup>46</sup> and a statue from Ain et-Tell.<sup>47</sup> They all

<sup>36</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> On this style of pigtail see AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>38</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, pp. 34-35: This type of belt is common to male figures in Neo-Hittite art.

<sup>39</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, pl. 18.

<sup>40</sup> On this god, see below, p. 79.

<sup>41</sup> E. UNGER, *Die Reliefs Tiglatpileser III. aus Arslan Tash*, Konstantinopel 1925, p. 14, pl. VIII (No. 28).

<sup>42</sup> D. BONATZ, "Syro-Hittite funerary monuments: A phenomenon of tradition or innovation?", *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, p. 207.

<sup>43</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 71-76, has collected examples of figures of rulers.

<sup>44</sup> *Sendschirli*, I, 1893, Relief B 5, plate XXXVII/c.

<sup>45</sup> *Sendschirli*, IV, fig. 265, p. 365.

<sup>46</sup> M. FORTIN, *Syrie, terre de civilisations*, 1999, No. 52, p. 108; D. BONATZ, *Das syro-bethitische Grabdenkmal*, Mainz 2000, A1. The statue is usually considered as coming from Ain el-Arab. However, W. KHAYATA, "The Aramaean antiquities and their character in northern Syria," *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 43 (1999), p. 258 (English version) and 133 (Arabic) assigns it to Serrin in the district of

include the short sleeves, wide belt and fringe, tassel and sword. The main difference concerns the kilt that has been replaced by a long robe. Worth mentioning is also the portrait of king Katuwa on an orthostat from Carchemish (fig. 43). Very close to the Storm-God portrayed on the Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (cat. 3),<sup>48</sup> it differs from the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele not only by the long gown but also by the absence of tassel.

The Storm-God has thus adopted a way of dressing himself that makes him look like a member of the ruling class. A process of osmosis between the divine and terrestrial worlds has begun, that will develop in later times (cf. below, pp. 56-58).

The really distinctive features of the god's divinity are the helmet, the pigtail, the axe and the thunderbolt, perhaps also the footwear.

**Helmet.** High conical helmets are already worn by Hittite deities in the Bronze Age. However, helmets with bulb or globe-like top and one to three pairs of horns are an innovation of the Iron-Age. As E. Akurgal has remembered,<sup>49</sup> second millennium divine helmets had more horns and a pointed top.

**Axe.** The axe is extremely remarkable in the sense that, as was recalled above, it is an innovation introduced in the Iron Age. In the Bronze Age, both in Anatolia and in Syria, the Storm-God was most often brandishing a mace. Examples of an axe are very scarce. The reasons for this change are not clear, especially considering the well known conservatism of religious iconography.<sup>50</sup>

**Thunderbolt.** The trident-like thunderbolt is a variant of the more common symbol consisting of a bunch of two or three zig-zag lines that represent lightnings.<sup>51</sup> In the Bronze Age the Storm-God was carrying either a bunch of zigzag-lightnings or, as we already saw, the W-sign used to note his name which, in some instances, had a shape very close to that of the trident-thunderbolt (above, p. 34). In this case, the W-sign only needed to be provided with a handle to resemble the trident-thunderbolt of the Iron Age. The adoption of the trident shape may have been facilitated by the existence of real trident-thunderbolts worshipped as substitutes of the Storm-God. Such tridents are depicted on some Assyrian and northern Syrian reliefs.<sup>52</sup>

**Footwear.** Lastly, the foot-wear of the god deserves attention. Shoes with up-turned toes are common in Bronze Age Hittite Anatolia. In the Iron Age, as E.

Ain el-Arab. It is mentioned as coming from Serrin in the records of the Aleppo Museum (personal communication of Mr Nasser Sharaf).

<sup>48</sup> ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, fig. 411; D. BONATZ, *op. cit.* (n. 46), B13.

<sup>49</sup> As observed by R. BARNETT in *Carchemish*, III, p. 263, and D. USSISHKIN, *art. cit.* (n. 33), p. 436.

<sup>50</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, pp. 2-9.

<sup>51</sup> VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 61, 62, 136-137, discusses the possible origin of this attribute of the Storm-God, which he thinks must be looked for in Cappadocia.

<sup>52</sup> A survey of the symbolism and various ways of representing thunder is given by E. WEIDNER & E. UNGER, "Blitz," *RLA*, 2 (1938), pp. 55-57; VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 164-166 and *passim*. See also P. JACOBSTAHL, *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1906, pp. 1-9, on Near Eastern thunderbolts.

<sup>53</sup> See below pp. 67-69.

Akurgal has noticed,<sup>53</sup> they tend to be restricted to divine figures. Such shoes can be considered as another manifestation of the god's divinity.

The figure of the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele displays a mixture of traditional features, such as the pigtail, short kilt, shoes with upturned toes, and innovations proper to the Iron Age. They can be reinterpretations of older features, such as the helmet with bulbous top and the trident-thunderbolt, or completely new features such as the axe that has replaced the mace as the main weapon of the god.

The god's accoutrements combine elements proper to the divine world and features that were in use in the early Iron Age ruling class.

### C. Bull

Iconographically the closest parallel is the bull shown on Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (cat. 1), although, stylistically, it is quite different. Details are not outlined by a cord-like contour, the relief is lower and flatter, and the back of the animal is straighter.

Another close parallel is offered by a pair of bulls adorning a statue base, apparently transformed into a basin, from the temple of the Storm-God at Carchemish (fig. 50).<sup>54</sup> It was discovered in the courtyard of the Storm-God temple. The posture of the animals, position of their tail and stylization of the fore-legs' muscles are strikingly similar to those of the bull on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. Details, however, are marked by modelling the surface without delineating them with cord-like strips.

One puzzling feature of the bull on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele – the line curving along the animal's left hind-leg and below its belly – may be explained by a comparison with the statue base from Carchemish. The sculptor of this base has clearly shown the penis of the animals, to which he gave the shape of a straight line between the belly and the hind-legs of the bulls. It must therefore be assumed that the sculptor of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele misunderstood a model of the same type as the Carchemish base, perhaps under the influence of reliefs on which this particular anatomic detail was less explicit, and carved a line curving along the bull's left hind-leg. Figures such as those of a bull on an orthostat from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish (fig. 49)<sup>55</sup> and on an orthostat from the Outer Gate of the citadel at Zincirli<sup>56</sup> offer more examples of the same confusion.

The way the artist has shown the animal marching with its two left legs forward and the two right ones backward is a common way of depicting a marching bull, although more realistic depictions are also known in Neo-Hittite art, for instance

<sup>53</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, p. 36.

<sup>54</sup> *Carchemish*, III, pl. B 47; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 108. Cf. I. J. WINTER, *loc. cit.* (n. 32), for a comparison with the bull on Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar.

<sup>55</sup> *Carchemish*, I, pl. B 10a.

<sup>56</sup> *Sendschirli*, III, 1902, plate XLIV.

on a relief from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish (fig. 48) or on the Jekke stele (cat. 20).<sup>57</sup> The fact that both ways of figuring a marching bull are attested in the same series of reliefs at Carchemish shows that the choice between them did not depend on a particular school or workshop.

Of other statue bases similarly decorated with a pair of bulls, one from Arslan Tash may be compared with the bull on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele,<sup>58</sup> although details are not as clearly indicated. Other bases have similar bulls, but with the legs shown in a more realistic position, for instance the base B 34 from Carchemish, already mentioned above, and a base from Adena, near Urfa.<sup>59</sup> Two orthostats of the Herald's Wall at Carchemish show figures of bulls that are drawn in a way that resembles the bull on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele (figs. 48 & 49),<sup>60</sup> with a minor difference concerning the position of the bull's legs for one of these reliefs. A bull on a relief from Zincirli can be compared for the general outline of the animal and stylization of the muscles of the fore-leg, although the proportions are different.<sup>61</sup> Another bull, carved on an orthostat from the Aleppo Citadel, deserves attention not only for the composition of the figure but also for the lines that isolate the anatomical features of the animal (fig. 47).<sup>62</sup> The general outline, however, is quite different.

Comparative material for the figure of the bull involves a wide area in northern Syria. Nonetheless, as for the figure of the god, the closest parallels come from Tell Ahmar itself and from Carchemish.

### D. Guilloche

Although the guilloche is a very common motif, it can be observed that it occurs in a similar position, but formed of inverted double S's, on Storm-God stele A from Tell Ahmar. A fragment of relief showing a guilloche beneath the hoofs of a bull was discovered in the region of Urfa.<sup>63</sup> On the newly discovered relief from the Aleppo Citadel, that shows the Storm-God in front of a king (cat. 49), there is a guilloche below the figure of the king but, very strangely, not below that of the god. Among many other examples of the motif, a guilloche marks the ground line of the procession led by the Storm-God on the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish<sup>64</sup> and, at Ain Dara, a guilloche has been carved on the base of the exterior wall of the Iron

<sup>57</sup> M. DUNAND, "Stèle hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 4 (1940), pp. 85-92.

<sup>58</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, Paris 1931, pl. II/3.

<sup>59</sup> F. KULAKOĞLU, "Late-Hittite sculptures from the Şanlıurfa region," *Essays on Ancient Anatolia*, ed. H. I. H. T. MIKASA, Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 170-171, pl. 3-4, p. 179.

<sup>60</sup> *Carchemish*, I, pl. B 10a & B 13a.

<sup>61</sup> *Sendschirli*, III, pl. XLIV top.

<sup>62</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, plate 24 (top).

<sup>63</sup> F. KULAKOĞLU in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), p. 506 and fig. 19, p. 507.

<sup>64</sup> *Carchemish*, III, pl. 37-46. Cf. I. J. WINTER, *loc. cit.* (n. 32).

Age temple in the first decorative phase of the building.<sup>65</sup> In these two cases, however, the guilloche is composed of double, not triple, S's.

The practice of using the guilloche motif to mark the ground line, especially in a religious context, seems thus to have been rather common in Iron Age northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia.

The various details of the scene carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele find counterparts in various places of northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia, with a higher concentration in an area extending from Maraş to Tell Ahmar. The figure of the god is iconographically close to two divine figures from Carchemish and, to some extent, to the Storm-God portrayed on a relief from Aleppo. However, if style and iconography are considered together, the closest parallels come from the reliefs of the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty at Carchemish.

### III.

#### MORE STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

##### A. The Tell Ahmar and Carchemish sculpture

If style only is considered, a surprise comes from a comparison between the Ahmar/Qubbah stele and its closest iconographic parallels. The Storm-God reliefs discovered at Tell Ahmar and in its vicinity, although similar in their general conception, are quite different in style. Storm-God stele B (cat. 1) lacks plasticity and is less detailed. Proportions, however, are quite similar. Storm-God stele A (cat. 3) is much stiffer. The forms are delineated with more straight lines and, in general, the relief is lower and the surfaces are flatter. The Borowski stele (cat. 4) differs even more in style. It is carved in low relief and the details are incised. Such a diversity is surprising, the more so as, besides the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, two of the Tell Ahmar Storm-God stelae (cat. 3 and 4) have been commissioned by the same ruler, the usurper Hamiyata, and one (cat. 1) by his immediate successor. Apparently, there was no homogeneous school of sculpture at work in Til Barsib/Masuwar when these stelae were carved. It is therefore unlikely that these reliefs were sculpted in the same workshop.

Stylistically the Carchemish reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture and the Herald's Wall offer better comparisons with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. They share the same predilection for rounded forms — which S. Mazzoni considers as the main contribution of the Carchemish school of sculpture to Neo-Hittite art —<sup>66</sup> and raised lines to outline details, but there are also differences. The Carchemish reliefs are carved in lower relief, and plasticity, although present, does not give the same impression of

<sup>65</sup> 'ABU 'ASSĀF, *Ain Dara*, p. 20 and, e.g., plates 9, 10.

<sup>66</sup> S. MAZZONI, "Ricerche sul complesso dei rilievi neoittiti di Karkemish," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 51 (1977), pp. 21-23, cf. p. 38.

volume as on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. The link with Carchemish is nonetheless confirmed by a comparison between various bull reliefs from Carchemish (figs. 48-50) and the bull on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

R. D. Barnett<sup>67</sup> and I. J. Winter<sup>68</sup> saw in the similarities between the Carchemish and Tell Ahmar sculptures an indication that the same artists might have worked in both states. D. Ussishkin also emphasized the parallelism between the Tell Ahmar and Carchemish sculptures.<sup>69</sup> However, the comparison should not be pushed too far, especially in the case of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. Discrepancies between the various works from Carchemish and Tell Ahmar as well as disparities within the Tell Ahmar sculpture are significant. It is true that Carchemish and Tell Ahmar shared common inspiration, iconographic repertoire and stylistic features. However, it is difficult to think that the Ahmar/Qubbah and the Borowski stelae, to take these examples, were both produced in the same workshop. Differences are too important. The similarities between the Carchemish and Tell Ahmar reliefs, as well as the stylistic diversity of the Tell Ahmar reliefs, are better explained by the transfer of artists from Carchemish to Tell Ahmar where they developed their own workshops.

If we now turn to the other close iconographic parallels that have been recognized in the region of Maraş, (cat. 2, 5, 7), they are also marked by a sense of volume and inclination for rounded forms, but proportions are completely different. The Storm-God figures look squatter and the position of the arms is slightly different. On one stele (cat. 5), details are carved in relief but on another (cat. 2) they are incised.

As for the Storm-God stele discovered in Babylon (cat. 9), it shares with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele and the Carchemish reliefs mentioned above the same taste for rounded forms, the rendering of details in low relief. Proportions, however, are different from those of the relief on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele — the god looks squatter — and surfaces are flatter. All in all, this relief is closer to the Carchemish style of the Long Wall of Sculpture and of the Herald's Wall than to the style of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

In brief, there does not seem to be a complete match between iconographic and stylistic parallels.

Stylistically, it is Carchemish and not, quite surprisingly, Tell Ahmar that offers the closest parallels, but the Ahmar/Qubbah stele stands out, within the Carchemish tradition, as an original work of art.

<sup>67</sup> R. D. BARNETT in *Carchemish*, III, p. 263, cf. GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, p. 57.

<sup>68</sup> I. J. WINTER, *art. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 181-182, and EAD., review of *USK*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 34 (1975), p. 138 cf. S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 323, n. 42.

<sup>69</sup> D. USSISHKIN, "On the dating of some groups of reliefs from Carchemish and Til Barsip," *Anatolian Studies*, 17 (1967), pp. 181-192; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 33), pp. 434-437.

## B. Other stylistic comparisons

Before closing this discussion a few words must be said about works that are stylistically similar to, but iconographically different from, the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

Very close, as far as style is concerned, are sculptures from Ain Dara,<sup>70</sup> especially a monumental lion apparently found out of context.<sup>71</sup> Although surfaces are rather flat, the carving style of this lion tends to adopt rounded forms and it uses relief bands to outline details. Reliefs from the temple at the same site also show similarities in execution, especially in the adoption of rounded forms and of low relief for the indication of details. Particularly relevant here are two fragmentary human faces (reliefs G3 and G4) and orthostats decorating the plinth of the temple (e.g. reliefs A1-A6 and B1-B2).<sup>72</sup>

A lion discovered in Hama is carved in a style that is remarkable by its plasticity, rounded forms, details sticking out in relief and cord-like lines to outline anatomic features.<sup>73</sup>

Further north-west, at Zincirli, one of the lions of the "Quermauertor"<sup>74</sup> is carved in a style that is reminiscent of the style of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, essentially in terms of volume and carving, and some of the orthostats that were included in the decoration of the "Äusserer Burgtor", especially a warrior god with an 8-shaped shield,<sup>75</sup> a Storm-God (cat. 13)<sup>76</sup> and bird-headed genie,<sup>77</sup> also offer some similarities with the style of the stele.<sup>78</sup> The relief, however, is much lower.

If we go north, to Malatya, the reliefs of the Lion Gate, which include several figures of the Storm-God (cat. 32-34, 45), share a few stylistic similarities with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, essentially in the plastic treatment of the surface and in the use of raised details, although, iconographically, they belong to another tradition.

It is rather surprising that the newly discovered orthostats of the Aleppo Citadel<sup>79</sup> are quite different in style despite the parallels that have been suggested above especially with the newly discovered Storm-God figure.

<sup>70</sup> 'ABŪ 'ASSĀF, *Ain Dara*, passim.

<sup>71</sup> USK, plate 1 a: Ain Dara A/1; ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, fig. 340.

<sup>72</sup> Published in 'ABŪ 'ASSĀF, *Ain Dara*.

<sup>73</sup> P. J. RIIS & M. L. BUHL, *Hama*, II/2, 1990, No. 40 & 41, p. 50.

<sup>74</sup> *Sendschirli*, III, plate 47 (bottom).

<sup>75</sup> *Sendschirli*, III, plate 40.

<sup>76</sup> *Sendschirli*, III, plate 41 (left).

<sup>77</sup> *Sendschirli*, III, plate 42 (right).

<sup>78</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "Building inscriptions of Carchemish: The Long Wall of Sculpture and Great Staircase," *Anatolian Studies*, 22 (1972), pp. 106-107, outlines the similarities between the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish and the "Äusserer Burgtor" at Zincirli.

<sup>79</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*; ID., *Halab*, pp. 111-130; W. KHAYYATA & K. KOHLMAYER, "Syro-German excavations on the Citadel of Aleppo, 1996 and 1997," *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, ed. P. MATTHIAE et al., I, Rome 2000, pp. 733-742; J. GONELLA, W. KHAYYATA & K. KOHLMAYER, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes*, Munster 2005.

As a conclusion we can say that the analysis of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele shows that the monument belongs to a tradition – differences in execution make it impossible to speak of workshop – that, besides the Tell Ahmar region, is particularly well represented at Carchemish, especially in the Long Wall of Sculpture and the Herald's Wall. More stylistic comparisons can be made, to some extent, with the Ain Dara sculpture and with a few works from Malatya, Zincirli and Hama.

It may help in this attempt to place the Ahmar/Qubbah stele in its proper artistic perspective to notice that, among the large homogeneous collections of the early Iron Age, no or almost no conclusive parallel can be drawn with Tell Halaf, Sakçegözü and Karatepe sculptures. This is not surprising as far as Sakçegözü and Karatepe are concerned, because the sculptures from these sites are usually considered as belonging to a later period than the works from the Carchemish and Tell Ahmar regions, but it is more surprising in the case of Tell Halaf, which is usually dated to a period that is much closer to the time of the Carchemish and Tell Ahmar reliefs.

These observations invite us to turn now to the problem of the absolute date of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

## IV.

### CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Two essential factors are usually considered when dating the Storm-God stelae from Tell Ahmar, to which the Ahmar/Qubbah stele can now be added. The first factor is the close similarity between the stelae and the Carchemish reliefs of the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty. The second factor is the cultural affiliation of their authors, which is assumed to have chronological implications: What is the best time to accommodate, at Tell Ahmar, an artistic and epigraphic tradition of Luwian inspiration in a period that must also take an Aramaean and Assyrian presence into account?

The Tell Ahmar stelae have been variously dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century by F. Thureau-Dangin,<sup>80</sup> to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century by E. Akurgal,<sup>81</sup> to a time before 870 by W. Orthmann,<sup>82</sup> to the first quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century by D. Ussishkin,<sup>83</sup> to c. 925/900 by H. Genge,<sup>84</sup> to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century by S. Mazzoni,<sup>85</sup> and to the late 10<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> century by J. D. Hawkins.<sup>86</sup> After much hesitation, as is shown by the dates suggested by F. Thureau-Dangin and E. Akurgal, there seems to emerge a consensus on a date around or before 900 B.C. Such would

<sup>80</sup> *Til-Barsib*, p. 134.

<sup>81</sup> E. AKURGAL, *Orient und Okzident*, p. 109.

<sup>82</sup> USK, p. 220.

<sup>83</sup> D. USSISHKIN, *art. cit.* (n. 33), pp. 434-435.

<sup>84</sup> GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 54-55.

<sup>85</sup> S. MAZZONI, "Syria and the periodization of the Iron Age: A cross-cultural perspective," *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, pp. 38, 57.

<sup>86</sup> CHLI, I, pp. 239-240.

thus also be the date of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. However, the stylistic parallels suggested above include works that are sometimes dated to different periods. Would a date earlier, or later, than c. 900 B.C. be possible for the Ahmar/Qubbah stele? A brief review of the discussions concerning the chronology of Neo-Hittite sculpture, with a special emphasis on the sites that provided stylistic comparisons with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, should contribute to answering the question.

The chronology of Iron Age Syro-Anatolian sculpture has been the subject of much debate.

After preliminary studies, that started in the nineteenth century,<sup>87</sup> the first comprehensive attempt to understand the evolution of Neo-Hittite sculpture was made by E. Akurgal.<sup>88</sup> Akurgal identified three chronological periods in the history of this art-form. The first period, represented by the "altspäthethitische Stilstufe", was the closest to 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium models and would have lasted from c. 1200 to c. 900/850 and could have survived in some places until the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The second period, the "mittelspäthethitische Stilstufe", was the fully developed Late Hittite period and would have lasted from 900/850 to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The last period, "jungspäthethitische Stilstufe", which was placed under increasing Assyrian influence, would have included the last Neo-Hittite works. Among the reliefs that are relevant to the present study, he assigned the Zincirli and Malatya lions to his early phase.<sup>89</sup> The Carchemish reliefs would have displayed features that, in his opinion, could be assigned to his early period, for some of them, and to his middle period for others. The typical stylization of hair, as it is encountered on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, was considered by him as "mittelspäthethitisch". The Ain Dara reliefs were not yet known to him.

In a more recent study E. Akurgal dated the first two styles to 1100-850 and 850-750/730 respectively.<sup>90</sup> Here only the Malatya reliefs were dated to the first style period. The Carchemish, Zincirli, Hama and those of the Ain Dara sculptures that were already known to him would have belonged to the second style period.

A second landmark in the development of Neo-Hittite studies was represented by the publication of W. Orthmann's research on Neo-Hittite art.<sup>91</sup> He followed E. Akurgal in his identification of three main styles.<sup>92</sup> Orthmann's "Späthethitisches I" style would have started after the collapse of the Hittite empire and before c. 950 B.C. His "Späthethitisches II" style would have covered the period from c. 950 B.C. to the middle, or the second half, of the ninth century B.C. and his "Späthethitisches III" the eighth century until the Assyrian conquest of most Syro-Anatolian states.<sup>93</sup> He

<sup>87</sup> A survey of early research can be found in ORTHMANN, *USK*, pp. 11-18; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 2-18.

<sup>88</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, pp. 139-143. On previous studies, see *USK*, pp. 11-18.

<sup>89</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, p. 72.

<sup>90</sup> AKURGAL, *Orient und Okzident*, pp. 91-121.

<sup>91</sup> ORTHMANN, *USK*.

<sup>92</sup> *USK*, p. 133.

<sup>93</sup> Orthmann's conclusions concerning style and chronology are summarized in *USK*, pp. 148, 220-221.

assigned the relevant Carchemish reliefs to his "Späthethitisches II" style and dated them to the period 950-875 B.C.<sup>94</sup> The Ain Dara sculptures, as they were available to him, were assigned to his "Späthethitisches I" style.<sup>95</sup> The Lion Gate at Malatya would have dated from the beginning of his "Späthethitisches II" style.<sup>96</sup> The Zincirli reliefs of the "Äusserer Burgtor" were assigned by him to his "Späthethitisches II" style which he dated to the time prior c. 830.<sup>97</sup> And the Hama lion was assigned to his "Späthethitisches II" style.<sup>98</sup>

At the same time as W. Orthmann, H. Genge was conducting a study of the style and chronology of Neo-Hittite sculpture, the conclusions of which were published eight years after Orthmann.<sup>99</sup> He found similar features in both the Zincirli orthostat portraying a ruler (fig. 46) and the Storm-God stele from Ashara (cat. 47), which he dated to 884 on the basis of the inscription that the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II had carved on the relief,<sup>100</sup> and concluded, on the basis of stylistic comparisons, that the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty at Carchemish and the reliefs from the "Äusserer Burgtor" at Zincirli should be dated to c. 900 B.C.<sup>101</sup> Using the same methodology, he dated the Ain Dara reliefs to the period 900/865.<sup>102</sup>

Since the 1970s, several authors dealt with various aspects of the style and chronology of Neo-Hittite sculpture. There has been a tendency to raise the dates of the earliest Neo-Hittite works in order to fill the gap between the collapse of the Late Bronze Age society and the rise of the first Iron Age states.<sup>103</sup> The discovery of a dynastic continuity from the Late Bronze into the early Iron Age at Malatya, and apparently also at Carchemish,<sup>104</sup> prompted a series of studies aiming at complementing the established survival of Bronze Age dynasties by evidence for the continuation of the cultural tradition during the same period. S. Mazzoni has been

<sup>94</sup> *USK*, pp. 31-34, 221, 501-505.

<sup>95</sup> *USK*, pp. 136-138, 148, 476-479.

<sup>96</sup> *USK*, pp. 140-141, 142, 519-522.

<sup>97</sup> *USK*, pp. 202, 220, 538-544.

<sup>98</sup> *USK*, pp. 102-103, 145, 485.

<sup>99</sup> GENGE, *Reliefs*.

<sup>100</sup> GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 42-50.

<sup>101</sup> GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 40-50, 56-90.

<sup>102</sup> GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 184-185.

<sup>103</sup> An early attempt at such a revision was made by W. F. ALBRIGHT, "Northeast Mediterranean dark ages and the early Iron Age art of Syria," *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, ed. S. WEINBERG, Locust Valley (NY) 1956, pp. 144-164. See, more recently, W. ORTHMANN, "Die Bildkunst im Übergang von Großreichszeit zur späthethitischen Periode," *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. E. A. BRAUN-HOLZINGER & H. MATTHÄUS, Möhnsee 2002, pp. 153-159.

<sup>104</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "Kuzi Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš," *Anatolian Studies*, 88 (1988), pp. 99-108; ID., "'Great Kings' and 'Country-Lords' at Malatya and Karkamiš," *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. ten Cate*, Istanbul 1995, pp. 73-85; ID., *CHLI*, I, p. 283; H. G. GÜTERBOCK, "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty," *The Crisis Years: The 12<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, ed. W. A. WARD & M. S. JOUKOWSKY, Dubuque (Iowa) 1992, pp. 53-55.



playing a prominent role in this effort.<sup>105</sup> She raised the date of the Ain Dara reliefs to the late twelfth century,<sup>106</sup> and that of the Lion Gate at Malatya to the 12<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>107</sup> The Herald's Wall and the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish<sup>108</sup> as well as the "Äusserer Burgtor" at Zincirli are dated by her to the tenth century.<sup>109</sup> W. Orthmann, who, in 1975, was dating the Ain Dara reliefs to the 10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>110</sup> subsequently proposed to date them to the period 1200-1000.<sup>111</sup> In 1974 E. de Crombrugghe de Loringhe had already dated the Ain Dara reliefs to the time immediately after the collapse of the Hittite empire.<sup>112</sup> Ali Abu Assaf was more conservative. In his publication of the Ain Dara temple reliefs, he split the works referred to above between his "Stilstufe II" and "III", dated by him respectively to the years 1000-900 and 900-740 B.C.<sup>113</sup>

Epigraphy has also contributed to revising some dates. J. D. Hawkins, whose work has been crucial in the progress of our understanding of Luwian inscriptions, dated the Lion Gate at Malatya to the 11<sup>th</sup>/early 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>114</sup> The Suhi's dynasty, which is responsible for the decoration of the Long Wall of Sculpture, would have dated from the 10<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>115</sup>

It is clear that there is a trend towards raising the dates of some of the works that offer stylistic comparisons with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. The upper chronological limit for dating the stele could therefore be placed in a time prior to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. However, concerning the Carchemish reliefs of the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty,

<sup>105</sup> For an overview of her ideas concerning the origin and early development of Neo-Hittite culture see especially S. MAZZONI, "Gli stati siro-ittiti e l'età oscura: Fattori geo-economici di uno sviluppo culturale," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 4 (1981), pp. 311-341; EAD., "Gli stati siro-ittiti e l'età oscura", II, *Sviluppi iconografici e propaganda politica*, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 5 (1982), pp. 197-213; EAD., "The Aramaean period in Syria: Continuity and development," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Syria and the Ancient Near East 3000-300 BC*, ed. F. ISMAIL, Aleppo 1996, pp. 125-142; EAD., "L'arte neo-ittita nel suo contesto archeologico," *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale*, 7 (1997), pp. 287-327; EAD., "La Siria nell'età del Ferro: Un modello di sviluppo," *Isimu*, 1 (1998), pp. 13-23; EAD., *art. cit.* (n. 85), pp. 32-33.

<sup>106</sup> S. MAZZONI, "Crisis and change: The beginning of Iron Age in Syria," *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, ed. P. MATTHIAE *et al.*, Rome 2000, pp. 1044-1048; EAD., *art. cit.* (n. 85), pp. 32-33.

<sup>107</sup> S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 310-311.

<sup>108</sup> S. MAZZONI, "Ricerche sul complesso dei rilievi neoittiti di Karkemish," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 51 (1977), pp. 7-38; EAD., *art. cit.* 1997 (n. 105), pp. 287-327.

<sup>109</sup> S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 322.

<sup>110</sup> W. ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, pp. 424 (lion) and 429 (orthostat with Mountain-God and bird-headed genies).

<sup>111</sup> W. ORTHMANN, "Zur Datierung des Ištar Reliefs aus Tell 'Ain Dārā," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 34 (1993), pp. 245-251 (esp. pp. 248-250). In a previous paper he had already stressed the stylistic affinities of the Ain Dara reliefs with Hittite imperial sculpture (*Archäologisches Anzeiger*, 1964, cols. 137-143).

<sup>112</sup> E. de CROMBRUGGHE de LOORINGHE, "Recherches sur les reliefs du temple d'Ain Dara," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, 7 (1974), pp. 19-29.

<sup>113</sup> ABŪ ASSAF, *Ain Dara*, p. 39.

<sup>114</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *CHLI* I/1, p. 306.

<sup>115</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *CHLI* I/1, p. 78.

which offer the closest parallels to the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, there seems to exist a consensus on dating them to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, the Ahmar/Qubbah stele could also be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century or, following J. D. Hawkins' chronology, to the late 10<sup>th</sup>/early 9<sup>th</sup> century. But it must be said that, at least for some of the Tell Ahmar sculptures, a later date is not impossible either. As will be seen in the next chapter, the Assyrian conquest did not put a complete end to the Luwian tradition at Tell Ahmar. Provisionally however, a date in the late 10<sup>th</sup>/early 9<sup>th</sup> century can be accepted.

## CONCLUSION

The old motif of the Smiting Storm-God, known from the early second millennium onwards, seems to have been reworked in the Carchemish region towards the end of the Bronze Age to produce a figure of the Smiting Storm-God standing on the back of a striding bull. At this time the god, with a long curling pigtail, short kilt and often a sword attached to his waist, was already holding a kind of trident, variant of the W-sign noting his name, in his left hand. In his right he had a mace.

In the early Iron Age, and probably in the Carchemish/Tell Ahmar area, the god was holding an axe instead of a mace in his right hand, a trident thunderbolt in his left, and the divine figure was associated with a winged disk encased in a crescent above the scene and a guilloche below the hooves of the bull. The Ahmar/Qubbah stele is the only one of the earliest monuments that combine all these motifs. Although not very well attested in later times, this combination seems to have been known in the region of Maraş and to have been adapted to local needs in other areas.

If the combined motif was probably original, its components — especially the winged disk with a crescent, Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt, and young bull — find parallels in neighbouring Carchemish. It is quite remarkable, however, that the particular motif of the Storm-God figure may also have been known in Aleppo, but treated there in the local stylistic tradition.

Also worthy of notice is the fact that the divine figure is dressed in a way that combines divine attributes with the normal accoutrements of the early Iron Age ruling class.

Stylistically, the Storm-God reliefs discovered in the region of Tell Ahmar are rather diverse. The Ahmar/Qubbah stele adds to this diversity. It is therefore difficult to think of only one workshop working in the area. The style of the stele is nonetheless in the same stylistic tradition as the reliefs carved at Carchemish under the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty. As these kings can be dated to the tenth and early ninth century B.C., a date falling within this time span is provisionally acceptable for the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, although an earlier or even a later date is not impossible.

## CHAPTER 4

### *Religious Context*

The previous chapter has shown that the particular combination of motifs that is found on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele represents a specific moment in an iconographic tradition that began in the second millennium B.C. It must be asked whether there are special reasons for adopting this particular combination rather than another at this particular moment.

To seek an answer to this question, the following discussion will review, in a first part, the various ways of portraying the Storm-God, other than the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt (Group I in the catalogue below). The purpose of this discussion is to find out whether there is a correspondence between iconographic similarity and religious meaning. In a second part, the significance of the Smiting Storm-God motif, as well as of the particular details that make up the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, will be discussed. In a third part, an attempt at identifying the character of the Storm-God portrayed on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele will be made.

#### I.

#### INDIVIDUAL STORM-GOD MOTIFS

Most of the Storm-God figures can be arranged in iconographic groups according to characteristics that are shared by a number of individual figures. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether considerations other than artistic convention may have determined the choice of one motif rather than another.

The works will be referred to by their number in the catalogue placed at the end of this study, where bibliographic information can be found. Illustrations can easily be found on figures 56 to 122, which reproduce the works in the order of the catalogue.

#### A. The Storm-God in a Long Robe (Group II)

The "Long Robe" group (cat. 20-25, to which can be added cat. 46) includes both reliefs and sculptures in the round. Their common features, besides the robe, are the bent arms and, for the five examples whose top part is preserved, a round headgear.

The only work that slightly differs from this model is the statue from Maraş (cat. 25). Instead of lifting its two fore-arms at right angle, the figure seems to hold a

piece of its garment with its left hand in a posture that recalls that of a royal statue from Malatya.<sup>1</sup>

The Long Robe Group of Storm-God pictures can be easily subdivided into two sub-groups according to whether they have been carved in relief or in the round. The first sub-group includes the stelae from Jekke (cat. 20), Adıyaman (cat. 21) and Shamak (cat. 22). The second sub-group consists of statues from Karatepe (cat. 23), Gerçin (cat. 24) and Maraş (cat. 25), to which may be added the statue from Çineköy (cat. 46). All these monuments carry inscriptions.

1) Of the first sub-group, the Jekke stele and the stele in the Adıyaman Museum, which are iconographically very close, portray a god that their inscriptions call "Celestial Tarhunza", i.e. Storm-God of Heaven, with the obscure epithet IRNILA-ean in the case of the Adıyaman Museum stele. The relief from Shamak is said to represent "Tarhunza", i.e. simply the Storm-God, without epithet. As this might be a shorter form of the complete name Celestial Tarhunza, it can be hypothesized that the Storm-God in a long robe portrays Celestial Tarhunza, or an aspect of Celestial Tarhunza, the Storm-God of Heaven.

Two of these monuments, the Adıyaman Museum (cat. 21) and Shamak (cat. 22) stelae come from the Euphrates area. The third one, the Jekke stele (cat. 20), comes from the Aleppo area, but, politically, it belonged to Carchemish as is shown by its inscription.

2) The interpretation of the second sub-group is more difficult. The statues from Maraş (cat. 25) and Gerçin (cat. 24) are clearly identified as statues of Tarhunza in the first case and Hadad (line 14) in the second. More ambiguous is the inscription on the statue from Karatepe (cat. 23). It is written in the first person by a ruler named 'ZTWD (Azatiwata in other parallel Luwian inscriptions) and it names Baal with an epithet: the god is called Baal KRNTYŠ, a phrase in which KRNTYŠ may represent a place name<sup>2</sup> and "Baal" either the specific deity of this place ("Lord of KRNTYŠ") or a local variant of the Storm-God. The figure does not have horns attached to its headgear, which would be consistent with the idea of a royal portrait, but it stands on a pair of bulls, which points to the divine nature of the person. The inscription does not specifically refer to the statue as to a statue of the Storm-God although, on lines III, 15-16, it seems to identify it as a divine statue. The monument could thus portray a deified king as well as Baal KRNTYŠ. Lastly, the Çineköy statue (cat. 46) offers the same kind of ambiguities. The inscription is written in the first person by king Warika/WRK and mentions Tarhunza/Baal<sup>3</sup> but no connection is made between the statue and the Storm-God, unless such connection was made in a

<sup>1</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *Malatya. Arslantepe*, I, *La porte des lions*, Paris 1940, plates XXVI-XXXI; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 106 & 107; USK, A/12; ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, fig. 343b; BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 281, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> E. LIPINSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Louvain 1995, p. 83 and n. 119, suggests Kelenderis in Cilicia or, possibly, the name of Karatepe before it was renamed 'ZTWDY/Azatiwataya.

<sup>3</sup> On lines 17-18 of the Phoenician inscription god B'L KR is mentioned in a broken context.

lacuna. However, the figure has a pair of horns on his helmet, as deities have, and it stands in a chariot drawn by a pair of bulls, as the Storm-God occasionally does (see Group V). It is therefore possible that, here again, a king has been portrayed as a god. The bull-driven chariot and the mention of Tarhunza/Baal as the only god referred to in the bilingual inscription would indicate that, here too, the god involved was the Storm-God.

A confirmation of the close ties existing between the Storm-God and dead kings can be found in the inscription on the statue from Gerçin (cat. 24). The first line of the inscription reads "I am Panamuwa, son of QRL, king of Y'DY, who erected this statue for Hadad in my eternal abode."<sup>4</sup> The god, through his statue, seems thus to have been physically present in the king's tomb. Further down in the inscription, any legitimate successor of Panamuwa is asked to make offerings to Hadad and pray that the dead spirit of Panamuwa may eat and drink with the god (lines 17-18). Again, on lines 21-22, it is said: "May the dead spirit of Pana[muwa] eat with Hadad and may the dead spirit of Panamuwa drink with H[ad]ad", which implies that Panamuwa participated in some kind of meal with Hadad.<sup>5</sup> This is probably an allusion to a western equivalent of the Babylonian rite of *kispu*.<sup>6</sup> Such a close relationship between god and king may have facilitated the mutual assimilation between divine and royal portraiture.<sup>7</sup>

The works of the second sub-group might thus represent the Storm-God, either as a real deity or as a ruler portrayed as a deity.

The distribution area of the second sub-group extends to the north-east of the gulf of Alexandretta.

If we can rely on such a small number of works, we could hypothesize that the iconographic motif of the god in a long robe was created in the Euphrates/Carchemish area by incorporating essential aspects of royal portraiture. The motif was used to portray, more specifically, the Storm-God of Heaven. Further west the motif could be used to portray both Storm-Gods and deified kings. It would result from these

<sup>4</sup> According to J. Tropper's translation (J. TROPPER, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, Münster 1993, pp. 60-61).

<sup>5</sup> J. VOOS, "Studien zur Rolle von Statuen und Reliefs im syroethitischen Totenkult während der frühen Eisenzeit (etwa 10.-7. Jh. v. u. Z.)," *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, 29 (1988), p. 349; ID., "Bemerkungen zum syroethitischen Totenkult der frühen Eisenzeit," *Šulmu: Papers on the Ancient Near East Presented at International Conference of Socialist Countries*, Prague 1988, pp. 349-350, 354.

<sup>6</sup> J. GREENFIELD, "Un rite religieux araméen et ses parallèles," *Revue biblique*, 80 (1973), pp. 46-52; ID., "Aspects of Aramean religion," *Ancient Israel Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. P. D. MILLER, Philadelphia 1987, pp. 70-71; K. SPRONK, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 219, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986, pp. 206-208; H. NIEHR, "Zum Totenkult der Könige von Sam'al," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici*, 11 (1994), pp. 57-73, who outlines the differences between *kispu* and the rite alluded to in the inscription on the statue from Gerçin (cf. ID., "Götter und Kulte in Sam'al," *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, ed. M. HUTTER & S. HUTTER-BRAUNSAR, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, pp. 313-314).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. D. BONATZ, "Mnemohistory in Syro-Hittite iconography," *Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, I, ed. T. ABUSCH, Bethesda 2001, pp. 65-77, on the increasing role of human characters in Neo-Hittite imagery.



observations that, in this group, the Storm-God of Heaven was seen as an essentially dynastic deity. The adoption of a robe for the god, instead of a kilt may result from the mutual assimilation of divine and royal images.<sup>8</sup> In the tenth century, gods were normally shown wearing a kilt and rulers a robe (cf. above pp. 42-43).<sup>9</sup>

### B. The Storm-God with Bunches of Grapes and Ears of Wheat (Group III)

Six monuments form this group (cat. 26-31). They all come from ancient Tabal. The god portrayed is said to be the Storm-God Tarhunza on the Ivriz rock relief (cat. 26), on the stele from Niğde (cat. 30) and, according to preliminary reports, on the stele from Ivriz (cat. 28). On one of these reliefs a Luwian inscription mentions king Warpalawa (cat. 26), on another relief the Luwian inscription mentions Muwaharani son of Warpalawa (cat. 30) and, on a third, the still unpublished bilingual Luwian/Phoenician inscription would mention Warpalawa son of Muwaharani (cat. 28). All these kings reigned in the second half of the eighth century. The group is therefore well defined, not only iconographically but also geographically and chronologically.

The inscriptions carved on these reliefs give no clue as to the identification of the particular aspect of the god they portray, but it is extremely tempting to make the connection with other inscribed monuments that mention "Tarhunza of the Vineyard" without giving a picture of him.<sup>10</sup> Actually, one of these inscriptions, the inscription from Bor, is also an inscription of a king by the name of Warpalawa.

The association of the Storm-God with vineyards is already known in second millennium Anatolia.<sup>11</sup> In second millennium Syria, we must note the companions of Baal named Gupan, literally "vine, vineyard", and Ugar, literally "field", in Ugaritic texts.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The adoption of divine features by royal portraits has already been observed by W. ORTHMANN, "Hethitische Götterbilder," *Vorderasiatische Archäologie: Studien ... Anton Moortgat*, ed. K. BITTEL *et al.*, Berlin 1964, pp. 222-223, 228; J. VOOS, *art. cit.* ("Studien zur Rolle...", n. 5), p. 350; *id.*, *art. cit.* ("Bemerkungen...", n. 5), p. 351; J. D. HAWKINS, "Late Hittite funerary monuments," *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. B. ALSTER, Copenhagen 1980, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> It is less likely that the robe reflects Assyrian usage as is suggested by M. DUNAND, "Stèle hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 4 (1940), p. 88, for the stele from Jekke (cat. 20) and by J. D. HAWKINS, *Anatolian Studies*, 20 (1970), p. 102, for the stele in the Adiyaman Museum (cat. 21).

<sup>10</sup> *CHLI*, X.14, pp. 563-472, plate 258-261 (Sultanhan); *CHLI*, X.44, pp. 518-521, plate 296 (Bor), cf. J. D. HAWKINS, "The Syro-Hittite states," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates to Volume III, ed. J. BOARDMAN, Cambridge 1984, p. 86; HAAS, *Religion*, p. 328; M. HUTTER, "Aspects of Luwian Religion," *The Luwians*, ed. H. MELCHERT, Leiden 2003, p. 320.

<sup>11</sup> HAAS, *Religion*, p. 328; M. HUTTER, *art. cit.* (n. 10), p. 224.

<sup>12</sup> M. GREENSBURG, "Baal's two messengers," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 95 (1944), pp. 25-30; A. R. W. GREEN, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake 2003, pp. 199-200. G. DEL OLMO LETE & J. SANMARTIN, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/67, Leiden 2003, s.v. ugr (I), p. 27, which is distinguished from

The motif of the Storm-God with Bunches of Grapes and Ears of Wheat thus corresponds to another well known aspect of the Storm-God, particularly honoured in ancient Tabal, that associated him with fields and vineyards.

### C. The Storm-God Holding a Curved Object (Group IV)

This group is much less homogeneous. In many cases the identification of the divine figure as that of a Storm-God is problematic. Such works are nonetheless considered here as it can be hypothesized that they portray a Storm-God. Three sub-groups can be recognized.

1) To the first sub-group belong the three reliefs from the Lion Gate at Malatya, that show a smiting god with a curved object, a kind of boomerang, in the right hand and a three-pronged object in the left (cat. 33, 34, 45). On a fourth example (cat. 32) the god is carrying the W-sign noting his name<sup>13</sup> in place of the three-pronged object.

The identification with the Storm-God is made certain by an epigraph in three of the four instances. The god is called either Tarhunza (cat. 45), or Tarhunza of Malizi, i.e. Malatya (cat. 32), or else Tarhunza of the city POCULUM (cat. 33). According to H. G. Güterbock and J. D. Hawkins the ideogram POCULUM refers to the region of Karahöyük/Elbistan, to the west of Malatya.<sup>14</sup> The epigraphs are thus of little help to identify the particular form of Storm-God the reliefs portray. They only show a close association with the cities POCULUM and Malatya.

The curved object that the god is brandishing might be an adaptation of the scimitar that is probably carried by the gods of the third sub-group below. However, the reason for replacing the mace, that was traditional in the second millennium, by this curved object is not clear.

The three-pronged object in the left hand of the gods could be a form of thunderbolt, but it is not necessarily so. The same kind of object is carried by other divinities on the reliefs from the Lion Gate at Malatya, for instance the Moon and Sun-Gods on relief E<sup>15</sup> and the god standing on a stag on relief G.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps related to the Malatya Storm-God are the gods on a stele from unknown provenance kept in the Adiyaman Museum (cat. 35)<sup>17</sup> and a silver pendant

the divine messenger's name listed as ugar (II), and s.v. gpn (I), p. 304, which is distinguished from the divine messenger's name listed as gpn (III).

<sup>13</sup> As in the Bronze Age (see above, pp. 34-35).

<sup>14</sup> *CHLI*, I, pp. 291, referring to H.-G. GÜTERBOCK in T. & N. ÖZGÜÇ, *Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu (Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük) 1947*, T.T.K. Yayınlarından V/7, Ankara 1949, pp. 52-53, 69-72.

<sup>15</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), plate XX (bottom); AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 104 (top); *USK*, plate 40/a, Malatya A/6; *CHLI*, I/3, plate 151.

<sup>16</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), plate XXII (top); AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 104 (third from top); *USK*, Malatya A/9b, plate 41/b; *CHLI*, I/3, plate 147/a.

<sup>17</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 106, finds a strong similarity between the figure on the Adiyaman stele and the Storm-God figures from Malatya.

from unknown provenance (cat. 36), although the presence of a bird above the left hand of the god on the pendant may indicate that it belongs, together with Storm-God stele C from Tell Ahmar (cat. 53) to another, little attested, group.<sup>18</sup>

2) The second sub-group comes from Aleppo. Here the curved object carried by the god on one of the orthostats from the Citadel (cat. 37) looks like a club or crook. In his left hand, the god is carrying a three-pronged object similar to the object figured on some of the Malatya reliefs. Another relief from the Aleppo Citadel shows another deity carrying the same kind of crook or club in the right hand and, in the left, a kind of torch that may symbolize a lightning (cat. 38).<sup>19</sup> An identification of these figures as Storm-Gods, without being certain, is possible. Two more deities are depicted with the same kind of curved object on the Aleppo reliefs,<sup>20</sup> but they cannot be identified as Storm-Gods.

The curved object all these figures are carrying could be the so-called *lituus*, a symbol of power carried by Hittite kings as well as gods. The same kind of crook can be seen in the right hand of the Storm-God on the Late Bronze Age rock relief of Fraktın,<sup>21</sup> where it can also be considered as a symbol of power.<sup>22</sup> It may be, as K. Kohlmeyer suggests for the Aleppo reliefs,<sup>23</sup> a symbol conferring the status of a protective deity to the god who carries it. In Aleppo this curved object may serve to characterize minor deities, among which may be minor Storm-Gods, taking part in the procession aimed to honour the local Storm-God.

3) The third sub-group comes from Tell Halaf. Two reliefs show full-face figures with a curved object, sort of scimitar or boomerang, in one hand and a mace in the other (cat. 39 & 40). No epigraph helps to identify these gods. An identification as Storm-Gods is not better established than for the Aleppo reliefs of this group, but is plausible. One of these orthostats (cat. 39) was part of the decoration placed at the bottom of the back wall of the "temple-palace". The other (cat. 40) was placed on the façade of the "temple-palace", on the right, and was the counterpart of a slab showing a winged disk supported by caryatid figures on the left-hand side of the façade. This could be, if the identification of the figure as a Storm-God could be confirmed, another illustration of the association between the Sun and Storm deities (cf. cat. 22).

A statue, almost completely destroyed at the time of discovery, which originally served as the central column in the entrance porch of the "temple-palace", probably had the same kind of curved object in its right hand (cat. 41). Its left hand probably grasped the hilt of a sword. It was identified as a figure of the Storm-God by

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, p. 33 and plate 20.

<sup>20</sup> Relief No. 10 (KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, p. 33, plate 20; ID., *Halab*, p. 125) and relief No. 16 (unpublished).

<sup>21</sup> BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 194, p. 173; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 318.

<sup>22</sup> HAAS, *Religion*, p. 512, who also refers to the same object in the hand of the god standing on a stag on a rhyton in the Norbert Schimmel collection.

<sup>23</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, pp. 28, 33.

M. von Oppenheim.<sup>24</sup> Another statue (cat. 42), discovered in Tell Halaf's lower town, was iconographically almost identical, but displayed no feature that would point to its being a god. It is very likely the image of a deceased person. One can wonder whether the statues decorating the porch were not also images of deceased persons portrayed as gods. If this were the case, the building that they decorated would definitely be a temple and its layout, typical of palace architecture of the so-called bit hilani type, would suit a temple devoted to the cult of dynastic ancestors.

Akkadian inscriptions carved on the small orthostat (cat. 39) and on the sculptures of the façade of the "temple-palace" are of no help to identify the gods.<sup>25</sup> If the identification of the Tell Halaf figures with Storm-Gods could be demonstrated, the situation could thus be similar to that of the Long Robe Group of Storm-Gods (Group II), some of them representing gods, others deified rulers or ancestors.

The three sub-groups of the Storm-God Holding a Curved Object group seem to be all associated with a particular place. Differences that can be noticed in their iconography tends to show that the apparent similarity existing between the sub-groups may be somewhat artificial. The first sub-group is found essentially in the Malatya region. It is the only one for which an identification of the figures with a Storm-God can be demonstrated. It shows a smiting Storm-God brandishing a kind of boomerang in one hand and, in most cases, a three-pronged object that could symbolize a lightning in the other. It was used to depict local aspects of the Storm-God. The second sub-group is associated with Aleppo where a pre-Iron Age iconographic motif seems to have survived, which was characterized by an object in the shape of a kind of crook and apparently used in Aleppo for deities that may have been minor manifestations of storm deities. The third sub-group, which comes from Tell Halaf, includes figures carrying a kind of scimitar or boomerang in one hand and a mace in the other. These figures, whose identification is also hypothetical, may have been used to represent ancestors, especially ancestor kings.

#### D. The Storm-God Driving a Chariot (Group V)

A motif, that was already known in the second millennium B.C.,<sup>26</sup> showed the Storm-God in a chariot that, sometimes but not always, had a body in the shape of a

<sup>24</sup> M. von OPPENHEIM, *Der Tell Halaf: Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1931, p. 112; ID., "Tell Halaf, la plus ancienne capitale soubaréenne de Mésopotamie," *Syria*, 13 (1932), p. 246; ID., "Die Embleme der subaräischen Hauptgottheiten auf der Buntkeramik des Tell Halaf und das Alter der Tell Halaf-Steinbilder," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II, Paris 1939, p. 609.

<sup>25</sup> B. MEISSNER, "Die Keilschrifttexte auf den steinernen Orthostaten und Statuen aus dem Tell Halaf," *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kulture: Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim ... gewidmet*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft I, Berlin 1933, pp. 71-79; A. MOORTGAT, *Der Tell Halaf*, III, Berlin 1955, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> See H.-G. GÜTERBOCK, "Gedanken über ein hethitisches Königssiegel aus Boğazköy," *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 43 (1993), pp. 113-116.

bird.<sup>27</sup> On one of the second millennium examples the god was riding over mountains (Imamkulu),<sup>28</sup> which probably evoked the highest parts of the world. In the Iron Age the motif was found in Aleppo (cat. 43), Carchemish (cat. 44) and Malatya (cat. 45).

The statue from Çineköy (cat. 46), that showed the god standing in a chariot, instead of jumping into it, may be an adaptation of the motif not just to the constraints of a sculpture in the round but to the portrait of a deified king.<sup>29</sup> The god was actually dressed as the deities of the Long Robe Group were, which, as we saw above (pp. 56-57), assimilates features of royal portraiture. Only one pair of horns, carved in low relief, designate the figure as that of a god.

As R. D. Barnett and A. Vanel observed,<sup>30</sup> the motif of the Storm-God Driving a Chariot calls to mind the epithet of the Storm-God in the Ugaritic texts, that designated him as "Cloud-Rider".<sup>31</sup> And, as M. Novák argued,<sup>32</sup> it also calls to mind the divine name Rākib-El, which, according to one hypothesis, may have referred to the Storm-God as the "Chariot-Driver of El" in texts from Zincirli.<sup>33</sup>

The few examples of the motif of the Storm-God driving a chariot cover a wide area from the upper Euphrates to Cilicia.

### E. The Storm-God Fighting a Dragon (Group VI)

Only two reliefs form this group and they are much different from one another (cat. 47 and 48).<sup>34</sup> This does not imply that the theme of a battle between the Storm-God and a monster was not popular in the first millennium – there is much

<sup>27</sup> M. YON, "Ducks' travel," *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22-24 August 1991*, Part 2, ed. P. ÅSTRÖM, Jonsered 1992, pp. 394-407, studied representation of ducks, including a model of a chariot with duck heads, and emphasized the function of the duck as a symbol of travel.

<sup>28</sup> BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 315; J. HAZENBOS, "Zum Imamkulu-Relief," *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko*, ed. P. TARACHA, Warsaw 2002, pp. 147-161; H. C. MELCHERT (ed.), *The Luwians*, HdO, 2003, plate I/b. On the inscription: J. D. HAWKINS, "The Storm-God seal of Mursili III," *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, ed. G. BECKMAN et al., Winona Lake 2003, pp. 171-172.

<sup>29</sup> In Hittite rituals for the statue of dead kings the two bulls of the Storm-God are invoked (SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, p. 481).

<sup>30</sup> R. D. BARNETT, "The gods of Zincirli," *Comptes rendus de la onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale*, Leiden 1964, pp. 64-65; VANEL, *L'iconographie*, p. 121. See also van den TOORN, "Rakib-El," *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Leiden 1999, p. 686; H. NIEHR, *art. cit.* 2004 (n. 6) pp. 304-305.

<sup>31</sup> On this epithet: P. J. van ZIJL, *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics*, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972, pp. 329-331; A. R. W. GREEN, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake 2003, p. 195.

<sup>32</sup> M. NOVÁK, "Die Religionspolitik der aramäischen Fürstentümer im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, ed. M. HUTTER & S. HUTTER-BRAUNSAAR, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, pp. 332-333.

<sup>33</sup> KAI, II, p. 34; J. TROPPER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 21.

<sup>34</sup> M. G. MASETTI-ROUAULT, *Cultures locales du Moyen-Euphrate: Modèles et événements, IIe - Ier mill. av. J.-C.*, Subartu VIII, Turnhout 2001, pp. 94-97, discusses the origins of the motif.

evidence to the contrary –<sup>35</sup> but the iconographic motif of the Storm-God struggling with a dragon did not match the general trend of Iron Age Syro-Anatolian art that, contrary to its Assyrian counterpart, tended to prefer more static or hieratic themes to narrative compositions.

The identification of the deities as Storm-Gods is very likely in the case of the Ashara stele (cat. 47),<sup>36</sup> and probable in the case of the Malatya relief (cat. 48).<sup>37</sup>

This review of the different ways of portraying the Storm-God, besides the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt, shows that there were a few well established iconographic forms of Storm-Gods. These forms seem often to correspond to specific aspects of the Storm-God, often associated with a specific place or region. It may happen that some motifs are affected by others, such as the Storm-God with Bunches of Grapes and Ears of Wheat on a stele from Niğde (cat. 30) and on the rock relief at Gökbezi (cat. 31) that have been influenced by the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt, to which we shall turn below, and the statue from Çineköy that combines the Storm-God in a Long Robe with the motif of the Storm-God Driving a Chariot. But, in general, there is a clear link between specific iconographic motifs and specific aspects of the Storm-God, which manifest themselves either in the conception of the god or in its association with a specific region. Also worthy of notice is the kind of osmosis that could occur between the iconography of the Storm-God and that of deified rulers.

It is now possible to go back to the god portrayed on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

## II.

### SYMBOLS AND MOTIFS ON THE AHMAR/QUBBAH STELE

#### A. Figure of the god

The god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele finds its place in the rather abundant group of Smiting Storm-Gods with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt that form Group I. Apart from the stele found in Babylon (cat. 9) – that surely comes from somewhere in northern Syria – and a Malatya relief (cat. 10), all these reliefs originated in an area extending from Maraş to Tell Ahmar.

<sup>35</sup> J. DAY, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, Cambridge & New York 1985; C. KLOOS, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, Leiden 1986; B. F. BATTO, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition*, Louisville 1992; SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, pp. 226-237.

<sup>36</sup> M. G. MASETTI-ROUAULT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 90-93.

<sup>37</sup> VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 123, n. 4, p. 127, considers the god on the Malatya relief as the "second dieu de l'orage", which is shown at Yazılıkaya behind the main Storm-God.

There were other forms of Smiting Storm-Gods, but it can be demonstrated that they belonged to other well defined groups. The Smiting Storm-God brandishing a kind of boomerang (cat. 32-36, cf. 45) belongs to Group IV above and is typical of the Malatya region. A stele from Niğde (cat. 30) and a rock relief from Gökbezi (cat. 31) show an adaptation of the local Storm-God with Ears of Wheat and Bunches of Grape (Group III) to the tradition of the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt and display Neo-Assyrian influence especially visible in the double thunderbolt that the gods hold in their left hand. The Storm-God Driving a Chariot (Group V) can also be shown in smiting posture, as on orthostats from Carchemish (cat. 44) and Malatya (cat. 45). And so does the Storm-God Fighting a Dragon (Group VI) on the stele from Ashara (cat. 47). Storm-Gods holding a double thunderbolt, such as the god on stelae from Arslan Tash (cat. 16) and Maraş (cat. 15) and on a stele kept in Ankara (cat. 14) are associated with Neo-Assyrian influence on northern Syria and eastern Anatolia.<sup>38</sup>

All these Smiting Storm-Gods differ from the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt by their association with specific motifs or symbols that are not found with the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt. It can thus be hypothesized that this particular type of Storm-God forms a distinctive iconographic motif that is proper to the Maraş-Tell Ahmar region.

The epigraphic evidence gives some clues as to the identification of the god.<sup>39</sup> If on the stelae from Kürtül (cat. 5) and Maraş (cat. 7) the god is simply called Tarhunza, without epithet, on four stelae from the tell Ahmar region he is called "Celestial Tarhunza" (Storm-God stele A [cat. 3], Storm-God stele B [cat. 1], stele in the Aleppo Museum [cat. 6] and stele in the Borowski collection [cat. 4]). On the other hand, the stelae from Körkün (cat. 8) and Babylon (cat. 9) call him "Halabean Tarhunza", i.e. "Storm-God of Aleppo". A link with Celestial Tarhunza is thus obvious, but an association with Aleppo, the cult place of one of the most popular Storm-Gods, is also evident. The problem, however, is complicated by the inscription carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, which refers to the relief as to a figure of Tarhunza of the Army.

Before elaborating any further on these associations, the other motifs carved on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele must be examined.

<sup>38</sup> There are still a few Smiting Storm-Gods that cannot be assigned to a specific iconographic group because of the lack of evidence. The Storm-God stele C from tell Ahmar (cat. 54, cf. p. 41), the stelae from Islahiye (cat. 52), Domuztepe (cat. 53) and Taşlıköy (cat. 60). Some reliefs are too damaged to allow a conclusion, e.g. the stelae from Asmacık (cat. 57) and Maraş (cat. 58), the stelae in the Aleppo Museum (cat. 56) and in a private collection (cat. 62). A special case will be made below for an orthostat recently discovered on the Aleppo Citadel (cat. 50).

<sup>39</sup> See already G. BUNNENS, "The Storm-God in northern Syria and southern Anatolia, from Hadad of Aleppo to Jupiter Dolichenus," *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität: Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums "Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete vom Beginn des 2. bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (Bonn, 20-22. Februar 2003)"*, ed. M. HUTTER & S. HUTTER-BRAUNSAAR, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, pp. 61-65.

## B. The god's weapons

The most characteristic of the god's attributes are surely his weapons. An often quoted passage of the Ugaritic myth of "Baal and the Sea" tells how the divine artisan Kutharu-wa-Hasisu made special weapons to help the Storm-God defeat his enemy.<sup>40</sup>

These weapons are described, in the Ugaritic text, as almost independent figures flying to achieve their mission. It is not surprising, therefore, to notice that the worship of divine weapons was practiced in the ancient Near East. As N. Wyatt has pointed out, the worship of the god's weapons was a means to transfer divine power to the king and so to legitimize his rule.<sup>41</sup> It is part of the process, noted above, that led to portraying kings as (Storm-)Gods.

The weapons of the Storm-God, in particular, were the object of a cult. They were not mere symbols, but actual weapons that could be carried around. The god's weapons are already mentioned in the Ebla texts.<sup>42</sup> A few centuries later, a letter from Mari refers to the weapons of the Storm-God of Aleppo that were kept in Terqa where they had been sent, probably to participate in Zimri-Lim's investiture.<sup>43</sup> It is not easy to figure out what kind of weapon was intended. At the time of the Ebla archives, it may have been one or more spears.<sup>44</sup> In the Mari texts the god's weapons are vaguely designated as "weapons" (giš.tukul.há/meš)<sup>45</sup> without further specification. Similarly, two texts from Alalakh mention a weapon (giš.tukul,<sup>46</sup> [kak]kum rabûm)<sup>47</sup> of the Storm-God, very likely the Storm-God of Aleppo, but without specifying what kind of weapon it was. The weapons of the Storm-God of Aleppo, occasionally designated as "mace" or "spear", were also worshipped among the Hittites.<sup>48</sup> In the Ugaritic text mentioned above, the weapon of Baal is called šmd, which is variously translated as "mace" or "(double) axe" without that a consensus can be reached on the

<sup>40</sup> KTU 1.2, IV, 11-27; P. BORDREUIL & D. PARDEE, "Le combat de Ba'lu avec Yammu d'après les textes ougaritiques," *MARI*, 7 (1993), pp. 63-70.

<sup>41</sup> N. WYATT, "Arms and the King: The earliest allusions to the Chaoskampf motif and their implications for the interpretation of the Ugaritic and biblical traditions," *"Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf": Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient, Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres*, ed. M. DIETRICH & I. KOTTSEPER, AOAT 250, Münster 1998, pp. 833-888.

<sup>42</sup> P. FRONZAROLI, "Les combats de Hadda dans les textes d'Ebla," *MARI*, 8 (1997), pp. 284-285.

<sup>43</sup> Text A.1858, line 5 (J.-M. DURAND, *Le culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alalakh*, Florilegium Marianum VII, Paris 2002, No. 5, p. 15).

<sup>44</sup> P. FRONZAROLI, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 285.

<sup>45</sup> Besides the text quoted above see A.1968, lines 7, 2' (DURAND, *op. cit.* [n. 43], No. 38, p. 134).

<sup>46</sup> D. J. WISEMAN, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London 1953, AT \*1, line 17.

<sup>47</sup> D. J. WISEMAN, "Abban and Alalah," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 12 (1958), AT \*456, lines 26-27, p. 126.

<sup>48</sup> M. POPKO, "Auf der Suche nach den siegreichen Waffen des Wettersgottes von Halab in Kleinasien," *Written on Clay and Stone: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzynska*, ed. J. BRAUN *et al.*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 75-78.

translation.<sup>49</sup> Another Ugaritic text mentions *ktp* in parallel with *šmd* as the weapons of Baal.<sup>50</sup> *Ktp* is usually translated by "scimitar" and may refer to a kind of sword.<sup>51</sup> At Emar, the weapon of Baal is mentioned in several rituals, especially for the installation of the *entu*-priestess. This weapon may be referred to as *ḥaššinnu*, "axe".<sup>52</sup> Mace or axe, sword and even spear are thus weapons that the Storm-God was assumed to have used and these weapons may have been worshipped as independent cult objects.

Let us concentrate now on the weapons depicted on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

### 1. Axe

As has already been observed, in the Iron Age the axe replaced the mace in the god's right hand. The reasons for such a substitution are not clear, but it must be remembered that, at Emar, which depended from Carchemish in the Late Bronze Age, the weapon of the Storm-God was specifically referred to as *ḥaššinnu*, "axe", in the text about the installation of the *entu*-priestess. Is it a coincidence if some of the closest predecessors of the motif of the Storm-God standing on a bull, as it has been executed by the author of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, were also found at Emar (cf. p. 35)?

### 2. Sword

Another weapon frequently associated with the Storm-God, in figurative art, is a sword. It is found both in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The sword was probably the standard weapon of a warrior of high rank. Kings were also regularly portrayed with one (cf. figs. 43-46). No symbolic meaning seems to have been attached to it other than that of a status indicator. It probably designated the Storm-God as a major deity.

The *ktp*, possibly a "scimitar", that one of the Ugaritic texts mentioned above as one of Baal's weapons, may refer to the sword of the god, although this is not very likely. As *ktp* was actively used by Baal, it is more likely that it referred to one of the objects that the god was brandishing, and thus using, rather than to the sword that remained idle in its scabbard. If a link with Iron Age iconography was sought, it might be found in the curved object that the figures, or some of the figures, listed in Group IV were brandishing.

<sup>49</sup> VANEL, *L'iconographie*, p. 108, and P. BORDREUIL & D. PARDEE, "Le combat de Ba'lu avec Yammu d'après les textes ougaritiques," *MARI*, 7 (1993), pp. 67-68, adopt the translation "mace". G. del OLMO LETE & J. SANMARTIN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 784-785, do not choose between the two translations.

<sup>50</sup> *KTU* 1.6, V, 2-3.

<sup>51</sup> G. del OLMO LETE & J. SANMARTIN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 469., cf. Akkadian *katâpu/katappu* (J.-M. DURAND, *Archives royales de Mari* XXI, Paris 1983, pp. 342-343).

<sup>52</sup> D. ARNAUD, *Emar* VI, No. 369, lines 45, 46, 65. D. E. FLEMING, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar: A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion*, Harvard Semitic Studies, 42, Atlanta 1992, p. 50, n. 7.

### 3. Thunderbolt

Not formally a weapon, the thunderbolt can nonetheless be considered as one of the arms used by the Storm-God. On the Baal stele from Ugarit, for instance, the god holds a lightning that terminates as a spear with which the god is hitting the earth (fig. 31).<sup>53</sup> The idea of assimilating the lightning to a weapon is thus not arbitrary.

As we saw, the thunderbolt is strangely given the shape of a trident on many of the Iron Age smiting Storm-God reliefs, including the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. It looks like a real object more than the picture of a lightning. Actually, on several Neo-Assyrian stelae, symbols carved at the top of the stele include a very similar object, which seems to have been a free-standing device. It consists of a trident standing above a square block, sometimes with two projections or, more clearly in some instances, two tassels issuing from the point where the trident joins the supporting pole.<sup>54</sup> The existence of such tridents as three-dimension objects is made more than plausible by a fragment of obelisk discovered at Nineveh (fig. 52).<sup>55</sup> It shows two soldiers carrying away a trident with two round objects on either side. In this case, there is no doubt that the trident was a real object. The text above the scene mentions the tribute of Hindanu, but it is unsure whether it refers to the relief below or above the inscription.

Stelae carved with no other symbol than the trident-thunderbolt are found to the west of Assyria, at Tell Halaf, and a pottery sherd found in Hellenistic context at Gritille on the Turkish Euphrates offers another late example.<sup>56</sup>

Objects of this kind obviously served the same function as the much more frequent moon symbol consisting of a crescent on top of a pole fixed into a pedestal with two tassels issuing from the lower part of the crescent. The trident symbol would thus represent a thunderbolt with two tassels, placed on top of a pole that was fixed into a pedestal. It would represent a real cult object, as was suggested by R. S. Ellis,<sup>57</sup> in other words, in this particular case, another example of the worship of a divine weapon.

The possibility that actual trident-thunderbolts were objects of worship might find a confirmation in a puzzling discovery made at Tell Ahmar.

<sup>53</sup> This is the most plausible interpretation of the symbol, but see above, p. 33, n. 6, for an interpretation of the spear as a plant.

<sup>54</sup> BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 154 (Eğil rock relief of Shalmaneser III); No. 188-199 (Bavian reliefs); No. 203 (stele of Sennacherib); No. 204 (stele of Sennacherib).

<sup>55</sup> R. C. THOMPSON & R. W. HUTCHINSON, "The site of the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh, excavated in 1929-30 on behalf of the British Museum," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 18 (1931), p. 83 and plate XXVI/1; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 141.

<sup>56</sup> R. S. ELLIS, "A curious lightning symbol from Hellenistic Anatolia," *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, ed. M. J. MELLINK et al., Ankara 1993, pp. 161-167, with a discussion of related depictions of lightnings.

<sup>57</sup> R. S. ELLIS, *art. cit.* (n. 56), p. 167.



An iron trident was found in area E, in the northern part of the site. The object is about one metre long and consists of three long, straight and parallel spikes that join at one end to form a kind of handle (fig. 51).

Similar tridents, either in bronze or in iron, have been found in other places and other contexts from the third millennium onwards.<sup>58</sup> Although their function is not known, a symbolic or cultic use is not excluded, at least for some of them.

The Tell Ahmar trident was discovered in room 1 of a building (called building E1) that must have been abandoned at the end of the seventh century or slightly later.<sup>59</sup>

Only two rooms and part of a courtyard of building E1 have been exposed (fig. 53). The largest room, room 2, was of the type commonly called "reception room" in Neo-Assyrian buildings. It included two niches with ablution slabs – one on the right-hand side of the doorway connecting the room with the courtyard, another one in the opposite wall – and a four-sided hearth paved with baked bricks in the southern part of the room.

A few features tend to indicate that the building, at least in the last phase of its occupation, was not simply a domestic structure. Fragments of wall paintings were discovered in the debris filling room 2. Most of them consisted of geometric motifs,<sup>60</sup> but a few fragments were figurative. One represented the fringed hem of a garment as well as the calf and foot of a human figure standing on the back of an animal, of which part of the neck was preserved (fig. 55).<sup>61</sup> Judging from the stylization of the hair the animal must have been a lion. This fragment of painting is strongly reminiscent of Assyrian divine figures standing on the back of a lion, especially the figure of Ishtar carved on a stele discovered by F. Thureau-Dangin at Tell Ahmar.<sup>62</sup> Another fragment must belong to the same composition. It consists of a flower on the right and of the points of a star on the left (fig. 54).<sup>63</sup> The fragment must have belonged to a painting showing a deity in a nimbus and holding a flower. The deity can be the same as the one whose leg has been preserved on the other fragment. Whatever the reconstruction,

<sup>58</sup> J. MAKAY, "Metal forks as symbol of power and religion," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 35 (1983), pp. 313-344; G. ROSSONI, "I tridenti metallici nel Vicino Oriente antico tra uso pratico e simbologia: Proposte di interpretazione di una particolare classe di materiali," *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale*, 7 (1997), pp. 561-590; D. YALÇIKLI, "Zwei Bronzegabeln aus Zentralanatolien," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 50 (2000), pp. 113-130.

<sup>59</sup> The finds from area E are prepared for publication by J. M. Russell.

<sup>60</sup> L. ABBATE, "Wall-paintings from a Neo-Assyrian building at Til Barsib," *Abr-Nahrain*, 32 (1994), pp. 7-16.

<sup>61</sup> Thanks are expressed to Iris Gerlach who, on a visit to Tell Ahmar, helped with the identification of this motif.

<sup>62</sup> *Til-Barsib*, plate XIV/1; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 252.

<sup>63</sup> L. ABBATE, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 8 and plate II, No. 21, p. 15; A. ROOBAERT & G. BUNNENS, "Excavations at Tell Ahmar - Til Barsib," *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates: The Tishrin Dam Area*, ed. G. del OLMO LETE & J.-L. MONTERO FENOLLOS, Sabadell (Barcelona) 1999, fig. 12, p. 177, cf. A. GREEN & A. HAUSLEITER, "Gottheiten in Til Barsib," *Kulturgeschichten: Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. RICHTER *et al.*, Saarbrücken 2001, No. 10, pp. 157, 159.

it is manifest that the room was decorated with a painting that illustrated a religious theme. Moreover, according to John M. Russell who supervised the last excavation seasons in area E, the niche in the west wall had been blocked with mudbricks that formed a libation device. All this points to a cultic function for building E1.

Such a circumstance makes likely the suggestion that the trident, that was found in room 1, was one of the trident-thunderbolts known from pictorial evidence. The trident was lying on the floor near a rectangular stone, which could have been the pedestal on which the symbol was standing. No hole was visible in the stone, but it is quite possible that a wooden device was used to fix the trident.

The iron trident from Tell Ahmar might thus offer a real example of the type of object that is depicted in the hand of the Storm-God and a material illustration of a type of object known from pictorial evidence. Such an object should be considered in the perspective of the cult of divine weapons known from written evidence.

### C. Bull

The association of the Storm-God with a bull is ancient. It has been observed that the bull progressively replaced the lion-dragon in the iconography of seals carved in the second half of the Ur III dynasty to become the main animal attribute of the god in the Old-Babylonian period.<sup>64</sup>

In the Late Bronze Age the Storm-God was frequently associated with a pair of bulls bearing the Hurrian names Sheri and Hurri, the latter being also named Tilla.<sup>65</sup> Although they were subordinate to the Storm-God, they seem to have been divine figures in their own right.<sup>66</sup>

A problem arises from the fact that the smiting Storm-God is consistently shown standing on the back of one bull.<sup>67</sup> Two bulls are visible only on representations of the Storm-God driving a chariot, on which the animals are pulling the chariot (cat. 44 and 45), and, actually, Sheri and Tilla are known to have pulled the chariot of the Storm-God.<sup>68</sup> Would this mean that the bull on the reliefs conventionally represented the pair? Not necessarily. In the prayer of Muwatalli<sup>69</sup> and the myth of Kingship in Heaven,<sup>70</sup> Sheri was the only one to be mentioned. In the

<sup>64</sup> A. DEMIRCIOĞLU, *Der Gott auf dem Stier: Geschichte eines religiösen Bildtypus*, Berlin 1939, p. 24; VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 30, 32, 47; A. ABU ASSAF, "Die Ikonographie des altbabylonischen Wettergottes," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 14 (1983), p. 50; SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, p. 124. AKURGAL, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, p. 99, noted that the motif of the Storm-God standing on the back of a bull was not of Anatolian but of Syro-Mesopotamian origin.

<sup>65</sup> SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, pp. 478-483.

<sup>66</sup> V. HAAS, "Hurri, Šeri und," *RIA*, 4/6-7 (1975), pp. 506-507; ID., *Religion*, pp. 319-321.

<sup>67</sup> Only the much later relief from Zeytintepe shows a smiting Storm-God standing on two bulls (*Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, No. 22).

<sup>68</sup> Myth of Ullikummi: SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten* p. 479.

<sup>69</sup> I. SINGER, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381)*, Atlanta 1996, I, lines 33-36.

<sup>70</sup> H. A. HOFFNER, *Hittite Myths*, Atlanta 1990, Text 14, §§ 18, 20, p. 42.

same way, whilst some Late Bronze Age cylinder seals may have associated the Storm-God with two bulls, they also showed him on the back of one sole bull.<sup>71</sup> Incidentally, on the Aleppo relief showing a god jumping in a chariot (cat. 43) only one bull is visible.

This emphasis put on one bull may have evolved into a specific divine figure named *Būru*, "Bull-Calf", in the late second millennium B.C. D. Schwemer, who draws attention to this particular deity,<sup>72</sup> refers to the kudurru of Nazi-Maruttaš, which mentions the *būru ekdu ša dAdad*, "wild bull-calf of Adad".<sup>73</sup> Actually a young bull carrying a thunderbolt is visible on some Babylonian kudurrus.<sup>74</sup> D. Schwemer has collected the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian evidence concerning the god *Būru*. It consists, essentially, of theophorous personal names that include the divine name *Būru*. Independent mentions of *Būru* are few but interesting. The god is invoked in two letters addressed to Sargon II from Suhu: "May Adad and *Būru* bless the king my lord."<sup>75</sup> An Assyrian governor of Harran also includes Adad and *Būru* in his blessing formula in a letter to Sargon II.<sup>76</sup> These three letters, that come from an Aramaean context, demonstrate that the god *Būru* was known in the West.

It is therefore extremely likely that the figures of the smiting Storm-God standing on one bull do not directly derive from the Late Bronze Age group Storm-God + Sheri + Hurri, but illustrate the more recent association between the Storm-God and a divine bull-calf.

#### D. Winged disk

The Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt is sometimes associated with a winged disk that offers the particularity of including a crescent below the disk.<sup>77</sup> This combination of a disk and a crescent has been taken as an indication that close ties existed between the Storm and Moon-Gods.<sup>78</sup> In the particular case of

<sup>71</sup> See, for instance, the seals from Emar illustrated by D. BEYER, *Emar*, IV, *Les sceaux*, Fribourg & Göttingen 2001, p. 295.

<sup>72</sup> SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, pp. 439, 484-487.

<sup>73</sup> Col. IV, line 17 (V. SCHEIL, *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, Mémoires de la délégation en Perse II, Paris 1900, p. 90).

<sup>74</sup> Kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I (E. STROMMINGER & M. HIRMER, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien*, Munich 1962, fig. 272). See, more generally, U. SEIDEL, "Die babylonische Kudurru-Reliefs," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 4 (1968), pp. 103-107.

<sup>75</sup> SAA, I, 208 & 209.

<sup>76</sup> SAA, I, 201 obv. 6f.

<sup>77</sup> Besides the Storm-God stela from the Tell Ahmar region, see the stela from Karaçay Köy (cat. 2), Kürtül (cat. 5), Maraş (cat. 7), Körkün (cat. 8).

<sup>78</sup> G. THEUER, *Der Mondgott in den Religionen Syrien-Palästinas, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von KTU 1.24*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 173, Fribourg 2000, pp. 387, 389; T. ORNAN, "The bull and its two masters: Moon and storm deities in relation to the bull in ancient Near Eastern art," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 51 (2001), pp. 16-17; M. NOVÁK, "Zur Verbindung vom Mondgott und Wettergott bei den Aramäern im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 33 (2001), pp. 437-452 (*passim*).

the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, and related monuments, the winged disk would have been a lunar symbol.<sup>79</sup> This hypothesis deserves a few comments.

The winged disk is an old symbol in the ancient Near East, going back to the Old Babylonian period and possibly derived from Egypt.<sup>80</sup> In both areas its original function was primarily that of a solar symbol, but it also had other meanings that are not mutually exclusive. Essentially, it became a symbol of power, both in heaven and on earth, and, surely deriving from this function, it was also a symbol of kingship, as well as of military power and victory.

On the other hand, the association of a disk with a crescent, but without wings, is also very old and usually understood as representing simultaneously two phases of the moon: the crescent and the full moon.<sup>81</sup> It must be noted that S. Mazzoni has suggested that the disk encased in a crescent may represent the Storm-God but only a few of the examples she mentions imply a direct association of a disk in a crescent with the Storm-God.<sup>82</sup>

Could the two symbols – the winged disk and the disk with a crescent – have been associated to represent the moon? Arguments in favour of this hypothesis are weak. A. Green and A. Hausleiter, who strongly argued in favour of this hypothesis, could not adduce any other example than the Tell Ahmar reliefs.<sup>83</sup> M. Novák added the Kürtül (cat. 5) and Körkün (cat. 8) stela to the list,<sup>84</sup> a list that he could have made longer as a look at the catalogue will show (especially cat. 2 and 7). The only common point between these examples is the association of the symbol with a smiting Storm-God holding an axe and a trident-thunderbolt. They show that there was a link between the symbol of the winged disk with a crescent, but they fail to establish any link with the Moon-God. More winged disks including a crescent are found at Carchemish at the top of a stele<sup>85</sup> carved with an inscription that mentions the Storm-God and Kubaba,<sup>86</sup> and on a fragmentary relief that could have been placed above the side entrance to the temple of the Storm-God.<sup>87</sup> Here again, a connection is found with

<sup>79</sup> A. GREEN & A. HAUSLEITER, "Gottheiten in Til Barsib," *Kulturgeschichten: Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. RICHTER et al., Saarbrücken 2001, pp. 154-156, cf. T. ORNAN, *art. cit.* (n. 78), p. 19; M. NOVÁK, *art. cit.* (n. 78), pp. 438-439, 452.

<sup>80</sup> H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, p. 208; O. EISSFELDT, "Die Flügelsonne als künstlerisches Motiv und als religiöses Symbol," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 18 (1942), pp. 145-147 (= *Kleine Schriften*, II, 1963, pp. 416-419); R. MAYER-OPIFICIUS, "Die geflügelte Sonne: Himmels- und Regendarstellungen im alten Vorderasien," *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 16 (1984), pp. 189-236.

<sup>81</sup> G. THEUER, *op. cit.* (n. 78), p. 331, 349. J. BLACK & A. GREEN, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*, London 1992, p. 55; A. GREEN, "Ancient Mesopotamian religious iconography," *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J.M. SASSON, III, New York 1995, p. 1838.

<sup>82</sup> S. MAZZONI, "Une nouvelle stèle d'époque araméenne de Tell Afis (Syrie)," *Transeuphratène*, 16 (1998), pp. 13-14.

<sup>83</sup> A. GREEN & A. HAUSLEITER, *loc. cit.* (n. 79).

<sup>84</sup> M. NOVÁK, *art. cit.* (n. 78), p. 438, n. 4.

<sup>85</sup> *Carchemish*, I, pp. 27-28, plate A4b.

<sup>86</sup> *CHLI*, I, II.1. KARKAMIŠ A4b, pp. 80-82 and plate 1.

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 37.



the Storm-God but none with the Moon-God. More examples of this particular form of winged disk are a relief in the Adana Museum (fig. 37), without context, and two orthostats from Sakçegözü on which the sun-disk with a crescent is held by two genies above a stylized tree on either side of the palace entrance.<sup>88</sup> Again, no special connection with the Moon-God can be seen in these examples.

Now, is there a reason to think that the Moon and Storm-Gods were especially close to one another? Here again, the arguments are weak. T. Ornan showed that both deities could be associated with a bull.<sup>89</sup> This is beyond dispute, but it is also well known that the bull could refer to other deities as well. Suffice it to remember the famous episode of the Bull of Heaven, dispatched to the earth by Anu on Ishtar's demand, in the epic of Gilgamesh.

A relief from Malatya, that M. Novák takes as a confirmation of the close association between Moon and Storm-Gods, is no more explicit.<sup>90</sup> M. Novák argues that the Moon-God, identifiable thanks to the crescent that tops his tiara, has been depicted with the thunderbolt and mace that normally belong to the Storm-God. He omits to say that the Sun-God, also shown on the same relief, holds exactly the same "thunderbolt". Actually it is the three-pronged object that is often associated with other deities than the Storm-God, especially on the Malatya reliefs.<sup>91</sup>

No special relationship can thus be proved between the Moon and Storm-Gods beyond the fact that they were the most popular deities in the early first millennium B.C. and, therefore, occasionally mentioned together. On the other hand, no compelling reason obliges to consider the winged disk with a crescent as exclusively a lunar symbol. What remains is the association between this particular type of winged disk and the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt.

To understand the meaning of the symbol we only need to analyse its components under the light of their accepted values. As was seen above, the winged disk is primarily a solar symbol. The disk represents the sun, the wings can be understood as symbolizing the celestial vault.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, the disk encased in a crescent represents the moon, in which case it does not include wings. The most plausible explanation is that, by combining these two symbols, a motif representing all together the sun, the moon and the celestial vault was obtained. By adding a crescent to the solar motif a much more comprehensive metaphor for the entire celestial world was obtained. Such an interpretation would perfectly fit the orthostats from Sakçegözü

<sup>88</sup> Right-hand relief: AKURGAL, *Orient und Okzident*, fig. 15/a. Left-hand relief: AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, fig. 134; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 84; ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, fig. 361.

<sup>89</sup> T. ORNAN, *art. cit.* (n. 78).

<sup>90</sup> M. NOVÁK, *art. cit.* (n. 78), pp. 441-442, referring to relief E (L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* [n. 1], plate XX [bottom]; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 104; CHLI, I/3, plate 151/12).

<sup>91</sup> See above, p. 59.

<sup>92</sup> H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, pp. 209-210, 275; O. EISSFELDT, "Die Flügelsonne als künstlerisches Motiv und als religiöses Symbol," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 18 (1942), pp. 145-147 (= *Kleine Schriften*, II, 1963, pp. 416-419); D. BONATZ, *Das syro-hethitische Grabdenkmal*, Mainz 2000, pp. 102-103.

mentioned above, on which the winged disk is shown above a stylized tree, and it would be perfectly consistent with the epithet "Celestial" that the epigraphic evidence sometimes appends to the name of the Storm-God.

A confirmation would come from much more recent documents of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus on which an eagle (transposition of the wings) and busts of Sol (transposition of the disk) and Luna (transposition of the crescent) topped a scene involving the Storm-God standing on a bull.<sup>93</sup>

The winged disk with a crescent would thus be best understood as a reworking of the original solar symbol to become a more general celestial symbol that emphasizes the celestial powers of the Storm-God.<sup>94</sup>

### E. Guilloche

The guilloche is only found on Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (cat. 1) and the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

No motif is probably more common, especially in Middle and Late Bronze Age Syrian glyptics, than the guilloche and it may seem futile to look for any kind of symbolism behind it. However, in a few cases, Near Eastern iconography reveals that the guilloche did have a special meaning.

For instance, seal impressions of the Uruk period clearly showed that the guilloche could be understood as intertwined snakes, a motif that prefigured the caduceus of the classical period.<sup>95</sup>

In the third millennium the guilloche was found in both Mesopotamia and Iran. Recent discoveries made in the region of Jiroft, in south-eastern Iran, revealed a very interesting iconography in which the guilloche and other interlace motifs played a significant role.<sup>96</sup> Some of these motifs clearly represented intertwined serpents, but the guilloche could also figure water, the curves of the guilloche probably representing waves. This is the case, for instance, of a chlorite vase on which a double guilloche was set below a row of stylized palm-trees. The juxtaposition of a picture of this vase with a photograph of real palm-trees on the side of a river or lake is eloquent.<sup>97</sup> The guilloche may thus have represented water.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* (n. 39), p. 68.

<sup>94</sup> The predominantly solar symbolism of the motif, however, would still be understood if J. D. Hawkins is correct in considering that a reference to the Sun-God on a stele kept in the Aleppo Museum (cat. 6) and perhaps also on the Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (cat. 1) was actually referring to the winged disk, associated with a crescent, carved on top of both reliefs: CHLI, I, pp. 229 (TELL AHMAR 2, §6), 238 (ALEPPO 2, §8).

<sup>95</sup> M. A. BRANDES, *Siegelabrollungen aus den archaischen Schichten in Uruk-Warka*, Wiesbaden 1979, I, pp. 197-202; II, plates 22-24.

<sup>96</sup> J. PERROT & Y. MADJIDZADEH (eds.), "Jiroft: Fabuleuse découverte en Iran," *Dossiers d'archéologie*, 287 (Oct. 2003), pp. 1-142. The book of Y. MADJIDZADEH, *Jiroft: The Earliest Oriental Civilization*, Tehran 2003, was not available to me.

<sup>97</sup> As is done in *Dossiers d'archéologie*, 288 (October 2003), pp. 12-13.

More illustration of a guilloche figuring water can be found in the Middle Bronze Age. This is the way A. Otto interprets the guilloche on some cylinder seals.<sup>98</sup> On a tablet from Sippar a seal impression showed a Storm-God driving a chariot above a double guilloche that E. Klengel-Brandt interpreted as water.<sup>99</sup>

In the Late Bronze Age a cylinder seal discovered at Tell ed-Dab'a in the Nile Delta deserves special attention.<sup>100</sup> The scene included a smiting Storm-God standing on two mountains, looking towards the left, with a bull above a guilloche behind him to the right. In front of him, to the left, were symbols that are broken off. These broken symbols included the extremity of a wing (belonging to a winged disk?) and a goat. Below the guilloche there was a lion, below the god a serpent, and below the destroyed symbols a boat. The whole scene, according to the very plausible interpretation of E. Porada, would represent Baal Saphon. It may be coincidental but it is worth noticing that the bull, on the Tell ed-Dab'a seal, is striding above a guilloche exactly as it is on the two stelae from the Tell Ahmar area. On the other hand, as a serpent is pictured on the seal, the interpretation of the guilloche as a serpent or serpents is impossible, but it can represent water and, more specifically, the watery abyss, i. e. the cosmic ocean on which rests the universe.

The function of the guilloche as a representation of the cosmic ocean can also be suggested for some seals such as a seal in the British Museum with a Storm-God facing a goddess with a long garment and a polos on one half of the scene, and a winged disk above a stylized tree held by two bull-men on the other half.<sup>101</sup> The part with the Storm-God was carved vertically between the two flat sides of the cylinder and the part with the stylized tree was shown horizontally. The upper and lower edges of the seal were decorated with a guilloche that served as a frame for the two scenes. As these two scenes had a clear cosmic symbolism, it is not impossible that the guilloche refers to the cosmic ocean on which floated the earth. The same interpretation can be proposed for a seal kept in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>102</sup> Two gods are holding trident-like symbols, perhaps plants rather than thunderbolts, on either side of two griffins that were fighting in front of a stylized tree supporting a winged disk. A guilloche was carved above and below the scene. The same situation is observed on the seal of Amanmashu, that portrayed the Storm-God on two mountains facing the Sun-God.<sup>103</sup> Two guilloches, one above and one below, framed the scene. Also worthy of notice is

<sup>98</sup> A. OTTO, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik*, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 8, Berlin & New York 2000, pp. 274-275.

<sup>99</sup> E. KLENDEL-BRANDT, "Eine ungewöhnliche Wettergottsdarstellung," *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 29 (2002), p. 294.

<sup>100</sup> E. PORADA, "The cylinder seal from Tell ed-Dab'a," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 88 (1984), pp. 485-488, cf. M. DIJKSTRA, "The Weather-God on two mountains," *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 23 (1991), pp. 127-140.

<sup>101</sup> D. COLLON, *First Impressions*, London 1987, fig. 220, p. 54.

<sup>102</sup> H. PITTMAN, *Ancient Art in Miniature*, New York 1987, No. 54, p. 67.

<sup>103</sup> C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica*, III, Paris 1956, fig. 67, p. 49 (photo), fig. 68, p. 50 (drawing).

the seal impression made on a tablet from el-Qitar.<sup>104</sup> It showed a smiting Storm-God standing on two mountains. Above and below the scene was a double wavy line, similar to the guilloche and susceptible of a similar explanation. Water is especially relevant to the interpretation of this seal as is shown by the flow of water issuing from the thunderbolt that the god held in his left hand.

Lastly, let us remember that the procession led by the Storm-God on the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish was proceeding on a long guilloche. Let us also remember that the temple of Ain Dara, in an earlier phase of its decoration, stood on a podium that was decorated with a double guilloche.<sup>105</sup> In both cases an interpretation of the guilloche as the cosmic ocean is plausible.

These examples, that do not aim at exhaustivity, show that the guilloche can sometimes be interpreted as a representation of water and, more specifically, of the watery abyss that formed the cosmic ocean surrounding the world.

This makes it extremely likely that on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele as well as on Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar the guilloche that marked the ground line actually symbolized the primordial ocean nourished by the rain that the Storm-God caused to fall and from which fresh water was surging. It would be a pictorial illustration of Hadad's epithet on the Tell Fekheriye statue: "regulator of the waters of heaven and earth".<sup>106</sup>

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele offers the most achieved example of a combination of motifs expressing a complex symbolism of cosmic order, political power and general prosperity. The god is shown in smiting posture to recall his combat against the forces of chaos represented by the sea or a (sea-)monster. He is thus seen as the guardian of order. He is holding the mighty weapons that bestow power on terrestrial rulers and thus appears as the divine protector of the ruler that has honoured him with the stele. He is standing on the divine bull-calf, a symbol of might and fertility, and thus ensures prosperity on earth. The winged disk, above the scene, proclaims his status as a celestial power and the guilloche, below, confirms his domination over the cosmos by symbolizing the cosmic ocean from where fertilizing water was surging.

Is it possible to be still more specific about the nature of the god that has been portrayed on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele?

<sup>104</sup> D. SNELL, "The cuneiform tablet from el-Qitar," *Abr-Nahrain*, 22 (1983-84), pp. 159-170; J. ZIMMER (ed.), *The Archaeological Context: The Melbourne-Euphrates Expedition to Syria, 1982-83 : 1983-84 (An Exhibition Presented as a Tribute to the Memory of Mr William Culican)*, Melbourne 1984, pp. 100, 102; A. ARCHI, "A seal impression from el-Qitar/Til-Abnu (Syria)," *Anatolian Studies*, 43 (1993), pp. 203-206.

<sup>105</sup> See above, pp. 45-46.

<sup>106</sup> A. ABOU-ASSAF, P. BORDREUIL & A. R. MILLARD, *La statue de Tell Fekheriye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne*, Paris 1982, p. 13, 15, 17 (line 1 of the Assyrian text), 23, 24 (line 2 of the Aramaic text); *Context of Scripture*, 2, No. 2.34, p. 153.

## III.

## THE GOD ON THE AHMAR/QUBBAH STELE

There was a temple of the Storm-God at Tell Ahmar. This is established by the eighth century trilingual inscription carved on a lion at Arslan Tash, which, in its Assyrian and Aramaic versions, specifically referred to "Hadad (Assyrian <sup>d</sup>IM / Aramaic HDD) who resides in Kar-Shalmaneser (the Assyrian name of Tell Ahmar)".<sup>107</sup> Given the popularity of the Storm-God in the region, there is little doubt that the temple already existed before the Assyrian conquest in 856 B.C. The god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele could thus be the Storm-God worshipped at Til Barsib/Masuvari. How should we conceive this Storm-God?

## A. Epigraphic evidence

The inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele calls the god portrayed on the front of the stele "Tarhunza of the Army", a form or epithet of the god known in the second millennium and attested here for the first time in the first millennium.<sup>108</sup> It must be noted, however, that Tarhunza of the Army is not the only Storm-God mentioned in the inscription. The list of at least seventeen gods that is placed at the beginning of the inscription (§ 2) mentions Celestial Tarhunza as the first of the deities that favoured Hamiyata, the author of the inscription. And the list apparently also includes Tisupa/Tešsub. Are these gods distinct divine figures?

It is uncertain to what extent such a list reflects the actual "pantheon" that Hamiyata was worshipping. The comparison made above (pp. 18-19) by J. D. Hawkins between the various god lists on the Tell Ahmar Luwian inscriptions might give the impression that they were stereotyped and did not give a perfect reflection of the reality. Some gods, such as Tešsub and Sauska on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, are known to have been worshipped in earlier periods but others were very popular in the first millennium. Such were Celestial Tarhunza as well as the Moon-God, that some of the Tell Ahmar incipations specifically designated as the Moon-God of Harran.<sup>109</sup> Given this mixture of archaic and contemporary features, the list should probably be taken as a revision of a list transmitted by scribal tradition, which included deities, such as Tešsub, that were no longer actively worshipped in the area, but also gods, such as Celestial Tarhunza, that were gaining in popularity in the first millennium. The problem is thus to decide what relationship existed between Celestial Tarhunza – a popular deity in the early Iron Age, that is placed in a prominent position at the beginning of the list – and Tarhunza of the Army, apparently another archaic designation, to whom the stele is dedicated.

<sup>107</sup> The inscription is unpublished, see below p. 93.

<sup>108</sup> See above, p. 21.

<sup>109</sup> TELL AHMAR 1 (CHLI, I, III.6, pp. 239-243, plates 99-100); TELL AHMAR 2 (CHLI, I, III.1, pp. 227-231, plates 91-92); ALEPPO 2 (CHLI, I, III.5., pp. 235-238, plates 97-98).

As was seen above (p. 64), "Celestial Tarhunza" is the name most often given to the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt in the Maraš-Tell Ahmar region. This would strongly suggest that, on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, the god portrayed was also "Celestial Tarhunza". It is not just the particular form of Smiting Storm-God, but all the iconography of the stele, especially the winged disk with a crescent, that would recommend such a hypothesis. It must be noted again that similar winged disks with crescent are often associated with the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt.<sup>110</sup> If the inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele revived the old epithet "Tarhunza of the Army", it may have been to emphasize the god's military power. This was quite appropriate in an inscription that celebrated a military victory. The phrases "Celestial Tarhunza", at the beginning of the divine list, and "Tarhunza of the Army" used to designate the god portrayed on the stele would thus not refer to two distinct deities but to two aspects of the same god.

We saw above (p. 64) that the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt could also be called "Halabean Tarhunza", i.e. "Storm-God of Aleppo". This occurred in two instances and a third occurrence of "Halabean Tarhunza" was found at Tell Ahmar itself.<sup>111</sup> Unfortunately the side of the stele on which the relief portraying the god must have been carved was chipped away when the stone was prepared to be reused in a doorsill of a Neo-Assyrian house,<sup>112</sup> but, given the recurrence of the motif of the Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt in the Tell Ahmar region, it may be assumed that, here too, a similar motif was carved.

Would this diversity of appellation imply that the iconographic motif was polyvalent? Although this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, it is far from being sure. The various names of the Storm-God are not irreconcilable.

"Halabean Tarhunza" could be the name of a god envisaged from the point of view of his main place of worship. The same god could be called "Celestial Tarhunza" when his intrinsic nature was considered.

The epigraphic evidence thus allows to suggest that the god depicted on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele is Celestial Tarhunza in his capacity as a war-god. It can be furthermore hypothesized that the specific aspect of Celestial Tarhunza that is portrayed on the stele is that of the Storm-God of Aleppo. Does the evidence concerning both the Storm-God of Aleppo and Celestial Tarhunza corroborate such an identification?

<sup>110</sup> Cf. above, p. 71.

<sup>111</sup> TELL AHMAR 5 (CHLI, I, III.3, pp. 231-234, plates 95-96).

<sup>112</sup> G. BUNNENS, "New texts from Til Barsib: The archaeological context," *Abr-Naharain*, 34 (1996-1997), p. 62.

## B. The Storm-God of Aleppo

The Storm-God of Aleppo was already popular in the third millennium B.C.<sup>113</sup> In the second millennium he was worshipped very far from his homeland.<sup>114</sup> As J.-M. Durand has shown, the god of Aleppo had an influence that extended well beyond the Aleppo region at the time of the Mari archives.<sup>115</sup> In the second half of the second millennium, the god was so popular in Hatti that the Hittites dedicated a temple to him in Hattusha.<sup>116</sup>

In the first millennium, the evidence is scarcer, which does not mean that the god was less popular: textual evidence in general is scarcer in the first millennium. The god is mentioned in Luwian inscriptions.<sup>117</sup> Shalmaneser III made a sacrifice to him.<sup>118</sup> The Storm-God of Aleppo figures among the gods that are witnesses to the treaty concluded between Assur-nirari V and Mati-ilu of Arpad<sup>119</sup> and, perhaps also, in the Sfire treaty.<sup>120</sup> He is also mentioned in a list of gods discovered in Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh.<sup>121</sup> Still in Roman times emperor Julian made a sacrifice to the main god of Aleppo.<sup>122</sup>

What is the iconography of the Storm-God of Aleppo?

D. Collon has suggested that several Middle Bronze Age cylinder seals, that share common stylistic features, were carved in an "Aleppo workshop".<sup>123</sup> Some of the scenes carved on these seals include a smiting Storm-God (D. Collon's Nos. 5, 7, 16, 21). Their iconography is remarkably homogeneous. All the figures are facing right, wear a kilt, have a long pigtail, a horned pointed helmet and raise a mace behind their

<sup>113</sup> F. POMPONIO & P. XELLA, *Les dieux d'Ebla*, AOAT 245, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997, pp. 42-48, 52-54; P. FRONZAROLI, *art. cit.* (n. 42), pp. 286-288.

<sup>114</sup> H. KLENGEL, "Der Wettergott von Halab," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 19 (1965), pp. 87-93; M. POPKO, "Zum Wettergott von Halab," *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 25 (1998), pp. 119-125; SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, pp. 108-111, 489-502, 620-621; A. R. W. GREEN, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake 2003, pp. 170-172.

<sup>115</sup> J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* [n. 43].

<sup>116</sup> V. SOUCEK & J. SEGELOVA, "Der Kult des Wettergottes von Halab in Hatti," *Archiv Orientalni*, 42 (1974), pp. 39-52; HAAS, *Religion*, pp. 553-554; SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, pp. 494-502.

<sup>117</sup> CHLI, I, II.25, KARKAMIŠ A24a, §§ 6, 11, p. 135; II.40, KÖRKÜN, § 5, p. 171; II.67, KARKAMIŠ A19, d\* fr. 1-2 (p restored), p. 203; III.3, TELL AHMAR 5, § 3, p. 232; VIII.1, BABYLON 1, §§ 2, 9, 15, p. 392; VIII.3, BABYLON 3, p. 397.

<sup>118</sup> RIMA, 3, A.O.102.2, line 87, p. 23.

<sup>119</sup> S. PARPOLA & K. WATANABE, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, SAA II, No. 2, col. VI, line 18.

<sup>120</sup> I A 10: the name is almost entirely restored (IHDD HJLB).

<sup>121</sup> CT 25, plate 16, K. 2100, line 2: <sup>d</sup>du6 Ḫa-la-ab, "the one from Aleppo"; line 15: <sup>d</sup>il-la-ḫa-ab (read <sup>d</sup>il-ḫa-la-ab?), "God-of-Aleppo"; line 22: <sup>d</sup>il-ḫa-al-la-bu, "God-of-Aleppo" (see SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, pp. 78-80).

<sup>122</sup> JULIAN, *Epistulae*, 58 (399 D).

<sup>123</sup> D. COLLON, "The Aleppo workshop: A seal-cutter's workshop in Syria in the second half of the 18th century B.C.," *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 13 (1982), pp. 33-43.

head, but the objects they are carrying in their left hand, difficult to identify,<sup>124</sup> are not thunderbolts. There are thus similarities with the Iron Age "Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Thunderbolt", but, iconographically, the motif is different. For the Late Bronze Age no evidence comes directly from Aleppo.

The situation is slightly better in the early Iron Age. The reliefs exposed during the excavations of a temple – assumedly the temple of the Storm-God – on the Citadel of Aleppo offer crucial evidence.<sup>125</sup> Two of the reliefs may represent the local Storm-God.

The first relief shows a divine figure jumping in a chariot (cat. 43). The slab on which it is carved is larger than the others and has been placed in prominent position in the middle of the north wall, opposite the entrance, surely to attract the attention of the visitors. The god is identified by two Luwian hieroglyphic signs placed in front of his face. The first sign is the usual determinative of divine names (transliterated as DEUS), but the second sign is not the expected W-like hieroglyph but a sign that is encountered here for the first time. Its shape is clear however: it is a mace.<sup>126</sup> So, pending a phonetic reading of the name, it can be suggested that it represents either "the divine Mace" or "the Mace-God".

The hypothesis of the existence of such a deity, or divine epithet, may find support in a Phoenician inscription from Zincirli.<sup>127</sup> The inscription offers a list of divine names among which is B'L ŠMD. Various interpretations have been proposed of this name. One is "Lord of the Mace".<sup>128</sup> Such an interpretation is strongly supported by the Ugaritic text, referred to above, that tells how Kutharu-wa-Hasisu made weapons for Baal. The word that designated the god's weapons in this text was *šmd*, usually translated as "mace" or "(double) axe".<sup>129</sup> The "Mace-God" and the "Lord of the Mace", if these translations were accepted, might be one and the same aspect of the Storm-God with special reference to the weapon he used in his battle against the Sea.

However, the fact that the god on the Aleppo relief is not formally identified as the Storm-God tends to suggest that the intention was not to portray THE Aleppo

<sup>124</sup> D. COLLON, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, p. 26, identifies similar objects on a seal impression from Alalakh as a flail and a small axe.

<sup>125</sup> Preliminary reports in K. KOHLMAYER, *Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo*, Münster 2000; ID., "Halab: Neues zu Aleppo im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend vor Christus," *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie*, 16 (1999/2000), pp. 111-130; J. GONELLA, W. KHAYYATA & K. KOHLMAYER, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes*, Münster 2005.

<sup>126</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 28), pp. 174-175.

<sup>127</sup> Inscription of Kilamuwa, line 15 (KAI, No. 24; ANET, p. 655; *Context of Scripture*, 2, No. 2.30; J. TROPPER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), K1, pp. 27-46).

<sup>128</sup> P. XELLA, "Baal Šmd," *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, ed. E. LIPINSKI et al., Turnhout 1992, p. 62; J. TROPPER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 21; E. LIPINSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Louvain 1995, p. 83 (with doubts); but, in another study, the latter author suggested that the phrase meant "Baal the Valiant" (ID, *The Aramaeans*, p. 239). More recently H. NIEHR, *art. cit.* 2004 (n. 6), pp. 303-304, accepted the idea that the name B'L ŠMD included the word designating the god's weapon.

<sup>129</sup> See above, p. 65.

Storm-God, but only one aspect of him or even only his deified weapon. This would be consistent with the position of the relief in a procession of deities that, we may assume, were honouring the owner of the temple. It is central but, at the same time, in a subordinate position with regard to the cult image of the god. The figure of the god in the chariot is thus more likely to have represented an episode of the deeds of the Storm-God than the majestic figure of the powerful god worshipped in the temple.

The link between the god in his chariot and the Storm-God of Aleppo has been recently confirmed by J. D. Hawkins' reading of the Luwian inscriptions carved on a seal of Mursili III and on the rock relief of Imamkulu.<sup>130</sup> Both the seal and relief show a god in a chariot, as on the Aleppo relief, and, in both cases, the inscription designates this god as the Storm-God of Aleppo. The Storm-God of Aleppo could thus be portrayed as riding a chariot. This would make more plausible that "Mace-God" on the Aleppo relief represents an aspect of the Storm-God of Aleppo, rather than his deified weapon, but this would not prevent from other depictions of the god being expected in the same temple. Relief K from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya gives a good illustration of the same god being simultaneously portrayed in two different ways (cat. 45). The Storm-God, on this relief, is shown once in a chariot and once in smiting posture. The identity of the two divine figures is established by the epigraph that, placed between them, gives only one divine name.

Actually, the second relief from the Aleppo Citadel, that needs to be mentioned here, shows the Storm-God in smiting posture and in a form that has been recognized above (p. 40) as iconographically very similar to that of the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele (cat. 49). The god is formally identified as "Halabean Tarhunza" by the Luwian epigraph carved above his left hand.<sup>131</sup> The relief was placed in a recessed niche in the middle of the east wall of the cella. It is precisely towards this wall that the procession with the "Mace-God" was heading, which confirms the subordinate position of the god in a chariot with respect to the smiting god. The only difference between this relief and the god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele is the absence of objects in the god's hands. The axe and thunderbolt have not been carved by the artist but can be mentally restored. Consequently, we can say that the iconography of the Storm-God of Aleppo definitely included depictions of him in smiting posture with iconographic details that, but for the absence of weapons in his hands, were very close to those of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.<sup>132</sup>

As has been noticed above, most of the known examples of the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt come from an area extending from Maraş to Tell Ahmar, i.e. from an area to the north and north-east of Aleppo. The recent discovery of a smiting Storm-God in Aleppo opens the possibility that the distribution

<sup>130</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 28), pp. 169-175.

<sup>131</sup> J. D. Hawkins in a paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Berlin 2005).

<sup>132</sup> For a possible representation of minor Storm-Gods on the Aleppo reliefs see above, p. 60.

area of the motif extended further south, even though the Smiting Storm-God discovered in Aleppo does not entirely conform to the model suggested by the other reliefs. If the evidence essentially comes from the north and north-east, this is probably due to the lack of balance in the distribution of relevant works of art which are much scarcer in the Aleppo region.

The god on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele conforms thus to an iconographic prototype that could be used, as epigraphy proves it, to portray the Storm-God of Aleppo. Recent discoveries on the Aleppo Citadel do not oppose such an identification. To some extent, they even confirm it.

What is the relationship between the Storm-God of Aleppo and Celestial Tarhunza?

### C. Celestial Tarhunza, Baal Shamem and the Storm-God of Aleppo

"Celestial Tarhunza" is another of the Storm-God's names that go back to the second millennium.<sup>133</sup> This particular aspect of the Storm-God may have known further developments in the first millennium. In the bilingual inscription of Karatepe, "Celestial Tarhunza" of the Luwian version is rendered by "Baal Shamem", i.e. "Lord of Heaven", in the Phoenician version.<sup>134</sup>

Baal-Shamem did not develop as an individual deity until the early first millennium B.C., especially in northern Syria and Phoenicia, but it is clear that he perpetuates a tradition that began in the second millennium.<sup>135</sup> Baal Shamem, as E. Lipinski has argued, is "the West-Semitic Weather-god that manifests himself in the skies by his thunder and his lightnings".<sup>136</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the author of the Karatepe inscription assimilated him to Luwian Celestial Tarhunza.

Given this identification we may wonder whether "Celestial Tarhunza" on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele should not be understood as actually referring to Baal Shamem. Baal Shamem was a Semitic god and, at first sight, he may seem out of place in a Luwian environment, but it must be remembered that the beginning of the Iron Age was a time of ethnic movements and intense cultural interaction. Til Barsib/Masuware, which was progressively passing under Aramaean control, bears witness to these transformations as a region where Luwian language and Syro-Hittite artform were

<sup>133</sup> HAAS, *Religion*, p. 325.

<sup>134</sup> KAI, 26 A III 18; W. RÖLLIG in CHLI, II, pp. 54-55. According to H. NIEHR, *Ba'alšamem: Studien zur Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes*, Louvain 2003, pp. 56-59, the divine name, in the Phoenician inscription, should be understood as "Ba'al of Heaven" and not as "Ba'alšamem".

<sup>135</sup> E. LIPINSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, II, Louvain 1994, p. 194; ID., *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Louvain 1995, p. 84; W. RÖLLIG, "Baal-Shamem," *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leiden 1999, pp. 149-151; H. NIEHR, *op. cit.* (n. 134), pp. 28-33. The fact that Baal Shamem existed as an individual god in the second millennium is denied by SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, p. 507, n. 4126.

<sup>136</sup> E. LIPINSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, II, Louvain 1994, p. 196.

used among a population that, we may presume, was predominantly Semitic.<sup>137</sup> Baal Shamem may have been known and worshipped at Tell Ahmar.

On the other hand, the god of Aleppo, even though he was worshipped in Anatolia, was primarily a Semitic deity. As Baal Shamem was emerging as a new and major aspect of the Storm-God in the early first millennium B.C., it is perfectly possible that the Storm-God of Aleppo was considered as one of his manifestations. Therefore, we should not be overstretching the evidence if we suggested that the god portrayed on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele was the Storm-God of Aleppo in the guise of Baal Shamem.

The symbolism of the winged disk and the guilloche emphasized his cosmic aspect and outlined the difference with, for instance, the Storm-God in a Long Robe, which, as we saw above, seems to have specialized in the portraying of Celestial Tarhunza as a dynastic god.

#### D. The prophet of the Storm-God

One last feature that relates the Ahmar/Qubbah stele to its North Syrian environment, and more specifically to Aleppo, is the mention of a "god-inspired" person speaking on behalf of the god in § 22 of the inscription.<sup>138</sup> Such a member of the god's personnel was already known from the inscription TELL AHMAR 5, already referred to above.<sup>139</sup> This "god-inspired" speaker cannot be understood but as a prophet of the god. Moreover, the TELL AHMAR 5 inscription leaves no doubt on the fact that the prophet mentioned in the inscription was a prophet of the Storm-God of Aleppo.

Mari texts already referred to prophets of Adad of Aleppo.<sup>140</sup> These prophets could interfere with political as well as cultic matters, as the prophet does at Tell Ahmar/Masuware.

Prophetic activity is specifically associated with Baal Shamem, spelled Baal Shamayn and without reference to a cult place, in the Zakkur inscription.<sup>141</sup> This prophet too could advise the king.

Incidentally, it must be noted that prophetic activity in the Euphrates region could be attested by the Bible. The prophet Balaam is said, in Num. 22, 5, and Deut.

<sup>137</sup> On the controversy concerning the ethnic affiliation of the Tell Ahmar population in the early Iron Age, see chapter 5, *passim*.

<sup>138</sup> See J. D. Hawkins' comments above, p. 27.

<sup>139</sup> CHLI, I, III.3, AHMAR 5, § 11, p. 232.

<sup>140</sup> J.-M. DURAND, "Les textes prophétiques," in *Archives royales de Mari XXVI = Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1*, Paris 1988, pp. 377-452, for prophecy in general; on Aleppo more specifically: B. LAFFONT, "Le roi de Mari et les prophètes du dieu Adad," *Revue d'assyriologie*, 78 (1984), pp. 7-18; J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 43).

<sup>141</sup> KAI, No. 202; GIBSON, *Textbook*, 2, No. 5. *Context of Scripture*, 2, No. 2.35.

23, 5, to have originated from Pethor. Pethor is usually identified with Pitru,<sup>142</sup> near Tell Ahmar but on the right side of the river.<sup>143</sup>

The prophet of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele finds thus its place in a long tradition that already associated prophets with the Storm-God of Aleppo in the second millennium and still linked prophecy with the god of Aleppo as well as with Baal Shamem in the first millennium B.C.<sup>144</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The motif of the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt is one among several accepted ways of portraying the Storm-God. Its association with a winged disk that includes a crescent and with a guilloche outlines his function as a cosmic deity. The presence of a young bull, probably recognized as an independent deity – the "Divine Bull-Calf" – emphasizes the god's strength and his role as dispenser of fertility.

Textual evidence allows the identification of the divine figure as that of the Storm-God of Aleppo in the guise of the emerging Semitic Storm-God Baal-Shamem. The language and artistic style of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele do not oppose such an interpretation in a time of intense cultural interaction and ethnic movements. A relief recently discovered in the temple of the Aleppo Citadel would tend to confirm this identification. The nature of the god of Aleppo and the mention of a prophet of the god turn the attention towards a Semitic, rather than Anatolian, background. If the god is specifically referred to by the archaizing phrase "Tarhunza of the Army" on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, it is probably due to the circumstance of its dedication. The stele celebrated a military victory.

As the iconographic motif of this particular Storm-God is best attested in the Tell Ahmar region and as it is known that a temple of the Storm-God existed at Tell Ahmar, it is possible to interpret the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, and related monuments, as portraits of the Storm-God of Aleppo as he was worshipped at Til Barsib/Masuware.

Considered as a whole, the Ahmar/Qubbah stele offers a combination of symbols that present the Storm-God as a cosmic power, a dispenser of fertility and a guarantor of political order and military victory.

<sup>142</sup> R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 463.

<sup>143</sup> K. KESSLER, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quelle des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Beihefte, Reihe B 26, Wiesbaden 1980, p. 193. Note that, according to E. LIPINSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, II, Louvain 1994, pp. 111-112, Pethor should be translated as "seer" in Num. 22, 25. A site inhabited in the Iron Age is currently being excavated by a Danish expedition under the direction of Jesper Eidem at the confluence of the Sajur and Euphrates rivers near the village of Aushariye.

<sup>144</sup> J. F. ROSS, "Prophecy in Hamath, Israel and Mari," *Harvard Theological Review*, 63 (1970), pp. 1-28; J. GREENFIELD, *art. cit.* 1987 (n. 6), pp. 72-74.



## CHAPTER 5

### *Historical Context*

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele is not only a religious monument, it is also a work of political propaganda. This point is made obvious by the inscription carved on the stele.

The author of the inscription is Hamiyata, king of Masuwari, who is known through his own inscriptions, which number five (including the Ahmar/Qubbah stele),<sup>1</sup> as well as through an inscription of his “brother” Arpa<sup>2</sup> and one of a person whose personal name is lost, who, being the son of one Ariyahina, is usually referred to as Ariyahina’s son.<sup>3</sup> Of these stelae, five (three of Hamiyata himself,<sup>4</sup> one of his “brother” Arpa and one of Ariyahina’s son) were decorated with a relief portraying the Storm-God. Such an insistence put on the Storm-God deserves an explanation. The historical circumstances in which the works were produced may help to find a solution.<sup>5</sup>

#### I.

#### HAMIYATA

The most informative of all these inscriptions, as far as historical events are concerned, is that of Ariyahina’s son. The author presents himself as the legitimate heir to the throne, presumably of Masuwari, whose father was ousted by Hamiyata’s father. Hamiyata, however, was always well-disposed towards the son of the dethroned king and promised to restore him to power but, when Hamiyata died, Hamiyata’s son refused to fulfil his father’s promise. A war ensued that Ariyahina’s son won. He had the stele carved to commemorate his victory.

Hamiyata was thus the son of an usurper and an usurper himself. Such a situation is not surprising, not only because dynastic conflicts have always been endemic in Syria-Palestine, but also because the early first millennium B.C. was a time of political turmoil. One especially thinks of the Aramaean take-over of power in northern Syria. In the particular case of Tell Ahmar, the problem is made more

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Ahmar/Qubbah stele Hamiyata’s personal inscriptions are TELL AHMAR 2 (*CHLI*, I, III.1, pp. 227-230, plates 91-92); BOROWSKI 3 (*CHLI*, I, III.2, pp. 230-231); TELL AHMAR 5 (*CHLI*, I, III.3, pp. 231-234, plates 95-96); TELL AHMAR 4 (*CHLI*, I, III.4, pp. 234-235, plate 94).

<sup>2</sup> ALEPPO 2 (*CHLI*, I, III.5, pp. 235-238, plates 97-98).

<sup>3</sup> TELL AHMAR 1 (*CHLI*, I, III.6, pp. 239-243, plates 99-100).

<sup>4</sup> The relief on the obverse of TELL AHMAR 5 is lost but the inscription refers to it as to a relief depicting the Storm-God.

<sup>5</sup> See the historical summary given by J. D. HAWKINS in *CHLI*, I/1, pp. 224-226.



acute by the contradictory evidence from the site, that shows Neo-Hittite remains while Assyrian inscriptions give the impression of an Aramaean control over the settlement.<sup>6</sup> Could the conflict between Ariyahina's son and Hamiyata's dynasty be viewed in the light of a conflict between Hittites and Aramaeans?

Such is the way E. Lipinski understands these events.<sup>7</sup> According to this scholar Hamiyata is an Aramaean whose father dispossessed Ariyahina's father from his throne. His son, who was defeated by Ariyahina's son, should be identified with Ahuni, the Aramaean tribal leader of Bit Adini who used Til Barsib as a stronghold to oppose the Assyrian invasion. According to E. Lipinski, when Ahuni/Hamiyata's son was defeated by Shalmaneser III, Arihayinas' son came back to power for a brief period of time, until Shalmaneser III definitively conquered Til Barsib.

This reconstruction offers interesting suggestions, but is not entirely convincing. One difficulty lies in the apparent discrepancy between what we know about Ahuni, who seems to have been active for many years,<sup>8</sup> and the events as they are told by Ariyahina's son, who seems to have recovered his throne from Hamiyata's son soon after Hamiyata's death.

On the other hand, a positive contribution is the observation that the historical figures mentioned in the Luwian inscriptions from Tell Ahmar are not necessarily all Hittites. The present author has argued elsewhere that some of the personal names that occur in these inscriptions may be understood as Semitic names.<sup>9</sup> Hamiyata, for instance, could stand for 'Ammi-yada', "My-(Divine)-Kinsman-Knows-(Me)", or, as S. Dalley suggests,<sup>10</sup> 'Ammi-Ad(d)a', "Ad(d)a/Hadad-is-my-(Divine)-Kinsman". E. Lipinski prefers to think that it represents the Aramaic name 'Ammiya with the suffix -tta-s.<sup>11</sup> The name of Hamiyata's "brother", Arpa, according to Lipinski,<sup>12</sup> could be an Aramaic name such as *Ar-ba-a-a* known from a

<sup>6</sup> On this problem see, among others, the discussions by D. USSISHKIN, "Was Bit-Adini a Neo-Hittite or Aramaean State?," *Orientalia*, N.S., 40 (1971), pp. 431-437; Y. IKEDA, "Hittites and Aramaeans in the land of Bit-Adini," *Monarchies and Socio-Religious Traditions in the Near East*, ed. H. I. H. T. MIKASA, Wiesbaden 1984, pp. 27-36; H. SADER, *Les Etats araméens de Syrie*, Beirut 1987, pp. 84-88; G. BUNNENS, "Hittites and Aramaeans at Til Barsib: A reappraisal," *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East*, ed. K. van LEHRBERGHE & A. SCHOORS, Louvain 1995, pp. 19-27; ID., "Aramaean, Hittites and Assyrians in the Upper Euphrates valley," *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates: The Tishrin Dam Area*, ed. G. del OLMO LETE & J.-L. MONTERO FENOLLOS, Sabadell (Barcelona) 1999, pp. 605-624; DION, *Les Araméens*, pp. 89-90; LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, pp. 183-187.

<sup>7</sup> LIPINSKI, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Ahuni is mentioned for the first time under Ashurnasirpal II, in 878, and for the last time when he is defeated by Shalmaneser III in 855 B.C. (K. RADNER, "Aḫūnu 1," *Propaganda of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, I/1, ed. K. RADNER, Helsinki 1998, pp. 84-85).

<sup>9</sup> G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), p. 613, cf. B. SASS, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, Tel Aviv 2005, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. S. DALLEY, "Shamshi-ilu, language and power in the western Assyrian empire," *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, p. 80.

<sup>11</sup> LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, p. 185.

<sup>12</sup> LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, p. 187.

letter sent from Til Barsib at the time of Sargon II. The situation is more complex for the dynasty of Ariyahina's son. For instance, the name of Hapatila, grand-father of Ariyahina, is often understood as a Hurrian name,<sup>13</sup> although it could as well be a Luwian spelling for Semitic 'Abd-Ila, "servant of El/god", and Ariyahina may include the Semitic words *ari*, "lion", or *uri*, "light", and a Semitic verbal form *-yahin*, from the root HNN meaning "to be benevolent, favourable", "to bless".

A confirmation of Hamiyata's Aramaean origins could be seen in the mention of his brothers, as E. Lipinski suggests it.<sup>14</sup> Arihayinas' son says that Hamiyata made him "great(er) than his (own) brothers" and Arpa, in the inscription ALEPPO 2, says that he is a brother of one Hamiyata, who, in all probability, is the same as the Hamiyata mentioned in the Tell Ahmar inscriptions. The example of Arpa shows that these "brothers" could have some power that they exercised under Hamiyata's control. In other words they would be associated tribal leaders and Ariyahina's son, although not being a member of the tribe, would be grateful to Hamiyata for having granted him the same power, or at least status, as to the other leading members of the tribe.

The Tell Ahmar evidence reveals thus much more complex a situation than just a conflict between Hittites and Aramaeans for the control of the city. The local dynasty, the line of Ariyahina's son, may belong to any of the ethno-linguistic elements that were present in northern Syria at the time, including one of the Aramaean tribes that were expanding in the region. The case of Hamiyata is slightly different. It is more likely that he was an Aramaean, as the discussion above has tried to establish. Hamiyata and his father may thus have been among these Aramaeans that were seizing power in northern Syria in the early first millennium B.C. The conflict, however, may have been dynastic, not ethnic, in nature.

The problem of the relationship existing between the two conflicting dynasties of Masuwari and Ahuni, the tribal leader of Bit Adini, remains unsolved. It can tentatively be suggested that Hamiyata, if he was an Aramaean, was a member of the tribe of Adini, exerting power under the general control of the leader of the tribe. His father had seized power at Masuwari, but did not totally eliminate the ruling dynasty, which might also have been of Aramaean origin, although it was not necessarily so.

<sup>13</sup> B. LANDSBERGER, *Sam'al: Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstätte Karatepe*, Ankara 1948, p. 34, n. 70, cf. S. DALLEY, *loc. cit.* (n. 10).

<sup>14</sup> LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, p. 187, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 493-494 and DION, *Les Araméens*, for a discussion of the role of the king's brothers in Aramaean society.

## II.

## MASUWARI

Two names are known for Tell Ahmar prior to the Assyrian conquest, one seemingly Luwian (Masuwari),<sup>15</sup> the other very likely Aramaean (Til Barsib, also known as Tarbusiba). As has already been suggested,<sup>16</sup> a comparison between the various Assyrian spellings of the name Til Barsib may be explained as a rendering of an original *Til Bar-šayib*, "The-Mound-of-the-Son-of-the-Grey/Old-Man", or *Til Bur-šayib*, "The-Mound-of-the-Well/Cistern-of-the-Grey/Old-Man".

The case of Masuwari is more difficult. It can be, as J. D. Hawkins proposed,<sup>17</sup> the same name as Mazuwati, a city belonging to the king of Carchemish mentioned in the treaty imposed by Suppiluliuma I to Shattiwaza of Mitanni.<sup>18</sup> The shift from "t" to "r" in the name Mazuwati/Masuwari would not be without parallels according to J. D. Hawkins. However, another explanation is possible.

## A. Masuwari and Mušri

M. Makinson has proposed to see in "Masuwari" the Luwian spelling of a name known as *Mušri* in Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts.<sup>19</sup> M. Makinson adopts the etymology that is usually accepted for this toponym by the Semitic root MŠR,<sup>20</sup> "to mark", "to draw a line", from which derives the Akkadian noun *mišru* meaning "border", "limit", "boundary" hence "border land", "march". According to M. Makinson, *Mušri* would have been originally applied to the western limits of the geo-political horizon of the Assyrians. As, in the late second millennium B.C., these limits were on the Euphrates in the area of Tell Ahmar, the name would have remained attached to this region. Such a hypothesis opens interesting perspectives. Let us review the main arguments.

From the philological point of view, the equivalence between the two names is possible, especially if the Luwian form derives from a variant spelling *Mušur* of the toponym *Mušri*. As M. Makinson has shown, the interchange between *-u-* and *-uwa-*

<sup>15</sup> The use of Masuwari as a name for Til Barsib was established by J. D. HAWKINS, "The Hittite name of Til Barsip: evidence from a new hieroglyphic fragment from Tell Ahmar," *Anatolian Studies*, 33 (1983), pp. 131-136.

<sup>16</sup> G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), pp. 610-611.

<sup>17</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 135-136.

<sup>18</sup> KBo, I, 1, Rev. 17': E. WEIDNER, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1923, pp. 22-25. G. M. BECKMAN, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta 1996, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> M. MAKINSON, "Mušru, Mašuwari and MŠR: From Middle Assyrian frontier to Iron Age city," forthcoming. I thank M. Makinson for showing a preliminary version of his article to me.

<sup>20</sup> L. OPPENHEIM in *ANET*, p. 279, n. 9; M. WÄFLER, *Nicht-Assyrische neuassyrische Darstellungen*, AOAT 26, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, p. 171, n. 888. On another possible meaning see below, p. 93, n. 51.

is evidenced, for instance, by the royal name *Mutalli*, found in first millennium Assyrian texts,<sup>21</sup> that is obviously equivalent to second millennium *Muwatalli*.

Several countries or regions were named *Mušri*. The most famous was Egypt, the name of which is not necessarily related to that of the other places called by the same name. Of the other places bearing this name, one was to the east of Assyria and another somewhere in Syria or southern Anatolia.<sup>22</sup> If the equivalence *Mušri*/*Mušur*-Masuwari is correct, the name must refer to the Syrian or Anatolian region.

One of the best pieces of information that allows to establish a link between *Mušri* and Masuwari, omitted by M. Makinson in the version of his article available to the present writer, is a Middle-Assyrian text concerning the preparation of bronze axes for a military expedition. The text can be translated as follows: "They (= the axes) were delivered for the land of *Mušri* when the king, in order to conquer the land of *Mušri*, went to the city Araziq."<sup>23</sup> An expedition against *Mušri* could thus be launched from Araziq which, as we know from other sources, was in the vicinity of Carchemish.<sup>24</sup> This would perfectly fit Tell Ahmar/Masuwari's location.

Less clear, but still possible, are three references to the same land of *Mušri* in the Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala.<sup>25</sup> In one instance the king boasts of the conquest of the city *Tu-ur-[x]-ta* in KUR *Mu-uš-ri* (III, 4). A few lines further down he claims to have uprooted the troops of KUR *Mu-uš-ri* (III, 11). Lastly, he says that the king of KUR *Mu-uš-re-e* sent him a female monkey, as well as a crocodile and a "river-man" said to be creatures of the Great Sea (IV, 29-30). The mention of these animals is often taken as an indication that *Mušri*, in this context, refers to Egypt.<sup>26</sup> However, besides the fact that gifts from Egypt to the king of Assyria are not very likely at the

<sup>21</sup> A. FUCHS, "Mutallu", *The Propaganda of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, II/2, Helsinki 2001, p. 785.

<sup>22</sup> The problem has been often discussed. See especially P. GARELLI, *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, 5 (1957), col. 1468-1474; ID., "Nouveau coup d'oeil sur Mušur," *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, pp. 37-48; H. TADMOR, "Que and Mušri," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 11 (1961), pp. 143-150; H. CAZELLES, "Tal'ayim, Tala et Mušur," *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, pp. 23-24; M. WÄFLER, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 171-175; K. NASHEF, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*, RGTC, 5, Wiesbaden 1982, s.v. Mušri, pp. 198-199; K. KESSLER, "Mušri I, Mušri II," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 8 (1993-1997), p. 497.

<sup>23</sup> KAJ 249, 14-19; for the reading of these lines, see E. C. CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šeh Hamad*, Berlin p. 104; B. I. FAIST, *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jh. v. Chr.*, Münster 2001, p. 91; S. JAKOB, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur: Untersuchungen*, Leiden & Boston 2003, p. 497, who does not consider the possibility of an identification of *Mušri* with a Syrian region (cf. pp. 6, n. 43, 46, 91).

<sup>24</sup> On Araziq, see K. NASHEF, RGTC, 5, 1982, p. 36; J. A. BELMONTE MARIN, RGTC, 12/2, 2001, p. 31. An identification with Tell el-Hajj, on the right bank of the river, is impossible as has been shown by W. RÖLLIG, "Aspects of the historical geography of northeastern Syria from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian times," *Assyria 1995*, ed. S. PARPOLA & R.M. WHITING, Helsinki 1997, p. 286. The evidence points to a location east of the Euphrates.

<sup>25</sup> RIMA, 2, A.0.89.7. The reference is to the eastern Mušri according to M. WÄFLER, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 173; K. KESSLER, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 497. M. Makinson seems to accept without discussion that these texts refer to a western Mušri.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. M. WÄFLER, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 172.

time, the episode is strikingly similar to the mention of monkeys sent to Adad-nirari II from the land of Bit Adini, which, as the text specifies, was on the bank of the Euphrates.<sup>27</sup> It looks as if the *Muṣri* of the Broken Obelisk had been replaced by Bit Adini in Adad-nirari II's inscription.

The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III also mention a land of *Muṣri*. The most famous of the relevant texts is the list of the participants in the battle of Qarqar on the so-called Kurkh Monolith.<sup>28</sup> It includes eleven kings with the troops they were able to align.<sup>29</sup> Scholars are still debating the exact identification of some of them as well as the principle adopted by the Assyrian scribe to make the list. The list begins with Adad-idri (Hadad-ezer) of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamat and Ahab of Israel who, with more than 10,000 troops (20,000 for Damascus), are obviously the protagonists of the coalition (lines II, 90-92).

They are followed by a place called KUR *Gu-a-a*, without mention of a king, that supplied only 500 troops and KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a*, without mention of a king either, with 1,000 troops (line II, 92). Scholars are divided on the reading of the first name since H. Tadmor proposed to restore KUR *Gu-<bal>a-a* and understood the pair as "Byblos" and "Egypt".<sup>30</sup> These names would be placed at the beginning of the list of Phoenician cities, listed from south to north, and their mention together would have emphasized the interest Egypt always had in Byblos.<sup>31</sup> This is possible, but it can also be argued that a participation of Egypt in the battle, especially with such a small contingent, is not very likely. If the text is not emended, KUR *Gu-a-a* can be read KUR *Qū-a-a*,<sup>32</sup> and refer to Que, a name of ancient Cilicia<sup>33</sup>

As for KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* a location in the broad vicinity of Que, i.e. in southern Anatolia or northern Syria, would be likely. Together with KUR *Gu-a-a*, KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* would form the second unit in the list of the allied forces aligned at Qarqar. A. Lemaire, followed by M. Makinson, has proposed to correct KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* into KUR

<sup>27</sup> RIMA, 2, A.O.99.2, line 48, p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> RIMA, 3, A.O.102.2, col. II, lines 90-95, p. 23. According to J. A. FITZMYER, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, Rome 1967 p. 30, this is the only piece of evidence supporting the hypothesis of an Anatolian/Syrian *Muṣri*.

<sup>29</sup> Note that, on line II, 95, the text says "twelve kings". They are referred to, in other inscriptions, as "the twelve kings of the sea-coast".

<sup>30</sup> H. TADMOR, *art. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 143-150. The emendation had already been proposed by A. Schott in 1934 (see S. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, Leiden 2000, p. 157, n. 280).

<sup>31</sup> Actually, S. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, Leiden 2000, p. 158, inclines to think that KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* refers to a Phoenician city, the name of which is spelled KUR *Mu-ṣu-ru-na* in another inscription of Shalmaneser III.

<sup>32</sup> Such a spelling of the name of Que is judged unlikely by S. YAMADA, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 157 and n. 279.

<sup>33</sup> An argument in favour of the second opinion could be found in 1 Kings, 10, 28-29 (with the parallel text 2 Chronicles, 1, 16-17), where a similar pair is mentioned, namely Qoah and Miṣraim, in which Qoah may represent Que and Miṣraim the same place as KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* on the Kurkh Monolith. The identification of Miṣraim with *Muṣri* is made difficult, however, by the fact that it implies that Solomon was buying horses from these two places and selling them to the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Aram. In other words, he would have been importing horses from the north to sell them in regions north and east of Israel.

*Ṣu-mu-ra-a*, i.e. "the Ṣumuraeans",<sup>34</sup> the people from Ṣumura, modern Tell Kazel.<sup>35</sup> The emendation, although possible – the Kurkh Monolith is known for its misspellings –<sup>36</sup> is not likely on internal grounds. Ṣumura is a Phoenician city and would therefore head the list of Phoenician cities that follow immediately. The problem is that these cities are listed from south to north, starting from Irqanatu, modern Tell Arqa and ending with Siyanu, in the Jebel region. Ṣumura should appear in the middle of the list, between Arwad and Usanatu. As it does not, it is probable that the text must not be emended and that the reading KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* is correct. The place thus designated can form one group with KUR *Gu-a-a*. They would both stand for south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria.<sup>37</sup>

The next four place names on the Kurkh Monolith, as has just been said, are the names of Phoenician cities listed in south-north order: Irqanata (Tell Arqa) with the large number of 10,000 troops, Arwad with 200 troops, Usanatu (in the Jebel region) with 200 troops and Shianu (also in the Jebel region) whose contingent number is lost.

After mentioning the main members of the coalition (Damascus, Hamath and Israel), then northern regions (Que and *Muṣri*) and central cities (Phoenicia) the list turns to the south with Gindibu, an Arab who brought along 1,000 camels, and Ba'sa son of Ruhubi from the land of Amana (Anti-Lebanon),<sup>38</sup> with a number of troops that is also lost.

The Kurkh Monolith is thus not unambiguous, but, although it may seem reasonable to accept Tadmor's correction of the text and include KUR *Gu-<bal>a-a* and KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a* in the list of Phoenician cities, which would have received some assistance from Egypt, the other interpretation has the advantage of respecting the text and eliminating an unexpected mention of Egypt.

Another possible reference to Syrian *Muṣri* in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions might exist, as M. Makinson admits it, in the inscription carved on Shalmaneser's throne base found at Nimrud. There, Shalmaneser claims to have imposed his "brilliance" over Hatti, Meṣri, Tyre, Sidon and Hanigalbat. This list may represent northern Syria (Hatti, Meṣri)<sup>39</sup> and northern Mesopotamia (Hanigalbat) with the

<sup>34</sup> A. LEMAIRE, "Joas de Samarie, Barhadad de Damas, Zakkur de Hamat: La Syrie-Palestine vers 800 av. J.-C.," *Eretz-Israel*, 24 (1993), pp. 151-152, cf. P.-E. DION, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*, Paris 1997, p. 164 and n. 116, 185 and n. 63.

<sup>35</sup> L. BADRE, "Tell Kazel - ancient Simyra?," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Syria and the Ancient Near East*, ed. F. ISMAIL, Aleppo 1995, pp. 87-94.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. H. TADMOR, *art. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 144-145.

<sup>37</sup> M. WÄFLER, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 173-174, would place the *Muṣri* of the Kurkh Monolith on the coast.

<sup>38</sup> On the identification of Amana with Anti-Lebanon, instead of Amman in Jordan, see E. LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, p. 343. On the contrary, S. YAMADA, *op. cit.* (n. 31), pp. 159-161, follows E. Weidner, quoted in E. MICHEL, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947), p. 70, n. 13, and thinks that Amana refers to a place that is distinct from that of Ba'sa. Such an interpretation would give twelve names, as expected, in the list of the coalition instead of eleven. Amana would then be Ammon in Jordan.

<sup>39</sup> An identification with Egypt is also possible

inclusion, that is not without other examples, of Tyre and Sidon in a context to which they do not belong.<sup>40</sup> However, a reference to Egypt, together with the Phoenician cities is not impossible.<sup>41</sup>

A third reference to a land of *Muṣri* exists in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions. On the Black Obelisk figures of exotic animals are explained by the following caption: "I received the tribute from KUR *Mu-uṣ-ri*: two-humped camels, a water buffalo, a rhinoceros, an antelope, female elephants, female monkeys, apes."<sup>42</sup> There is little doubt that, in this case, *Muṣri* is Egypt.<sup>43</sup> In this case the animals are too numerous and too closely associated with Africa to suppose a Syrian intermediary in their transfer to Assyria.

A land of *Muṣri* may thus have existed in northern Syria at the time of Shalmaneser III. A difficulty arises, however, from the fact that the identification of this *Muṣri* with Masuwari/Til Barsib seems incompatible with the conquest of *Muṣri*/Masuwari/Til Barsib by the same Shalmaneser a few years before the battle of Qarqar. However, the difficulty, that M. Makinson does not address, is not insuperable as Shalmaneser only reports on his defeat of Bit Adini together with its leader Ahuni and on the conquest of cities of Ahuni. It is possible that Bit Adini, i.e. the tribe of Adini, invaded *Muṣri* and that, after Shalmaneser's conquest, some cities of *Muṣri* were still independent from Assyria and therefore able to send 1,000 troops to Qarqar. The conquest may have been completed in later times. If this is the case, *Muṣri*/Masuwari may have been part of Bit Adini. Ahuni used its capital city to resist Shalmaneser's advance until 856 B.C., but the capture of the city and the defeat of Ahuni in the following year did not necessarily imply the destruction of the entire state of *Muṣri*/Masuwari. The superstructure collapsed but some of the units that composed Bit Adini may have survived.

Anyhow, the survival of the name *Muṣri* in the eighth century is evidenced by the inscriptions from Sfire.<sup>44</sup> These inscriptions reproduce the Aramaic version of a treaty that, judging from the list of the gods, was imposed by Assyria on Bar-Ga'yah, king of KTK, possibly known as Kittika in Roman times,<sup>45</sup> and on Matti-El, king of Arpad.<sup>46</sup> In this treaty a place called MŠR, which might be the same as *Muṣri*, is listed together with "all Aram" and "all upper and lower Aram", as neighbours of

<sup>40</sup> See G. KESTEMONT, "Le commerce phénicien et l'expansion assyrienne du IXe-VIIIe s.," *Oriens Antiquus*, 11 (1972), pp. 137-144; ID., "Les Phéniciens en Syrie du nord," *Phoenicia and its Neighbours*, Studia Phoenicia III, Leuven 1985, pp. 135-161.

<sup>41</sup> As thinks S. YAMADA, *op. cit.* (n. 31), pp. 33, 158 (n. 281), 253-254, 340.

<sup>42</sup> *RIMA*, 3, A.O.102.89, p. 150.

<sup>43</sup> S. YAMADA, *op. cit.* (n. 31), pp. 52, 158 (n. 281), 253-254, 257; M. MAKINSON, *art. cit.* (n. 19).

<sup>44</sup> M. MAKINSON, *art. cit.* (n. 19), devotes a long discussion to establishing this point.

<sup>45</sup> E. LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, pp. 221-230.

<sup>46</sup> A. LEMAIRE & J.-M. DURAND, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfire et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Geneva & Paris 1984. Their identification of Bar-gayah with Shamshi-ilu is doubtful and that of KTK with Til Barsib has since been proved wrong (S. YAMADA in *NABU*, 1995, No. 30, pp. 24-25).

Arpad.<sup>47</sup> An identification with Egypt is impossible in the context. Some scholars think that MŠR is not a toponym but a personal name.<sup>48</sup> The main reason for this is found in the words that immediately follow MŠR, which can be translated as "and with his sons that will come up in his place". This phrase is taken as referring to a person which, if such were the case, could not be but MŠR. However, MŠR appears in a context that lists no personal names but only place names. The "sons" of a place, as E. Lipinski pointed out,<sup>49</sup> can perfectly well refer to its inhabitants. The Sfire inscriptions can thus be accepted as giving another reference to a North Syrian land of *Muṣri*.<sup>50</sup> E. Lipinski, independently from M. Makinson, does not hesitate to identify it with Masuwari.<sup>51</sup>

Actually, the survival of the name Masuwari, besides *Muṣri*, after the Assyrian conquest is also established. A trilingual inscription carved on a gate lion from Arslan Tash by Ninurta-bel-uṣur, governor of Kar-Shalmaneser (the name given by the Assyrians to Til Barsib) at the time of the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu mentions Masuwari in the Luwian version of the text, whereas both the Assyrian and Aramaean versions use the name Kar-Shalmaneser.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion it can be said that, despite some uncertainties in the interpretation of some individual texts, there is a continuing set of evidence, from the Middle Assyrian document KAJ 249 down to the Aramaic inscriptions of Sfire, to show that a land called *Muṣri* existed in northern Syria. This *Muṣri* can be equated with Luwian Masuwari, on both geographical and philological grounds.

If this is correct, *Muṣri* could be considered as the traditional designation of the region at least since the Middle Assyrian period. Masuwari is probably the Luwian spelling of this name. Bit Adini was superimposed on *Muṣri*/Masuwari when the Aramaeans spread to the area in the late second / early first millennium B.C. but

<sup>47</sup> Sfire, I, A, 5. It is also mentioned in a broken text on Sfire, I, B, 12. KAI, No. 222; *The Context of Scripture*, No. 2.82.

<sup>48</sup> M. NOTH, *ZDPV*, 77 (1961), p. 131, n. 38; N. NA'AMAN, "Looking for KTK," *Die Welt des Orients*, 9 (1977-1978), p. 225; A. LEMAIRE & J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 46), pp. 86-88.

<sup>49</sup> E. LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, p. 205.

<sup>50</sup> KAI, II, p. 244; J. A. FITZMYER, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sfire*, Rome 1967, pp. 30-31, 129; P. GARELLI, *art. cit.* 1971 (n. 22), pp. 40-41, thinks that the Kurkh Monolith and the Sfire inscriptions concur to establishing the existence of a Syrian *Muṣri*. According to M. WÄFLER, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 174, MŠR would be the same as the *Muṣri* of the Kurkh Monolith, but he places it on the coast.

<sup>51</sup> LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, pp. 204-206. According to this scholar (p. 205, n. 58) the Aramaic pronunciation of the name would have been influenced by Aramaic *māṣōr* meaning "stronghold", "rampart".

<sup>52</sup> The Luwian text has been published by J. D. HAWKINS, *CHLI*, I, III.10 ARSLAN TAŞ, pp. 246-244, pl. 103-105. The Assyrian and Aramaic texts are still unpublished. See, provisionally, W. RÖLLIG, "Aramäer und Assyrier: Die Schriftzeugnisse bis zum Ende des Assyrischen Reiches," *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, p. 182; H. GALTER, "Militärgrenze und Euphrathandel: Der sozio-ökonomische Hintergrund der Trilinguen von Arslan Tash," *Oriens et Occidens* 6 (= *Melammu Symposia* V), Stuttgart 2003, p. 450; ID., "Der Himmel über Hadattu. Das religiöse Umfeld der Inschriften von Arslan Tash," *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, ed. M. HUTTER & S. HUTTER-BRAUNSAAR, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, pp. 175-176. I thank Prof. W. Röllig and Dr H. Galter for showing me a preliminary transliteration and translation of these texts.

*Muṣri*/Masuwari, which had the distinction of a traditional appellation, is likely to have survived the defeat of Bit Adini by Shalmaneser III.

Tell Ahmar, assumedly the site of the capital city of the land of *Muṣri*/Masuwari, was called Masuwari in Luwian inscriptions probably because of its importance in the organisation of the state. We may assume that the name Til Barsib/Tarbusiba was coined only when the Aramaeans spread their influence over the region. Hamiyata, however, may have preferred to use the traditional name Masuwari in his inscriptions, in the same way as he adopted the Luwian language for his inscriptions and the style of Carchemish for his reliefs. Conforming to the tradition was a way of legitimizing his power.

### B. Cities of Masuwari

The extent of the land of Masuwari is not known, but a few place names can be related to the area it controlled.

**Haruha.** Hamiyata's inscription BOROWSKI 3 commemorates the construction of a city named Haruha (*ba-ru-ha-na* URBS).<sup>53</sup> This name does not seem to be attested elsewhere, but a comparison can be made with one of the toponyms mentioned in Ninurta-bel-uṣur's inscriptions from Arslan Tash. Ninurta-bel-uṣur says that he is "from *Ṣirani* and from *Halabhi* which lies in front of *Lipapan*". An identification of Haruha with this *Halabhi* is possible. The interchange between "l" and "r" makes no difficulty. More surprising would be the fact that the only known city of *Halabhi* was located to the north-east of Nineveh,<sup>54</sup> but, as the author of the inscriptions specifies that this *Halabhi* is in front of *Lipapan*, he seems to want to emphasize that he has another *Halabhi* in mind,<sup>55</sup> probably closer to Masuwari. It may be the same city as Haruha that Hamiyata built or rebuilt.

**Ṣirani.** Of the two other names mentioned in the Arslan Tash inscriptions, *Ṣirani* may be modern *Ṣerrin*, opposite Qalaat Nejem on the east bank of the Euphrates but at some distance from the river. This may be the same place as *Zirānum* of the Mari texts in the region of Carchemish.<sup>56</sup> *Ṣerrin* was occupied in the Iron Age.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> I. SINGER, "A new stele of Hamiyata, king of Masuwari," *Tel Aviv*, 15-16 (1988-1989), pp. 184-192; *CHLI*, I, III.2. BOROWSKI 3, pp. 230-231, plate 93.

<sup>54</sup> J. N. POSTGATE, "Ḫalahḫu," *RIA*, 4/1 (1972), p. 58; S. PARPOLA & M. PORTER, *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Helsinki 2001, map 4 (C5).

<sup>55</sup> W. RÖLLIG in *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, 2000, p. 182-183??

<sup>56</sup> *ARM*, V, 6, line 5, cf. J.-M. DURAND, *Documents épistolaires de Mari*, I, Paris 1997, p. 314, who is looking for a place further north to locate this toponym.

<sup>57</sup> B. EINWAG, "Die West-Gezira in der Eisenzeit," *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, pp. 314-316.

**Lipapan/LLBN.** The second name, *Lipapan* (spelled LLBN in Aramaic), is unknown. A connection with Lebanon is unlikely. Two place names may be related to *Lipapan*/LLBN. One is mentioned in the famous letter of Enna-Dagan to a king of Ebla in the third millennium B.C. Enna-Dagan recalls a victory that one of his predecessors would have won near a place called *La-ba-na-an*.<sup>58</sup> This place was probably accessible from the Euphrates valley and can be looked for in the Balikh/Euphrates area. The other place name is found in the Sfire inscriptions. It is LBNN listed among places that seem to be expected to hear the words of the treaty carved on the stelae.<sup>59</sup> The name must be that of a border area of either Arpad or KTK, between whom the treaty has been concluded, and it is usually understood as referring to Lebanon,<sup>60</sup> but it can equally be looked for in the opposite direction towards the Euphrates area. However, equating *Lipapan*/LLBN with these toponyms would require philological manipulations that will not be attempted here.

**Hadatu.** The inscriptions of Ninurta-bel-uṣur make it obvious that, at the time of Shamshi-ilu at the beginning of the eighth century, Arslan Tash, ancient Hadatu, was a dependency of Kar-Shalmaneser/Masuwari. It can be assumed but impossible to demonstrate that the situation was the same at the time of Hamiyata.

**Ana/Anaita.** Another toponym occurs in the Luwian inscriptions from Tell Ahmar. It is variously spelled *Ana* or *Anaita*. Ariyahina's son says that his great-grandfather, i.e. Ariyahina's grandfather, "died in the country Ana".<sup>61</sup> This is usually understood as implying a military action on the part of Ariyahina's grandfather in the region of *Ana* which is equated with *Anat* in the land of *Suhu* on the Middle Euphrates.<sup>62</sup> Hamiyata reports that he settled "the Anaitean (things)".<sup>63</sup> This might also be taken as an indication that some kind of action took place on the Middle Euphrates, in the region of *Anat*.<sup>64</sup> Lastly, in the curse formulae of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, Hamiyata warns anyone who would do evil to his stele or to his posterity that the Storm-God would not "let him go to the land *Anaita* to ... this Tarhunza of Hamiyata".<sup>65</sup> A reference to a place on the Middle Euphrates, possible in the two first instances, is surprising in the latter context. Why should a wrongdoer be prevented from going to *Anaita*? We would expect a moral sanction. Is it that

<sup>58</sup> Text TM.75.G.2637, obv. II.8 (P. FRONZAROLI, *ARET*, XIII, 2003, No. 4). On the toponym: A. ARCHI *et al.*, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla*, Archivi reali di Ebla, Studi II, Rome 1993, p. 331; M. BONECHI, *RGTC*, 12/1, 1993, p. 213.

<sup>59</sup> Sfire I, B, 9.

<sup>60</sup> *KAI*, II, p. 241; J. A. FITZMEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 50), pp. 17, 63; A. LEMAIRE & J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 83, 123.

<sup>61</sup> *CHLI*, I, III.6. TELL AHMAR 1, pp. 239-243, plates 99-100.

<sup>62</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *CHLI*, I, p. 242. However, places named Ana may have existed closer to Tell Ahmar, see G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), p. 614.

<sup>63</sup> *CHLI*, I, III.6. TELL AHMAR 2, pp. 227-231, plates 91-92.

<sup>64</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, *CHLI*, I, p. 229, suggests that the word he translates as "Anaitean (things)" may refer to districts.

<sup>65</sup> See J. D. HAWKINS, above, pp. 16-17, 30.



*Anaita* was a special place and that not going there would place the person in a difficult position? Such a punishment would not seem severe enough, especially considering that curses usually foretell the complete destruction of the wrongdoer. Not going to *Anaita* should therefore imply a similar annihilation of the trespasser and one is naturally led to wonder whether the apparent toponym does not actually refer to a kind of Hades or Elysian Fields, where the dead are supposed to enjoy eternal peace. To be prevented from going there would mean to never know peace in the afterlife. This would be much closer to the kind of chastisement that we expect to find in the final curses of an inscription.

If we go back to the inscription of Ariyahina's son, we notice that the context in which *Ana* occurs also implies death. If Ariyahina's grandfather died in the country *Ana*, it may mean that, by the fact of dying, he went to the realm of the dead. The third occurrence of the word in Hamiyata's inscription TELL AHMAR 2 is in a broken context, but, by establishing the *Anaitan* (things), Hamiyata may mean that he organized the funerals of someone, perhaps his father. Hamiyata would have performed the rites that enabled his father, or whoever may have been mentioned in the lacuna, to go to the realm of the dead.

If this interpretation is correct, we lose a piece of historical information but we gain an insight into the Masuwareans' conception of afterlife. The mention of *Ana/Anaita* could no longer be used as evidence for activities of Masuwarean rulers in a faraway region.

Masuware can thus be understood as the Luwianised form of a toponym, *Muṣri*, known since the Middle Assyrian period. The name seems to have been used to designate both the region and its capital city. The latter was renamed Til Barsib/Tarbusiba when Aramaean influence spread to the area. However, Masuware as well as *Muṣri* remained in use after the Assyrian conquest of Til Barsib as is shown by the trilingual inscription on the gate lion of Arslan Tash for Masuware and by the Sfire inscriptions for *Muṣri*.

The exact extent of Masuware/*Muṣri* is difficult to determine. It included at least one more city besides Tell Ahmar, namely *Haruba*, which may be the same as *Halabhi* mentioned in the Arslan Tash trilingual inscription. The other toponyms mentioned in the same inscription may also have been part of Masuware. They included *Hadatu*, the ancient name of Arslan Tash, to which might be added the places that the author of the inscription cites as belonging to him: *Halabhi*, already mentioned, *Ṣirani*, probably modern *Ṣerrin*, and *Lipapan* (Aramaic LLBN) of unknown location. As for the toponym *Ana/Anaita* it probably belonged to mythological geography. There is no evidence that the power of Masuware extended beyond a rather small area on the Middle Euphrates to the south of Carchemish.

We may now go back to the problem of the Hittites and the Aramaeans at Tell Ahmar.

## III.

## LUWIANS AND ARAMAEANS AT TELL AHMAR

It has been argued above that the use of the Luwian language and script did not necessarily imply that the authors of the inscriptions were Luwians themselves. It has also been argued that the conflict between Hamiyata's dynasty and the dynasty of Ariyahina's son was not necessarily a conflict between an Aramaean and a Luwian dynasty. Both Hamiyata and Ariyahina's son may have been of Aramaean origin, although this was not necessarily so. As is well known, a similar situation is found at Zincirli where the local rulers bore Luwian as well as Aramaean names and used either Luwian or Semitic languages in their inscriptions.<sup>66</sup>

A distinction, however, is made in our sources between Masuware and Bit Adini. The Luwian sources, as we have them, ignore Bit Adini, and the Assyrian sources, however difficult they are to interpret, seem to know both Bit Adini and *Muṣri*. Bit Adini vanished from the scene when Shalmaneser III defeated its leader Ahuni, but *Muṣri*/Masuware seems to have remained in use. This would confirm that Bit Adini and Masuware were not synonymous. As we saw above, *Muṣri* is probably a traditional designation of a region on the Euphrates, whereas Bit Adini is not the name of a country but of the area dominated by a tribe. As has been pointed out elsewhere,<sup>67</sup> most of the place names usually used to define the geographical extent of the land of Bit Adini are actually said in the texts to be cities of Ahuni. They are places occupied by the tribe, not places belonging to a specific territory known by the name of Bit Adini. Actually, Shalmaneser III's victory prevented the tribe from converting the territory it had conquered into a genuinely territorial state as, for instance, Bit Agusi did.<sup>68</sup>

Seen in this perspective Masuware can be considered as one of the places that, at one moment or another, passed under Ahuni's control.<sup>69</sup> If Hamiyata's family was Aramaean, it can be hypothesized that it belonged to the tribe of Adini. The ruler of Masuware would have been more or less in the same position with respect to the leader of the tribe, namely Ahuni, as Arpa, the "brother" of Hamiyatas, was to Hamiyata. It can thus be proposed an historical reconstruction in which Hamiyata could be considered as a local ruler of Masuware under Ahuni's (or Bit Adini's) overall control.

<sup>66</sup> P. BORDREUIL, "Les royaumes araméens de Syrie", *Syrie: Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris 1993, p. 254; LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, pp. 234-235, 239.

<sup>67</sup> G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), pp. 609-610.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), pp. 611-612, and, on the emergence of Aramaean states in general, among an abundant bibliography: H. SADER, "The Aramaean kingdoms of Syria: Origin and formation process," *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, pp. 61-76.

<sup>69</sup> Note that LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, pp. 186-187, sees no indication that Masuware was a vassal state of Bit Adini.

What happened when Shalmaneser III conquered Til Barsib? According to the inscriptions of the Assyrian king the city became an Assyrian royal city, together with *Aligu*, *Nappigi* and *Rugulitu*, and palaces were built in their midst for the royal residence.<sup>70</sup> Til Barsib was renamed Kar-Shalmaneser. As E. Lipinski observed,<sup>71</sup> the status of Til Barsib immediately after the conquest is not known.<sup>72</sup> A literary composition discovered at Sultantepe<sup>73</sup> says that Shalmaneser entrusted the conquered cities, of which only Til Barsib is designated by its name, to the *turtānu* Assur-bel-ka<sup>74</sup> in who was also eponym in 856, the year of the conquest of Til Barsib. It is possible that Shamshi-Adad V had to reconquer Kar-Shalmaneser.<sup>74</sup> In any case, the earliest evidence, in the present state of our knowledge, for Kar-Shalmaneser being the centre of a province or district (*pīhatu*) is found in the inscriptions of its governor (*bēl pīhati*) Ninurta-bel-ušur discovered at Arslan Tash. Ninurta-bel-ušur presents himself as a eunuch of Shamshi-ilu, powerful *turtānu* in the first half of the eighth century B.C.

The link existing between Shamshi-ilu and Kar-Shalmaneser, already revealed by the inscription that Shamshi-ilu had carved on the lions of the east gate at Tell Ahmar, is thus confirmed, but, at the same time, it is also confirmed that Kar-Shalmaneser was not the residence of the powerful *turtānu*.<sup>75</sup> Kar-Shalmaneser was placed under the direct authority of Ninurta-bel-ušur and only indirectly under that of Shamshi-ilu.

Ninurta-bel-ušur belongs to a family that held some power in the region. He defines his place of origin, *Širani* and *Halabhi*, as "the house of his father", a phrase that is normally used by a ruler to refer to his realm, and the curses at the end of his inscriptions address a potential ruler that would come after him, as is normally done in a royal inscription. Ninurta-bel-ušur seems therefore to belong to a local dynasty and, although a eunuch and an Assyrian official, he behaves as a ruler. This would explain the use of the local languages, Luwian and Aramaic, alongside Assyrian to compose his inscriptions.<sup>76</sup>

It results from the above that, in all likelihood, Kar-Shalmaneser was ruled by a traditional ruler at the time of Shamshi-ilu.

<sup>70</sup> Kurkh Monolith, ii, lines 33-35 (*RIMA* 3, A.O.102.2, p. 19).

<sup>71</sup> LIPINSKI, *The Aramaeans*, p. 185.

<sup>72</sup> The opinion of E. FORRER, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, p. 12, according to which Shalmaneser converted Bit Adini into the province of Kar-Shalmaneser is unsubstantiated.

<sup>73</sup> A. LIVINGSTONE, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, SAA 3, Helsinki 1989, No. 17, p. 44.

<sup>74</sup> *RIMA* 3, A.O.103.1, ii 7-16: "In my first campaign ... from Paddira of the land of Na'iri to Kar-Shalmaneser, which is opposite Carchemish, ... they bowed themselves at my feet ..."

<sup>75</sup> On this see already G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), pp. 616-617.

<sup>76</sup> According to H. GALTER, *art. cit.* 2003 (n. 52), pp. 454-456, Ninurta-bel-ušur's use of three languages reflected the multilingual nature of the population of Til Barsib as well as the widespread international relations of the Assyrian empire, cf. ID., *art. cit.* 2004 (n. 52), p. 184.

Such a situation may be compared with the one revealed by the inscriptions carved on the statue discovered at Tell Fekheriye.<sup>77</sup> The statue, which seems to date from the ninth century, bears an inscription in Assyrian in which the author, Adad-Yis'i, defines himself as "governor (GARKUR = *šakin māti*) of Guzana"<sup>78</sup> and one in Aramaic in which he is said to be "king (*mlk*) of Guzana". Far from demonstrating that "governor" and "king" were synonymous,<sup>79</sup> these two titles should be understood as showing that Adad-Yis'i was invested with the two functions at the same time. For the Assyrians he was governor, for the inhabitants of Guzana he was king. The Assyrian administration, applying a system that has often been used by imperialistic powers, probably left the local ruler in place on the condition that he acknowledges the supremacy of the conqueror.

It is tempting to think that the same situation applies to Masuwari immediately after the conquest by Shalmaneser III. After the destruction of Bit Adini, the ruler of Masuwari was not dethroned but forced to acknowledge Assyria's domination. If the literary text discovered at Sultantepe is historically reliable, the entire region was placed under the *turtānu*'s authority, thus creating the situation that is still illustrated by the inscriptions of Ninurta-bel-ušur from Arslan Tash. Ninurta-bel-ušur was governor, and possibly also traditional ruler, of Kar-Shalmaneser/Masuwari and, at the same time, servant of the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu.

Who was the ruler of Masuwari when the city was conquered by the Assyrians? It is impossible to answer this question. It may be Ariyahina's son. It may be one of his successors. It may also be one of his predecessors. The troubled times that followed Shalmaneser III's reign might provide as appropriate a context for the conflicts reported by the inscription of Ariyahina's son as the times prior to the Assyrian conquest.

The old debate about who came first to Tell Ahmar, the Hittites/Luwians or the Aramaeans, should thus be viewed under a different light. Hittites and Aramaeans are not mutually exclusive. Luwian inscriptions and Neo-Hittite reliefs may have been prepared for Aramaean rulers. The choice was more cultural than ethnic.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, and contrary to what is often said, the Assyrian conquest did not put an abrupt end to the local, especially Neo-Hittite, cultural tradition. Unlike Bit Adini, which vanished together with Ahuni, the name Masuwari survived and a local dynasty might also have survived. Why could the traditional style of sculpture and monumental inscriptions not have survived as well?

After these historical considerations, we can go back to the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

<sup>77</sup> A. ABU ASSAF, P. BORDREUIL & A. R. MILLARD, *La statue de tell Fekheriye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne*, Paris 1982.

<sup>78</sup> *RIMA* 2, A.O.101.1006.2004,

<sup>79</sup> D. CHARPIN, "Rois et shaknus," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 80 (1986), p. 186.

<sup>80</sup> More has been said about this in G. BUNNENS, *art. cit.* 1999 (n. 6), pp. 614-615.



## IV.

## HAMİYATA AND THE STORM-GOD

At the beginning of the inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, Celestial Tarhunza headed the list of the gods who, said the text, loved Hamiyata and gave him his paternal succession. In other inscriptions of Hamiyata a similar formula showed the special interest that gods, and first of all Celestial Tarhunza (BOROWSKI 3, restored in AHMAR 2), had in this ruler. Further down in the text of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele Hamiyata said: "This Tarhunza of the Army ran before me ... This Tarhunza of the Army loved me, ... and he ran before me, and I extended the frontiers."<sup>81</sup> The epithet "of the Army" outlined the military aspect of a god that had just given a military victory to Hamiyata. In another inscription he said: "This god (= Tarhunza of Aleppo) exalted me" (AHMAR 5). Hamiyata clearly wanted to emphasize the special relationship existing between himself and the Storm-God. In so doing Hamiyata followed a tradition that was widespread in northern Syria and southern Anatolia where the Storm-God was one of the gods most revered by the local rulers. A special relationship existed between the Storm-God and royal power.<sup>82</sup>

This is especially apparent in the Syro-Anatolian world of the early first millennium B.C. The connection is well illustrated by the tendency, noted above (pp. 56-58), to portray kings as Storm-Gods. The Storm-God was a dispenser of power. A kind of osmosis was established between the god and those who held power so that kings, especially dead and deified kings, could be portrayed in the same way as the god.

Hamiyata, who, as an usurper, was in need of legitimacy, may have felt a special attraction for the Storm-God who, in return for the king's devotion, granted him with victory in his military actions. This may be the reason why all the known reliefs carved for Hamiyata portrayed the Storm-God. The intention was to proclaim the special attention the Storm-God, bestower of power, had for the usurper. Hamiyata's "brother" Arpa used the same motif certainly for the same reason. As a subordinate of Hamiyata he had to adopt the propagandistic themes of his leader. And Ariyahina's son, having just recovered his throne from Hamiyata's son, may

<sup>81</sup> §§17-20, see above, pp. 14-15.

<sup>82</sup> See, for instance, Ph. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, "The Hittite Storm-God: His role and his rule according to Hittite cuneiform sources," *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, ed. D.J.W. MEIJER, Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo 1992, pp. 86-88; SCHWEMER, *Wettergottgestalten*, especially pp. 226-234, 621-623; N. WYATT, "Arms and the King: The earliest allusions to the Chaoskampf motif and their implications for the interpretation of the Ugaritic and biblical traditions," *"Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf": Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient, Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres*, ed. M. DIETRICH & I. KOTTSEPER, AOAT 250, Münster 1998, pp. 833-888; D. BONATZ, *Das syro-bethitische Grabdenkmal*, Mainz 2000, p. 166. This relationship may have already existed in the third millennium: P. FRONZAROLI, "Les combats de Hadda dans les textes d'Ebla," *MARI*, 8 (1997), pp. 287-288.

have been induced to prove his own legitimacy by taking over the usurper's propaganda and, so to speak, returning it against his son that had just been defeated. It was a way of making his victory more resounding.

The adoption of the motif of the smiting Storm-God by Hamiyata may thus be seen as a reflection of his appetite for legitimacy, which he did not have, and power, which he successfully achieved.

Was there a special form of the Storm-God that Hamiyata preferred to worship?

We saw that "Celestial Tarhunza" and "Tarhunza of the Army" were particular aspects of a god that we may think was the god of Aleppo. The reliefs carved on Hamiyata's stelae, and especially on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, emphasized the celestial and cosmic aspects of the god, hence the suggestion that they were portraying the god of Aleppo in the guise of Baal Shamem, Baal Shamem being the Semitic equivalent of Celestial Tarhunza as is suggested by the Karatepe bilingual inscriptions. Hamiyata placed himself under the protection of one of the main deities of northern Syria. The complexity of the ethnic affiliation of Masuwari's population helps to understand how the syncretism was effected between an old Anatolian god, Celestial Tarhunza, and a Semitic god, Baal Shamem, that was becoming increasingly popular among Aramaeans and Phoenicians at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

We know, from the Ninurta-bel-ušur inscriptions, that there was a temple of the Storm-God at Kar-Shalmaneser.<sup>83</sup> If, as can be assumed, the temple already existed before the Assyrian conquest, it is most probably the place where the god of Aleppo was worshipped at Tell Ahmar/Masuware.

## CONCLUSION

The Luwian inscriptions discovered in the Tell Ahmar region emphasize the role played in the history of Tell Ahmar/Masuware by an usurper named Hamiyata who was probably of Aramaean origin. Hamiyata's father dispossessed the local dynasty without completely eliminating it. A member of this dynasty recovered his throne after Hamiyata's death. Both these dynasties were using the Luwian language and the Syro-Hittite artform for their works of propaganda.

These internal conflicts shed some light on the historical problem of the interaction between Hittite traditions and Aramaean newcomers in the region as well as, more specifically, on the historical background of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

Masuware seems to have been a kingdom of only local significance in the northern part of the Middle Euphrates valley. Its name, Masuware, may be the same as that of a region called *Muṣri* in Middle Assyrian texts and still known at the time

<sup>83</sup> See especially H. GALTER, *art. cit.* 2004 (n. 52), p. 176, and, more generally, pp. 178-180 for the Storm-God at Til Barsib.

of the Sfire inscriptions. The capital city was called after the name of the region: Masuwari. Its name Til Barsib was not used in inscriptions that were conforming to a tradition older than the introduction of the name Til Barsib. The territory of the state of Masuwari included, besides Tell Ahmar/Masuwari, a city called Haruha, possibly spelled *Halabhi* in Neo-Assyrian, of unknown location, and *Širani*, probably modern *Şerrîn*. *Hadatu*/Arslan Tash was perhaps already part of the same kingdom. It is not likely, however, that the rulers of Masuwari have ever been involved in the politics of the *Anat* region on the Middle Euphrates. The toponym *Ana/Anaita* seems to belong to mythological geography and refer to the realm of the dead.

*Mušri*/Masuwari must be distinguished from Bit Adini, the tribal state that the Assyrian texts show in approximately the same region. *Mušri*/Masuwari is the name of a territory that passed under the control of Bit Adini, i.e. of the Aramaean tribe of Adini. The rulers of Masuwari, or some of them such as Hamiyata, may even have been members of this tribe. When Shalmaneser III defeated Ahuni, the tribal leader of Bit Adini, Bit Adini vanished from the map but *Mušri*/Masuwari probably preserved some sort of autonomy under Assyrian control.

Hamiyata, probably an Aramaean, favoured the cult of the semitic god Baal Shamem, a form of the Storm-God that was gaining rapid popularity among the populations of northern Syria. More specifically, the aspect of the god that Hamiyata was worshipping was the one that the theologians of Aleppo were promoting. We may assume that the usurper's main intention was to benefit from the legitimacy that the Storm-God was traditionally granting to rulers. On the other hand he had monuments in Syro-Hittite style and inscriptions in the Luwian language made for him because these were the traditional means of communication in the region and the only ones available to him.

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele is the most achieved, as well as the best preserved, example of a series of reliefs that we may assume were portraying the Storm-God of Aleppo in the guise of Baal Shamem as the protector of the usurper Hamiyata.

## SYNTHESIS

It is now possible to reconstruct, albeit hypothetically, the genesis of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

The stele was carved in a small state of the upper Middle Euphrates, called Masuwari in local inscriptions written in the Luwian language. Masuwari is another name of Tell Ahmar also known as Til Barsib or Tarbusiba. However, Masuwari might actually be the Luwian spelling of the name of a region known as *Mušri* in some Middle-Assyrian texts and apparently still referred to as MŠR in the Sfire treaty. The main settlement of the region, the ruins of which are at Tell Ahmar-Til Barsib/Tarbusiba, may have been designated by the name of the entire region. This small state, close to the powerful kingdom of Carchemish, experienced political turmoil in the early first millennium. The troubles may have been generated, at least to some extent, by the ethnic movements of the time, that resulted in the Aramaean take-over of the main political centres of northern Syria. At some point, impossible to determine, Masuwari must have been integrated into the tribal state of Bit Adini.

Two dynasties are known to have competed for the government of Masuwari. The apparently legitimate dynasty had been displaced by an usurper whose son, one Hamiyata, promised to the young heir to the throne to restore him to power. At Hamiyata's death, his own son tried to retain power and was defeated by the legitimate heir. The rivalry between the rulers of Masuwari is perhaps one aspect of the Aramaean intervention in the area. Hamiyata's father, who might have been an Aramaean himself, would have displaced the ruling dynasty of Masuwari, which could also, but not necessarily, have been of Aramaean descent. Hamiyata, whose name might mean "My-(Divine)-Kinsman-Knows-(Me)" or, more significantly in the present context, "Hadad-is-my-(Divine)-Kinsman", ruled Masuwari as the first among his "brothers", i.e., one may think, among his fellow tribal leaders. If this is correct, it would not be impossible that Hamiyata was a member of the tribe of Adini ruled by Ahuni who is mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. Ahuni's association with Til Barsib would thus be indirect. The use of the name Masuwari, instead of Til Barsib known from Assyrian sources, could be considered as a sign of traditionalism on the part of Hamiyata, in the same way as the use of the Luwian language on Hamiyata's monuments. Masuwari may have been preferred to Til Barsib/Tarbusiba because this name, probably coined by the Aramaeans, was of recent origin.

Hamiyata was ambitious and he undertook a programme of military expansion and urban development. He rebuilt Masuwari, rebuilt granaries in the city and built, or renovated, at least one settlement: *Haruha*, which may correspond to a place called *Halabhi* in Assyrian and 𐤅𐤋𐤅 in Aramaic. To support his ambitions he also devised a programme of political and religious propaganda. It is surely no

coincidence if most of the Luwian inscriptions discovered in the region of Tell Ahmar emanate from him. Not only was he ambitious, he also wanted to proclaim his ambitions to the face of the world.

It is not impossible that a state of Masuwari survived the conquest of Til Barsib by Shalmaneser III. The name is still used by Ninurta-bel-ušur, the Assyrian governor of Kar-Shalmaneser (the Assyrian name of Til Barsib) at the time of Shamshi-ilu (early eighth century B.C.) in the Luwian version of a trilingual inscription that uses Kar-Shalmaneser in the Assyrian and Aramaic versions. As Ninurta-bel-ušur seems to be of local origin and as he uses a phraseology that is very similar to that of a ruler, it is quite possible that local rulers were left in place at Masuwari-Til Barsib/Tarbusiba by the Assyrians in a way that might not be very different from what is suggested by the bilingual inscription of Adad-Yis'i of Guzana (Tell Halaf) discovered at Tell Fekheriyeh. In such a case, the inscription of Ariyahina's son, which mentions the death of Hamiyata, would not necessarily be earlier than the Assyrian conquest of Til Barsib.

A member of an Aramaean tribe, as Hamiyata probably was, had no means of communication readily available to him. The Aramaeans had no script – they had to borrow the Phoenician alphabet to note their language – and no artistic tradition to materialize their mental universe. Hamiyata turned to his powerful neighbour Carchemish to find the communication means he needed. Carchemish was the economic, political and artistic centre of northern Syria in the early Iron Age. Its influence radiated much beyond the borders of the territory placed under its control. Hamiyata had thus his monuments carved in the tradition that was prevailing at Carchemish, especially at the time of kings Suhi and Katuwa. In so doing he could probably rely on the assistance of artists that were trained in Masuwari's powerful neighbour. However, the diversity of styles noticeable in the monuments sculpted for Hamiyata shows that several artists or workshops were working for him, even if their work was still heavily dependent on the Carchemish tradition for both style and iconography. By its style the Ahmar/Qubbah stele was unique. Clearly in the tradition of the Carchemish workshops, it compared with none of the works produced in the great Euphrates city.

The broad stylistic affinities of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele with the reliefs carved under the Suhi-Katuwa dynasty makes a date contemporary with these rulers very likely (tenth/early ninth century).

In addition to the visual communication means of Carchemish, the ruler of Masuwari also borrowed the script and language of his neighbour. His stelae were carved with inscriptions written in Luwian hieroglyphs. This is not surprising, even if, as it is possible, Hamiyata was an Aramaean. Style and script went together. They were the normal way of conveying ideas at that time in that part of Syria.

The inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele was of the standard type. It included an introduction, in which Hamiyata was named and the favour he benefited from the gods was outlined; there followed a description of Hamiyata's achievements

and, in a third part, curses were expressed against whoever would appropriate the stele or do evil to Hamiyata's posterity. The list of the gods in the first part of the inscription was abnormally long but probably corresponded to a standard list of gods going back to the second millennium, which seems to have been reworked to include deities that were also popular in the Iron Age. The curses included a place name, Anaita (also spelled Ana in other inscriptions), that may have referred to the realm of the dead – a place where the departed would know eternal peace – rather than to an actual place where Hamiyata would have been active. As for the relationship between the inscription and the relief, it was given by the central part of the inscription which said that the stele portrayed Tarhunza of the Army who helped Hamiyata to win a military victory. It also said that, after the victory, a prophet of the god recommended to Hamiyata to set up special offerings for the god. The stele commemorated both the victory and the ritual dispositions taken by the ruler. The central concern of both the inscription and the relief was thus Tarhunza of the Army.

If all the Storm-God stelae discovered in the region of Tell Ahmar are taken together, some discrepancy might appear between the remarkable homogeneity of the iconography and the diversity of names used to refer to the deity portrayed on the stelae. "Celestial Tarhunza", "Halabean Tarhunza", "Tarhunza of the Army" are the epithets variously applied to the god. However, it would probably be mistaken to consider this iconographic motif as polyvalent and able to be used to depict any aspect of the Storm-God. A review of the known images of the Storm-God shows that most of them can be grouped into individual motifs illustrating a specific aspect of the Storm-God. As a consequence, the Storm-God motif carved on the stelae from Tell Ahmar probably also corresponded to a particular form of the Storm-God.

The motif was very characteristic. It showed a Storm-God in smiting posture and marching to the right. His main features were a helmet with a bulbous top and two pairs of horns, a long curling pigtail, a square beard, a short sleeved shirt, a belted kilt with a tassel and a sword attached to its side, and shoes with upturned toes. The god was brandishing an axe in his right hand raised above his head and a thunderbolt in the shape of a trident in his outstretched left hand.

The origin of this motif can be traced back to the end of the Bronze Age, especially in the Carchemish region where a Storm-God, depicted in a very similar way, was shown on a few seal impressions. The main differences concerned the weapon in the god's right hand – a mace instead of an axe – and the symbol in the god's left hand. It was not a thunderbolt strictly speaking but the W-shaped Luwian hieroglyph that noted the name of the Storm-God. The resemblance was very strong, however, as this hieroglyph could adopt the shape of a trident. Only the handle was missing.

In the Iron Age two stelae, one from Kōrkūn and another one discovered in Babylon, identified this motif as a picture of the Storm-God of Aleppo. So far, no other place name has been found associated with the same motif. This can be taken

as an indication that some kind of link may have existed between the Storm-God of Aleppo and the motif of the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt.

Actually, a relief recently discovered on the Aleppo Citadel shows the Storm-God of Aleppo in a way that is iconographically very close to the motif under discussion. The god is portrayed in smiting posture with attributes that find a matching counterpart on the Ahmar-Qubbah stele: helmet with horns and rounded appendix at the top, pigtail, beard, shirt, kilt, sword and shoes with upturned toes have all been figured. But there is one major discordance: the god of Aleppo does not carry any weapon or symbol in his hands. His posture, however, cannot be explained without mentally supplementing them. The Aleppo relief, although not formally confirming the identification of the motif with the god of Aleppo, does not oppose it either. It is thus quite possible that the motif reproduced on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele did portray the god of the North Syrian city. As a matter of fact a stele from Tell Ahmar referred to Halabean Tarhunza, i.e. the Storm-God of Aleppo, as to the deity shown on the relief that complemented the inscription. This relief is unfortunately lost but, given the homogeneity of the Storm-God iconography at the site, it is quite possible that it was carved with a motif of the same kind as those already known.

The homogeneity of the religious content of the divine representations, suggested by the homogeneity of the iconography, finds more support in the mention of a prophet in two of the inscriptions. The Tell Ahmar inscription that refers to the Storm-God of Aleppo mentions a prophet of the god and the inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele does exactly the same. The two deities, Tarhunza of the Army and the Storm-God of Aleppo, are thus very likely to be identical. Actually, the prophets of the Storm-God of Aleppo are already known at the time of the Mari archives.

Hamiyata did not only adopt a particular iconographic motif. He may have created a new iconographic scheme by combining traditional features. Seal impressions show that, at the end of the Bronze Age in the Carchemish region, the Smiting Storm-God might be portrayed as standing on the back of a bull. The bull was striding and not crouching as on other contemporary depictions of the god. This motif was revived on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele and expanded by adding a winged disk above the scene and a guilloche below. All these motives had their own meaning which, added together, contributed to defining the overall symbolism of the scene. The winged disk, traditionally a solar symbol as well as a symbol of power, was complemented by a crescent to give a more universal meaning to the symbol. It thus assumed a cosmic significance, representing the entire celestial vault with the sun and the moon as its most representative components. The bull, depicted as a young animal, was an autonomous deity, associated with the Storm-God, that a few texts emanating from an Aramaic background designated as the divine Bull-Calf. The guilloche symbolized the watery abyss, the deepest region of the world as opposed

to heavens that were figured by the winged disk. This conjunction of symbols placed the Storm-God, which we have reasons to think was the Storm-God of Aleppo, in an environment that bestowed cosmic powers on him.

Here again inscriptions offer converging evidence. On three of the Tell Ahmar stelae the figure of the Storm-God was defined as Celestial Tarhunza, i.e. the Storm-God of Heaven, quite appropriate an epithet for a god with cosmic powers.

In this perspective, it is worth noticing that, in the much later bilingual inscription from Karatepe, Celestial Tarhunza was equated with the Semitic deity Baal Shamem, the Lord of Heaven, that became popular in the Syro-Phoenician world at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. It is tempting to think that, with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele and perhaps other similar monuments that have not been found, Hamiyata contributed to spreading the cult of this deity. The Storm-God of Aleppo is thus likely to have been worshipped in the guise of Baal Shamem at Masuwari/Tell Ahmar. His worship may have taken place in the temple of the Storm-God whose existence is attested by an inscription from Arslan Tash more than a century later.

The Ahmar/Qubbah stele thus stood at a crossroads of religious and iconographic traditions. The style, iconography, script and language were borrowed from Carchemish, a powerful centre that was perpetuating Hittite heritage in northern Syria. The general context, however, seems to have been Semitic. The Storm-God of Aleppo, though popular in Hittite Anatolia, was primarily a Semitic deity whose proper name, known since the third millennium, was Hadad (attested under various spellings). Hamiyata, probably an Aramaean, ruled a state that may have formed part of the tribal state of Bit Adini. His personal convictions are therefore more likely to be explained by a Semitic background than by Anatolian traditions.

On the religious and iconographic level, the choice made by the author of the stele was to epitomize the powers of the god by alluding to them through an accumulation of symbols rather than to illustrate these powers by showing the god engaged in a particular action. The scene recalls, but does not show, the god's main achievement: the victory over the Sea. Prior knowledge of the event is necessary to understand the scene and, at the same time, a more general meaning is conferred to the act. As the combat has not yet taken place, another adversary can be mentally substituted to the Sea and, by a transfer to the human sphere, the god may be seen as also threatening the ruler's enemy. Timelessness is introduced in the representation. The god is perpetually fighting disorder, he is perpetually throwing lightnings and shaking the earth with thunder and pouring fertilizing rain. Everything is about to happen, not yet performed and, by this very fact, the image sends a message of hope. The onlooker is reminded of what he already knows. What has happened will happen again. The enemy will be defeated. Rain will fall.

On the political level, Hamiyata's zeal for this Storm-God was probably stimulated by the close links existing between the Storm-God, and especially the

Storm-God of Aleppo, and royal power as well as military strength. The god's weapons, for instance, had their own efficiency. This was already evidenced by several Mari and Ugaritic texts. The trident-thunderbolt, in particular, may have been an object of worship as is shown by pictorial evidence and by the discovery of an actual trident at Tell Ahmar, in a cultic context that dated from about three centuries after the time of Hamiyata.

The powers of the god could be metaphorically understood as symbolizing the powers of the ruler. Traditionally, the Storm-God helped the rulers to exert power and to display military strength. The adoption by the god of elements of the accoutrements of the ruling class, such as the tassel hanging down from the belt and the short-sleeved shirt as well as the sword attached to his waist – which was common to both men and gods – reinforced the link that was supposed to exist between the Storm-God and the rulers. This trend culminated, in other contexts, in deified kings being portrayed as Storm-Gods.

The ultimate goal of Hamiyata, when setting up the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, can thus be understood as a legitimization of his power by promoting the worship of a god, in whom we can see the Storm-God of Aleppo, that, traditionally, was bestowing legitimacy and power on rulers. Emphasizing the cosmic powers of the god, possibly equated with Baal Shamem, could but strengthen Hamiyata's aspiration to extending his own power and affirming his legitimacy against all evidence pointing to the contrary.

#### CATALOGUE OF IRON AGE SYRO-ANATOLIAN FIGURES OF THE STORM-GOD

The purpose of the catalogue is to offer a representative list of Storm-God figures in order to outline similarities and differences between the various ways of portraying the Storm-God in Syro-Anatolian art in the early Iron Age and, thus, to replace the Ahmar/Qubbah stele in its proper iconographic context. Style has not been considered as a criterion in this grouping effort. The works have been arranged in distinct groups and, when appropriate, sub-groups, according to the combination of attributes and motifs that make up the picture, and the groups are listed according to their decreasing similarity with the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

Each entry gives a name that includes the shape (stele, orthostat etc.) and the place of discovery of the work, a reference to the figure that illustrates the work at the end of the book, and, when available, an indication of its dimensions (height x width). The essential bibliography can be found in the footnotes. Dates are indicative only and taken from standard works such as W. Orthmann's study of Late Hittite sculpture (*USK*) and J. D. Hawkins' corpus of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions (*CHLI*, I), as well as S. Mazzone's studies on the early Iron Age in Syria. The illustrations (figs. 56-121) have been arranged in a way that aims to facilitate comparisons between the works, irrespective of scale.

After the pioneering work of H. Demircioğlu,<sup>1</sup> the iconography of the Storm-God in the Iron Age has been especially investigated by E. Akurgal (*Bildkunst*, pp. 101-104), A. Vanel (*L'iconographie*, pp. 119-151), W. Orthmann (*USK*, pp. 238-244) and H. Genge (*Reliefs*, I, pp. 179-182). It has been difficult, however, to take any of these studies as a starting point for the present catalogue, even though they are all useful for understanding specific aspects of the Storm-God's iconography. As Demircioğlu's book was dealing with only one aspect of the Storm-God's iconography, the first attempt at a systematic study of the Storm-God's iconography was made by E. Akurgal. He recognized four types of Storm-God figures: (1) the Storm-God standing on the back of a bull, (2) the Storm-God standing on the back of a lion, (3) the Storm-God standing on the ground, (4) the Storm-God in a chariot. These categories, however, are too broad, especially the first and third of them, and they include figures that were not figures of Storm-Gods, especially in the second category. Vanel's study is more a commentary of the various ways of portraying the god than an attempt at creating a formal typology. As for Orthmann's work, it is not always perfectly consistent. Orthmann's "Gruppe A" is defined as including the Storm-Gods in smiting posture with an axe or mace in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other, but it also includes the Malatya reliefs (cat. 32-34, 45), on which the god is

<sup>1</sup> H. DEMIRCIOĞLU, *Der Gott auf dem Stier: Geschichte eines religiösen Bildtypus*, Berlin 1939.

brandishing a curved object instead of an axe or mace, and the stele from Jekke (cat. 20), that shows a Storm-God that is not in smiting posture and does not hold an axe or a mace. Orthmann's "Gruppe B" includes deities with a spear that cannot be demonstrated to portray a Storm-God. In some instances an identification with Šarruma or Karhuha is more likely and occasionally confirmed by an inscription. "Gruppe C" is equivalent to Group III below (Storm-God with Bunches of Grapes and Ears of Wheat), although it is not very likely that the stele from Korkün (cat. 8), listed by Orthmann in this group, actually belongs to it. "Gruppe D" consists of Tell Halaf sculptures that are included here in Group IV (Storm-God Holding a Curved Object). Finally, "Gruppe E" consists of two reliefs with a figure that, in both cases, are identified as Šarruma by an inscription, as Orthmann acknowledges it. Finally, Genge considers the way the god is dressed to define (1) an early group of Storm-Gods with a short tunic, (2) a group of Storm-Gods in a long tunic, (3) a later group of Storm-Gods with a short tunic. Here again, the categories are too broad to be really useful.

In general, previous studies tend to put too much emphasis on one feature without considering all the components of a picture. For instance the smiting posture, which is characteristic of the Storm-God from the early second millennium onwards, is common to both the Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (cat. 1) and some of the reliefs depicting the Storm-God in a chariot (Group VI below), but placing them all in the same group, as did W. Orthmann, might bias our understanding of their respective meaning. Or grouping together the same Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar and the stele from Jekke (cat. 20) for the sole reason that they both show the god standing on a bull, may have the same damaging effects. It has therefore seemed preferable to establish a new typology based on the recurrence of a combination of attributes and motifs.

A few works sometimes identified as representing a Storm-God have been omitted from this catalogue. Such are a stele discovered at Qadbun, in the mountain near Tartous,<sup>2</sup> a stele with an aramaic inscription from Tell Sifr in the Aleppo region,<sup>3</sup> and a stele from Atabey Köyü near Malatya.<sup>4</sup> The Qadbun stele strongly departs from the usual iconography of the Storm-God and it associates the divine figure with attributes that are not, normally, those of the Storm-God. The Tell Sifr stele, of which only the bottom left part is preserved, depicts an animal with a short tail, that cannot be a bull and, therefore, is unlikely to have been associated with the Storm-God. And the stele from Atabey Köyü, showing a smiting god standing on

<sup>2</sup> A. ABÜ 'ASSÄF, "Eine Stele des Gottes Ba'al im Museum von Tartūs," *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 6 (1992), pp. 247-252, pl. 40; A. BOUNNI, "La stele di Qadbun," *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale*, 4 (1992), pp. 141-150.

<sup>3</sup> F. MICHELINI TOCCI, "Un frammento di stele aramaica da Tell Sifr," *Oriens Antiquus*, 1 (1962), pp. 21-22, pl. II. GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, p. 181, would assign it to his "Langrocktyp" of Storm-Gods.

<sup>4</sup> D. USSISHKIN, "A Hittite stele from Atabey Köyü near Malatya," *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, ed. M. J. MELLINK et al., Ankara 1993, pp. 635-637.

two mountains, seems to belong to second millennium iconography rather than to the early first millennium.

## I. SMITING STORM-GOD WITH AN AXE AND TRIDENT-THUNDERBOLT

### A. Associated with a winged disk and a bull

Only one stele shows the four essential components recognized on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele (winged disk with crescent, god, bull and guilloche):

#### 1. Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (fig. 56).<sup>5</sup> 3.03 m x 0.98 m.

The axe in the god's right hand is unsure due to a break in the stone. The Luwian inscription was written for a king of Masuwari. The king's personal name is lost but he is said to be the son of Ariyahina. The death of Hamiyata is mentioned. The text refers to the god as Celestial Tarhunza.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (USK), late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 9<sup>th</sup> century (CHLI, I).

Another stele, broken at the lower part, had the winged disk, the god and the bull. The guilloche may have broken off:

#### 2. Stele from Karaçay Köy (fig. 57).<sup>6</sup>

The stele, found near Maraş, is now in the Maraş Museum. The lower part of the relief is missing so that only the back and head of the bull are visible. The axe is a double axe. The presence of a guilloche cannot be established.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup> century by comparison with cat. 5 and 7.

### B. Associated with a winged disk

a. More stelae are missing the lower part, where the bull and, possibly, a guilloche might have been. They are therefore placed in this sub-group although the possibility remains that they belong to the previous sub-group.

#### 3. Storm-God stele A from Tell Ahmar (fig. 58).<sup>7</sup> 2.06 m x 0.83 m.

The lower part of the stele has broken off. The presence of the bull and guilloche cannot be established. The Luwian inscription is an inscription of Hamiyata, king of Masuwari, and it refers to the god as Celestial Tarhunza.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (USK), late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 9<sup>th</sup> century (CHLI, I).

<sup>5</sup> *Til-Barsib*, pl. I; USK, *Til Barsib B/1*, p. 535, pl. 53/c; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 52-53; CHLI, I, III.6. TELL AHMAR 1, pp. 239-243, pl. 99-100.

<sup>6</sup> Published here with kind permission of Prof. F. Kulakoğlu.

<sup>7</sup> *Til-Barsib*, pl. III-VI; USK, *Til Barsib B/2*, p. 535, pl. 53/d; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 52-53, II, fig. 17; CHLI, I, III.1. TELL AHMAR 2, pp. 227-231, pl. 91-92.



**4. Stele in the Elie Borowski collection** (fig. 59).<sup>8</sup> 1.30 m x 0.52 m.

Also broken off at the lower part. No bull nor guilloche are therefore visible. The inscription is another inscription of Hamiyata, king of Masuwari, recalling the construction of the city Haruha. The god is called Celestial Tarhunza.

Date: late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 9<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

**5. Stele from Kürtül** (fig. 60).<sup>9</sup> 0.64 m x 0.64 m.

The stone is broken off at the bottom. The presence of the bull and guilloche cannot be established. The reading of the name of the author of the inscription is unsure. J. D. Hawkins suggests "Las (son) of Laras". No place is mentioned. God Tarhunza is mentioned several times but without specifically referring to the divine figure on the front.

Date: "Späthethitisches III" (*USK*), late 8<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

b. Other stelae, complete, show no other motif than the Storm-God below a winged disk.

**6. Stele in the Aleppo National Museum** (fig. 61).<sup>10</sup> 0.90 m x 0.63 m.

The stele is of unknown provenance. The front side, much defaced, still has traces of a winged disk with a crescent, as well as traces of a trident and an axe. Traces of a foot also seem to exist just above the lower edge of the stele. The tenon (not visible on fig. 61) proves that the base of the stele is not broken. It is therefore sure that there was no bull nor guilloche. The inscription does not specifically refer to the relief but places the author, Arpa, brother of Hamiyata, under the protection of Celestial Tarhunza and of the Moon-God of Harran. It also mentions an image of the Sun-God which, according to J. D. Hawkins (*CHLI*, I, p. 238), might refer to the winged disk.

Date: late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 9<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

**7. Stele from Maraş** (fig. 62).<sup>11</sup> 1.05 m x 0.56 m.

The relief is worn out. The presence of a crescent below the disk in the winged disk symbol is possible but not entirely sure. Similarly it is impossible to see whether horns were attached to the god's helmet. The fragmentary inscription mentions three times Tarhunza, without epithet, and once the Moon-God.

Date: "Späthethitisches II/IIIa" (*USK*), unclear (*CHLI*, I).

<sup>8</sup> I. SINGER, "A new stele of Hamiyatas, king of Masuwari", *Tel Aviv*, 15-16 (1988-1989), pp. 184-192. pl. 17-18; fig. 1; *CHLI*, I, III.2. BOROWSKI 3, pp. 230-231, pl. 93.

<sup>9</sup> M. KALAÇ, "Eine Wettergott-Stele und drei Reliefs im Museum zu Maraş," *Jaarbericht van het Voorasiatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*, 6/18 (1964), No. 1, pp. 280-282 and pls. VII/A (relief), VIII/A-B (inscription); *USK*, Kürtül 1, p. 519, pl. 38/e; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 22; *CHLI*, I, IV.9, pp. 271-272, pl. 122-123.

<sup>10</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "The 'Autobiography of Ariyahinas's Son': An edition of the hieroglyphic Luwian steles *Tell Ahmar* 1 and *Aleppo* 2," *Anatolian Studies*, 30 (1980), pp. 151-156, figs. 1 & 2 (inscription only), pp. 144-145; *CHLI*, I, III.5. Aleppo 2, pp. 235-238, pl. 97-98.

<sup>11</sup> *USK*, Maraş B/5, pp. 524-525, pl. 44e; *CHLI*, I, IV.8. MARAŞ 11, pp. 270-271, pl. 120-121.

**8. Stele from Körkün** (fig. 63).<sup>12</sup> 1.33 m x 0.72 m.

The axe is a double axe and there is a kind of cord hanging down from the trident-like thunderbolt, below the god's left hand. A similar accessory, but longer, hangs down from the thunderbolt of a Storm-God on a second millennium seal impression made on a jar kept in Istanbul.<sup>13</sup> The author of the Luwian inscription is probably Kazupi and the god portrayed on the relief is Tarhunza of Aleppo.

Date: "Späthethitisches II/III" (*USK*), late 9<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

If it turned out that the god portrayed on a stele kept in the Adiyaman Museum (cat. 35) was carrying an axe instead of a boomerang, this stele should be listed here. More Storm-Gods associated with a winged disk, which other attributes invite to place in various other groups, are mentioned below: cat. 15, 17, 22, 30, 44, 53.

**C. Without additional symbols**

a. Three reliefs show a divine figure that shares several characteristics with those of the two previous sub-groups, but without external attributes.

**9. Stele from Babylon** (fig. 64).<sup>14</sup> 1.28 m x 0.53 m.

The relief was found in Babylon but, given its style, was surely of Syro-Anatolian origin. Only one pair of horns is attached to the god's helmet. The spikes of the trident-thunderbolt consist of three wavy lines. An inscription mentions, as the author of the work, a ruler whose name is probably to be read Lapariziti. The land he is ruling is not named. The god is called Storm-God of Aleppo, which does not necessarily imply that the stele has been carved in Aleppo.<sup>15</sup> Stylistically it is closer to the Carchemish reliefs than to the orthostats discovered on the Aleppo Citadel.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (*USK*), late 10<sup>th</sup> - early 9<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

<sup>12</sup> M. KALAÇ, "Die Wettergott-Stele mit Hieroglyphen aus Körkün," *Athenaeum*, 47 (1969), pp. 160-167; *USK*, Körkün, p. 551, pl. 38/f; *CHLI*, I, II.40. Körkün, pp. 171-175, pl. 58-59; *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*, Exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart 2002, No. 163, p. 359.

<sup>13</sup> *Schatten uit Turkije*, Exhibition catalogue, Leiden 1986, No. 131, p. 104; D. COLLON, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, London 1987, fig. 828, p. 176.

<sup>14</sup> R. KOLDEWEY & F. DELITZSCH, *Die hethitische Inschrift gefunden in der Königsburg von Babylon am 22. August 1899*, WVD OG 1, Leipzig 1900; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 128; *USK*, Babylon 1, p. 480, pl. 5/b; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 51-55, II, fig. 18; BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 322, p. 282; *CHLI*, I, VIII.1, BABYLON 1, pp. 391-394, pl. 211.

<sup>15</sup> Contrary to J. D. Hawkins' opinion (*CHLI*, I, p. 391), who thinks that the stele came from the temple of the Storm-God of Aleppo.



**10. Stone block from Arslantepe/Malatya** (fig. 65).<sup>16</sup> 0.70 m x 0.38.

The block has been carved on three sides. On the left side is the figure of the Storm-God, on the front a winged genie and, on the right side, a young bull. No sword is attached to the god's waist. The object in his right hand is unclear. It may be an axe. The thunderbolt in his left consists of three wavy lines as on the stele from Babylon (cat. 9). The helmet, with two pairs of horns, is similar to that of the god on the stele from Islahiye (cat. 51).

Date: "Späthethitisches III" (USK)

**11. Stele from Gözlühüyük near Islahiye** (fig. 66).<sup>17</sup> 1.38 m x 1.01 m.

This relief combines Egyptian and Assyrian influence. The hair stylization looks Assyrian, but the uraeus on the helmet is definitely Egyptian. Also Egyptian, or Syro-Egyptian, is the kind of cord issuing from the top of the god's helmet. It is similar to the attribute usually associated with Baal-Seth,<sup>18</sup> but carved in such a way that it calls to mind the pigtail of the Syro-Anatolian Storm-God. Two lines ending in a volute at their top end follow the curve of the helmet's contours and recall another Egyptian motif, namely the atef crown. The overall conception of the relief, however, is similar to that of the Storm-God figures listed here. Especially worthy of notice are the helmet with two pairs of horns, the axe, trident-thunderbolt and kilt. Only the sword is missing. The two ornaments attached to the lower fringe of the kilt, on either side of the figure, are similar to those visible on reliefs from the Ivriz region (cat. 26-28), as well as on cat. 61

Date: 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century.

b. Two reliefs show the smiting Storm-God participating in a procession. In both cases the sword is pointing forward:

**12. Orthostat from Carchemish** (fig. 67).<sup>19</sup> Total length of the slab: 2.50 m.

The figure of the god can be reconstructed thanks to a drawing by George Smith, that shows the parts that had disappeared at the time of excavation. The general conception of the divine figure is the same as that on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele. However, the sword is pointing forward and is clearly attached to the right side of the god, not to his left. Of the symbols associated with the Storm-God on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele, one, the guilloche, is visible below the feet of the god. Actually, the orthostat is part of an ensemble, the "Long Wall of Sculpture", in

<sup>16</sup> H. H. von der OSTEN, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor 1927-1928*, Chicago, OIC 6, 1929, fig. 104, p. 91; AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, pl. 25; USK, Malatya C/1b, p. 523, pl. 43/a; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 173-174, II, fig. 72.

<sup>17</sup> I. TEMIZSOY, *Gaziantep Museums*, 1989, fig. 54, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> I. CORNELIUS, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c. 1500-1000 B.C.E.)*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 140, Friburg & Göttingen 1994, pp. 134-233.

<sup>19</sup> Carchemish, III, pl. B 38; J. D. HAWKINS, "Building inscriptions of Carchemish: The Long Wall of Sculpture and the Great Staircase," *Anatolian Studies*, 22 (1972), fig. 4; USK, Karkemis C/1, p. 501, pl. 23/e.

which the Storm-God is heading a procession and the guilloche has been carved to mark the ground line all along the procession (fig. 69). For a possible association with a winged disk including a crescent, see above (p. 37). Only the bull would have been missing.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (USK), 10<sup>th</sup> century (CHLI, I, p. 88: date of the inscription on the Long Wall of Sculpture).

**13. Orthostat from Zincirli** (fig. 68).<sup>20</sup> 1.35 m x 0.83 m.

Quite surprisingly the god's helmet has no horns at all. The sword is also pointing forward but it is attached, as expected, to the left side of the god. This relief was part, as the previous sculpture, of a series of orthostats that formed a decorative ensemble (fig. 70). The Storm-God was third in a procession of divine figures that began on the front side of the first orthostat to the right (not shown on fig. 70). As J. D. Hawkins has noted,<sup>21</sup> the deities here portrayed did not belong to the local pantheon and were probably inspired by the Carchemish reliefs, but, compared with the Carchemish procession, the Zincirli deities were shown in the wrong order. The entire scene probably resulted from a misinterpretation of the Carchemish reliefs by local artists.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (USK), 10<sup>th</sup> century (Mazzoni).<sup>22</sup>

#### D. Assyrianizing Storm-Gods

Syro-Anatolian art progressively came under Assyrian influence. The figure of the Storm-God made no exception. By adopting iconographic conventions originating in a tradition that was entirely different from their own, Syro-Anatolian artists tended to produce works that departed from the tradition on a few essential points. The works grouped together below, although some of them are clearly inspired by the smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt, cannot be simply listed along with them. The god is now dressed according to Assyrian fashion. The trident-thunderbolt is replaced by the double trident and the smiting posture seems to lose its function as an identification mark of the Storm-God.

a. Two reliefs obviously try to combine traditional features with Assyrian iconography:

<sup>20</sup> Sendschirli, III, 218, fig. 114, pl. 41 (left); USK, Zincirli B/14, p. 541, pl. 58/d, 72/d; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 53-55; II, fig. 15; ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, fig. 357 (left); L. JAKOB-ROST (ed.), *Das vorderasiatische Museum Berlin*, Mainz 1992, No. 165, p. 222.

<sup>21</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "The Syro-Hittite states," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates to Volume III, ed. J. BOARDMAN, Cambridge 1984, pp. 76-77.

<sup>22</sup> S. MAZZONI, "The gate and the city: Change and continuity in Syro-Hittite urban ideology," *Die orientalische Stadt*, ed. G. WILHELM, Saarbrücken 1997, pp. 318-322.

**14. Stele in Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara (fig. 71).<sup>23</sup>**

The god is standing on a bull with an axe in his right hand and an asymmetrical double trident-lightning in his left. The details are borrowed from Assyrian art. The god's tiara is of the Assyrian type with a round symbol above it, as Assyrian deities occasionally have. He has no kilt but a robe exposing one leg. The hair is stylized in the Assyrian fashion. The overall conception, however, remains close to that of the Syro-Anatolian Storm-Gods standing on the back of a bull.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century.

**15. Stele from Maraş (fig. 72).<sup>24</sup> 0.91 m x 0.56 m.**

This stele goes a step further towards adopting Assyrian artistic conventions. It is much damaged but not to the point that the figure of the god is unrecognizable. He has hair and beard as well as a tiara in the Assyrian style. His posture is the same as that of the god on the previous relief. Above his head is what looks like a large disk. In fact it is a winged disk according to B. Jacobs and W. Messerschmidt.<sup>25</sup> The rounded form of the winged disk probably emulates the round symbol, usually much smaller, that is placed above the head of some Assyrian gods. There is no crescent but, still according to B. Jacobs and W. Messerschmidt,<sup>26</sup> there is a disk near the right edge of the stele and below the winged disk. The lower edge of the disk is slightly thicker than the rest of the motif, surely to suggest a crescent. In the middle of the disk the bust of a male deity has been carved. The motif undoubtedly represents the Moon-God. The original symbol that combined a disk with a crescent has thus been split into two symbols conveying the same notions. The figure of a worshipper has been carved on the left side and, in later times, a Greek inscription on the back. The inscription mentions the discovery of the stone and its dedication to *Theos Epekoos*.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century (Şahin).

b. Two more works definitely adopt Assyrian standards although they must still be viewed in the Syro-Anatolian tradition.

**16. Stele from Arslan Tash (fig. 73).<sup>27</sup> 1.36 m x 0.54 m.**

The god, portrayed in Assyrian style, including the round symbol above his tiara, is brandishing two double lightnings as Assyrian Storm-Gods usually do. Contrary to

<sup>23</sup> E. SCHWERTHEIM, "Jupiter Dolichenus, seine Denkmäler und seine Verehrung," *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, EPRO 93, Leiden 1981, pl. I, p. 207.

<sup>24</sup> S. ŞAHİN, "Forschungen in Kommagene I, Epigraphik, 5. Revision einer Votivstele aus Maraş," *Epigraphica anatolica*, 18 (1991), pl. 13, fig. 9; B. JACOBS and W. MESSERSCHMIDT, "Eine (provinzial-)assyrische Stele für Jupiter Dolichenus (Archäologische Interpretation zu der Stele aus Maraş, Epigr. Anat. 18, 1991, S. 109 ff.)," *Epigraphica anatolica*, 19 (1992), pp. 105-114.

<sup>25</sup> B. JACOBS and W. MESSERSCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 105.

<sup>26</sup> B. JACOBS and W. MESSERSCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 107.

<sup>27</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, Paris 1931, pl. II/1; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 20; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 250, p. 225; ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, fig. 217.

the Ankara stele, on which the god was quietly walking to the right, the god here seems to run towards an invisible enemy. The posture is clearly inspired by Assyrian models as can be seen on cylinder seals<sup>28</sup> and on a famous relief from the Ninurta temple at Nimrud (fig. 77).<sup>29</sup> These works show that Assyrian religious iconography knew a motif illustrating a running god, armed with two lightnings in the shape of double tridents, that was chasing a monster. As H. Galter has observed,<sup>30</sup> at Arslan Tash the traditional Syro-Anatolian motif of the smiting Storm-God standing on a bull was thus revised to conform the god to the Assyrian model but without going as far as adopting the Assyrian iconographic scheme. The details were Assyrian but the conception was Syro-Anatolian.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup> century (Orthmann).<sup>31</sup>

**17. Cylinder seal from the Marcopoli Collection (fig. 75).<sup>32</sup> H.: 3.5 cm, Ø 1.5 cm.**

A Syrian seal, executed under strong Assyrian influence, shows a Storm-God dressed in a long robe and standing on the back of a bull. He is holding a double trident in both hands. In front of him stands a worshipper also dressed in a long robe. A table with offerings separates the two figures. Behind the worshipper stands another deity, probably a goddess, standing on the back of a cow that is suckling a calf. Various symbols, including a winged disk, complete the scene. An aramaic inscription is running vertically between the worshipper and the deity standing on a cow. It identifies the owner of the seal: ḤTM ʾLʾMR, "seal of Ilu-āmur".<sup>33</sup> The divine figure is very similar to that on the Arslan Tash stele, but, contrary to the Syro-Anatolian tradition, it is not in the smiting posture and it is not facing right.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup> century (Teissier).

c. Two works still have to be mentioned:

**18. Amulet from Arslan Tash (fig. 74).<sup>34</sup> 8.2 cm x 6.7 cm.**

A small stone plaque, about whose authenticity doubts have been raised,<sup>35</sup> shows, on the reverse, a bearded smiting god with an axe in his right hand. His left hand holds

<sup>28</sup> For instance D. COLLON, *op. cit.* (n. 13), Nos. 783 & 850.

<sup>29</sup> A. H. LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, II, 1853, pl. 5; *State Archives of Assyria*, III, fig. 29, p. 90.

<sup>30</sup> H. GALTER, "Der Himmel über Hadattu. Das religiöse Umfeld der Inschriften von Arslan Tash," *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, ed. M. HUTTER & S. HUTTER-BRAUNSAAR, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, p. 179.

<sup>31</sup> W. ORTHMANN in ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, p. 318.

<sup>32</sup> B. TEISSIER, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1984, No. 236, p. 172.

<sup>33</sup> An Ilu-āmur is known from an Assur document (H. D. BAKER, "Ilu-āmur," *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 2/1, ed. H. D. BAKER, Helsinki 2000, p. 526).

<sup>34</sup> R. du MESNIL du BUISSON, "Une tablette magique de la région du moyen Euphrate," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, I, Paris 1939, pp. 421-434; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 304.

<sup>35</sup> J. TEIXIDOR, "Les tablettes d'Arslan Tash au Musée d'Alep," *Aula Orientalis*, 1 (1983), pp. 105-108; P. AMIET, "Observations sur les 'Tablettes magiques' d'Arslan Tash," *ibid.*, p. 109. However, J. van DIJK, "The authenticity of the Arslan Tash amulets," *Iraq*, 54 (1992), pp. 65-68, thinks that doubts are not justified. See,

no object. On the obverse are the figures of a sphinx and of a wolf devouring a human being. The alphabetic inscription<sup>36</sup> mentions several deities, including Baal, but no clear connection can be made between them and the figures carved on the plaque. The identification with a Storm-God is possible given the smiting posture and the axe in the god's right hand, but it is far from being certain.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Lastly an Assyrian relief will be quoted, although it is not a Syro-Anatolian work, because it shows, in all probability, how the Assyrians viewed the western Storm-God. It must be an Assyrian depiction of a real Syro-Hittite work deported from the West:

**19. Detail of a relief of Tiglath-pileser III from Nimrud (fig. 76).**<sup>37</sup>

Gods, possibly from Unqi,<sup>38</sup> are carried into deportation by the Assyrian army. Among them is a Storm-God. He is wearing no tiara but has an axe in his right hand and a double trident-thunderbolt in his left. Two pairs of horns seem to issue from his head. No sword is shown. The god is not shown in smiting posture, but this may be due to a misunderstanding on the part of the Assyrian artist, as are the two pairs of horns issuing from the head of the god instead of being attached to a helmet. It seems that the artist knew how a Syro-Anatolian Storm-God could be portrayed but did not have a real example in front of him and carved the details according to Assyrian practice.

Date: mid-8<sup>th</sup> century.

## II. STORM-GOD IN A LONG ROBE

Besides the long robe, the figures included in this group are wearing a rounded cap. They are not in smiting posture but have their arms bent at right angle. The posture is close to that of the god on the reliefs from the Ivriz region (cat. 26-29).

**A. Stelae.** A first sub-group consists of three stelae, all with figures that an inscription formally identifies as Storm-Gods.

more recently, J.-A. ZAMORA, "Textos mágicos y trasfondo mitológico: Arslan Tash," *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*, 20 (2003), pp. 9-23 (pp. 10-12 on the present amulet).

<sup>36</sup> KAI, No. 27; TSSI, III, No. 23, pp. 78-88; *The Context of Scripture*, II, No. 2.86, pp. 222-223.

<sup>37</sup> R. D. BARNETT & M. FALKNER, *The Sculptures of Aššur-našir-apli II (883-859 B.C.), Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.), from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud*, London 1962, plates XCII-XCIII; H. TADMOR, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, fig. 12.

<sup>38</sup> H. TADMOR, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 240.

<sup>39</sup> M. DUNAND, "Stèle hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 4 (1940), pp. 85-92; *USK*, Djekke 1, p. 482, pl. 5/d; H. GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 19; *CHLI*, I, II.27., CEKKE, pp. 143-151, pl. 42-43.

**20. Stele from Jekke (fig. 78).**<sup>39</sup> 1.62 m x 0.70 m.

This divine figure is remarkable for the pigtail that is following the curve of the shoulder, as well as for the cone-like object in the god's right hand,<sup>40</sup> and for the kind of reins that link the handle of the trident-lightning to the neck of the bull. There is no sword attached to the god's belt. Two Luwian inscriptions have been carved on the stele. One records the dedication of the stele by a servant of Sastura (vizier of Kamani, king of Carchemish) and refers to the god as Celestial Tarhunza, the other describes the reorganization of a city called Kamana by Kamani and Sastura.

Date: "Späthethitisches III" (*USK*), mid-8<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

**21. Stele in the Adiyaman Museum (fig. 79).**<sup>41</sup> 0.83 m x 0.30 m.

Of the divine figure, only the point of a sword, the back of the robe and one foot are visible. It was standing on the back of a bull, of which only the hind-parts are preserved. Rosettes fill in the empty space behind the god. The fragmentary inscription refers to the divine figure as Celestial Tarhunza, with an epithet, translated as IRNILA-ea by J. D. Hawkins, which is difficult to understand.

Date: "Späthethitisches III" (*USK*), c. 805-773 (*CHLI*, I).

**22. Stele from Shamak, near Carchemish (fig. 80).**<sup>42</sup> 0.60 m x 0.38 m.

The relief is carved on a four-sided stone block. Only the upper part of the god's figure is preserved. Its general outlook is so close to that of the god portrayed on the Jekke stele that it can be reconstructed on its model, although the objects the god is holding are unclear. It is not sure whether the god was standing on a bull. Above the scene is a winged disk. A Luwian inscription on either side of the divine figure mentions Tarhunza (the Storm-God), surely referring to the divine figure, and Tiwaza (the Sun-God), very likely referring to the winged disk as J. D. Hawkins has suggested.<sup>43</sup> On a similar reference to the Sun-God see above cat. 6.

Date: "Späthethitisches III?" (*USK*), 8<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

**B. Statues.** Figures of Storm-Gods dressed in a long robe have also been carved in the round. Such figures do not have a pigtail and it cannot be decided, in every case, whether they represent a Storm-God or a deified king portrayed as a Storm-God.

<sup>40</sup> M. DUNAND, *art. cit.* (n. 39), p. 90, suggests that it is a pine cone or, at least, a kind of fruit.

<sup>41</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions of Commagene," *Anatolian Studies*, 20 (1970), pp. 100-105, figs. 5 & 6, pp. 101 & 103, pl. XVIIa; *USK*, Adiyaman 1, p. 551, pl. 67/f; *CHLI*, I, VI.4. ADIYAMAN 1, pp. 344-345, pl. 169-170.

<sup>42</sup> *Carchemish*, II, pl. A 17a; *CHLI*, II.53. KARKAMIŠ A17a, pp. 191-192, pl. 72.

<sup>43</sup> *CHLI*, I, p. 192.

**23. Statue from Karatepe (fig. 81).**<sup>44</sup> 2.45 m x 0.68 m.

The statue portrays a male figure holding his arms bent at right angle. The objects he is holding are lost. His headgear is not a horned helmet but a cap with ear-flaps bound above the head. The statue stands on a base decorated with two bulls and a human figure that is grasping the bulls' neck with its raised arms. A Phoenician inscription written in the first person is carved on the statue. Its author is Azatiwada, not a king himself but a powerful ruler in the service of Awarik, king of the Danunim. Azatiwada boasts, in the Karatepe inscriptions, to have built Azatiwadiya and to have established Baal-KRNTRYŠ in the new settlement.<sup>45</sup> A link must therefore exist between this deity and the statue. As it can be assumed that, normally, only gods are portrayed standing on animals, it is likely that the statue was meant to be the statue of a god, possibly Baal-KRNTRYŠ. However, as the general outlook of the figure is rather that of a ruler, not of a god, we may wonder whether Azatiwada had not himself portrayed as a god, possibly a Storm-God (Baal-KRNTRYŠ?), as is suggested by the bulls (see above, p. 56).

Date: late 8<sup>th</sup> century as indicated by the inscriptions.

**24. Statue from Gerçin, near Zincirli (fig. 82).**<sup>46</sup> H.: 2.85 m.

The bearded god is standing and wears a round helmet with two pairs of horns. The hands are broken, so that it is impossible to tell what objects the god was holding, and the lower part of the statue is missing. The Aramaic inscription of Panamuwa I identifies the god as Hadad, i.e. the Semitic Storm-God. The statue, however, could be that of deified Panamuwa portrayed as a Storm-God (see above, p. 57).

Date: "Späthethitisches IIIa" (USK), mid-8<sup>th</sup> century as suggested by historical context.<sup>47</sup>

**25. Statue from Maraş (fig. 83).**<sup>48</sup> 0.20 m x 0.15 m.

The head and right shoulder of the god are missing. The divine figure is dressed in a long robe with a part of its garment going around the missing shoulder and held in the figure's left hand. According to the Luwian inscription the statue has been made for Tarhunza. Iconographically, however, it is closer to a ruler's statue, such as the statue found in a chamber of the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya,<sup>49</sup> than to the

<sup>44</sup> USK, Karatepe C/1, p. 497 (not illustrated); H. ÇAMBEL, "Das freilichtmuseum von Karatepe-Aslantaş," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 43 (1993), p. 509 and pl. 54; H. ÇAMBEL & A. ÖZYAR, *Karatepe-Aslantaş, Azatiwataya: Die Bildwerke*, Mainz am Rhein 2003, pp. 114-115, pl. 218-220.

<sup>45</sup> KAI, No. 26 (text C for the inscription on the statue); TSSI, III, Nr 15, pp. 41-64 (text C for the inscription on the statue); *Context of Scripture*, II, No. 2.31, pp. 148-150; CHLI, II, in which the inscription on the statue is published as PhSt/C (see frontispiece, pp. 20-23 and pl. 32-51).

<sup>46</sup> *Sendschirli*, I, 1893, pp. 49-52, pl. VI-VII; USK, Gerçin 1, pp. 483-484, pl. 7/d; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 143-145, II, fig. 104. Inscription: KAI, No. 214; TSSI, II, No. 13, pp. 60-76; *Context of Scripture*, II, No. 2.36, pp. 156-158. J. TROPPER, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, Munster 1993, H, pp. 54-97?

<sup>47</sup> H. KLENGEL, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.: A Handbook of Political History*, Berlin 1992, pp. 214-215.

<sup>48</sup> USK, Maraş B/22, p. 527 (not illustrated); CHLI, I, IV.6. MARAŞ 3, pp. 267-269, pl. 116.

<sup>49</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *Malatya Arslantepe, I, La porte des lions*, Paris 1940, pl. 28-31; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 106-107; USK, Malatya A/12, p. 522, pl. 41/d-e; K. BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 281, p. 248.

known images of the Storm-God. A combination of divine and royal portraiture is also possible here.

Date: "wohl Späthethitisches III" (USK), probably 8<sup>th</sup> century (CHLI, I).

A possible statue of the Storm-god, or of a deified king, standing in a chariot, from Çineköy (cat. 46), also shows the god with a long robe and a rounded cap.

**III. STORM-GOD WITH BUNCHES OF GRAPE AND EARS OF WHEAT**

All the examples of Group III come from ancient Tabal.

**A. Storm-Gods with bent arms and a kilt with curling lower edge.****26. Rock relief at Ivriz (fig. 84).**<sup>50</sup> H.: c. 6 m.

The god, who has no pigtail, is holding bunches of grape in his right hand and ears of wheat in his left. The lower edge of his kilt, or possibly a short, forms a point towards its middle and two volutes at either end. No sword is visible. The posture is not that of a smiting god. A Luwian inscription mentions Warpalawa who made the image for the great Tarhunza.

Date: "Späthethitisches III" (USK), minimally 738-710 (CHLI, I).

**27. Rock relief near Ivriz (not illustrated).**<sup>51</sup>

This relief, much cruder than cat. 26, is carved with a similar scene.

Date: roughly the same as cat. 26.

**28. Stele from Ivriz (fig. 85).**<sup>52</sup> 1.30 m x 0.80 m.

Only the lower part of the kilt and the legs of the god have been preserved as well as stems of wheat in front of the divine figure. This is sufficient to hypothesize that the god looked like the one on the Ivriz rock reliefs. There is a bilingual Luwian/Phoenician inscription, unpublished, which is said to mention Warpalawa son of Muwaharani as well as the Storm-God.

Date: roughly the same as cat. 26.

**29. Stele from Keşlik Yayla (fig. 86).**<sup>53</sup> 1.45 m x 0.69 m.

The god is dressed in a way that is similar to that of the divine figures on the Ivriz rock reliefs. The bunches of grapes and ears of wheat he is grasping seem to still have roots in the ground. The Luwian inscription, illegible, has not been published.

<sup>50</sup> USK, Ivriz 1, p. 487, pl. 14/e; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 76; BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 269, p. 236; fig. 327 & 328, pp. 286 & 287; CHLI, I, X.43, İVRİZ 1, pp. 516-518.

<sup>51</sup> BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 329, p. 286; USK, Ivriz 2, p. 487 (not illustrated).

<sup>52</sup> B. DINÇOL, "New archaeological and epigraphical finds from Ivriz: A preliminary report," *Tel Aviv*, 21 (1994), pp. 117-128; A. M. JASINK, *Gli stati neo-ittiti: Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica*, Pavia 1995, p. 142; W. RÖLLIG, "Ivriz," *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Turnhout 1992, p. 237; CHLI, I, X.46, Ivriz 2, p. 526, pl. 300 (no transliteration nor translation is offered).

<sup>53</sup> V. SEZER, "Keşlik steli," *Anadolu*, 18 (1974), pp. 133-134, pl. I-II; CHLI, I, X.51, KEŞLİK YAYLA 1, p. 531, pl. 305.

Date: roughly the same as cat. 26.

**B. Smiting Storm-Gods with straight kilt:** Two reliefs show figures of the Storm-God that combine features of Group I (axe, thunderbolt, short kilt, smiting posture) with features of Group III (bunches of grape and ears of wheat). They probably represent an adaptation of the motif of the Smiting Storm-God with an Axe and Trident-Thunderbolt to the local form of the Storm-God.

**30. Stele from Niğde** (fig. 87).<sup>54</sup> 0.62 m x 0.30 m.

The god displays a strong Assyrian influence, especially visible in the way the hair and beard have been stylized. The god has no pigtail nor sword. The lightning is of the trident type above the hand of the god and forms a triple wavy line below the hand, close to the double trident of the Assyrian Storm-Gods. A winged disk, without crescent, crowns the scene. Bunches of grape and ears of wheat are visible on either side of the god's figure. The accompanying Luwian inscription was carved by Muwaharani, son of Warpalawa, for Tarhunza.

Date: late 8<sup>th</sup> or beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

**31. Rock relief at Gökbez** (fig. 88).<sup>55</sup> 2 m x 2 m.

The god, shown in a posture similar to that of the previous relief, is marching to the left. He has no pigtail and carries no sword. His helmet has no visible horns. The thunderbolt in his left hand seems to be of the double-trident type. A vine is growing from under his feet and an enigmatic symbol has been carved behind his back, which might represent ears of wheat. According to E. Faydalı the relief is unfinished.

Date: late 8<sup>th</sup> century.

#### IV. STORM-GOD HOLDING A CURVED OBJECT

A group of reliefs and statues includes divine figures that are sometimes difficult to identify as representations of the Storm-God because the god's attributes, the principal of which was a curved object (a kind of crook or scimitar or even boomerang), seem to be less specific. Another of the attributes sometimes associated with these figures is a three-pronged object – a kind of V with a median vertical line – quite different from the trident-lightning. The same attributes can be associated with other deities, leaving much room for doubt in several instances. The shape of the curved object that the god is holding as well as the look of the god in general differ so much according to the examples that the sub-groups defined below should perhaps be considered as individual groups in their own right. The only sure

<sup>54</sup> *CHLI*, I, X.47. NIĞDE 2, pp. 526-527, pl. 301.

<sup>55</sup> E. FAYDALI, "Gökbez kaya kabatması," *Anadolu*, 18 (1974), pp. 135-136, pl. I-II. I thank Prof. Ö. Tunca for helping me with the reading of this article.

examples of Storm-Gods come from Arslantepe/Malatya where the identification is backed up by an epigraph on three of the reliefs.

**A. Arslantepe/Malatya.** Some reliefs show the Storm-God in smiting posture, with a kind of boomerang or club in his right hand, and participating in a libation scene:

**32. Relief C from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya** (fig. 89).<sup>56</sup> 0.41 m x 0.78 m.

The god is shown in smiting posture with the W-sign noting his name carved above his left hand. As J. D. Hawkins has observed, this is the only Neo-Hittite monument on which the god is portrayed as if he were holding the signs noting his name.<sup>57</sup> However, as has been suggested above (p. 34), this is not just a sign of writing as a kind of handle is clearly visible extending below the god's hand. The W-sign has been shown as a real object held by the god. The other object, in his right hand, is unsure. It is probably the same object as on Reliefs B (cat. 33), D (cat. 34) and K (cat. 45) from Arslantepe/Malatya. In front of the god stands king PUGNUS-mili libating and an attendant with a bull. The inscription calls the god "Storm-God of the city Malizi (= Milid/Malatya)".

Date: "Späthethitisches II?" (*USK*), perhaps 11<sup>th</sup> or early 10<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

**33. Relief B from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya** (fig. 91).<sup>58</sup> 0.36 m x 0.61 m.

The divine figure is very similar to that on the previous relief. The main difference concerns the object the god is holding in his left hand. It is a three-pronged object similar to, but not identical with, the more common thunderbolt. Immediately above this object, the W-shaped Luwian hieroglyph noting the god's name has been carved. In front of the god is king PUGNUS-mili libating and an attendant with a bull. The inscription refers to the god as "Storm-God of the city POCULUM-ta" (the phonetic reading of the city's name is not known).

Date: same as cat. 32.

**34. Relief D from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya** (fig. 93).<sup>59</sup> 0.46 m x 1.27 m.

The Storm-God is portrayed in a way that is very similar to the god on Relief B (cat. 33) and to the standing divine figure on Relief K below (cat. 45). The surprising feature is the posture of the god that is facing left. He is holding a kind of boomerang in his left hand and a three-pronged object in his right. The Storm-God is leading a

<sup>56</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pl. 19/2; *USK*, Malatya A/4, p. 520, pl. 39/e; *CHLI*, V.11, Malatya 10, pp. 311-312, pl. 150.

<sup>57</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "What does the Hittite Storm-God hold?," *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, ed. D. J. W. MEIJER, Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo 1992, pp. 56-57.

<sup>58</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pl. 19/1; *USK*, Malatya A/3, p. 520, pl. 39/d; *CHLI*, I, V.10, Malatya 9, pp. 310-311, pl. 150.

<sup>59</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pl. 20/1; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 104; BITTEL, *Les Hittites*, fig. 276, p. 245; *USK*, Malatya A/5a, p. 520, pl. 40/b; *CHLI*, I, V.12, Malatya 11, p. 312, pl. 151/11.

divine procession, as on the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish (cat. 12), but the procession is marching to the left instead of the right. In front of the god, to the left, is king PUGNUS-mili making a libation and, behind him, an attendant with a bull.

Date: same as cat. 32.

To these Arslantepe/Malatya reliefs should be added the central figure on the relief discussed below under cat. 45.

Two more works show stylistic and iconographic affinities with the Arslantepe/Malatya reliefs although, stylistically and iconographically, they are closer to the Carchemish/Tell Ahmar reliefs by the adoption of rounded forms and by details such as the god's helmet:

**35. Stele in the Adiyaman Museum** (fig. 90).<sup>60</sup> 0.72 m x 0.50 m.

There was a winged disk at the top of the stele but it cannot be decided whether this motif included a crescent. It cannot be decided either what object the god was holding in his left hand. In his right hand he may have held a crescentic axe – in which case the stele might be better included in Group I – or more probably, as J. D. Hawkins dubitatively suggests, a boomerang, which is the reason why this stele is listed here. The inscription is too damaged to be of any help to understand the relief. Note, however, that the author of the inscription was called Lakawanis, which J. D. Hawkins understands as "Lakean", a personal name in the form of an ethnicon that refers to the Aramaean state Laqe on the Middle Euphrates.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (USK), later than Malatya 1 (which is dated to 11<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century) (CHLI, I).

**36. Silver pendant of unknown provenance** (fig. 92).<sup>61</sup> 6.1 cm x 5.2 cm.

This pendant was purchased in Aleppo and was formerly in the Sarre collection. The god is tentatively identified as a Storm-God on the basis of the similarities to the Carchemish and Tell Ahmar reliefs of the Storm-God, essentially the horned helmet, beard and belted kilt. The style of modelling is also very similar. The identification, however, is far from sure.<sup>62</sup> The god is not shown in smiting posture. In his right hand he is holding a long curved object and, above his left, a bird is visible. The association of a Storm-God with a bird is found on Storm-God stele C from Tell Ahmar (cat. 53). A worshipper, or a female deity?,<sup>63</sup> stands in front of the divine figure.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> century.

**B. Aleppo Citadel.** Several reliefs show divine figures holding a kind of crook, perhaps the so-called *lituus*, in their right hand:

<sup>60</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, "Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions of Commagene," *Anatolian Studies*, 20 (1970), pl. XVIII; USK, Adiyaman 2, p. 551, pl. 67/g; CHLI, I, VI.11. ADIYAMAN 2, pp. 351-352, pl. 177-178.

<sup>61</sup> *Sendschirli*, IV, Berlin 1945, p. 167 and plate 47/a-b.

<sup>62</sup> AKURGAL, *Bildkunst*, p. 103, thinks it is a hunting god rather than a Storm-God.

<sup>63</sup> AKURGAL, *ibid.*, seems to think that it might be the goddess Kubaba.

**37. Orthostat No. 3 from the Aleppo Citadel** (fig. 94).<sup>64</sup> H.: c. 0.95 m.

A god with a conical headgear, without horns, holds a crook in his right hand and a three-pronged object in his left. This might be one among several figures of Storm-Gods carved on the Aleppo orthostats although the identification as a Storm-God is unsure.

Date: 10<sup>th</sup> century (Kohlmeyer, Mazzoni)<sup>65</sup>.

**38. Orthostat No. 22 from the Aleppo Citadel** (fig. 95).<sup>66</sup> H.: c. 0.95 m.

A beardless figure with a short kilt carries a kind of crook in his right hand and a kind of torch, perhaps a thunderbolt, in his left. Long curling hair, but not a pigtail, fall along the neck. The identification as a Storm-God figure cannot be proven. The slab has a rounded top as it had been initially conceived as a free-standing stele.

Date: same as cat. 37.

**C. Tell Halaf.** Reliefs and statues depict figures that are holding a third type of curved object, a kind of scimitar:

**39. Orthostat A 3/1 from Tell Halaf** (fig. 96).<sup>67</sup> 0.64 m x 0.38 m.

This relief belongs to the series of small orthostats that were decorating the back wall of the so-called Temple-Palace. A male deity, seen full-face, is dressed in a long robe and holds a curved object in his right hand and a mace in his left. The divine nature of the figure is made sure by the two horns that are part of its headgear and the identification with the Storm-God is possible on the assumption that the curved object and the mace are, in other contexts, the specific weapons of the Storm-God. A cuneiform inscription mentions the temple of the Storm-God,<sup>68</sup> which could be taken as a confirmation of the identification if a similar epigraph was not found on another eighteen of the small orthostats that do not seem to have a relationship to the Storm-God.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> century (Winter, Mazzoni)<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, pl. 10; ID., *Halab*, pp. 120 & 122, fig. 16, p. 124; J. GONELLA, W. KHAYYATA & K. KOHLMAYER, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes*, Munster 2005, fig. 9.

<sup>65</sup> S. MAZZONI, "Syria and the periodization of the Iron Age: A cross-cultural perspective," *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. BUNNENS, Louvain 2000, pp. 38-39: End of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>66</sup> KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, plate 20.

<sup>67</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *Tell Halaf*, III, Berlin 1955, p. 37 and plate 10/a; USK, T. Halaf A3/1, pl. 11/a; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 5.

<sup>68</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 37.

<sup>69</sup> I. J. WINTER, "North Syrian ivories and Tell Halaf reliefs: The impact of luxury goods upon 'major arts'," *Essays in the Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, ed. A. LEONARD, Jr. & B. B. WILLIAMS, Chicago 1989, pp. 323-326; S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 65), p. 44. Note that A. SPYCKET, *La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien*, Leiden 1981, p. 414, prefers a date in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.



**40. Orthostat Ba/5 from Tell Halaf (fig. 97).<sup>70</sup>**

This is one of the orthostats that decorated the façade of the Temple-Palace. The divine figure is portrayed full-face with a long robe and a curved object in its left hand and a mace in its right. The way the weapons are held has been inverted as compared with the previous relief. Here again the divine nature of the figure is demonstrated by the presence of a pair of horns, but its identification as a Storm-God rests on the same assumption as for the previous figure.

Date: late 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century (Winter, Mazzoni).<sup>71</sup>

**41. Statue Bc/5 from Tell Halaf (not illustrated).<sup>72</sup>**

The statue was found broken in small pieces. Originally the divine figure was standing on a bull and served as the middle column of the three-column porch of the so-called Temple-Palace on the acropolis of Tell Halaf. According to M. von Oppenheim,<sup>73</sup> the traces visible on the fragments would indicate that the original was similar to the 2.93 m high sculpture that formed the left-hand column of the porch (fig. 98).<sup>74</sup> This statue, which stood on a lion, wore a long robe exposing the god's left leg. The god was shown with a curved object in his right hand and a sword in his left. A cuneiform inscription, carved on behalf of Kapara,<sup>75</sup> is of no help to identify the deity.<sup>76</sup> If the central statue is reconstructed on the model of its left-hand counterpart, it would offer a further example of a possible Storm-God holding a curved object.

Date: late 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century (Mazzoni).<sup>77</sup>

**42. Statue C2 from Tell Halaf (fig. 99).<sup>78</sup>**

The statue is iconographically very similar to the two statue-columns of the Temple-Palace but it does not wear a horned headgear. It was found in a temple in the lower town, but it is impossible to tell whether it represents a god, a deified ancestor or a worshipper. If it is a god, identification with the Storm-God is no more certain than for the other Tell Halaf sculptures discussed above.

Date: same as cat. 41.

<sup>70</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *op. cit.* (n. 67), pp. 103-104 and plates 107b-108; *USK*, T. Halaf Ba/5, pl. 12/e; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 7.

<sup>71</sup> I. J. WINTER, *loc. cit.* (n. 69); S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 65), p. 44.

<sup>72</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *op. cit.* (n. 67), pp. 115-116.

<sup>73</sup> M. von OPPENHEIM, *Der Tell Halaf*, Leipzig 1931, p. 141.

<sup>74</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *op. cit.* (n. 67), Bc/4, pp. 114-115 and plates 130-132; *USK*, Halaf Bc/4, pl. 13/a; ORTHMANN, *Der alte Orient*, 1975, fig. 342b.

<sup>75</sup> B. MEISSNER, "Die Keilschrifttexte auf den steinernen Orthostaten und Statuen aus dem Tell Halaf," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiband I (von Oppenheim Festchrift), Berlin 1933, pp. 77-79.

<sup>76</sup> M. von OPPENHEIM, "Tell Halaf, la plus ancienne capitale soubaréenne de Mésopotamie," *Syria*, 13 (1932), p. 246, identifies the sculpture with a portrait of the Sun-God.

<sup>77</sup> S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 65), p. 44.

<sup>78</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 121 and plate 149.

**V. STORM-GOD DRIVING A CHARIOT**

A second millennium motif showing the Storm-God jumping into his chariot survived in the Iron Age.<sup>79</sup>

**43. Orthostat No. 7 from the Aleppo Citadel (fig. 100).<sup>80</sup>** H. c. 0.95 m.

This orthostat marks the middle of the long wall facing the entrance to the cella of the temple on the Aleppo Citadel. It shows a god that seems to be jumping into a chariot pulled by a bull. The god is followed by another deity with a bow and a spear. Epigraphs in Luwian hieroglyphs identify the two deities. The god on the left-hand side of the scene is the Stag-God. More surprising is the epigraph placed next to the god with the chariot. It is a hapax consisting of the determinative for divine names and a sign looking like a mace. Strictly speaking the god is thus designated as the God-of-the-Mace or the Mace-God. This could be a hypostasis of the Storm-God.<sup>81</sup>

Date: same as cat. 37.

**44. Relief from the Water Gate at Carchemish (fig. 101).<sup>82</sup>** 1.35 m x 2.30 m.

A similar scene was carved on this relief that was found out of its original context near the Water Gate. It is much damaged but enough of it remains to show that the scene was conceived on a model that was close to that of the previous relief but oriented to the left. To the right is a god brandishing a mace in his right hand and wearing a helmet with two pairs of horns. The god is facing left. Immediately in front of him are two large bulls above which a winged disk has been carved (only the legs of the second bull are visible). The chariot is no longer visible but can be safely restored. Further left a standing figure, facing right, makes a libation and, behind it, stands another figure with an animal that must also be a bull.<sup>83</sup> This recalls the libation scenes carved on some of the Malatya reliefs (cat. 32-34 and especially, below, cat. 45).

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (*USK*),<sup>84</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> century (Mazzoni).<sup>85</sup>

<sup>79</sup> On this motif see H.-G. GÜTERBOCK, "Gedanken über ein hethitisches Königssiegel aus Boğazköy," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 43 (1993), pp. 113-116, pl. 8.

<sup>80</sup> K. KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, plates 8, 16-17; ID., *Halab*, fig. 19, p. 125; M. FORTIN, *Syrie, terre de civilisations*, Montreal 1999, p. 68 (left).

<sup>81</sup> See the discussion above, p. 79.

<sup>82</sup> *Carchemish*, II, pp. 112-113 and pl. B30a; H. Th. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien*, Berlin 1942, No. 832; *USK*, Karkemish Aa/4, p. 498, pl. 20/d.

<sup>83</sup> GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, p. 180.

<sup>84</sup> According to W. Orthmann this relief is later than most of the other reliefs found near the Water Gate at Carchemish (*USK*, p. 30).

<sup>85</sup> S. MAZZONI, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 316; EAD., "Crisis and change: The beginning of Iron Age in Syria," *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, ed. P. MATTHIAE et al., Rome 2000, pp. 1047-1048; EAD., *art. cit.* (n. 65), p. 36.

**45. Relief K from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya (fig. 102).**<sup>86</sup> 0.87 m x 1.95 m.

The Storm-God is shown twice, once jumping in a chariot and once standing in smiting posture. The identification is made sure by the inscription placed between the two divine figures. However, instead of an axe, the god is holding a curved object as the figures of Group IV/A. The standing figure holds a three-pronged object as some of the figures of Group IV also do. In front of him stands king PUGNUS-mili making a libation, behind whom comes an attendant with a bull. The composition is very similar, but for the smiting Storm-God and the orientation of the scene, to that of the Carchemish relief from the Water Gate.

Date: same as cat. 32.

A statue discovered in Cilicia shows a god in a chariot:

**46. Statue from Çineköy (fig. 103).**<sup>87</sup> H.: 2.85m (statue + chariot).

A recent chance find has brought to light the fragments of the statue of a god standing in a chariot pulled by a pair of bulls. This may be taken as an adaptation to the round of the motif of the Storm-God in his chariot already known from reliefs. The god is dressed in a long robe, wears a round cap with two pairs of horns and holds an ill-defined object against his chest. Iconographically, this figure is close to the Long Robe Group described above. It has been listed here because the god is shown in a chariot. A bilingual Phoenician-Luwian inscription designates the author of the inscription as Warika/W[RK], king of Hiyawa (Luwian) / king of the Danunim (Phoenician), beloved of Tarhunza (Luwian) / the blessed of Baal (Phoenician).<sup>88</sup> Given the similarities existing between this statue and the statue from Karatepe (cat. 23) and considering that Warika traces his ancestry back to Mopsos, as did Awarik in the Karatepe inscriptions,<sup>89</sup> whom Azatiwada acknowledged as his lord, it can be asked whether the Çineköy statue would not give another example of a king portrayed as a Storm-God.

Date: late 8<sup>th</sup> century as the Karatepe inscriptions.

<sup>86</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pl. 24; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 105; GENGE, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 71; *USK*, Malatya A/11, pp. 521-522, pl. 41/f; *CHLI*, I, V.9, Malatya 8, pp. 309-310, pl. 149; *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*, Exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart 2002, fig. 2, p. 275; fig. 3, p. 105.

<sup>87</sup> R. TEKÖĞLU & A. LEMAIRE, "La bilingue royale louvite-phénicien de Çineköy," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 2000, fig. 1-6, pp. 962-967.

<sup>88</sup> On lines 16-17 of the Phoenician inscription, the divine name is B'L KR, an already known deity that is usually understood as "Baal of the pasturage" or "Baal of the Fire" (C. BONNET, "Baal Kr," *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Turnhout 1992, p. 58). E. LIPINSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Louvain 1995, pp. 239-240, identifies B'L KR with Kura, a god known at Ebla and in first millennium texts. We may wonder, however, if this name is not a shortened form of B'L KRNTYŠ known at Karatepe (cf. cat. 23).

<sup>89</sup> On the names Warika/Awarik see the discussion in E. LIPINSKI, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127, Leuven 2004, pp. 119-123.

**VI. STORM-GOD FIGHTING A DRAGON****47. Stone block from Tell Ashara (fig. 104).**<sup>90</sup> H.: 0.90 m.

The god is shown fighting a serpent-like monster. He adopts the posture of the smiting god and holds an axe in his right hand. With his left he is grasping the serpent-like creature by its throat. He is dressed in a long skirt or robe exposing his left leg. A short kilt is visible under the robe. He has the traditional pigtail with curling end and a wide belt, as most of the Group I examples have. The most puzzling feature of the divine figure is its helmet. It is strongly reminiscent of second millennium Syrian and Egyptian religious iconography<sup>91</sup> as is evidenced, for instance, by Egyptian reliefs showing Baal-Seth<sup>92</sup> and by an Egyptian stele from Beth Shean representing god Mikal.<sup>93</sup> The shape of the helmet is conical with slightly convex sides. Two small parallel horns are attached to its edge on the front and a kind of long cordon, issuing from its top, falls along the god's back.<sup>94</sup> A human figure in fish garb is shown on the side to the right of the serpent-like monster and, further to the right on a third side of the block, stands another human figure holding three ears of wheat in its left hand. A cuneiform inscription, extremely difficult to read,<sup>95</sup> was carved on the stone by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II for his father Adad-nerari II. According to R.-J. Tournay's interpretation, Adad-nerari II would be compared with the god who defeated the dragon.<sup>96</sup>

Date: "Späthethitisches II?" (*USK*), 10<sup>th</sup>/early 9<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. contemporary with or earlier than the inscription.

**48. Relief H from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya (fig. 105).**<sup>97</sup> 0.43 x 1.58 m.

A famous relief from Arslantepe/Malatya shows a god, in all probability the Storm-God, sticking a spear in an apparently coiled serpent. The identification with the Storm-God is made likely not only by the famous myth of the struggle of the Storm-

<sup>90</sup> R.-J. TOURNAY & S. SAOUAF, "Stèle de Tukulti-Ninurta II," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, 2 (1952), pp. 169-190; *USK*, Ashara 1, p. 480, pl. 5/a; GENGE, *Reliefs*, I, pp. 43-45; II, fig. 2, 16; *L'Euphrate e il tempo*, ed. O. ROUAULT & M. G. MAZZETTI-ROUAULT, Milan 1993, No. 303; M. G. MAZZETTI-ROUAULT, *Cultures locales du Moyen-Euphrate: Modèles et événements, IIe - Ier mill. av. J.-C.*, Subartu VIII, Turnhout 2001, pp. 91-93; fig. 11 & 12, pp. 197 & 198; M. FORTIN, *op. cit.* (n. 80), No. 254.

<sup>91</sup> M. G. MAZZETTI-ROUAULT, *op. cit.* (n. 90), p. 91.

<sup>92</sup> I. CORNELIUS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 134-233.

<sup>93</sup> J. B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1954, No. 487, p. 167, cf. I. CORNELIUS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 25-26.

<sup>94</sup> The stele of Mami, from Ugarit, shows Baal Saphon with a similar helmet, but without the pair of horns (C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica*, I, Paris 1939, pp. 39-41, fig. 30; M. YON, "Stèles de pierre," *Arts et industries de la pierre*, ed. M. YON, Ras Shamra-Ougarit VI, Paris 1991, No. 1, pp. 284-288, fig. 8, p. 328; *Le royaume d'Ougarit: Aux origines de l'alphabet*, ed. G. GALLIANO & Y. CALVET, Paris & Lyon 2004, No. 62, p. 86; cf. I. CORNELIUS, *op. cit.* [n. 18], pp. 151-153).

<sup>95</sup> *RIMA*, 2, A.O.100.1004, where no interpretation is offered.

<sup>96</sup> See R.-J. TOURNAY, "La stèle du roi Tukulti-Ninurta II: Nouvelle interprétation," *A propos de Subartu* 2, Turnhout 1998, pp. 273-278.

<sup>97</sup> L. DELAPORTE, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pl. 22/2; AKURGAL, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, fig. 104; *USK*, Malatya A/8, p. 520, pl. 40/e.

God with a monster, but also by the oblique strokes, above the serpent, that probably represent rain.<sup>98</sup> As H.-G. Güterbock has observed, the figure behind the god, which is very similar to that of the god, probably represents the same deity marching to combat.<sup>99</sup>

Date: same as cat. 32.

## VII. (STORM?)-GODS OF UNCERTAIN AFFILIATION

The reliefs listed below show divine figures that do not fit in one of the groups above. Actually, some of these figures might not portray the Storm-God at all.

### A. Storm-God facing a king.

**49. Orthostat from the Aleppo Citadel** (fig. 106).<sup>100</sup> About 2 m high.

This relief forms a panel protruding from the middle of the east wall of the temple recently excavated on the Aleppo Citadel. The god is shown in smiting posture and facing a king, carved on another stone, which stands in front of the god on the righthand side of the scene. The Storm-God is wearing a conical helmet with two pairs of horns and a kind of disk at the top. The helmet is decorated with a vertical straight line that crosses a series of superimposed ovals. The long curling pigtail passes over the god's right arm, whilst the left arm is outstretched towards the figure of the king. The fists are clinched as if they were holding objects. None, however, is visible. The god wears a short kilt with a wide belt to the left of which a sword is attached. A guilloche runs below the royal figure, to the right, but does not extend below the divine figure to the left. If the god had held an axe and a thunderbolt, he would have found his place in Group I/C. The Luwian hieroglyphs above the god's left hand identify him as Halabean Tarhunza. A Luwian inscription associated with the royal figure mentions Taita, king of Patasatini (assumedly a Luwian spelling of the name known as Patina in Assyrian inscriptions).<sup>101</sup>

Date: same as cat. 37.

**50. Stele from Kelekli, north of Carchemish** (fig. 107).<sup>102</sup> 1.22 m x 0.62 m.

A god wearing a short kilt and shoes with upturned toes is shown, facing right, in front of a male figure in long robe facing left. The top of the stele has broken off,

<sup>98</sup> VANEL, *L'iconographie*, p. 124.

<sup>99</sup> H.-G. GÜTERBOCK, "Narration in Anatolian, Syrian, and Assyrian art," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 61 (1957), p. 64, cf. VANEL, *L'iconographie*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>100</sup> K. KOHLMAYER, "Bei Wind und Wetter," *Antike Welt*, 35/1 (2004), fig. 2, p. 95; J. GONELLA, W. KHAYYATA & K. KOHLMAYER, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes*, Munster 2005, figs. 124 and 126.

<sup>101</sup> J. D. HAWKINS, paper read at the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Berlin 2004.

<sup>102</sup> *USK*, Kelekli, pp. 44, 517 (not illustrated); *CHLI*, 1, II.8. KELEKLİ, pp. 92-93, plate 9.

destroying the heads of the two figures. The god is portrayed with bent arms and has no attribute helping to identify him. No divine name is preserved in the inscription. The identification with the Storm-God is made likely, in J. D. Hawkins' opinion, by the short kilt and the shoes with upturned toes. Identification, however, remains doubtful. The figure that is facing the god is surely that of a king. Noteworthy is the guilloche that marks the ground line of the relief.<sup>103</sup>

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (*USK*), probably 10<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I).

More gods facing a worshipper have been described above (cat. 17, 26, 27, 32-34, 36, 45, to which can be added cat. 44 and 47 that have one or more figures between the god and the worshipper).

### B. Possible smiting gods associated with symbols of uncertain meaning

**51. Stele from Islahiye** (fig. 108).<sup>104</sup> 1.37 m x 0.55m.

The stele is damaged where the raised right arm of the god was. The object in his left hand looks like a stick or an ear. Similar objects are visible in the hands of two gods depicted on reliefs from the Aleppo Citadel.<sup>105</sup> The identification of this god as a Storm-God is therefore uncertain, even though he has two pairs of horns, a belted kilt with a sword, and shoes with upturned toes.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (*USK*).

**52. Stele from Domuztepe** (fig. 109).<sup>106</sup> 0.80 m x 0.56 m.

A smiting god is shown with an axe in his right hand and a human head above his left hand. A sword has been passed in his belt in front of him and there seems to have been only one pair of horns on his helmet. The human figure above the god's left hand lifts one of his hands towards its mouth. This is the Luwian hieroglyph that usually introduces an inscription written in the first person, but no text was carved on the stele.<sup>107</sup> Could it be that the stele was set up next to another slab that would have carried the inscription? The author of the monument might have adopted this way of emphasising his close relationship to the god. It would have been the god, as much as himself, that was speaking.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century (*CHLI*, I, p. 71).

<sup>103</sup> J. D. Hawkins observes that this stele may have served as a model for another stele, from Carchemish, of which only the lower part, with the inscription and part of the guilloche as well as of one of the feet of the king, has been preserved (*CHLI*, I, pp. 93, 113).

<sup>104</sup> *USK*, Islahiye 2, pp. 78, 486 and pl. 14/c.

<sup>105</sup> Reliefs Nos. 10 (KOHLMAYER, *Tempel*, p. 33, pl. 20; ID., *Halab*, p. 125) and 16 (ID., *Halab*, p. 126).

<sup>106</sup> *CHLI*, II, I.7. DOMUZTEPE 2, p. 71; H. ÇAMBEL & A. ÖZYAR, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 154-155, pl. 227.

<sup>107</sup> J. D. Hawkins (*CHLI*, I, p. 71) compares this sign, translated as "I am", with the explanation of Yahweh's name given in *Exodus*, 3, 13-14: "I am who I am", and suggests the possibility that such might be the name of the god portrayed on the relief.

**53. Storm-God stele C from Tell Ahmar** (fig. 110).<sup>108</sup> A god, very similar to the Storm-God portrayed on other stelae from Tell Ahmar, is shown with a bird in front of him below his elbow.<sup>109</sup> It must be observed that a bird is also associated to a possible Storm-God on a silver pendant from the Sarre Collection (cat. 36). A straight line, possibly figuring a spear, continues the handle of the trident down to the toe of the god's left shoe. These details seem to appear only here in association with the Storm-God.

Date: "Späthethitisches II" (USK).

**54. Orthostat A3/46 from Tell Halaf** (fig. 111).<sup>110</sup>

A standing male figure looking to the right is dressed in a long tunic and carries a mace in its right hand and an object that may be a thunderbolt or a plant (a palm leaf?) or even a flower in his right hand. Nothing, especially no horned headgear, identifies this figure as the portrait of a Storm-God. However, M. von Oppenheim had no hesitation in identifying it with Teshub.<sup>111</sup>

Date: Same as cat. 39.

**C. Damaged reliefs.** The symbols and attributes that would help to assign these reliefs to specific groups are lost. An identification of these gods as a Storm-Gods is possible but not sure.

**55. Stele in the Aleppo National Museum** (M 6532) (fig. 112).<sup>112</sup> 0.59 m x 0.43 m.

The god is shown in smiting posture. The headgear of the god does not seem to be the expected helmet with two pairs of horns, but the pigtail has the usual curling end. The parts of the stele showing the objects in his hands are broken off. No sword is attached to his belt.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century.

**56. Stele from Asmacık** (fig. 113).<sup>113</sup> 0.80 x 0.41 m.

The god, probably a Storm-God, is shown in smiting posture, but his right arm and most of his head are missing. The object held in the god's left hand is uncertain. The inscription is too damaged to allow an interpretation.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> century? (CHLI, I).

<sup>108</sup> *Til-Barsib*, pp. 136-137, pl. VII/1; *USK*, *Til Barsib B/3* pp. 535-536, pl. 53/e.

<sup>109</sup> It must be observed that AKURGAL, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, p. 97, interprets the object in the god's right hand as a hammer instead of an axe.

<sup>110</sup> A. MOORTGAT, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 53 and plate 34/a.

<sup>111</sup> M. von OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.* (n. 73), p. 162; cf. ID., "Die Embleme der subaräischen Hauptgottheiten auf der Buntkeramik des Tell Halaf und das Alter der Tell Halaf-Steinbilder," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II, Paris 1939, p. 611.

<sup>112</sup> Published with kind permission of the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.

<sup>113</sup> M. KALAÇ, "Einige Stele mit hieroglyphisch-luwischen Inschriften oder ohne sie," *Le temple et le culte*, Leiden 1975, pp. 187-188, fig. 5; *CHLI*, I, XII.8. ASMATICIK, pp. 564-565, pl. 322.

**57. Stele from Maraş** (fig. 115).<sup>114</sup> 0.42 m x 0.31 m.

The top of the stele is missing. Only the curling end of the pigtail and the lower part of the god's body are visible. There is no sword. The Luwian text is too fragmentary to be of any help, but the identification of the figure as a Storm-God is very likely.

Date: "Späthethitisches II?" (USK), 9<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps late, rather than early 8<sup>th</sup> century (CHLI, I).

**58. Stele from Aksaray** (fig. 116).<sup>115</sup> 0.88 x 0.90 m.

Only the legs, the lower part of the kilt and the extremity of what seems to be a sword attached to the god's waist are visible. The inscription was carved for Kiyakiya and mentions several times Tarhunza and the favour Tarhunza showed to Kiyakiya.

Date: before 718 B.C.? (CHLI, I).

**59. Stele from Gaziantep** (fig. 114).<sup>116</sup> H.: 0.50 m.

The fragment shows the left part of a kilt with curling decoration, as on the reliefs from Ivriz (cat. 26-28) as well as on the stele from Gözlühüyük (cat. 11) and on a relief kept in a private collection (cat. 61) and the upper part of one of the god's legs. The identification as a Storm-God figure is possible but unsure. The inscription is of no help to interpret the relief.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> century (CHLI, I).

**D. ( Storm?-)God standing on a bull.** The figures carved on these reliefs could not be listed together with the figures of gods standing on a bull that were included in Group I because either the figures grouped here are associated with different symbols or the god's attributes are no longer visible. In the latter case the identification of the figures as Storm-Gods is even hypothetical. The Storm-God can be recognized with certainty on only two reliefs:

**60. Stele from Taşlıköy** (fig. 117).<sup>117</sup> 1.14 m x 0.46 m.

The god is standing on the back of a bull with an axe in his right hand and an object difficult to identify in his left. He is not exactly in smiting posture but seems to lift his bent arms as to present the objects he is carrying. The helmet is not clearly visible on the published photograph. A kind of pigtail is curling along the god's neck. The god is wearing a short kilt. No belt or sword are visible.

Date: the stele was published as a monument of Jupiter Dolichenus but a date in the Iron Age seems preferable, especially considering the hair stylization and the kilt that is not the piece of military apparel of the Roman god.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> century?

<sup>114</sup> *USK*, Maraş B/4, p. 524, pl. 44/d; *CHLI*, I, IV.7. MARAŞ 5, pp. 269-270, pl. 118-119.

<sup>115</sup> *CHLI*, I, X.16, pp. 475-478, plate 264.a

<sup>116</sup> *USK*, pp. 51, 483 (not illustrated); *CHLI*, I, XII.7, pp. 563-564, plate 321.

<sup>117</sup> H. Th. BOSSERT, "Zu den Tafeln XXIX-XXXII," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, 2 (1953), p. 207 and plate XXX/fig. 4.

**61. Stele in private collection** (fig. 118).<sup>118</sup> H. 0.85 m (upper part) + 0.74 m (lower part).

The stele is broken in two pieces and its left, top and bottom parts are missing. The remaining two pieces do not join. As nothing is shown on the god's chest, it may be assumed that the right arm was lifted behind his head in a smiting posture. It is impossible to tell whether the scene included a winged disk and a guilloche. The lightning in the god's left hand is not of the trident type. The curls on the side of the kilt are reminiscent of those visible on reliefs listed in Group III above. The bull holds its left fore-leg in a bent position.

Date: late 10<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century according to D. Ussishkin but a date closer to the Ivriz reliefs is more likely, hence late 8<sup>th</sup> century.

On other stelae, only the legs or the feet of a deity are visible. It is unsure whether these gods are Storm-Gods. They have been included in this catalogue because of the close association between the bull and the Storm-God:

**62. Stele from Tilhalit** (Fig. 119).<sup>119</sup> 0.74 m x 0.44 m.

The stele is broken just above the knees of the divine figure and only the fringe of the kilt is still visible. A thick vertical line has been carved in front of the god, above the head of the bull. It may represent a spear or the reins with which the god was driving the animal (cf., for instance, the Jekke stele, cat. 20).

Date: the stele has been included in the *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* but it seems that a date in the Iron Age must be accepted, as was already suggested, many years ago, by H. Th. Bossert.<sup>120</sup> This is shown by the fringe of the god's kilt and the shoes with upturned toes.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century.

**63. Stele from Gölpınar** (Fig. 120).<sup>121</sup> 1.16 m x 0.42 m.

The relief is broken above the waist of the divine figure. A long squarish object hanging from the god's waist is probably the expected sword. The bull is walking normally with its two left legs extended and the two right legs closer to one another. The animal holds its left fore-leg in a bent position.

Date: before the first quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century according to F. Kulakoğlu.

<sup>118</sup> D. USSISHKIN, "Three unpublished Neo-Hittite stone monuments," *Tel Aviv*, 2 (1975), pp. 86-88 and pl. 14.

<sup>119</sup> H. TH. BOSSERT & A. M. SCHNEIDER, "Archäologische Funde aus der Türkei 1940," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1941, col. 295-296; H. TH. BOSSERT, *loc. cit.* (n. 117); M. HÖRIG & E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, EPRO 106, Leiden 1987, No. 16.

<sup>120</sup> H. TH. BOSSERT & A. M. SCHNEIDER, *loc. cit.* (n. 119); H. TH. BOSSERT, *loc. cit.* (n. 117).

<sup>121</sup> F. KULAKOĞLU, "Late-Hittite sculptures from the Şanlıurfa region," *Essays on Ancient Anatolia*, ed. T. MIKASA, Wiesbaden 1999, pl. 1, p. 178.

**64. Stele in the Aleppo National Museum** (Fig. 121).<sup>122</sup> 0.74 m x 0.57 m

Only the lower part of the stele is preserved, showing the feet of the god, with boots that have upturned toes, and the figure of the bull. The animal has his two left legs forward and his right legs backwards, with a bent left fore-leg as the bull on the previous relief and on relief cat. 61.

Date: given the stylistic similarities the date must be close to that of cat. 62 and 63.

**65. Stele from Arslan Tash** (Fig. 122).<sup>123</sup> 0.30 m x 0.35 m.

The bull is walking normally, with the two left legs extended and the right legs closer to one another. Of the god only the feet have been preserved.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>122</sup> Published here with kind permission of the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.

<sup>123</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, pl. II/2; GENGÉ, *Reliefs*, II, fig. 20; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, No. 251.

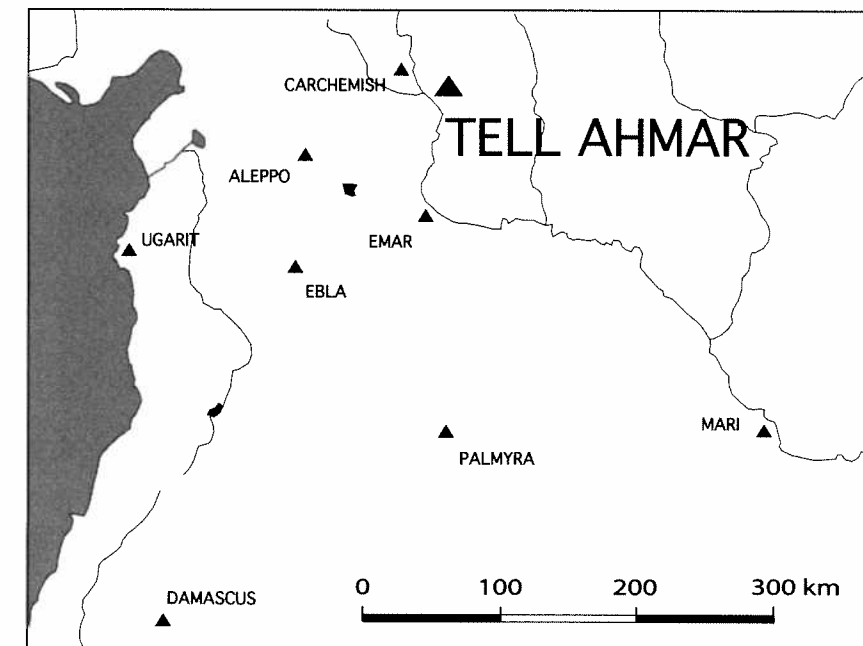


Fig. 1. Sketch map of ancient Syria.

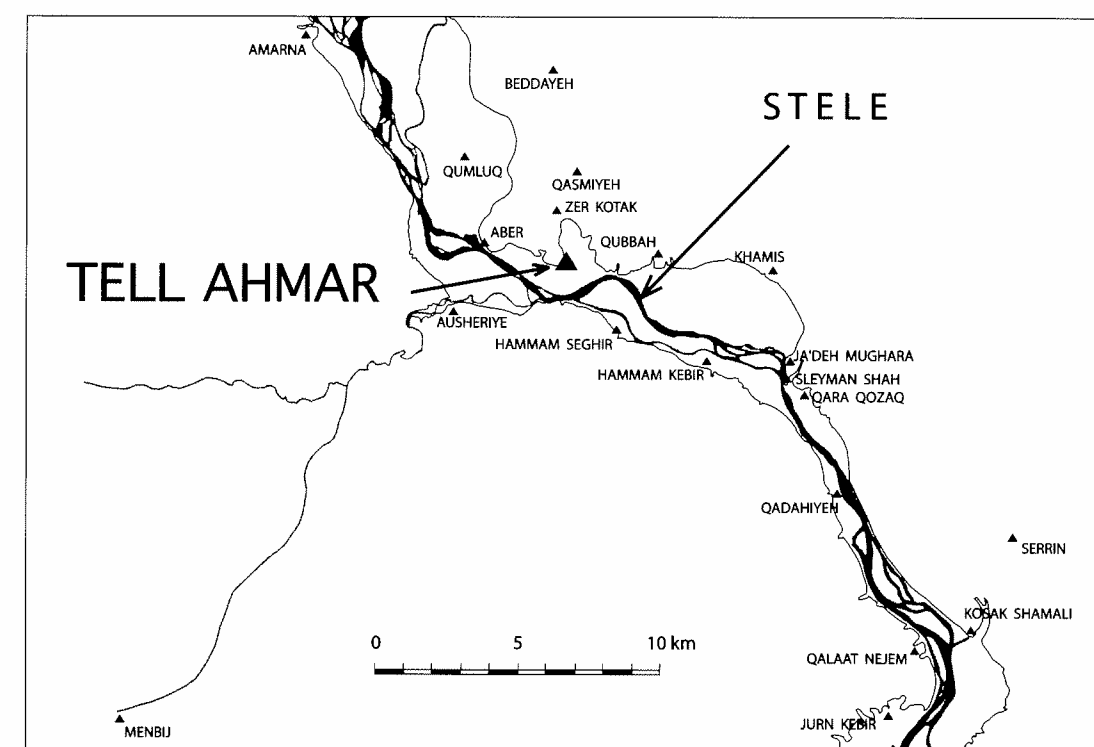


Fig. 2. Map of the Tell Ahmar area.





Fig. 3. The Ahmar/Qubba stele in the river.



Fig. 4. The Euphrates river near Qubba. The Ahmar/Qubba stele is visible as a whitish spot in the middle foreground.



Fig. 5. The Ahmar/Qubba stele, before reconstruction, in the front yard of the Aleppo National Museum.



Fig. 6. The Ahmar/Qubba stele (on the right) set on display in the inner courtyard of the Aleppo National Museum, next to Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar (on the left).



Fig. 7. Front (side A) of the Ahmar/Qubba stele.



Fig. 8. Front (side A) of the Ahmar/Qubba stele.

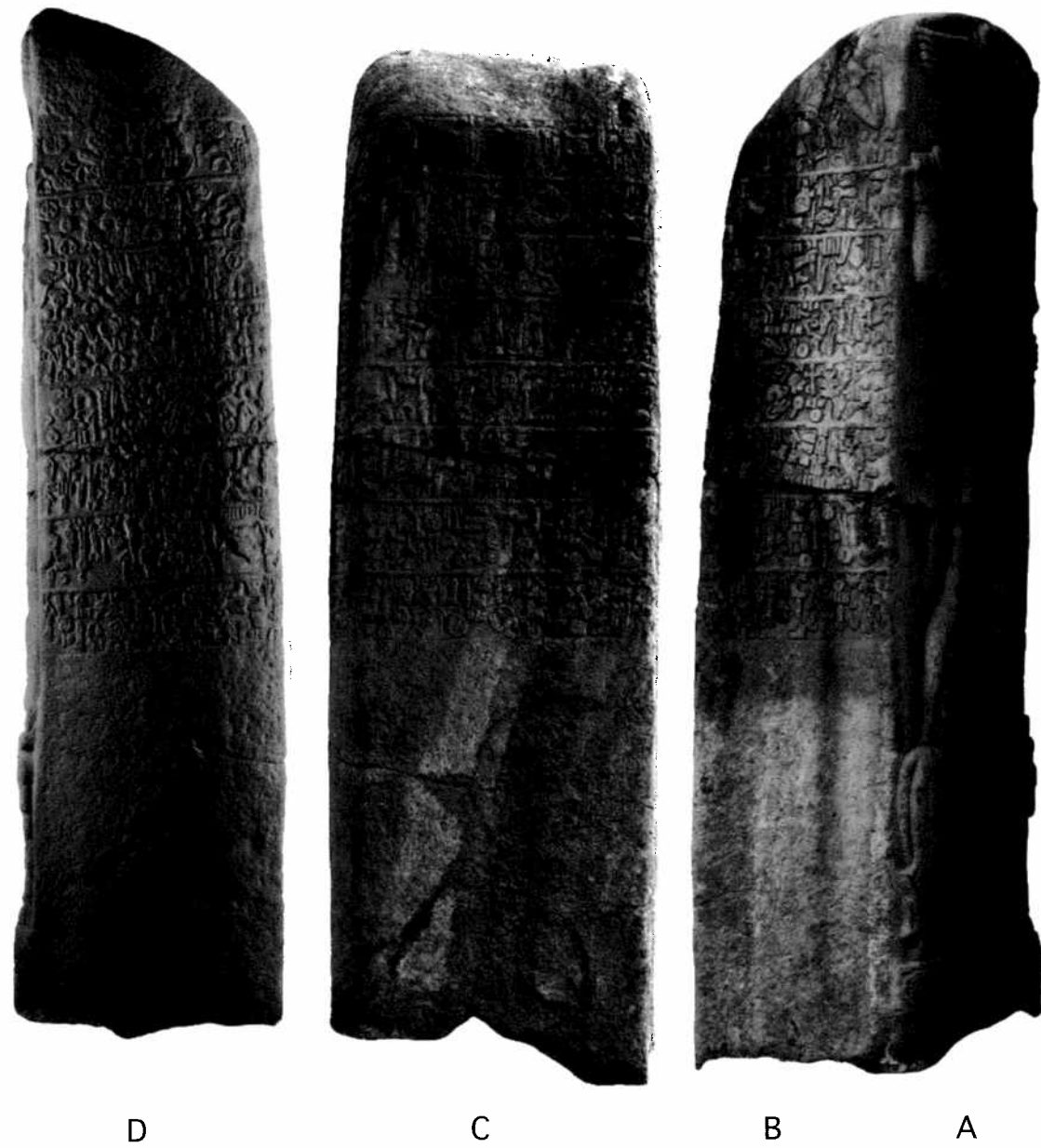


Fig. 9. The four sides of the Ahmar/Qubba stele.



Fig. 10. Winged disk and crescent at the top of the Ahmar/Qubba stele.



Fig. 11. Details of the head and face of the Storm-God.





Fig. 12. Axe in the Storm-God's right hand.



Fig. 13. Curling end of the Storm-God's pigtail.



Fig. 14. Trident-like thunderbolt in the Storm-God's left hand.



Fig. 15. Kilt and sword of the Storm-God.

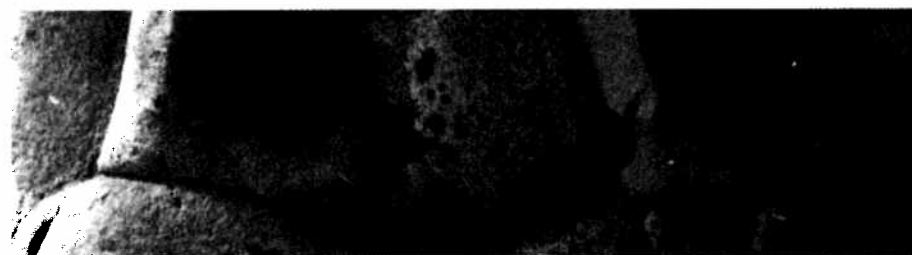


Fig. 16. The Storm-God's shoes with upturned toes.



Fig. 17. Foreleg of the bull.



Fig. 18. Head of the bull.



Fig. 19. Hindquarters of the bull.



Fig. 20. Bull and guilloche at the lower part of the stele.



Fig. 21. The Luvian inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.

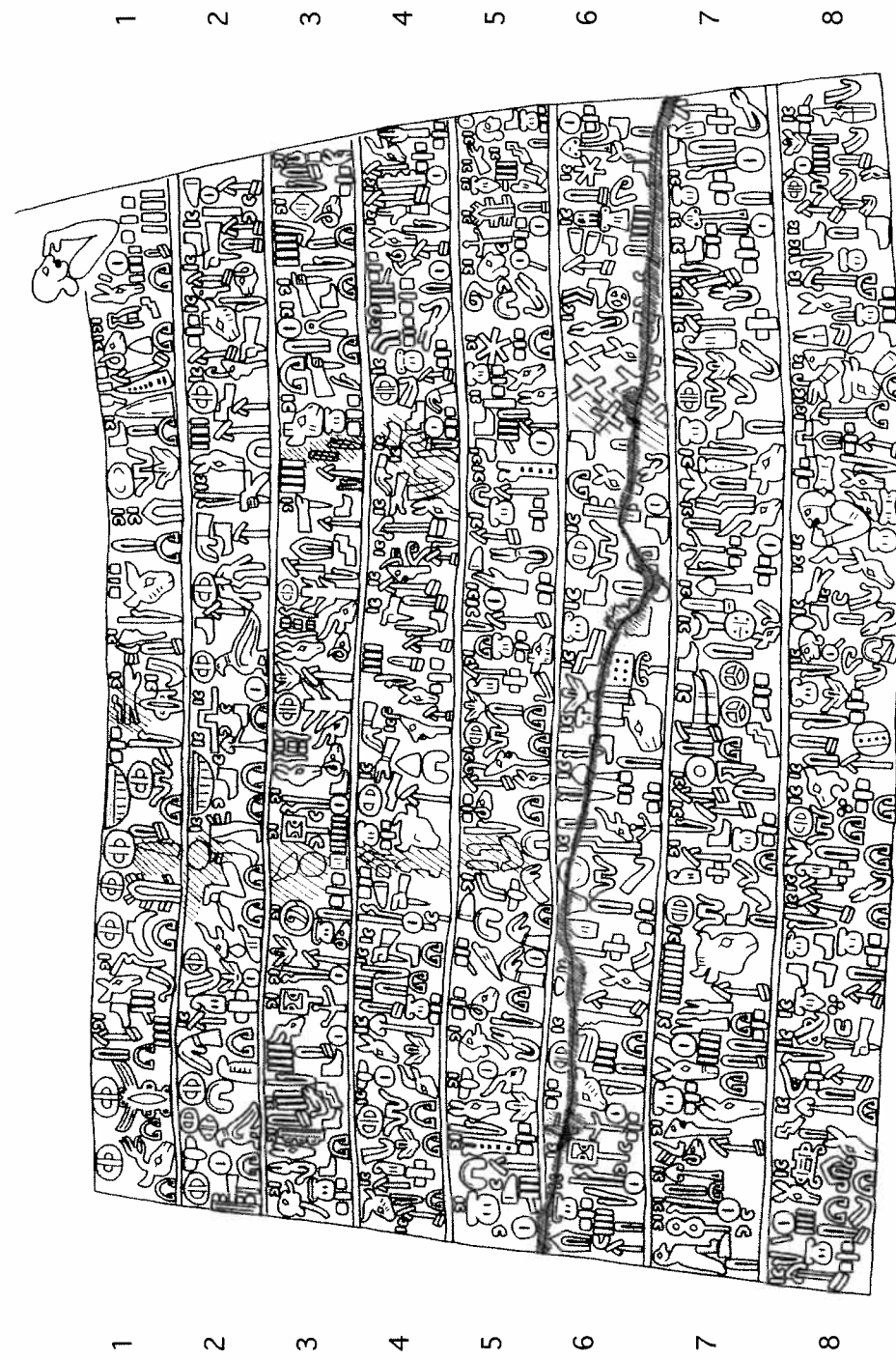


Fig. 22. Hand drawing of the Luvian inscription on the Ahmar/Qubbah stele.



Fig. 23. Chute de matière par plaque et nouvelle couche de concrétion en formation.

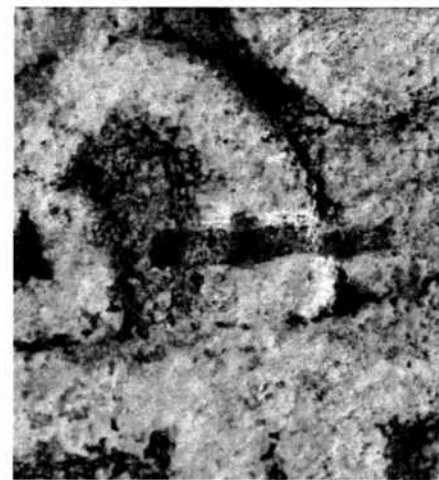


Fig. 24. L'épaisseur de la couche de concrétion est mise en évidence par un dégagement des surfaces jusqu'au support.



Fig. 25. Fissure le long d'une zone vésiculaire et seconde fissure perpendiculaire à cette zone.

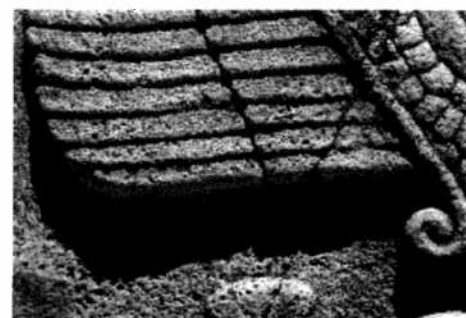


Fig. 26. Fissure dans la partie supérieure de la stèle.



Fig. 27. Exfoliation du basalte (talon gauche de la figure divine).

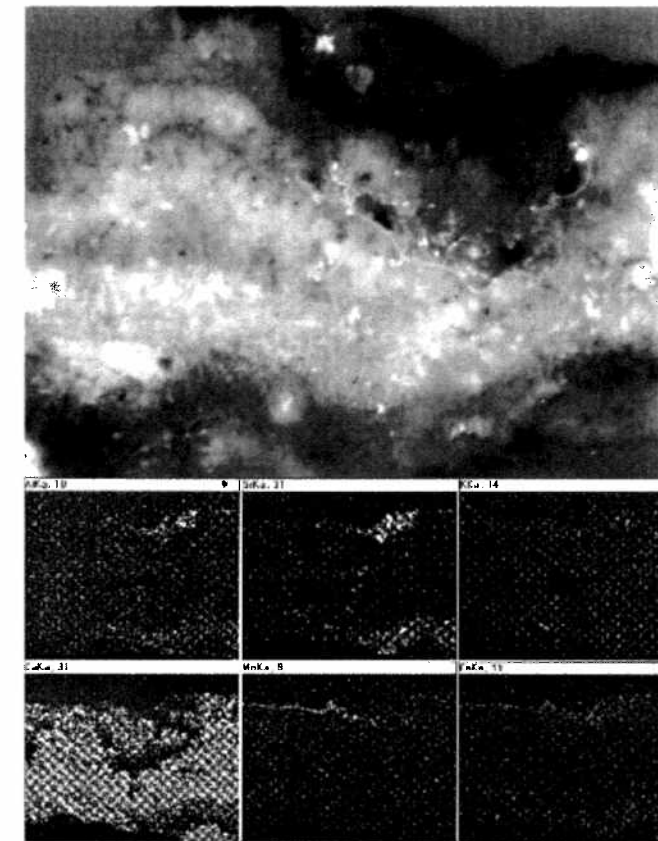


Fig. 28. Analyse des traces colorées mettant en évidence la présence d'une épaisse couche de carbonate de calcium, de manganèse (Mn) et de fer (Fe).



Fig. 29. Traces foncées pouvant correspondre à de la peinture noire et rouge.



Fig. 30. Schéma montrant où des traces possibles de peinture ont été observées.





Fig. 31. "Baal stele" from Ugarit.

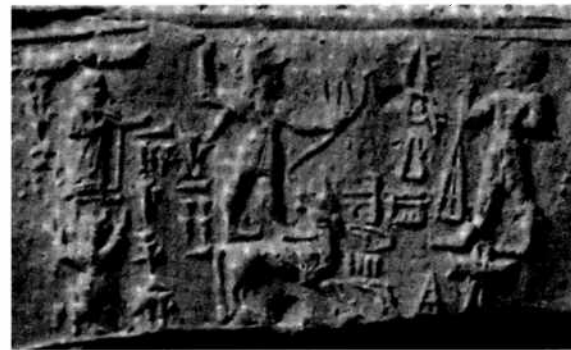


Fig. 32. Seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish (impression on a tablet from Ugarit).



Fig. 33. Seal of Dagan-belù (impression on a tablet from Emar).



Fig. 34. Seal of Matkali-Dagan (impression on a tablet from Emar).



Fig. 35. Fragment of a stele from Carchemish.



Fig. 36. Detail of an ivory from Nimrud.

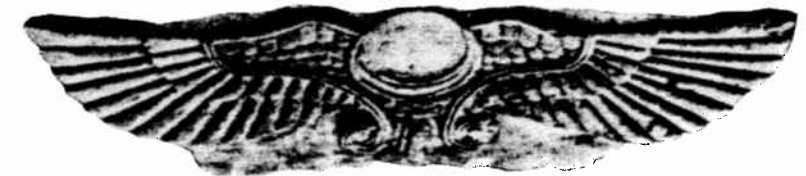


Fig. 37. Winged disk in the Adana Museum.



Fig. 38. Detail of a stele said to be from Menbij.



Fig. 39. Orthostat from Ain Dara.



Fig. 40. Detail of a relief from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish.



Fig. 41. Relief from the Aleppo citadel.



Fig. 42. Stele from Arslan Tash.



Fig. 43. Relief of king Katuwa from Carchemish.



Fig. 44. Statue of a king from Zincirli.



Fig. 45. Statue of a king from Serrin.



Fig. 46. Relief from the citadel gate at Zincirli.



Fig. 47. Detail of a relief from the Aleppo Citadel.



Fig. 48. Detail of a relief from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish.



Fig. 49. Detail of a relief from the Herald's Wall at Carchemish.

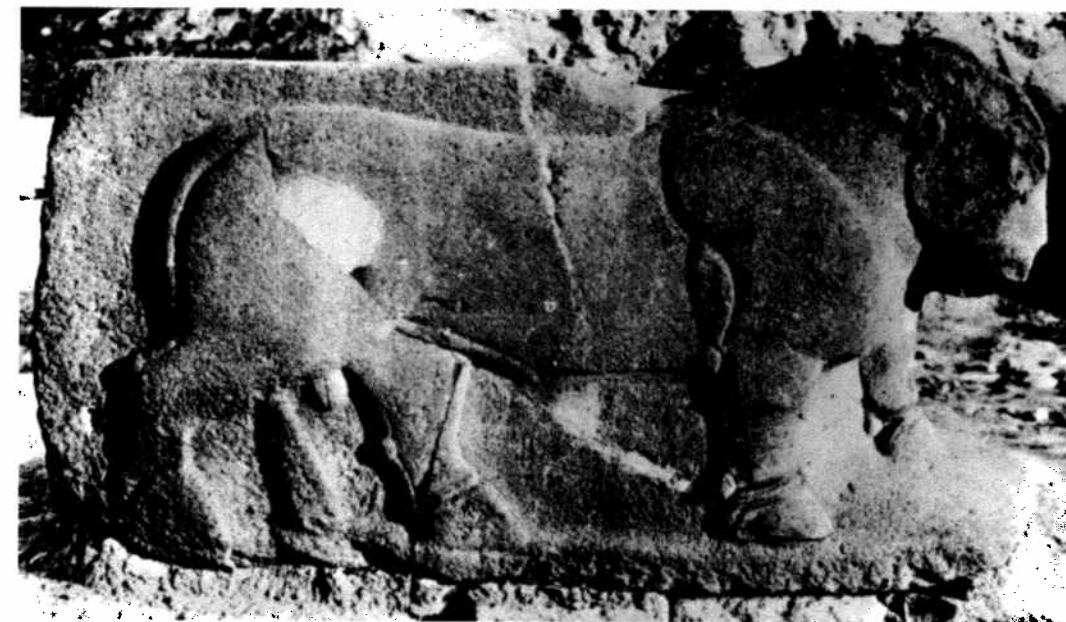


Fig. 50. Statue base from Carchemish.



Fig. 51. Iron trident from room 1 of building E1 in area E at Tell Ahmar.

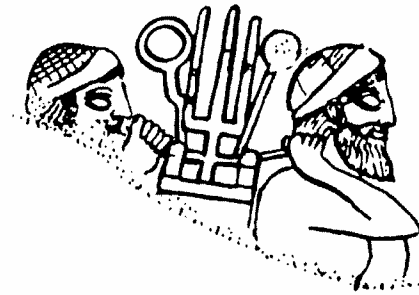


Fig. 52. Detail of a relief from Nineveh.

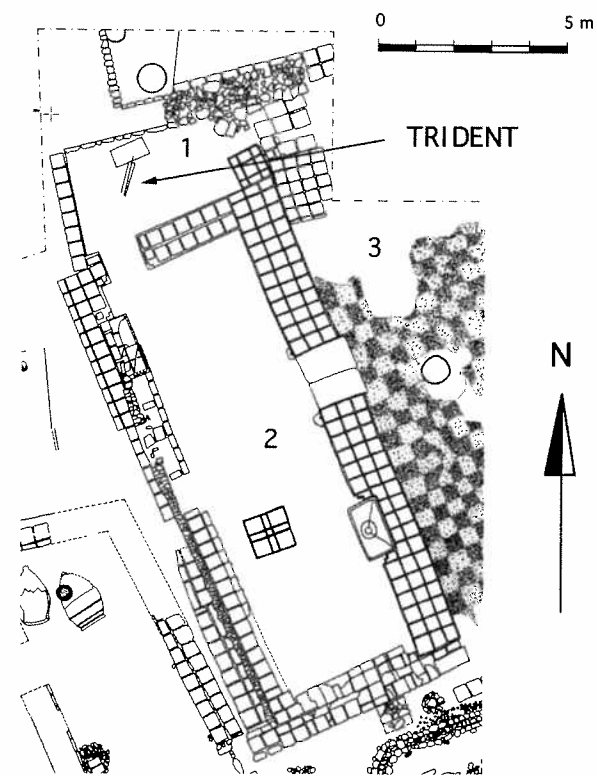


Fig. 53. Building E1 in area E at Tell Ahmar.

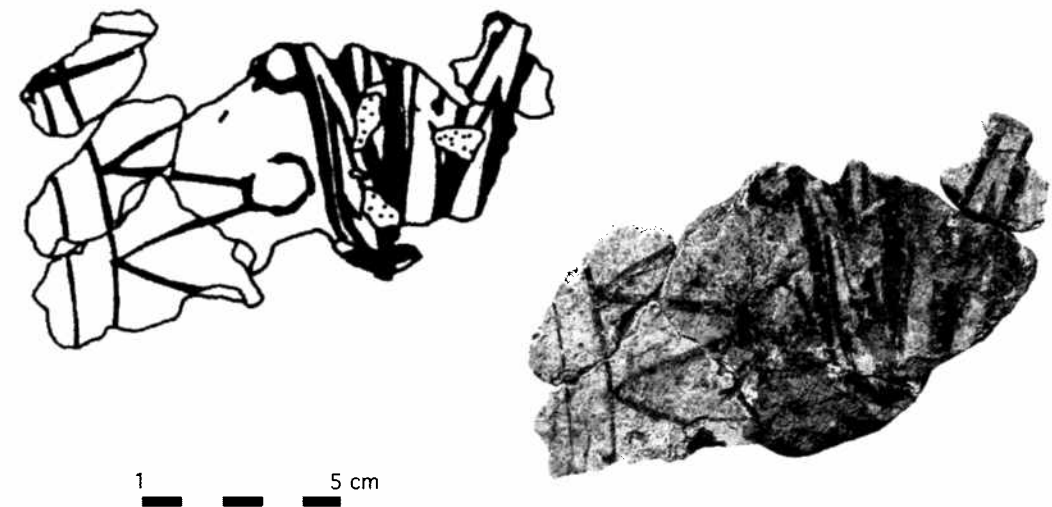


Fig. 54. Fragment of wall painting from room 2 of building E1 at Tell Ahmar showing parts of a nimbus and of a flower.

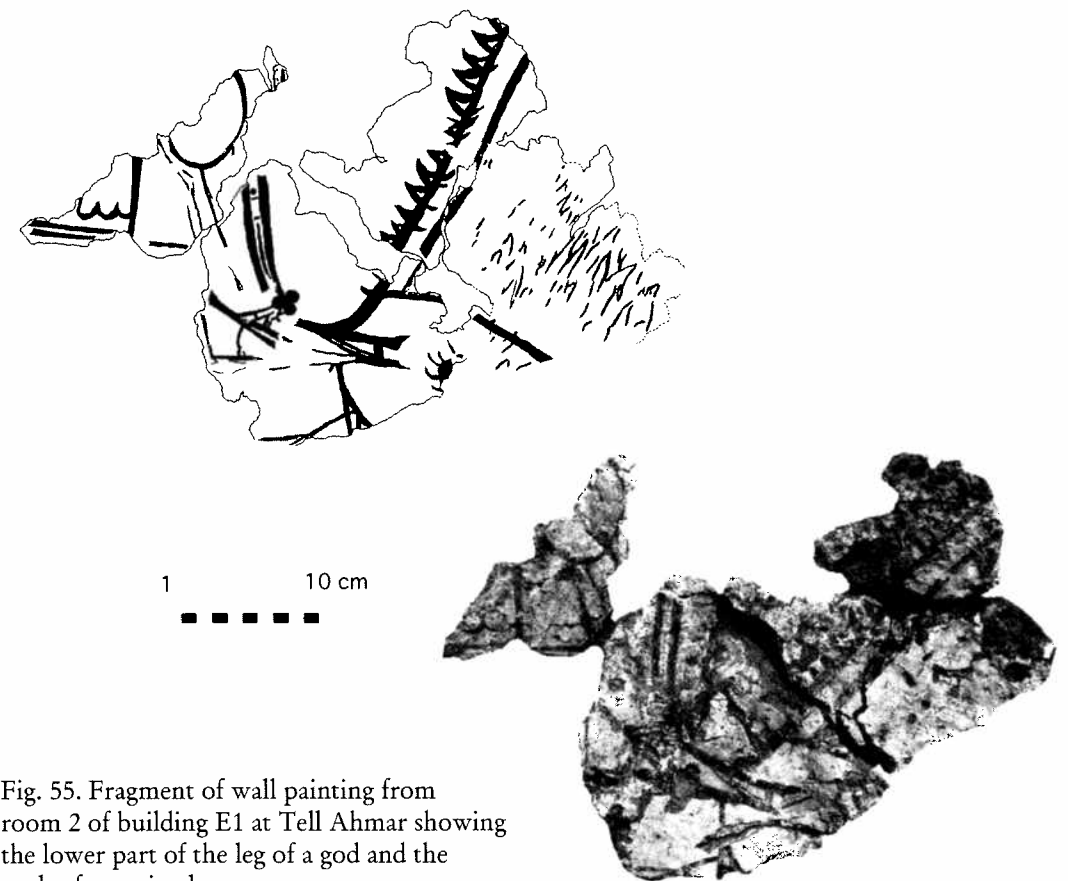


Fig. 55. Fragment of wall painting from room 2 of building E1 at Tell Ahmar showing the lower part of the leg of a god and the neck of an animal.





Fig. 56. Catalogue 1: Storm-God stele B from Tell Ahmar.



Fig. 57. Catalogue 2: Stele from Karaçay Köy.



Fig. 58. Catalogue 3: Storm-God stele A from Tell Ahmar.



Fig. 59. Catalogue 4: Stele in the Elie Borowski collection.



Fig. 60. Catalogue 5: Stele from Kürtül.



Fig. 61. Catalogue 6: Stele in the Aleppo National Museum.



Fig. 62. Catalogue 7: Stele from Maraş.



Fig. 63. Catalogue 8: Stele from Körkün.



Fig. 64. Catalogue 9: Stele from Babylon.



Fig. 65. Catalogue 10: Stone block from Arslantepe-Malatya.



Fig. 66. Catalogue 11: Stele from Gözlühüyük.

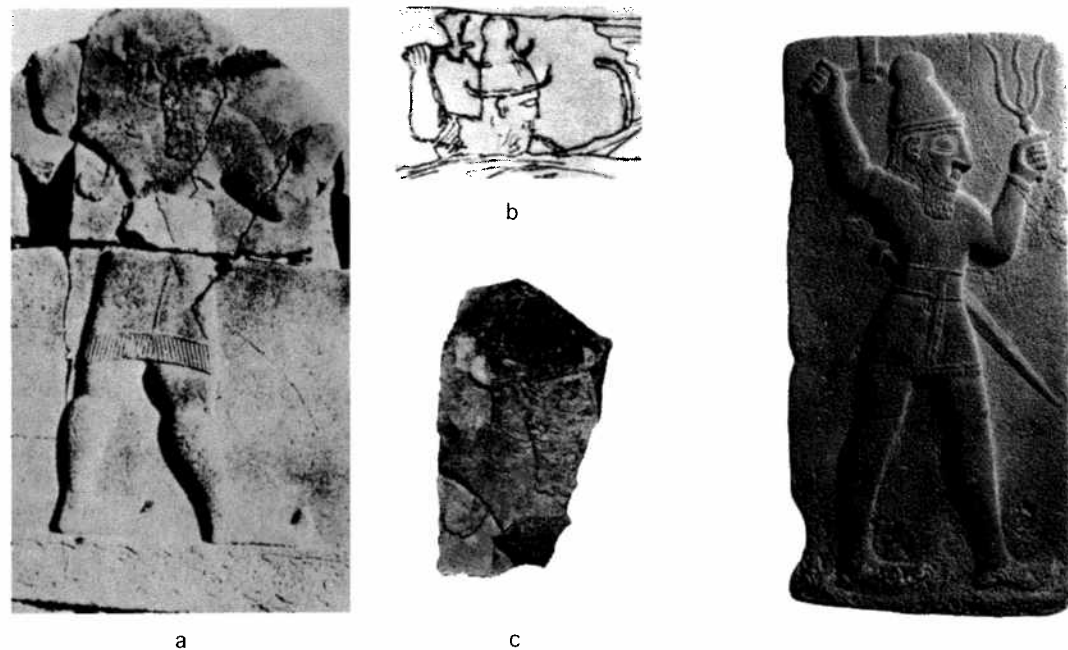


Fig. 67. Catalogue 12: The Storm-God leading the procession on the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish: (a) detail of the reconstructed orthostat, (b) detail of G. Smith's drawing, (c) head of the god as discovered.

Fig. 68. Catalogue 13: Orthostat from Zincirli.

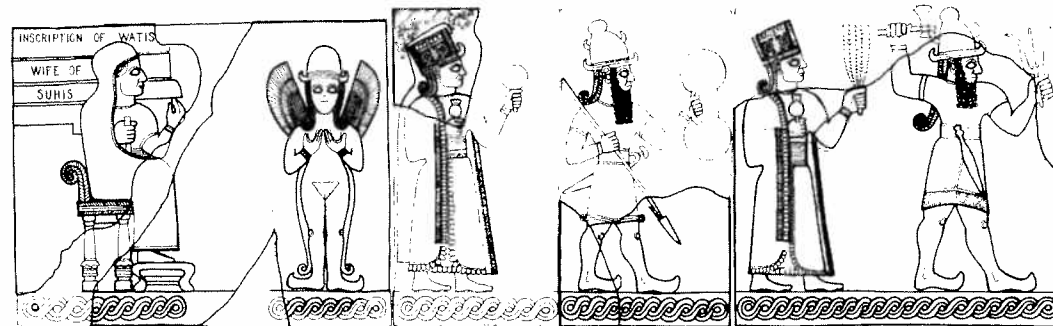


Fig. 69. Reconstruction of the gods' procession on the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish.



Fig. 70. Orthostats of the east wall of the outer chamber of the citadel gate at Zincirli.



Fig. 71. Catalogue 14: Stele in Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara.



Fig. 72. Catalogue 15: Stele from Maraş.



Fig. 73. Catalogue 16: Stele from Arslan Tash.



Fig. 74. Catalogue 18: Amulet from Arslan Tash.



Fig. 75. Catalogue 17: Seal from the Marcopoli Collection.



Fig. 76. Catalogue 19: Detail of a relief of Tiglathpileser III from Nimrud



Fig. 77. Drawing of a relief from the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud.





Fig. 78. Catalogue 20:  
Stele from Jekke.



Fig. 79. Catalogue 21: Stele  
in the Adiyaman Museum.



Fig. 80. Catalogue 22:  
Stele from Shamak near  
Carchemish.



Fig. 81. Catalogue 23:  
Statue from Karatepe.



Fig. 82. Catalogue 24:  
Statue from Gerçin.



Fig. 83. Catalogue 25:  
Statue from Maraş.



Fig. 84. Catalogue 26: Rockrelief  
at Ivriz.



Fig. 85. Catalogue 28:  
Stele from Ivriz



Fig. 86. Catalogue 29:  
Stele from Keşlik Yayla.



Fig. 87. Catalogue 30: Stele  
from Niğde.



Fig. 88. Catalogue 31: Rockrelief at Gökbez.



Fig. 89. Catalogue 32: Relief C from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya.



Fig. 90. Catalogue 35: Stele in the Adiyaman Museum.



Fig. 91. Catalogue 33: Relief B from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya.



Fig. 92. Catalogue 36: Silver pendant from the Sarre Collection.



Fig. 93. Catalogue 34: Relief D from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya.



Fig. 94. Catalogue 37: Orthostat No. 3 from the Aleppo Citadel.



Fig. 95. Catalogue 38: Orthostat No. 22 from the Aleppo Citadel.



Fig. 96. Catalogue 39: Orthostat A3/1 from Tell Halaf.



Fig. 97. Catalogue 40: Orthostat Ba/5 from Tell Halaf.



Fig. 98. Statue Bc/4 from Tell Halaf.



Fig. 99. Catalogue 42: Statue C2 from Tell Halaf.





Fig. 100. Catalogue 43: Orthostat No. 7 from the Aleppo Citadel.



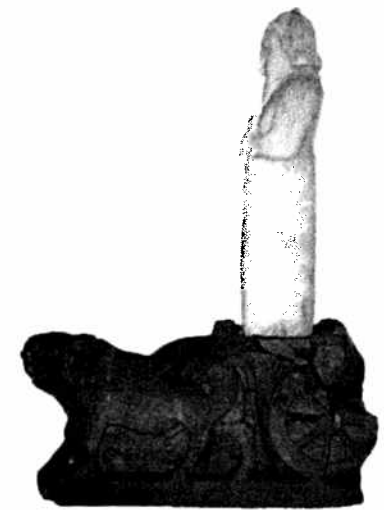
Fig. 101. Catalogue 44: Relief from Carchemish.



Fig. 102. Catalogue 45: Relief K from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe/Malatya.



a

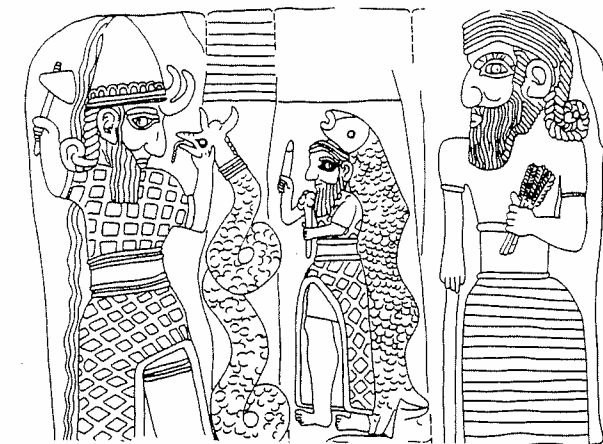


b

Fig. 103. Catalogue 46: Statue from Çineköy (a: front view; b: left side).



a



b

Fig. 104. Catalogue 47: Stone block from Ashara (a: photograph of the Storm-God figure; b: drawing of the entire relief).

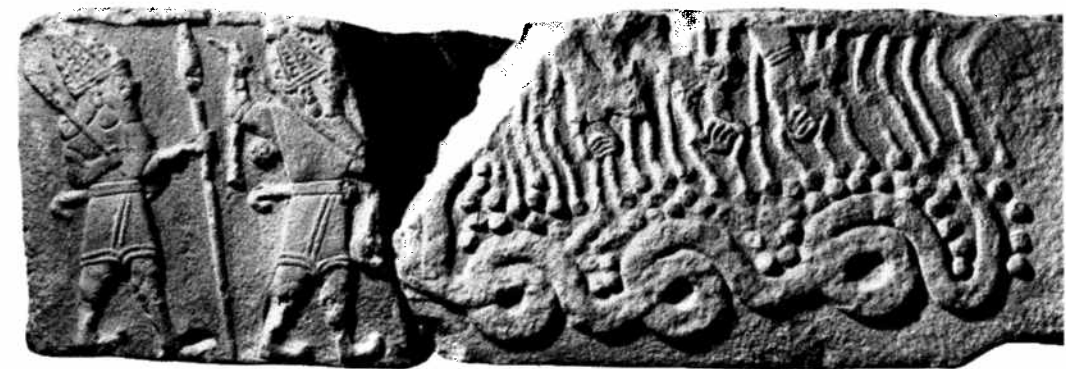


Fig. 105. Catalogue 48: Relief H from the Lion Gate at Arslantepe-Malatya.



Fig. 106. Catalogue 49: Orthostat from the Aleppo Citadel.



Fig. 107. Catalogue 50: Stele from Kelekli.



Fig. 108. Catalogue 51: Stele from Islahiye.



Fig. 109. Catalogue 52: Stele from Domuztepe.



Fig. 110. Catalogue 53: Storm-God stele C from Tell Ahmar.



Fig. 111. Catalogue 54: Orthostat A3/46 from Tell Halaf.



Fig. 112. Catalogue 55: Stele in the Aleppo National Museum (M 6532).



Fig. 113. Catalogue 56: Stele from Asmacık.



Fig. 114. Catalogue 59: Stele from Gaziantep.



Fig. 115. Catalogue 57: Stele from Maraş.



Fig. 116. Catalogue 58: Stele from Aksaray.



Fig. 117. Catalogue 60: Stele from Taşlıköy.



Fig. 120. Catalogue 63: Stele from Gölpınar.



Fig. 118. Catalogue 61: Stele in private collection.



Fig. 121. Catalogue 64: Stele in the Aleppo National Museum.



Fig. 119. Catalogue 62: Stele from Tilhalit.



Fig. 122. Catalogue 65: Stele from Arslan Tash.



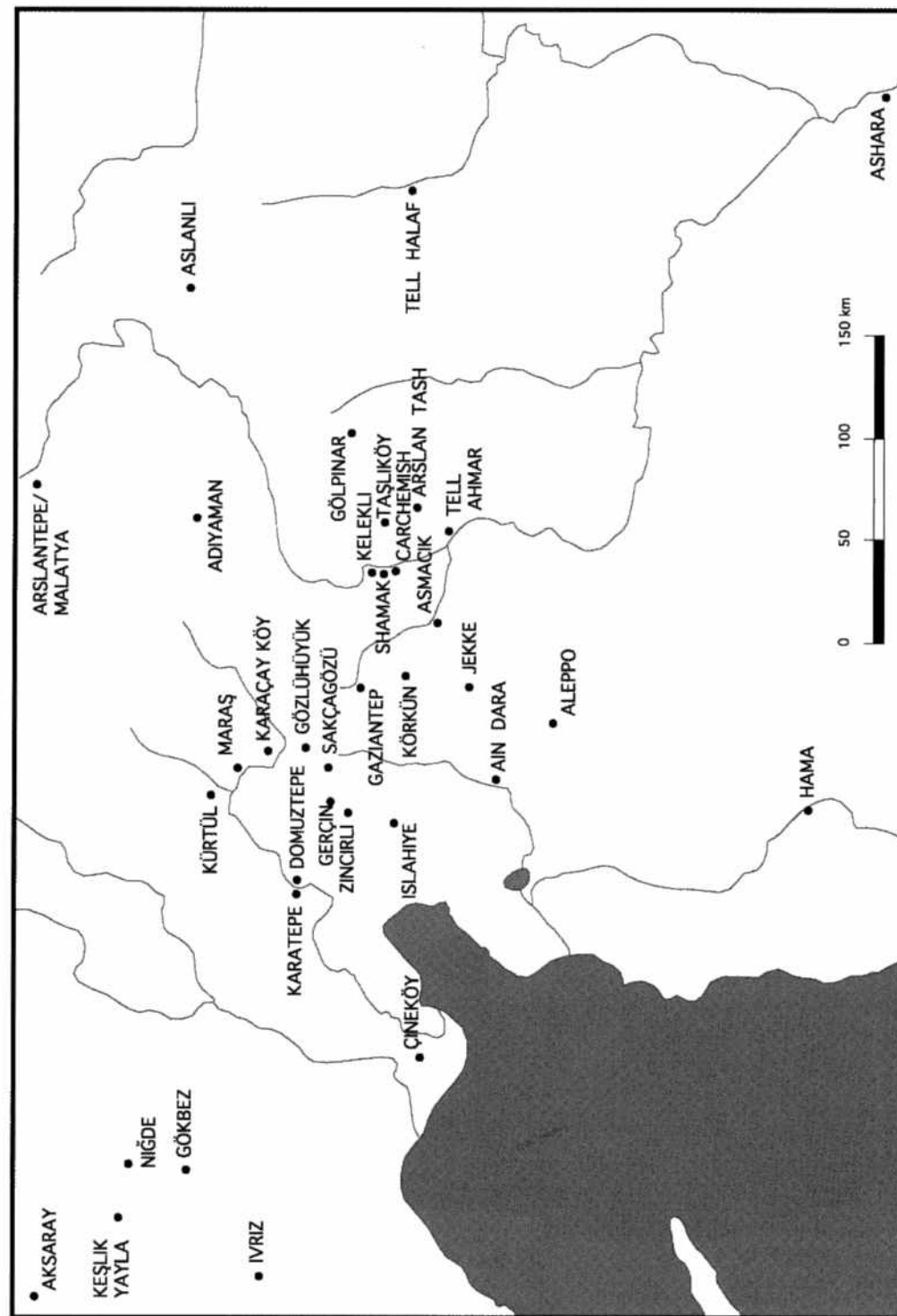


Fig. 123. Place names mentioned in the catalogue of Iron Age Syro-Anatolian Storm-God figures.

## SOURCES OF FIGURES

Lia Abbate: Fig. 54 (drawing).

Anwar Abd el-Ghafour: Figs. 9 (side D), 21 (sides B and D), 56, 61, 78, 112, 121.

Mohammed al-Roumi: Figs. 7, 8, 9 (side C), 21 (side C).

Guy Bunnens: Figs. 1-6, 9 (sides A-B), 10-20, 21 (corners), 31, 40, 45, 51, 54 (photo), 55 (photo), 64, 66, 72, 76, 84, 95, 106, 123.

J. David Hawkins: Fig. 22.

Elizabeth Hendrix: Fig. 55 (drawing).

F. Kulakoğlu: Fig. 57.

Isabelle Leirens: Figs. 23-30.

John M. Russell: Fig. 53.

A. ABU ASSAF, *Der Tempel von Ain Dara*, Taf. 20b: Fig. 39.

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*Carchemish*, II, pl. B 30a: Fig. 101.

*Carchemish*, III, pl. B 36c: Fig. 35; pl. B 47b: Fig. 50; pl. B 38: Fig. 67.

*CHLI*, I/3, pl. 122: Fig. 60; pl. 121: Fig. 62; pl. 58 Fig. 63; pl. 169: Fig. 79; pl. 72: Fig. 80; pl. 116: Fig. 83; pl. 300: Fig. 85; pl. 305: Fig. 86; pl. 301: Fig. 87; pl. 150: Fig. 89; pl. 177: Fig. 90; pl. 150: Fig. 91; pl. 151: Fig. 93; pl. 9: Fig. 107; pl. 322: Fig. 113; pl. 321: Fig. 114; pl. 118: Fig. 115; pl. 264: Fig. 116.

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E. FAYDALI, *Anadolu*, 18 (1974), pl. II/1: Fig. 88.

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