

Mountain god (Ancient Near East)

I. Introduction. *Mesopotamian god.*

The names of divine mountains located in North Syria are already mentioned in rituals and offering lists from Early Dynastic Ebla (ARCHI 1993: 8, 10). M.s first appear to be represented on seals of the Akkadian Period (2350–2200), on which they are subdued by other gods, often the warlike →Ishtar (BOEHMER 1965: nos. 300–305, 316, 327, 329, 332, 350, 352). They are frequently naked and lie against a mountain covered by a pattern of scales. At the beginning of the 2nd mill. the scaly mountain pictograph was fused with a human figure to produce an image half man, half mountain, which subsequently designated the m. Representations spread over Anatolia and Syria, where the high →mountains were considered sacred places, either identified as or associated with deities. Consequently two semantic variants became distinct: the mountain, which in itself figured as god; and that which functioned as a divine abode.

Statues of m.s are described in Hittite temple inventories as holding a mace and accompanied by an eagle or a lion (HAAS 1982: 49–51; GÜTERBOCK 1983: 209). None of these attributes is sufficient to identify the m. in visual sources. Nevertheless, the m. image can easily be recognized as a human torso rising out of a scaly mountain. He appears bearded and often wears a pointed cap with few or no horns, thus signifying a minor deity (CROMBRUGGHE 1977: 82).

II. Typology

II.1. Phenotypes

1. WITH FOLDED HANDS 1.1. *En face* (1–5) 1.2. In profile (6–9) 2. WITH ONE HAND RAISED OR EXTENDED (10–13) 3. *EN FACE*, WITH BOTH HANDS RAISED (14–19) 4. SMITING (20–21) 5. FIGHTING (22–23) 6. PRESENTING AN OFFERING (24–27) 7. *EN FACE*, HOLDING PLANTS OR VASES (28–31, →Assur 1) 8. STANDING ON A MOUNTAIN (32)

1. WITH FOLDED HANDS.

1.1. *En face*. The Old Babylonian “statue Cabane” from Mari stands *en face* and holds the hands folded on the chest (1) (MOORTGAT–CORRENS 1986: 184f). The Hittite ivory statuette from Bogazköy is a delicately rendered example of the same type (2*). Together with the “statue Cabane,” it is the only preserved example in three-dimensional form. However, the same type appears in relief and in monumental form, such as in the five m.s at the base of the spring sanctuary at Eflatun Pinar in Anatolia (3), and in the single m. on the unfinished stela of Fasillar (4) who stands under the feet of the →storm god. The latest representations of this type are the m.s

carved in groups of two or three on the slabs found at the quarry of Yesemek (5).

1.2. *In profile*. On relief no. 42 at the Hittite rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya (6), two m.s with bent caps and feet wearing shoes with curved ends face to the right and support the →storm god of heaven on their necks. Their hands are folded and rise nearly to the nose of the bowed face. Thorns of unknown significance protrude on either side from the scaly mountains, which form the lower body of the m.s. On the seal of Amanmashu, found in Ugarit (7), the storm god stands on the shoulders of two similar m.s. Furthermore, three are depicted on the rock relief of Imamkulu, Anatolia, carrying the storm god with his chariot (8).

On a Syro–Hittite seal from Emar (9*) a m. devoutly raises his hand to a god holding a →sphinx on his outstretched hand. Due to the strictly profile representation, only one arm of the m. has been depicted, but apparently two with folded hands are intended. To the left of this scene a second minor figure pays homage to a winged goddess by presenting a plant (?), while raising the right hand to its lips. In contrast to the m. on the right side, this apparently female figure does not wear a pointed cap and its conical lower part of the body lacks the scale pattern. BEYER (2001: 336) interprets the figure as the representation of a mountain goddess.

In conclusion, the gesture of the folded hands and the strong visual relationship between the *en face* and profile representations suggest a distinct type of m. designated to play a serving or respectful role toward higher deities.

2. WITH ONE HAND RAISED OR EXTENDED.

The pair of m.s supporting a →bull on the rock relief from Hanyeri, Anatolia, have both hands clenched, the right one close to the body, the left one extended (10). With this gesture they point toward the figure of the armed prince in front of them. The same gesture occurs among the three m.s leading the procession of twelve warrior gods on reliefs nos. 13–15 of Yazilikaya (11). On reliefs nos. 16a–17 two further m.s appear with the right hand raised to the lips (12*), a gesture of devotion similar to that of the female figure on seal 9*. The five m.s on 11 and 12* are essentially of the same type except that the first two wear bent caps, the others straight conical caps. On reliefs nos. 42–46 (6) they move together toward the main scene with the storm god and his family.

A rather different meaning may be suggested for the gesture of the m. on a silver cup in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (13). He raises his hand with outstretched

forefinger, thus introducing a cultic procession led by the Hittite king Tuthaliya (II or III), which points toward the →storm god with his chariot on the other side of the scene. Peculiarities of this m. are the thorns resembling leaves that protrude from the mountain and his headgear, which reminds one of a growing plant. These attributes allude to the fertility aspect of the m.

In conclusion, m.s with one hand raised or extended can be interpreted as either introducing, pointing to, or paying homage to a scene of major importance.

3. EN FACE, WITH BOTH HANDS RAISED. M.s standing *en face* and raising both hands to support another god already appear on an Old Syrian cylinder seal (14). The motif became more common during the second half of the 2nd mill., including variants with one, two, or more m.s. On the ceremonial axe from Sharkishla, Anatolia, a god on a →lion, supposed to be the →sun god (→Solar deities) (EMRE 2002: 230), stands on the raised hands of a single m. (15). On the seal of Heshmi-Teshub, brother of the king of Carchemish, Ini-Teshub, two m.s each support a →storm god on their raised hands (16*). They have their heads turned to the side, thus resembling the two m.s depicted on the seal of Shahurunuwa, the former king of Carchemish (BEYER 2001: pl. A:A1). In this case the m.s each support a bull-man (→Kusarikku) who holds up one wing of the sun-disc crowning the solar figure positioned at the center of the heraldic composition. Similar to this scene, on an ivory plaque from Megiddo (17*) m.s are incorporated in a multiple pattern together with bull-men and genii who together support two solar figures.

While these examples clearly stress the function of the m. with raised hands as supporters of other figures, the later representations of Neo-Hittite date lack such a visually confirmed relation. The numerous m.s represented at the temple of 'Ain Dara (18*; ABÜ 'ASSÄF 1990: pls. 42–46a, 49a, 50b) and that at the newly discovered temple of Aleppo (19) raise their hands to the upper edge of the stone slabs on which they have been carved. Nevertheless, the m.s from 'Ain Dara, that from Aleppo having remained unfinished, clearly stand in the iconographical tradition of the Hittite m.s as represented on the Yazilikaya reliefs. They wear a pointed cap with horns and a scaly mountain garb with thorns on each side. Feet are added to the examples from 'Ain Dara as well as those on the relief no. 42 from Yazilikaya (6).

4. SMITING. The smiting m. is a distinct image which only occurs in the *aedicula* of Hittite royals. The *aedicula* of Tuthaliya IV depicted on the reliefs nos. 83 and 64 of Yazilikaya shows both variants, i.e., the m. holds a mace in his raised hand (20) or the raised hand remains empty (21). The smiting m. with a mace also appears on the seals of Tuthaliya IV and Arnuwanda III (NEVE 1993: figs. 159–160). He wears a pointed crown with horns, a scaly skirt with thorns, and is privileged among other m.s in being armed and free to move his feet. Another seal belonging to a Hittite prince shows a smiting m. without feet standing on a stag (OSTEN 1934: no. 386).

5. FIGHTING. M.s also act as fighting figures in mythological scenes. One example, engraved on a Cappadocian stamp-cylinder (22*), shows two different m.s participating in a battle of deities and demons. They stand behind each other with fists raised, ready to fight. On the Hasanlu gold bowl (23) the figure in front closely resembles a half-human figure emerging from a rock enclave. Here the fighting action is more evident, as the figure strikes its fists against a human opponent wearing a type of boxing gloves. Following a Hurrian myth, PORADA has suggested that this figure represents Ullikummi, a stone monster created by Kumarbi to combat →Teshub (see WINTER 1989: 93).

6. PRESENTING AN OFFERING. An Old Syrian cylinder seal from the Ty-skiewicz Collection depicts a m. presenting a →hare to the →storm god on two mountains (24*). Another seal of this period (25), assigned to the workshops of Jamhad or Halab (OTTO 2000: 134–136), shows two m.s with vases (?) in their hands, taking part in a procession leading to an enthroned god (→Dagan). A goat-like animal with its legs tied together lies beside each m. On a cylinder seal of the same period an enthroned god (→Dagan) is worshipped in a similar way by three m.s carrying plants (26). A third cylinder seal, belonging to PORADA's Second Syrian Group, depicts a deity carrying a vase and shouldering a plant (27). PORADA (1948: 127) describes this figure as a goddess without specifying her meaning, but since this figure clearly wears a scaly skirt it can be identified as a m. or, if it is really meant to be female, as a mountain goddess. In the center of this scene two gods (?) stand facing a lion cub.

7. EN FACE, HOLDING PLANTS OR VASES. A seal from Tell Ghanem in North Syria depicts a m. standing *en face* and holding two stalks across his chest (28*). At their ends the stalks have a pair of rings

crowned with a row of dots that seems to be the stylization of a corolla rather than a mace head as suggested by ORTHMANN (1971: 264). Also, the m. on the “cult relief” from Assur holds plants across his chest, feeding them to a pair of wild goats (→**Assur 1***). Both m.s wear a rounded cap and a short rectangular beard. Only the stylization of the mountain garb is different; **28*** is filled with spherical points while →**Assur 1*** has a scaly pattern. The m. on the seal from Tell Ghanem stands beside a *lama*-goddess receiving the king; on the Assur relief she is accompanied by two goddesses with floating vases held in both hands.

On an Old Babylonian mace head from Mari the same type of vase occurs in the hands of a m. who is flanked by two goddesses, with the lower part of the body floating (**29**). The motif of the water-pouring m. occurs later on an ivory panel from Assur (**30**). Here the m. stands between two trees. Four water streams run from his hands into four vases, two above and two next to the deity. Apparently the streaming water symbolizes →springs flowing from the m. This semantic is repeated in the lively representation of the water-pouring m. set in a landscape with mountains and trees on Kassite seals (**31**). A connection between this theme and the myths of →Enki/Ea has been suggested (DELGADO 1996: 129f). However, this connection with certain myths can be almost discounted since the combination of the m. with springs, wild animals and plants can be more generally related to the fertility of the sacred mountain area in which cultic activities took place (see HAAS 1982: 5f).

8. STANDING ON A MOUNTAIN. This type is found only on Crete and represents a female figure, considered to be the “Mother of the Mountains” (MARINATOS 1993: 148, n. 2), standing on a →mountain peak flanked by two →lions (**32**).

II.2. Associations

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Storm gods (**4**, **6–8**, **10**, **14**, **16**) 1.2. Solar deities (**1**, **3**, **15**, **17**) 1.3. Sharumma (**10**) 1.4. Goddesses (**9?**, **27?**, **32**) 1.5. Spring (**29**, →**Assur 1**) 1.6. Bull-man and eagle genius (**3**, **17–18**) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Bull (**8**, **16**) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: King (**20–21**)

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. Storm gods. Since the mountains are the preferred abode of storm gods, both are closely related in visual art. On relief no. 42 of Yazilikaya (**6**) two mountains in the form of a m. support the storm god of heaven, i.e., →Teshub, on their necks. It has been convincingly argued that the divine

mountain pair represents the venerated Hazzi and Namni (Nanni), →mountains located in North Syria (SCHULER 1965: 171; DIJKSTRA 1991: 133–137; KOCH 1993: 206). They are mentioned together and figure as guarantors of Hittite treaties (RÖLLIG 1972–1975: 241). The mountain pair supporting the storm god on the seal of Inī-Teshub, found at Ugarit, probably also relates to Hazzi and Namni (→**Baal 9***). The latter also seems to be depicted separately as one of the two m.s on the reliefs nos. 16a–17 of Yazilikaya, which are rendered in the same way as the two m.s supporting the storm god on relief no. 42 (**12***; VAN LOON 1985: 21; DIJKSTRA 1991: 131, n. 20). From this constellation it becomes clear that the same m. figure appears with two different aspects: one is a god in his own right, the other represents the divine abode. This distinction is also confirmed in the lists of gods from Ugarit (KTU 1.47, 1.118, RS 20.24 [NOUGAYROL 1968]), in which the higher-positioned Baal-Zaphon is followed by the Zaphon (=Hazzi) as an independent deity entitled to receive offerings (→DDD Zaphon; KOCH 1993: 185–191). We can trace this concept back to the Old Syrian Period in which we find the storm god (→Hadad) in the position of the →smiting god standing on two mountains and facing a m. who presents an offering to him (**24***).

1.2. Sharruma. On reliefs nos. 43–44 of Yazilikaya (BITTEL 1975: pl. 26:1) →Teshub’s wife →Hebat and her son Sharruma, both standing on panthers or →lions, are set above →mountains in a flattened rock-like form, clearly distinguished from the anthropomorphic mountains supporting the →storm god on relief no. 42 (**6**). This distinction points to certain types of mountains or m.s as different attributes of different gods. Offering lists for the cult of Teshub and Hebat name mountains and mountain pairs in the area of Syria and Kizzuwatna, Anatolia, and ritual texts as well as myths confirm that many other deities were associated with holy mountains (see HAAS 1982: 52, 61, 96, 99, 102; HAAS 1994: 461–464). However, only Sharruma is among the few gods who were definitively linked with an anthropomorphic m. On the rock relief of Hanyeri (**10**) he appears as the bull calf of Teshub standing on the shoulders of two m.s. The inscription beside this representation gives Sharruma the epithet “king of the mountain” (LAROCHE 1963: 282f).

1.3. Solar deities. MOORTGAT-CORRENS (1986: 185) has suggested that the “statue Cabane” (**1**) representing a m. once formed part of a pair which stood in the

temple of →Shamash at Mari. More evident is the function of m.s as atlants (→Atlas figures) of the sun (→Solar deities). At the water sanctuary of Eflatun Pinar they support a sun god and a sun goddess enthroned under the wings of two sun discs (3). The Megiddo ivory shows them as multiple patterns supporting the figure crowned with the winged sun-disc (17*). This figure is identified as the sun god by the hieroglyph on its hand, the same as depicted on relief no. 34 of Yazilikaya (BITTEL 1975: pl. 22:1). The same solar figure, but carrying the Hittite sign for life (L. 369; see for example WERNER 1991: 81), appears to be associated with m.s on the seal of Shahu-runuwa from Emar (BEYER 2001: pl. A:A1). The only other representation thought to be a sun god supported by a m. is that on the ceremonial axe of Sharkishla (15).

1.4. Goddesses. In North Syria goddesses were also associated with mountains, like →Anath with the Zaphon, (KOCH 1993: 189) and →Ishtar with the Amanus (HAAS 1982: 83), but no visual representations confirming these relations are known to us. In general, divine mountains are rarely depicted as female. The identification of 9* and 27 as mountain goddesses remains questionable. Thus the only clear association of a female deity with a mountain is that of the “Mother of the Mountains” from Crete (32).

1.5. Spring. The Hittite temple inventories list statues of m.s flanked by two springs (HAAS 1982: 49–51; KUB XXXVIII 32 Vs. Iff). None of these statues have been recorded archaeologically but divine springs appear on →Assur 1* from Assur and on 29 from Mari as a pair of female figures accompanying the m.

1.6. Bull-man and eagle genius. When supporting other deities m.s may be associated with bull-men (→Kusarikku), with whom they form a multiple heraldic composition (3, 17*; BEYER 2001: pl. A:A1) reminiscent of a Mitanni tradition (BEYER 2001: 46). However, the bull-man is more often associated with the figure of the king, while the m. remains the preferred attribute of the →storm god (16*).

Eagle genii appear on the rock relief of Imamkulu (8). They support three m.s, over which the storm god of heaven rides his →bull chariot. The whole group appears to reflect the cosmic order of heaven, earth, and underworld (KOCH 1993: 206). The tradition of linking bull-men and eagle genii with m.s continues down to the beginning of the Neo-Hittite Period, when they were depicted together, alternating along the

walls of the temple at ‘Ain Dara (18*; ABÜ ‘ASSAF 1990: pls. 43–46a).

2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS:

Bull. The →bull was the attribute animal of the Anatolian and Syrian →storm gods, and like them closely associated with sacred mountains. →Teshub’s bulls Sheri(sh) and Hurri are often mentioned in Hurrite rituals and oaths from Hattusha and Emar, followed by the names of the divine mountain pair Nanni and Hazzi (for references see SCHWEMER 2001: 480, ns. 3926–3927). Some of the representations reflect the relation between storm god, bull, and m. On the rock relief of Imamkulu the bull pulling the storm god’s chariot strides over the neck of a m. (8). On the Syro-Hittite seals the storm god keeps a bull on a lead. While the former stands on one or two m.s., the latter stands on two conical shaped rocks (16*, →Baal 9*).

3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS:

King. The Hittite throne names Tuthaliya and Arnuwanda were originally names of holy mountains (HAAS 1982: 48). Representations of Tuthaliya IV and Arnuwanda III as m.s appear in their *aedicula* (20 and NEVE 1993: fig. 160). The mace in the raised right hand leads to an association with the storm god on the mountain. On relief no. 64 of Yazilikaya (21) the *aedicula* showing Tuthaliya as m. is carried by the king himself, who stands on two scaly mountains, a symbolical elevation which points to his deification after death (see VAN LOON 1985: 26). A later variant of this theme is depicted on the early Neo-Hittite stela of Ispekçir: the image of Arnuwanda I as a deified ancestor who stands on a scaly mountain pattern receives an offering from his grandson Arnuwanda II (NAUMANN 1973: fig. 219).

III. Sources

1. Chronological range. Representations of m.s do not occur before the 2nd mill., i.e., after the scaly mountain pictograph had been borrowed from Mesopotamia and was fused with a human figure to identify the m. (1, 14, 25–26, 29). Down to the end of the 2nd mill. the m. appears both as independent deity (9*, 11–13, 22*–32, →Assur 1*) and as supporter of other gods, mostly →storm gods (3–4, 6–8, 10, 14–17*). The type of m. presenting an offering to another god (24*–27) only existed during the Old Syrian Period (1800–1500). It seems that this type has been later replaced by the m. with one hand raised or extended (10–13). The type of the smiting m. (20–21) was restricted to kings and princes of the late Hittite Empire Period (13th cent.).

The last representations of m.s on the early Neo-Hittite reliefs from Yesemek, 'Ain Dara and Aleppo (5, 18*–19), dating to about the 12th–10th cents., demonstrate that the linking of m.s with other deities had vanished. For example, m.s were already lacking among the gods, e.g., →Teshub and Sharruma, represented on the Malatya reliefs (ORTHMANN 1971: Malatya A/11, A/10).

2. Geographical distribution. Representations of m.s are mainly restricted to mountainous regions. Their occurrence on Akkadian and Kassite seals does not contradict this picture as far as they relate to mountains on the border of Mesopotamia. Consequently most visual sources come from North Syria and Anatolia, or were exported from there as far as Palestine (17*). Some types can be related to certain political entities: the offering m. (25) to the kingdoms of Yamkhad and Halab; the smiting m. (20–21) and that with one hand raised or extended to the Hittite empire (10–13). Few local variants are known from Iran (23) and from Crete (32), while to date no representation exists to prove its adaptation in the southern Levant and Lebanon. Even at Ugarit →Baal lacks almost any representation that links him with his sacred mount Zaphon (modern Jabal al-Aqra'). However, Zaphon (=Hazzi/=Casios) is among the few mountains which gained an international status and which in relation to Baal became the divine abode *par excellence* (KOCH 1993).

3. Object types. Representations of m.s comprise nearly all object types: statues (1) and statuettes (2*); reliefs on stelae (4, →Assur 1*) and slabs (3, 5, 18*–19); rock reliefs (6, 10–12*, 20–21); cylinder seals (7, 9*, 14, 16*, 24*, 25–28*, 31); stamp seals (22*, 32); ivory carvings (17*, 30); and singular items such as an axe (15), a bowl (23), cup (13), and mace head (29).

IV. Conclusion. The earliest representations of m.s on Akkadian seals show them predominantly associated with foreign countries and defeated by the deities of the new ruling class. While this theme was politically stimulated, mirroring the success of the Akkadian military expansion in the mid–3rd mill. (see WESTENHOLZ 1999: 49), later visual representations and sources from Anatolia and Syria reflect a clear example of a theogony. Among the phenotypes classified above only those *en face*, holding plants or vases (28–31*, →Assur 1*), and those standing on a mountain (32) represent images of m.s and a mountain goddess worshipped in their own right. The other types refer to m.s as subordinates of

other gods (1–19, 24*–27), participants in a mythological struggle (22–23), or as images of Hittite kings (20–21). We may conclude, following HAAS (1994: 462, 464), that these representations reflect a change in religious thought of the 2nd mill. when m.s, once at the peak of the cosmic hierarchy, were displaced by other deities to a minor position in the newly defined pantheon. At the end of this mill. two factors led to the gradual disappearance of m.s: the separation from the gods whom they had once served, and the increasing insignificance of natural deities at that time.

V. Catalogue

1 Statue, limestone, Mari, 1800 or earlier. MOORTGAT–CORRENS 1986: pls. 36:1; 37:4–6 2* Statuette, ivory, 37 x 14 mm, Bogazköy/Hattusha, 1400–1200. Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, no. 136–1–64. BITTEL et al. 1957: 25–28, pls. 24:1–4; 25:1–2; *ORTHMANN 1975: 435, fig. 371a; BITTEL 1976: fig. 248 3 Sculptured slab, trachyte, Eflatun Pinar, 1500–1300. EMRE 2002: fig. 4 4 Stela (unfinished), basalt, Fasillar, 1300–1400. BITTEL 1976: fig. 264 5 Sculptured slab, basalt, Yesemek, 1200–1100 (?). ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 54:g (Yesemek 102) 6 Rock relief, Yazilikaya, chamber A (no. 42), 1250. BITTEL 1975: pl. 26:1 7 Cylinder seal impression, clay, Ugarit, 1275–1250. SCHAEFFER 1956: figs. 67–68 8 Rock relief, Imamkulu, 1300–1200. BITTEL 1976: fig. 203; BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 315 9* Cylinder seal impression, clay, 33 x 12.7 mm, Emar, 1300. Aleppo, Museum, tablet no. 217 (R.129). *BEYER 2001: 75f, no. A46 10 Rock relief, Hanyeri, 1300–1200. BITTEL 1976: fig. 201; BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 314b 11 Rock relief, Yazilikaya, chamber A (nos. 13–15), 1250. BITTEL 1975: pl. 13:2, 3 12* Rock relief, 80 cm, Yazilikaya, chamber A (nos. 16a–17), 1250. *In situ*. BITTEL 1975: pl. 15:2; *VAN LOON 1985: 20f, fig. 4 13 Cup with handle, silver, 1400–1300. EMRE 2002: fig. 15 14 Cylinder seal, steatite, Aleppo (?), 1795–1730. OTTO 2000: no. 168 15 Axe, bronze, Sharkishla, 1400–1200. BITTEL 1976: fig. 341; EMRE 2002: fig. 8 16* Cylinder seal impression, clay, 28 x 12 mm, Emar, 1270–1220. Aleppo, Museum, tablette no. 19 (Msk 73.57). BEYER 1980: 276f, pl. 2II, fig. 14; *BEYER 2001: 49f no. A4a 17* Plaque, ivory, 10 x 9.5 cm, Megiddo, 1400–1200. Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago, Oriental Institute. LOUD 1939: 10, pl. 11a–c; *FRANKFORT 1954: 130f, fig. 57 (drawing of reconstruction); ORTHMANN 1975: 436, fig. 372a 18* Sculptured slab, basalt, 58 x 120 cm, 'Ain Dara, 1100–900. Aleppo, Museum. *ORTHMANN 1975: 429f, fig. 352; ABÜ 'ASSÄF 1990: 28, pl. 45a:E5 19 Sculptured slab (unfinished), basalt, Aleppo citadel, 1100–900. KOHLMAYER 2000: pl. 22 20 Rock relief, Yazilikaya, chamber A (no. 83), 1225. BITTEL 1975: 52:1 21 Rock relief, Yazilikaya, chamber A (no. 64), 1225. BITTEL 1975: pl. 34 22* Stamp-cylinder seal, haematite, 45 x 22 mm, 1600–1400, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 20138. *VAN LOON 1985: 40, pl. 13.c; COLLON 1987: 178f, no. 841 23 Bowl, gold, Hasanlu, 1250–1000. WINTER 1989: fig. 13 24* Cylinder seal, haematite, 29 x 14 mm, 1830–1760. Paris, Bibliothèque National, no. 464. DELAPORTE 1910, pl. 31:464, *HAAS 1982: fig. 27; OTTO 2000: 223, no. 90 25 Cylinder seal, haematite, Syria (?), 1830–1760. OTTO 2000: no. 318 26 Cylinder seal, haematite, Syria (?), 1795–1760. OTTO 2000: no. 350 27 Cylinder seal, haematite, Syria (?), 1600–1400. PORADA 1948: no. 957 28* Cylinder seal, haematite, 23.5 x 10 mm, Tell Ghanem, 1500–1300. London, British Museum, BM 102686. HOGARTH 1920: fig. 71;

*COLLON 1987: 64f, no. 266 **29** Mace head, alabaster, Mari, 1800–1700. ALEXANDER 1970: figs. 1–2 **30** Panel, ivory, Assur, 1500–1400. PREUSSER 1955 pl. 25:a–b **31** Cylinder seal, lapis lazuli, Thebes, 1400–1300. PORADA 1981: no. 26; COLLON 1987: no. 240 **32** Stamp seal impression, clay, Knossos, 1400. MARINATOS 1993: fig. 132

VI. Selected bibliography

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